

# **COMMUNICATION AND CHANGE IN THE HERITAGE SECTOR**

How (well) do critical heritage theory, legislation and  
practice share ideas?

Alison Edwards

PhD

University of York

Department of Archaeology

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## **Abstract**

In recent years, there have been growing concerns that a gap may be developing between theoretical studies of heritage and heritage in practice. This thesis investigates the evidence for this perceived gap, comparing trends in critical heritage theory and heritage policy and practice in England and Wales, and examining where there are established communication routes within the sector and where these routes are missing.

A longitudinal perspective of academic studies of heritage is offered through a qualitative analysis of five journals from the period 1994-2018, which demonstrates how critical heritage theory has developed, where it has influenced other areas of heritage studies, and where it has made less impact. Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates that these academic publications react to and address external events, making them potentially valuable for practitioners dealing with external challenges as they arise.

Heritage practice is examined in the context of governmental mechanisms which create a structure within which much heritage practice functions. A survey of local authority staff offers an insight into the way this state structure can both limit the potential uses of heritage theory and create pathways through which large numbers of practitioners can access and use new ideas. The study also includes interviews with members of the heritage sector who have worked in roles which require expertise in combinations of heritage practice, theory, and policy: their insights into communication successes and failures within the sector are used to suggest potential improvements to enable productive cooperation between theorists and practitioners.

Structural issues within academia and practice which restrict opportunities for outreach and collaboration are identified. Existing organisations and mechanisms which could be better used to create dialogue are also highlighted. These findings are intended to help the heritage sector make the best use of all available resources to address problems and develop creative solutions.

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## **Author's Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 The Purpose

The initial conceptualisation of this project began against a backdrop of rising populism in Western political landscapes in the second half of the 2010s, marked by a mistrust of the information provided by apparently neutral authorities and drawn from specialist knowledge, and the development of what has become known as ‘post-truth politics’ (Corner, 2017; Motta, 2017; Sayer, 2017). An undercurrent of awareness of the pressing current concerns over the way expert opinions are formulated, disseminated and received has informed much of this research. Heritage research perhaps does not have the same life-or-death impact as medicine, climate change science or even uncensored political critiques; nevertheless, heritage is a popular activity, a huge industry, and a focal point for individual and community identity construction. Research which helps heritage to be accessible to those who would benefit from participation, provides methodologies which help to challenge prejudices and educate the public, or ensures that a wide range of people are represented and included in heritage canons is worthy of communication and use. In the words of Smith and Campbell, ‘What may be seemingly innocuous word games nonetheless play a role in validating and invalidating certain forms of judgement’ (2018, p.10). Such judgements can have cumulatively a large-scale impact on communal beliefs and actions, including affecting whether one group of people perceives a different group as having an equal share to political, economic or natural resources, based on contested historical narratives. This has been made particularly clear by the events of 2020, when the Black Lives Matter protests have forced large numbers of people to confront heritages of slavery and oppression, and consider when the protection of heritage may be political, dissonant, or even actively hurtful. Never has there been a greater need for research which deals with these politically charged and emotive aspects of heritage.

However, it has never been clear exactly what the impact of such research – here bracketed under the name ‘critical heritage theory’ – has on heritage practice. It is not even clear how many of those in the position to put these ideas into practice are aware of the existence of this specific area of study. As far as was known, given the lack of collected evidence on engagement and collaboration, critical heritage theorists might have been shouting into a void.

This research set out to provide an evidential basis for discussions about the ways critical heritage research is used: how it has influenced and been influenced by the development of national policy and individual practice; how those outside academic institutions access it; and where the gaps are in communication networks which prevent its wider implementation. Out of

necessity, the study was limited to England and Wales, but structural problems and strengths identified here can offer a starting point for investigations and improvements elsewhere.

The fundamental purpose of this research is to identify problems and, where possible, suggest practical routes for their future resolution. While grounded in a knowledge of critical heritage theory and a belief that there are opportunities for developing collaborative improvements with the wider heritage sector, the approach was designed to examine the functions of the existing heritage sector and identify solutions to problems in communication. While obviously a snapshot of the heritage sector at a moment in time, the structural issues identified through these results offer several key areas for targeted future work. In particular, the usual dissemination routes of university-based heritage theoretical work can present financial and temporal barriers to the accessibility and therefore the wider communication of ideas. On the other hand, pre-existing interpersonal and professional networks in the shape of heritage organisations are ideal routes for the sharing of new ideas with the wider sector, and can exert significant influence over the directions taken in policy and practice. Such existing networks could be better utilised by theorists to improve mutual understanding between theory and the wider sector.

## 1.2 The Concepts

This work examines the connections between three key areas of the heritage sector in England and Wales: **critical heritage theory**, **heritage practice**, and **heritage legislation and policy**. Individually, each of these areas could not be investigated in depth, as the focus was on the communication pathways which allow these areas to collaborate and share new ideas. However, it is important to define each area and delineate the boundaries of the study's reach.

### 1.2.1 Cultural heritage

Often, critical heritage theory begins its work with the most fundamental question of heritage work; 'what is heritage?' – a question which has changed critical attitudes to heritage considerably over recent decades. **Cultural heritage** is a complex concept in and of itself, and its definitions are at the core of much heritage work. Although linguistically drawn from the terminology of 'inheritance', and previously seen to comprise (on a communal, national or global scale) a defined collection of specific buildings, landscapes or artefacts, the academic conceptualisation has broadened beyond these specific features – a development which will be traced in detail in the following chapter. Currently, critical heritage theory is adopting a broadly constructivist approach which sees heritage not as a set of objects or places but 'a construct, something we think about, create and compartmentalize in terms of the memories, stories and

values we attach to particular places or things' (Schofield, 2014, p.3). In other words, what we define as a heritage asset does not become such through any inherent property, but through the meanings which people attach to features of their physical or social landscape, as 'durable material objects can come to stand for fragile mental memories' (Holtorf, 2015, p.408). The term 'cultural heritage' used here refers to this fluid social process through which heritage is constructed, wherein 'sites, objects, and intangible phenomena 'become' heritage and gain their shared and common meanings in an interactive and continuous process within a specific social context', rather than referring to certain assets believed to be immutably imbued with an inherent quality of heritage-ness (Lähdesmäki, 2016, p.767).

Heritage assets can be anything – folklore, skills, spiritual beliefs, everyday objects, landscapes – because they become heritage through their relevance to individual identities and the way people situate themselves within the world. (It is for this reason that the term 'heritage asset' is generally used here in preference to 'heritage site', '- object' or other terms which imply that heritage in general must be tangible.) To encompass this range, a critical realist perspective is needed, one which combines an awareness of the socially constructed nature of heritage, but which also understands that the structures of heritage management have very real effects on the lives of individuals and communities. It is necessary to recognise heritage as both an abstract concept and a force with social, economic, and political power. This definition matters: the way we define something affects how we think of and understand it, and therefore how we behave towards it. In the case of heritage, where the state has a role in legitimising its social function through national definition, management and protection measures, its definition (and the contestation of who has the authority to create this definition) has implications far beyond the academic sphere – an issue which will be central to examining the connections between the state and the heritage sector.

## 1.2.2 Critical heritage theory

'Heritage' can be an umbrella term for a conglomeration of specialisms, with contributors in disciplines ranging from conservation to sociology. **Critical heritage theory** is the newest member of this family; it emerged in academic thought during the late twentieth century to question the social effects of the work done by specialist practitioners and organisations who curate and present legacies of the past. Because it has a more abstract perspective, stepping back to examine over-arching ideas behind the more practical work of heritage management, it does not entirely fit within any of the predefined brackets of the earlier knowledge groupings, and must retain some level of independence as a subject area in order to maintain its focus on the larger picture of the sector as a whole.

The term is used here to describe socio-politically informed discussions around the definition, interpretation, roles, and uses of all forms of heritage. There must be a distinction made between critical heritage theory and other forms of heritage research; although critical theory derives partially from academic disciplines with largely practical foci, including archaeology, conservation, tourism, and museology, and may be used or created within any of these, it does not include purely scientific or practical written work related to heritage assets, such as conservation methodologies or archaeological data, in which the care and investigation of sites and artefacts is given priority and which do not require self-reflexive questioning of the reasons behind heritage management practices. Critical heritage theory is primarily discussed within academic contexts, but it may also be developed outside academic institutions, for example by those involved professionally in heritage practice, who then contribute to current debates. At times ideas and approaches originally created within theoretical discussions may become sufficiently widespread to enter the world of heritage practice as a generally-understood doctrine of the broader heritage sector, but the application of theoretical language and concepts within practical contexts should be considered as an aspect of practice; further debate and revisions of the underlying concept will take place within heritage theory in response to the ways theoretical ideas translate into use.

The use of the word 'critical' is key: the role of this branch of theory is not merely to present in verbal form the work done in practice, but to interrogate the reasoning processes behind projects undertaken and resources invested in heritage. The 'critical turn' in heritage studies has mirrored similar movements in the wider social sciences and humanities, which have developed an increasing awareness of the socio-political consequences of various types of knowledge formation and discursive positionings, bringing into academic discussions an intersecting set of concerns described by van Dijk: 'social issues, problems, social inequality, domination and related phenomena' (2008, p.6; Winter, 2013b, p.396; Harrison, 2010a, p.1). In order to be defined as 'critical', therefore, theory must actively seek to interrogate not only the efficiency and effectiveness of heritage asset management techniques, but also question the reasons behind the identification of any particular asset as heritage in the first place, and critique the assumptions which ground a practitioner's decision-making processes. It is not enough, in critical heritage theory, to assume that certain heritage assets are inherently more valuable than others, or that the success of conservation or interpretation techniques can be measured in terms defined by heritage practitioners alone. Tim Winter, a leading critical heritage scholar, has said that critical heritage theory, in essence, is 'bringing a critical perspective to bear upon the socio-political complexities that enmesh heritage; tackling the thorny issues those in the conservation



profession are often reluctant to acknowledge' (2013a, p.533), while Harrison and Linkman have identified its central theme to be 'concerned with understanding how heritage functions in societies and the relationship between heritage and power ... in particular the ways in which the official structures of heritage affect the everyday lives of ordinary people' (2010, p.77). Critical heritage theory looks beyond the asset itself, and the techniques which prioritise its maintenance or survival, and asks what the asset does for the communities which interrelate with it, and what messages it conveys to those outside the professional heritage sphere. Laurajane Smith defined critical heritage, in opposition to conservationist approaches, thus:

'At its simplest, critical heritage studies is a call to engage with heritage that takes us beyond the technical, and requires us to engage more critically with the concept of heritage, so that we also move beyond editorialising and simplistic case studies' (2012, p.537).

These critical debates are now coming full circle: with an 'irony' noted by Gardner and Harrison (2017, p.3), having developed a strong academic basis for questioning the hows and whys of heritage conservation and interpretation, critical heritage theory itself now comes under scrutiny. It is important to question whether it has become too inward facing and inaccessible for its rapid progress to contribute to the rest of the disciplinary umbrella.

### 1.2.3 Heritage practice

Outside theoretical discussions, the other side of the sector is here described as **heritage practice**. This refers to the varied work done on heritage protection, conservation, interpretation and maintenance, including (but not limited to) archaeology, conservation, museology, and the oversight, advisory and gatekeeping work done by government bodies and amenity societies – although it is important to note that members of the sector who work in practice are not excluded from also producing critical theoretical work. In essence, heritage practice is primarily work done on pre-defined types of heritage assets, and traditionally has not questioned the need to maintain these (or certain parts) for the benefit of future generations, but instead works to develop the best methods to maintain and interpret assets according to broadly accepted principles of responsible management. It does not include abstract discussions on the nature of heritage or its role in society, which are classified as theory. There is, of course, heritage research which does not adopt the constructivist approach of critical theory, but instead focuses on techniques for the repair, maintenance, or investigation of material heritage assets. The application of this research is practice; the research itself, for the sake of disambiguation, is here primarily described as research or studies, as opposed to theoretical work.

This more practical side of the heritage sector has a far longer history than that of critical heritage theory, since it first developed out of the Enlightenment areas of antiquarianism and

early archaeology (Lowenthal, 1998, p.63; Macdonald, 2003, pp.1-2). Traditionally, the scientific approach adopted by these fields has led heritage practitioners to focus on the tangible, static, and measurable legacies of the past, including archaeological artefacts, buildings and streetscapes, and the material conservation and maintenance thereof, in what Winter describes as ‘a *scientistic materialism* of heritage conservation’ (2013a, p.537, original emphasis). This focus on physical things can be seen throughout the history of the state’s involvement in heritage management: a clear tendency can be traced within Western legislation to define heritage by its physical aspects (particularly age, materials, and architectural or artistic style) or its scientific value (its rarity or evidential potential for research into past societies, etc.) (Jones, 2017).

There are a number of examples of work in practice which challenges these stereotypes – work with local communities which embraces engagement, a broad definition of heritage, and a functionalist approach which values the potential benefits heritage can deliver over its inherent value as a physical object (e.g. Pitt Rivers Museum, 2019; Kiddey, 2017; McCracken, 2015). Indeed, funding bodies often now require heritage organisations to prove the wider social benefits of conservation and management work (Maeer, 2017). However, in the absence of a clear communication pathway between critical heritage theory and heritage practitioners, it is unknown whether critically engaged heritage projects represent a widespread cultural shift or are exceptions within a more conservation-focused field.

#### 1.2.4 Heritage policy and legislation

There are a number of different ways in which the governments of states are involved with heritage management within their territories, and the impacts of such involvement are wide-ranging and often formative for their internal heritage sectors.

The ubiquitous nature of cultural heritage means that many areas of government activity interact with heritage management, from cultural funding for museums to regulation on industrial impacts on landscapes. **Heritage policy and legislation** is therefore a broad and complex category, but generally can be taken to refer to documents published by authoritative state or semi-state organisations which aim to regulate, limit or enable interactions between people and heritage assets of all kinds. Legislation in the UK must have been passed by government (in Westminster or one of the devolved assemblies) and its directives are usually made binding through the stipulation of punishments for transgressions (Lukes, 2005). Policy documents are of a more advisory nature and are used to update and refine the provisions of legislation as they are quicker and simpler to enact, through a process Janssen *et al.* described as ‘legal stretching’ to enable

legislation to be pulled in new directions and cover new areas rather than to replace the whole system (2017, p.1669; Pendlebury et al., 2019, p.9).

Here, the majority of the legislation and policy studied is within the remit of planning, which regulates and manages changes to static heritage assets such as buildings or archaeological sites, because the national and local governmental planning system is here taken as an example of the ways in which political, economic and cultural forces all interact to affect the ways in which heritage is conceptualised and managed. However, there are a variety of other ways in which heritage management activity is directed or legitimised through legislation and policy, including regulations on the discovery, export and ownership of some artefacts, and funding allocations made either directly or through semi-state organisations such as Historic England or the National Lottery Heritage fund (NLHF). For this reason, I argue that the state can be seen to play an overarching heritage management role in England and Wales and that governmental priorities can have a nationwide impact on heritage. The complex interactions between state and sector will be explored fully in Chapter 3.

### 1.3 The Approach

This research focused on tracing the spread of ideas in both academic thought and in the parallel timelines of practice and policy. This required a combination of analysis of the available written evidence, and investigation into individual perspectives and memories relating to the development and sharing of ideas within the heritage sector. Naturally, ideas are an abstract concept and cannot be scientifically measured, and therefore a qualitative methodology was required, which is outlined in this section.

#### 1.3.1 Longitudinal analysis

The first part of the study was a desk-based longitudinal study of the use of critical heritage theory in academic discussions. This began with an analysis of the content of the abstracts from five journals, each of which covers a different area of heritage studies: *Antiquity*, an archaeology journal; *Curator*, a museums studies journal; the *International Journal of Cultural Property*, which covers legal issues related to cultural heritage; the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, which is the 'home' journal for critical heritage studies; and the *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, which covers technical and scientific aspects of heritage conservation. The analysis began in 1994, when the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* began publication, and covered a 25-year period to 2018, to provide as up-to-date as possible a picture of communication within academic studies of heritage.

This longitudinal analysis began with an identification of key themes within critical heritage theory, based on the literature review. These themes were then tracked through the collected journal abstracts, alongside other themes which were identified iteratively through the process of analysis. The timelines thus produced could be compared to show where themes were communicated from one area of heritage discussions to another, and to wider national and international contexts. The comparisons offered insights into ideas which have passed from one area of heritage discussions to another. Results demonstrated an increased awareness of several of the themes of critical heritage theory in journals which centre on different specialisms, suggesting that some communication is occurring. The most obvious finding which emerged from this element of the analysis, however, was a clear and consistent trend for academic studies to react to major external events, such as new legislation or the economic downturn following the 2008 crash. This demonstrates the ability of academic studies to adapt to circumstances and provide relevant new information. However, a desk-based analysis could not provide insights into the way these ideas are received, adapted, and used in non-academic contexts, which was the purpose of the later parts of these studies.

### **1.3.2 Survey**

The second section of the study was focused on uncovering the levels of awareness and interest in critical heritage theory among practitioners. Practice within the heritage sector is broad-ranging and varied – museum work, archaeology, conservation, public engagement, tourism and many other specialisms – so a study of practitioners in different areas would have had too many variables to offer any meaningful results. Therefore, the survey was specifically intended for local government conservation officers and archaeologists. Their work sits at the intersection of government policy, which directs the priorities and requirements of local authority planning work, and the practice-based need to analyse and identify the effects of proposed changes on heritage assets. As such, they are ideal subjects to test how changes to theory and policy have affected practice in England and Wales.

The survey was formulated to test both respondents' exposure to theoretical debates, and their opinions on topics which are central to debates in critical heritage theory. Their responses demonstrate that changing policy and guidance has changed attitudes in practice, even when the practitioners are unaware or even dismissive of the theoretical debates which underly and contextualise updated policies. The level of antipathy expressed towards theoretical research by practitioners raises concerns over the accessibility and practicality of the theory to which these practitioners have been exposed; however, a more positive finding from the survey is evidence

that national organisations and professional bodies have great reach and impact in disseminating new ideas to the sector. This offers potential future routes for the communication of ideas.

### 1.2.3 Interviews

The results from the survey were used to help develop the central themes pursued in the interviews, which were the final element of the research design. Therefore, in the spirit of improved collaboration between research and practice, the perspectives offered by survey respondents were able to influence the products and final directions of this project.

The interviews aimed to contextualise and add detail to the findings of the earlier two stages. Participants were selected because they occupy positions in the heritage sector which require them to communicate with different areas of the policy-practice-theory triangle, negotiating the norms and expectations of people in varying roles. The questions centred around the changes that have taken place in the heritage sector during respondents' careers, the drivers of these changes, and the ways in which theorists communicate with the wider sector. The results of this research confirmed the need for practicality and applicability for research to make an impact, as well as highlighting the influence of organisations – and sometimes individuals – as the fulcrums of communication in the wider machinery of the sector.

## 1.4 Emerging Themes

The thesis highlighted that suggestions of a gap in communication between heritage practice and critical heritage theory in England and Wales have been, to a certain extent, substantiated. Some practitioners exhibited a noticeable level of ambivalence or even hostility towards the concept of critical heritage theory; overall there was a consensus among respondents that theoretical research into heritage frequently fails to communicate effectively with practitioners and that the studies produced are not always relevant or applicable.

However, the picture is not entirely negative. Practitioners who were not familiar with critical heritage theory nevertheless understood and used some of its key ideas, in particular the idea of heritage as a social construct rather than a physical absolute. This demonstrates effectively that communication pathways are open, but not direct; the ideas of critical heritage theory are being shared with the wider sector, but through intermediaries, not through direct communication. This, combined with the knowledge that critical theory is aware of and reacting to external events, suggests that practice and theory may be running along parallel trackways; moving in the same direction, but rarely coming in touch with each other.

Although it was impossible to trace routes of transmission for individual ideas, it appears that networks such as specialist organisations offer opportunities for professional members to interact with colleagues in more research-based roles, allowing them to be introduced to emerging ideas. It is likely that this is not only true of the ideas of critical heritage theory, but also for scientific research and updated best practice. National organisations such as Historic England are also able to gain wide audiences for publicly accessible documents which incorporate themes from critical heritage theory, such as the 2008 *Conservation Principles*.

It was also clear that despite criticisms of theoretical work for being overly abstract and impractical, the academic publications analysed in the longitudinal study demonstrated an awareness of external political, economic and legal contexts. The theoretical research is produced in response to issues within the wider heritage sector as they arise, which suggests that there is more of immediate relevance within academic publications than their critics might assume. There are also positive signs within academic institutions which indicate that a more outward-looking and collaborative approach is beginning to be implemented, through initiatives like Collaborative Doctoral Partnerships and public impact metrics. However, there are continuing issues of linguistic, financial and perceived inaccessibility which must be addressed for wider impact on the sector to take place.

The results which demonstrate a cultural and social divide between practitioners and theorists in the heritage sector are concerning, and may indeed be challenging for some theorists to read, as it contains uncensored criticism. Not all of this criticism may be fair, but the underlying mistrust which provokes it is a real and present issue which should be urgently addressed in order to improve relationships and prevent further deterioration in communication. As an initial exploration of this divide, these results are intended to provoke wider awareness of this problem, as well as suggesting potential future routes through which efforts to address this issue can be directed. Much further work will be needed to test these suggested strategies and develop methodologies for wider engagement and collaborative work between theorists and practitioners. This wide-scope study is intended as a starting point to enable others to improve on, to continue to address the problems uncovered.

## Chapter 2: Critical heritage theory and communication studies

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter will lay out the scholarly background to the communication of ideas within the heritage sector; specifically between critical heritage theory, national legislation and policy in England and Wales, and heritage management practice, particularly at the local government level. While each of these has been studied separately, the way in which they exchange and use ideas about the definition and management of heritage is a fundamental defining factor in the direction taken by the heritage sector in the future. Within society, our laws, philosophical beliefs, and understandings of our goals as professionals are shaped by those around us, in such a natural process that we rarely stop to notice how it happens – it is often hard to trace how ideas are shared, learned or indeed first created. However, as the heritage sector straddles the border between theoretical discussions and practical conservation and management work, there is the potential for variation over such apparently simple ideas as the very concept of ‘heritage’ and the purpose of its management, which can undermine efforts to work together to improve the sector as a whole.

This chapter is an overview of scholarship as it has progressed and stands today, which forms a background to the study of its relationships with others. By studying the development of changing conceptualisations of heritage and the connections between different branches of the heritage sector, the results of this research are intended to explore how ideas have been communicated, whether critical heritage theory has changed attitudes to heritage beyond its narrow circle of theoretical debate, and how in future modes of communication and forms of language can be used which allow ideas to move more directly and coherently from one group to another.

To begin this chapter, the initial development of critical heritage theory is outlined as a background to the later discussions. Three key areas of debate are then introduced, which act as a reference point for changing conceptualisations of certain aspects of heritage: authenticity, tangibility/intangibility, and power and authority. The terminology associated with these three areas is used later to measure the transmission of ideas between heritage theory, heritage practice, and legislation. Finally, the chapter discusses current debates about the role of expertise in society, and the growing calls for acknowledged experts to share decision-making powers with other groups to incorporate less widely used forms of expertise, such as local knowledge and

practical experience. The intention of this chapter as a whole is to clarify the theoretical basis on which the rest of the study draws, and to highlight why the theory discussed here may require closer links to the broader work of the heritage sector to ensure its relevance and use.

## 2.2 The emergence of critical heritage theory

Critical heritage theory is a relatively new discipline. Assumptions over the nature and value of heritage inherent in its popular conceptualisation as a physical 'inheritance' from the past went largely unquestioned in Britain until the first strands of critical theory emerged in the later twentieth century: indeed, Hewison complained in 1987 that heritage 'is a word without definition, even in two Acts of Parliament' (p.31; Graham et al., 2000, p.1). It required no definition, evidently: heritage was what was of interest to the experts of the various conservationist fields, who could create their own boundaries of delineation (Waterton, 2005, p.318). In a reinforcing spiral, the archaeologists, art historians and conservationists had authority over the way recognised heritage assets were managed and presented to others, and were therefore acknowledged as the only experts with the right to say how heritage should be defined and curated. Naturally, the answers were in accordance with their own knowledge and beliefs. The selection of assets to be identified as 'heritage' has traditionally been couched in a language 'of fact, objectivity, superior taste, and authoritative knowledge' (MacDonald, 2006, p.4). Without the training and ability to definitively recognise and value heritage assets according to these priorities, available opportunities for those without this specialist training to voice opinions on how heritage should be identified and managed became limited. While conservation skills and knowledge are a key part of the heritage sector, the closed circle of communication created by this reliance on expertise led to a monocular perception of heritage, which did not necessarily reflect the needs or interests of the publics for whom these heritage resources were supposedly intended. This circle remained largely unbroken until the 1980s, when the precursors of critical heritage theory began to carve out a new theoretical niche.

The development of new perspectives on the nature and uses of heritage is often traced back to a response to the overt political manipulation of nationalist, exclusive versions of history which were used to legitimise the unprecedented violence of the first half of the twentieth century (Graham et al., 2000, pp.57–60 & p.236). In the post-war decades a sense of disenchantment arose towards nationalist narratives which could be used to glorify and justify human suffering, and 'the comforting simulacrum of a triumphant, undivided nation' created by the canon of nationally-recognised British heritage was cast into an uncomfortable light (Hewison, 1987, p.145). Following the disintegration of European empires and increasing global mobility, the gradual development



of identity politics within academic and socio-political frameworks worked to challenge previously unquestioned assumptions about the roles of different groups in history (McLennan, 2014, p.514; Emerick, 2001, p.280). Traditionally, Western history – and the heritage it selected for celebration – had been presented as a succession of ‘great men’; generally privileged, heterosexual (or sometimes retrospectively closeted) and almost universally white (Waterton & Watson, 2013, p.550; Harrison, 2010b, p.38). Although within academic studies of history, such approaches were challenged throughout the twentieth century by the development of social history, post-colonial theories and broader changing political and theoretical contexts, such changes were, perhaps inevitably, slower to become visible within heritage management than within written debates. Indeed, in calling for greater recognition for the work done by public historians to engage and educate the public with historical research, Tosh argued in 2008 that ‘We are confronted by the paradox of a society which is immersed in the past yet detached from its history’ (p.6). More nuanced historical narratives could not instantly be reflected in the legislation which designates heritage, and in the consequent collection of nationally-recognised sites and objects. Therefore, the picture of history which was highlighted and re-told through the conservation and interpretation of these designated heritage assets was not a complete or entirely balanced picture. In a country with multiple languages and religions, in an era when it became possible to meet people from all over the world, it was harder to defend the idea that this was a representative depiction of the past. Gradually, a realisation has developed that what was recognised as ‘the heritage’ – a singular, definitive term now out of fashion – is not *everybody’s* heritage.

The mood of academic debates in the arts and humanities in the late twentieth century – what is generally tautologously described as ‘postmodern’ period – was shaped by cultural relativism, and consistently worked to add nuance and complexity to ‘homogenizing meta-narratives’ (Burawoy, 2005; Graham et al., 2000, p.75). The publication of Bourdieu’s 1979 *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* sparked many discussions around the idea that cultural value is conferred through social attitudes and beliefs, rather than being a recognition of any measurable quality. The socio-political status quo came to be seen as constructed by society’s expectations and preconceptions, and consequently neither fixed nor inherently virtuous (Dicks, 2016). This constructivist approach developed through the later twentieth century, finding perhaps its apogee in the 1980s in works such as Anderson’s well-known *Imagined Communities*, which highlighted the intangible bonds which work to create the sense of interconnection between people in a socially constructed entity such as a nation. Anderson argued that such groupings of people are not pre-determined or caused by any physical feature, but that:

‘all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined’ (Anderson, 2006, p.6).

Following in a similar vein, Hobsbawm’s 1989 *Nations and Nationalism* argued that the criteria defining the modern conception of a ‘nation’ are ‘fuzzy, shifting and ambiguous’, and that the nation itself is a socially constructed entity, created by the beliefs and identity of its members as much as by any physical-geographical attribute (Hobsbawm, 1990, p.6). This was described as a ‘cultural turn’ in the social sciences, and perhaps inevitably called attention to the impact of heritage on culture and society (McLennan, 2014, pp.519–520; Graham et al., 2000, p.17).

In 1985, this cultural turn reached heritage studies. The publications of Lowenthal’s *The Past is a Foreign Country* and Wright’s *On Living In An Old Country* marked the beginning of widespread debates in Britain over the nature and uses of heritage – what we now recognise as the beginnings of critical heritage theory. The key idea, gathering pace, was the belief that supposedly objective depictions of the past might be altered by modern attitudes. Crucially, this strand of thinking also posited that the past could impact on the present, not only in a linear cause-effect stream but through the cyclical re-creation and adaptation of its narratives for re-presentation and dissemination as heritage, and that these changing narratives might consequently be as socially influential as the actual past events. In Lowenthal’s words, ‘the pasts we alter or invent are as prevalent and consequential as those we try to preserve’ (1985, p.xviii). This represented a step further than earlier debates on the objectivity of history, because it broadened the discussion beyond the scholarship of historical research into the wider heritage sphere, looking at the roles of museums, stately homes, traditional events, even the ‘rags and tatters of everyday life’ in creating and sustaining particular views of the past and, consequently, of the present (Wright, 1985, p.24). In practice, this meant that a part of the discussions in heritage scholarship moved away from *how* heritage should be managed, to asking *what* is deemed worthy of management, and *why*. The traditional heritage sites of castles, stately homes and national museums were no longer simply places presenting factual history to educate the masses: the unconscious biases around the aspects of the past chosen for conservation and presentation made every heritage site inherently political (Johnston & Marwood, 2017).

In 1987, Hewison’s *The Heritage Industry* attacked the nostalgic ‘denial of the future’ which he perceived in the growth of heritage sites and products across Britain (p.46). Admitting the irony of this criticism coming from a historian, he nevertheless argued that the need to preserve as much as possible of the past could be traced to a sense of unease and economic and social malaise, following Wright by arguing that the past is recreated and preserved –

‘manufactured’, to use Hewison’s word – not for its own inherent value but through the meanings it holds for modern society. Although his arguments against the exploitation of heritage for populist audiences have been moderated since, the idea that aspects of the past are selected for curation and publicisation because they respond to the needs of the present is a foundational tenet of modern heritage theory (Waterton, 2010, p.10).

These early works did not define themselves as ‘critical heritage theory’, a term not widely used until the 2010s, and neither were they the first to criticise biases in history or in the interpretation of heritage sites (Smith, 2012, p.537). However, it was at this point that increasing popularisation of commercialised heritage sites combined with academic awareness of the present political power of past events to form a specifically heritage-focused self-aware theoretical strand. This new scholarly field looked at the presentation of history to the public through managed heritage assets and picked apart the ways in which they could have socio-political impacts. In 1986 leading British archaeologist Henry Cleere responded to a discussion paper on how the values shared through the public interpretation are ‘influenced by the political, social, and economic contexts within which the preservation site sits’ with ‘mounting enthusiasm’, saying,

‘what I now see I should describe as critical theory ... seems to me to represent a major step forward in the use of monuments. In this country this aspect has been almost entirely ignored’ (Cleere, 10/11/1986; responding to Hoepfner, 1986).

It would not take long for these ideas to catch hold. Waterton and Watson identify this period, characterised by ‘broad, encompassing and abstracted attempts to explain the whole phenomenon, with an awareness of its ideological underpinnings’, as the beginning of ‘theories of heritage’ as distinct from ‘theories *in* heritage’ [original emphases] – debates ‘in’ heritage, in this definition, being debates over issues of practice without a clear self-reflexive awareness of the wider social implications of practical work (2013, p.550). By focusing explicitly on the distinctions between history and heritage Wright, Lowenthal and Hewison opened the way for the discussion of heritage as an ‘industry’, a cultural form, and an academic discipline in its own right.

The postmodernist belief that heritage which is presented as national or valuable is selectively chosen to maintain particular depictions of the past continued to gain momentum, as issues of racism, sexism and xenophobia were identified in many heritage narratives which had been widely accepted as a unifying and self-perpetuating truth (Johnston & Marwood, 2017, p.2; Corsane, 2005, p.21; Graham et al., 2000, p.75). ‘Heritage’, in these debates, no longer meant a single, clear set of nationally-relevant places or objects; a new definition was increasingly used which described heritage as a socially-constructed process through which certain entities (tangible

and intangible) are imbued with significance – and consequently perceived as heritage assets – by individuals or communities in the present, in a Bourdieusian conferral of social values to imbue these entities with the power of formative communal narratives (Johnston & Marwood, 2017; Soderland, 2009). Heritage-as-social-process was shown to be frequently (if often unintentionally) ‘involved in issues of legitimisation of power structures’; consequently, critical theorists have attempted firstly to uncover the ways in which these biases affect the management of heritage, and secondly to investigate what impact this has on society more broadly (Waterton, 2010, p.1; c.f. Smith, 2006; Corsane, 2005; Graham, 2002).

Some of these debates resonated with the concerns of heritage practitioners and the issues which were developing on a practical level. As increasing numbers of places, buildings, and objects were identified as relevant to part of a national historic narrative, or having the potential to provide evidence about past ways of life, it became increasingly clear that the static, enforced protection and curation of an ever-increasing volume of materials was unfeasible (Holtorf, 2001; Graham et al., 2000, p.146). This opened new roads for asking questions about certain material objects having innate values which demand care and attention: if there were too many old/valuable/aesthetic things available to conserve, study or display to the public, should there be attempts to preserve them, ‘freezing’ them in time for the foreseeable future (Emerick, 2014)? In 2001 Holtorf controversially asked the question ‘Is the past a non-renewable resource?’, striking at the very heart of heritage protection campaigns by questioning whether *every* archaeological or historical artefact is automatically significant or valuable simply by virtue of its age.

Concurrently, a strand of scholarship developed through the second half of the twentieth century which theorised and highlighted the role of the built environment as a social actor, not merely a passive backdrop. The combination of post-war wide-scale and ambitious urban planning projects with the increasing normalisation of state intervention into subjects’ quality of life produced research which looked at how communities and individuals can be affected by the way they interact with their surroundings (Cherry, 2018). Heralded in the United States by Jacob’s *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1962) and by Young and Wilmott’s *Family and Kinship in East London* in the UK in 1957, these studies of people and place combined sociology, geography and urban planning to highlight the way the built environment can shape the lives of those who inhabit it, including discussing the role of heritage and the historic environment in creating unique physical, social and cultural places (Cherry, 2018; Young & Wilmott, 2011; Wendt, 2009). Broadly categorizable as studies of place and place-making, this work predated and influenced constructivist theories of heritage, and can clearly be seen in seminal works such as Graham,

Ashworth and Tunbridge's *A Geography of Heritage* (Graham et al., 2000; Pierce & Martin, 2015; Warren-Findley, 2013, p.381).

Discussions among a variety of academic disciplines about the ways in which heritage is protected by the state, managed by the experts, and engaged with by the public gathered pace quickly in the later years of the twentieth century. The *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, the only journal currently dedicated primarily to critical heritage theory, began publication in 1994; although its first volume was spread over a two-year period, a full volume has been published annually since 1998, with no signs of slowing down. In the first issue, editor Peter Howard hailed the creation of 'an unashamedly academic, refereed journal' as opposed to the 'professional and trade journals' which served heritage practitioners but were apparently unequipped to cope with the new surge in academic interest (1994, p.3). He felt able to declare *Heritage Studies* ('under various names') to be 'rapidly cohering into a discipline' of its own; the decision to weave together interdisciplinary heritage-related work into a single journal to 'form the warp of a heritage studies fabric' has proved well justified (Howard, 1994, p.3). Nevertheless, as late as 2006, Loulanski specifically criticised 'the problem of undertheorization in the field' – this was a problem that critical theory would come to fill (2006, p.227).

As the specialisation of heritage theory continued, the international Association for Critical Heritage Studies held its inaugural conference in Gothenberg in 2012. This not only sought to bring together multiple disciplines to discuss heritage as a broad concept, but actively worked to develop a network of scholars who believe:

'that a truly critical heritage studies will ask many uncomfortable questions of traditional ways of thinking about and doing heritage, and that the interests of the marginalised and excluded will be brought to the forefront when posing these questions' (Association of Critical Heritage Studies, 2012).

This was the first time an international conference focused explicitly on critical theories of heritage, rather than on a branch of practice, despite the inclusion of critical heritage discussions in disciplinary conferences like the annual Theoretical Archaeology Group conference (Gaydarska, 2009). The Association's continuing biannual reoccurrence demonstrates a developing international recognition of the discipline of critical heritage studies.

At its current stage of evolution, critical heritage theory describes work done by theorists examining and questioning the entire heritage sphere, as opposed to the specialist work of conservationists or other disciplinary specialists. It cannot neatly fit within traditional academic subject divisions: rather, a cherry-picking of multiple approaches and methodologies has resulted in a varied yet distinct area of study, characterised by the use of case studies from multiple

materialist disciplines (conservation, archaeology, and many others) which are shown in new lights by the application of theoretical approaches from humanist disciplines (sociology, philosophy, etc.) to produce a critical, self-reflexive focus on the ways heritage work impacts on society as a whole; a drive to 'look beyond the rhetoric of heritage and the ways in which it is used in contemporary society to understand its function and meaning' (Harrison & Linkman, 2010, p.68). No single area of practice can be conflated with 'heritage' as a whole.

There are tensions within heritage scholarship, not only between the constructivist and materialist schools of thought, but also between criticality and pragmatism. Critical heritage scholarship frequently investigates the structures of heritage management, demonstrating that heritage is often politicised and made a nexus of power relations through its use to pursue socio-economic goals: for example, Veldpaus & Pendlebury (2019) studied how a veneer of heritage is used to legitimise and drive local economic regeneration; Lähdesmäki (2017, 2016, 2014) has demonstrated how heritage narratives are used to create and foster a sense of pan-European identity; and Crooke has discussed how heritage in Ireland is used to answer political goals around community, cohesion and nationalism (2010). Within critical heritage theory, there is a pervasive sense of caution or aversion towards these uses of heritage to manipulate communities or pursue goals which are drawn from political rather than ethical agendas. There is certainly a responsibility to understand the consequences of heritage management strategies on wider society. However, the use of heritage for socio-economic ends has not been met with equivalent criticism among practitioners, who instead embrace the idea that heritage can produce measurable impacts as a pragmatic way to ensure that heritage continues to be protected and supported by existent political structures; by proving its use, they justify its maintenance in the competitive environment of austerity (Belford, 2018; Fredheim, 2018). Chapter Five will investigate the ways in which this positioning of heritage as an economic and political resource has developed within scholarship, demonstrating how critical heritage theory is at odds with the priorities of the wider sector.

This divide between those who prioritise heritage conservation and material relics and the critical theorists who see heritage as socially constructed and inherently political has increasingly been identified as a point of concern by heritage scholars during the 2010s – see, for example, Sontum and Fredricksen (2018), Skrede and Hølleland (2018), Winter (2014b), Witcomb & Buckley (2013), and Warren-Findley (2013). In 2018 heritage was announced as one of the Arts and Humanities Research Council's new top three strategic priority areas, and 'Future Areas' for particular focus included:

'the strengthening interconnections between research, policy and practice, both in the UK and internationally and increasing moves towards research co-design and co-production with heritage

institutions and practitioners as a part of ‘heritage ecosystems’ and the growing opportunities for pathways to research impact and wider benefits both within the heritage sector and beyond’;

and ‘International comparative and collaborative research, and co-design and co-production approaches with the heritage sector and wider communities’;

both of which clearly demonstrate a concern with developing better interconnections between research and the wider sector (AHRC, 2018, pp.3–4).

This research aims to address this broadly recognised problem. In the following chapters, it is the relevance and influence of the critical theory specifically which is under discussion; conservation scholarship is tested in practice and disseminated for use primarily by specialists, while critical theory cannot always be so easily delineated and its impacts are generally more nebulous. However, the general divide between the materialist-conservationist and critical-constructivist areas of heritage thought is, I believe, unproductive; if critical heritage theory aims to address the perceived issues within practice, it must leave roads open to communicate with those who put its ideas into use. Within this research, instead of case studies selected from material heritage sites or objects, the impact of theory on individual practitioners and on the language used to define heritage is analysed to demonstrate more broad-brush trends in the sector.

It is for this reason that the discussions here will deliberately be framed not as an examination of a particular aspect of practice – of ‘archaeological heritage management’ or ‘cultural resource management’ – wherein research and theoretical discussions are ultimately aimed at best practice methods for scientific-materialist fields. Instead, critical heritage theory is the focal point because it does not specifically research the care or investigation of material objects, but instead looks at the overall systems which legitimise and promote certain heritage management practices and priorities. Hølleland & Skrede’s article ‘What’s wrong with heritage experts? An interdisciplinary discussion of experts and expertise in heritage studies’ particularly identified the need for examination of the structures of heritage, using Nader’s 1972 argument that anthropologists should ‘study up’, and applying heritage theory to call attention to the need for a broad overview. As they point out, much of critical heritage theory has thus far been ‘studying down’:

‘that is, moving outside the realm of traditional professional experts to those with, for example, a particular connection to a given place. This has been hugely important: Studying down has provided much food for thought in terms of what counts as heritage, and who has the right to define, select and ‘own’ heritage’ (2019, p.831).

In contrast, they argue that ‘studying up’ by ‘fully exploring the realms of heritage politics, governance and bureaucracies’ will give insights into ‘how different types of knowledge and

expertise are integrated and utilised when heritage policies are created' and thereby improve what is currently 'limited understanding of how different types of experts and expertise impact heritage as a policy area' (2019, pp.831–2). Plets, similarly, discussed how critical heritage theory studies tight foci – heritage legislation *or* heritage practice – without looking more broadly at how national politics are negotiated and remade, and how 'local mechanisms and subjectivities define how legal frameworks are put into practice and are reproduced by practitioners on the ground' (2016, p.195). In criticising how, in theoretical depictions, the relationship between the state and heritage practitioners 'is often seen as a straightforward universal causality where the written rules of the game simply trickle down', he also makes the case for heritage scholarship which not only looks at the individual nodes of practice, policy and theory, but also examines the networks of connections and interactions which cause these nodes to change and develop each other. The focus of heritage scholarship has telescoped away from the nationally or even 'universally' significant sites, both outwards to the international systems which reflect broader global power structures, and inwards to the places and values espoused by local communities, even down to individuals, but with the connections between the two going rapidly out of focus. This research seeks to address this gap in current scholarship by examining not a tight area of practice or policy, but by looking at the heritage system as a whole, and identifying where expertise is shared and used, and where it fails to make an impact outside self-referential discussions.

The following section identifies the key tenets of critical heritage theory in its current form, which are used in later chapters as the basis for an analysis of its use in other types of heritage scholarship and by the wider heritage sector. The relationship between critical heritage theory and the wider heritage sector then is briefly described, particularly highlighting where there are widening gaps between the approaches and priorities of the two. The chapter concludes by highlighting studies of communication and expertise, which offer nuanced perspectives which can help to direct heritage theory towards a more collaborative future.

## 2.3 Critical theory today

While critical heritage theory has covered a very broad range of topics and ideas, there are three central themes within twenty-first century debate which have been particularly hot topics of debate: authenticity, tangibility/intangibility, and power and authority. They are summarised here to contextualise the analysis of their use and impact and to demonstrate why they have been selected for scrutiny.



### 2.3.1 Authenticity

The definition, measurability, and wider social perceptions of authenticity have all come under scrutiny in recent decades: debates were spurred by the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)'s publication in 1994 of the *Nara Document of Authenticity*, which introduced questions about the homogeneity of Western conservation theory on a global scale.

Traditionally, 'authenticity' was used to imply material integrity in objects, an accurate representation of the original design and a verifiable origin. In the World Heritage Convention (WHC), authenticity is specified as a product of design, setting, material and workmanship – all material features (Waterton, 2010, pp.58–9). This view was complicated by the globalisation of conservation bodies like ICOMOS, which demonstrated that this Western idea of material authenticity was not universal to all conservationists (Gao & Jones, 2020, pp.2–3). In particular, many Asian heritage sites are repeatedly reconstructed as part of their regular maintenance, the quality of the workmanship counting for more than the age of the materials used in the construction (Winter, 2014a). This conflict was addressed in the *Nara Document*, which aimed 'to bring greater respect for cultural and heritage diversity to conservation practice' and broadened the criteria for authenticity to include 'form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors' (ICOMOS, 1994). Flexibility around the definition of authenticity reflected the increasing awareness that heritage places or objects could be valued as embodiments of social or individual meaning as well as for more tangible, measurable aspects.

The idea that authenticity could be immaterial was further complicated by tourism studies: the scientific homogeneity of twentieth-century heritage expertise was undermined by the variety of human experience discovered by investigating audience responses to commercialised heritage. Multiple studies from tourist sites have demonstrated that material authenticity as valued by conservators can be matched in meaningfulness or emotional impact by 'perceived' authenticity, an experiential characteristic of an object with heritage associations, rather than a tangible or measurable feature (Wong, 2015, p.673). Wang (1999) offered three definitions of authenticity: 'objective authenticity', which is the traditional conservationist definition and is a physical property; 'constructive (or symbolic) authenticity', which is 'constructed as such in terms of points of view, beliefs, perspectives, or powers', culturally relative and reflective of social mores but again related to objects, as in the *Nara Document*; and 'experiential authenticity', which is a feature of lived experiences as opposed to tangible objects. The last has provided a new route of investigation for heritage theorists, who have begun to look at visits to heritage sites more as

subjective, personal experiences for their visitors than as purely rationalist, educational or economic zones (c.f. Smith & Campbell, 2015; Ashworth & Isaac, 2015). Changing uses of the term 'authenticity' outside critical scholarship is therefore one way to measure how well critical heritage theory has been disseminated in external contexts: is authenticity still assumed to be an inherent and fixed property of objects, or are there more nuanced understandings of its meaning and applicability?

### 2.3.2 Tangibility/intangibility

This division has already been touched upon in discussions of how the definition of heritage has been broadened, but a deeper look into current debates will show the complexity of the entanglements between the ideas of the material and the immaterial. Just as authenticity is no longer necessarily objective and object-centred, a heritage asset now need not necessarily be limited to a historic place or archaeological artefact. Initially, this simply meant broadening the scope of inquiry: anthropologists and historians researched folklore, traditions, and skills. These were incorporated into a new UNESCO World Heritage bracket, the 'Proclamations of Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage', which began in 1998 (Alivizatou, 2011, pp.38-9; Kuutma, 2009). However, scholars like Lähdesmäki have argued that instigating multiple lists has created a false dichotomy (2016; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2014; Alivizatou, 2011). Given that heritage is seen to be socially produced through a process of selecting aspects of the past which have meaning in the present, rather than something which is inherent within material objects, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points out that 'tangible heritage, without intangible heritage, is a mere husk or inert matter.' (2014, p.171). Not only are tangible heritage objects bound up with intangible stories and memories, but (*per* modern critical heritage theorists) so too are 'historic, scientific and aesthetic values, which, despite a veneer of stability and 'objectivity', also tend to be fluid and contested on closer inspection' (Jones, 2017, p.26; Pendlebury, 2013, p.715). Even natural heritage, the third of UNESCO's triad of lists, is selected and valued for human, subjective reasons – whether the reasoning behind heritage designation has a basis in science or not, the need to protect places because they fit human ideas of beauty or because we value the natural resources they offer is still a product of our social values, a 'meta-cultural production' in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's terminology (2014).

In an attempt to address this false distinction between the intangible and the physical, the *Nara Document*, *Faro Convention* and other heritage management policies and guidance have increasingly stressed the 'values' or 'significance' of heritage objects or sites (Witcomb & Buckley, 2013, p.575; Schofield, 2014, p.5). This new approach 'posits that any given heritage property will have multiple values and that these should be understood and assessed prior to any action carried

out for the purposes of management or conservation’ (Byrne, 2008, p.150). ‘Values’ are clearly intangible features, and can be not only aesthetic, historical, or archaeological, but also social, spiritual, or personal, and moreover cannot be objectively measured and held to be untrue or invalid (Jones, 2017). The need to consider aspects of a site which are not included in the standard Western conservationist’s toolkit was first articulated at a national level in Australia’s *Burra Charter*, a document produced by ICOMOS Australia in 1979 which reflected the political and social dynamics of a culturally conflicted society in which Aboriginal ideas of significance and value were often sharply in contrast with those of newer arrivals to the country (Ahmad, 2006, p.297). In the intervening decades, the language of values has been increasingly used to demonstrate an interest in and awareness of the social role of heritage alongside its archaeological or historical significance (Jones, 2017). So, for example, when Historic England<sup>i</sup> published an updated set of *Conservation Principles* in 2008 as a guide for heritage practitioners, it advised that the significance of any heritage site should be assessed through four kinds of value: evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal (pp.27–32). The last is an addition to the first three more traditional forms of heritage value, and is used to describe ‘the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory’ (*Ibid*, p.31). By using the terminology of values and significance, the document also ‘implicitly accepts that heritage values change over time, indeed that they can be changed by the process of conservation’, moving away from concepts of fixed, material-focused heritage (Drury, 2012). This was an evident effort by Historic England to include ideas of socially-constructed value within their conservation philosophy – and perhaps to encourage their use elsewhere in the heritage sector, although the documents was self-described as for internal use (Chitty & Smith, 2019, pp.284–5).

Still, the impact this language change has had on practice in England and Wales is yet to be fully made clear, although within Scotland the national heritage advisory body, Historic Environment Scotland, has recently published its strategy for the management of intangible cultural heritage, which may offer a pattern for other parts of the United Kingdom to follow (Historic Environment Scotland, 2020; Gao & Jones, 2020). One barrier to the wider use of concepts of intangible heritage or communal values may be that values and significance are generally assessed by heritage practitioners, who are primarily trained in scientific-materialist fields, and who may not be aware of or comfortable with critical heritage debates (Winter, 2013b, p.396). The significances which they (consciously or otherwise) recognise and prioritise will therefore often take the form of ‘a list of the tangible features of the heritage in question, followed by a description of why each is considered valuable’ (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016, p.471). The ‘communal value’ advocated by Historic England is likely to be used as an additional reference

point for a tangible heritage asset already undergoing a conservationist evaluation because of its material value, rather than becoming a reason for designation or protection even in the absence of material interest (Jones, 2017).

The usage of concepts of intangible heritage and immaterial values demonstrate where international and critical debates over the nature of heritage have had an impact – where heritage assets are identified purely for their conservationist significance, critical heritage theorists have clearly failed to communicate the idea that not only should communal values be considered when judging the significance of a heritage asset, but that social values are in fact the bedrock of all heritage, however it is defined or recognised. Although not all of these ideas originate within critical heritage theory itself, which is (as discussed) a relatively new academic field whose ideas draw on decades of debates, they are now so widely agreed among theorists that a lack of wider awareness of these ideas can only be indicative of a lack of outward communication. A key aim of this work has been to see whether a general absence of ideas of social and communal value within legislation and policy in England and Wales has led to minimal use of these ideas in practice; as will be seen below, in many ways practice has outpaced national policy.

### **2.3.3 Power and authority**

In many ways, this is the theme which underlies all critical heritage theory; in order to qualify as critical, it must demonstrate an awareness of the social and political ramifications of societal norms (Battista & Sande, 2019; Kryder-Reid, 2018; Winter, 2013a). What is identified as heritage and how it is managed can function as a representation of wider society and an expression of its deeper prejudices and problems. Therefore, while investigation of the power structures underlying heritage is perhaps the most important issue that critical heritage theory has highlighted, it is also the most revolutionary and therefore the hardest to act upon. However, it is because this concept is revolutionary that it must be discussed and considered within all branches of the heritage sector, which frequently draws its practitioners from among the ethnically and economically privileged in society, who may not recognise from their own experiences how heritage canons may be exclusionary for those from different backgrounds (Fredheim, 2018; Beaudoin, 2016).

As already discussed, from the first criticisms of the heritage sector in the 1980s, ideological objections to its social role have focused on its political implications: Lowenthal articulated the classic complaint that ‘heritage normally goes with privilege: elites usually own it, control access to it, and ordain its public image’ (1998, p.90). Heritage management decisions, particularly at heritage tourist sites, are argued to have the potential to inculcate particular views

of the past in their audiences, who then use these narratives to shape their own world views and conceptualisations of their own legacies, social identities, and places within broader culture (Winter & Waterton, 2013; Schofield, 2008). Smith captured this mood of disenchantment in the concept of the Authorised Heritage Discourse, introduced in her book on the *Uses of Heritage* (2006). She argued that the accepted version of the past presented and legitimised by mainstream heritage bodies like national listing programmes or the National Trust was too white, colonialist, rural, and elitist for critical heritage scholars and millennial British society (Watson, 2013; Timothy & Boyd, 2006; Wright, 1985). Traditional heritage was, in this view, like period drama: pretty, upper-class, entertaining, and ultimately an escapist fantasy construct (Watson, 2013).

The issue of 'exclusive' heritage narratives has presented a paradox for critical heritage scholars. The problem is that cultural groups are, evidently, self-defined by their own unique heritages, which set them apart from others, creating the distinction between "we" and "they" by emphasising social differences (Poria & Ashworth, 2009, p.522). What is inclusive for one group is, therefore, automatically exclusive to outsiders (Lowenthal, 1998, p.128). To be totally inclusive – in other words, to present a heritage with which everyone can identify and which they see to represent them personally – heritage demands a multiplicity of narratives. All individuals have, inherently, their own pasts, value systems, families, and social groupings, and therefore there is no single heritage which can function as a 'universal absolute' (Graham et al., 2000, p.93).

This subjectivity informed the concept of 'dissonant heritage', first introduced by Tunbridge and Ashworth to refer to aspects of heritage which inherently hold different meanings for different groups, or which present challenging or disturbing aspects of the past (1996). Increasingly, critical theory is recognising the complexity of heritage, and consequently of heritage narratives. If everyone must be able to present their own heritages, and heritage can be everything that is valued or symbolic of an individual's identity, this must require that no limitations are placed on the selection and definition of heritage by others who do not share the same values or cultural associations. Heritage is, according to theorists, a process rather than material quality; it is therefore indefinable in practical terms, impossible to identify from an outsider's perspective, impossible to selectively protect under legal measures. In Smith's words, 'There is no such thing as 'heritage'' (2006, p.13). This, however, inevitably raises dilemmas for those whose professional role depends upon their ability to recognise, conserve or protect what is now recognised widely as heritage: if the heritage does not reside in the materiality of a place or object, how can their expertise be justified?

The three concepts discussed here - authenticity, intangibility and power - are, obviously, all intertwined; the fluidity of new definitions of authenticity and significance are reflections of wider debates about the ability of 'non-experts' to define their own heritage and find meaning through both managed heritage sites and more personal memories (Schofield, 2014). The breadth of these concepts could only be touched upon very briefly here, but it is nevertheless clear that these three issues are all central to current debates in critical heritage theory. This is the reason they have been selected as measures by which the impact of critical theory on the national stage will be judged. Furthermore, I argue that this critically informed and international field of debate offers a new perspective for heritage practitioners, which may allow them to develop new ways of interacting with communities and stakeholders and create more inclusive and informed methods of practice. Amid the political and social tensions of socially and economically unequal societies, these critically thought-out perspectives may be needed to ensure that heritage not only remains relevant, but also has a positive impact which justifies the work done to manage and share it.

## 2.4 Disconnection: critical versus national heritage

Changing use of language reflects changing attitudes and the spread of particular concepts, although it is important to remember that the same vocabulary can be understood differently by different groups. The transmission of ideas is a nebulous process to attempt to grasp. Tracing the pathways which allowed these three concepts to be developed and shared will give some indication as to how the web of the heritage sector interconnects theorists, legislators and practitioners. The structure which will be outlined by this process is complex, and thus far there have been few studies of the ways in which different areas interact and inform each other, although many critical theorists have examined individual areas in isolation. In particular, there have been extensive studies and critiques of national and international heritage management mechanisms.

The approach used by critical heritage theory – that heritage is a fluid, socially-constructed concept – is as yet not widely used in legislative contexts, with some exceptions. In many Western countries, the legislative systems in place to deal with heritage generally still operate with a conservationist definition of heritage: one which identifies heritage assets through their age, materials, generally agreed aesthetic or architectural merits, or association with a national historic narrative (Mydland & Grahn, 2011; Smith, 2006); state-sponsored heritage discourses rest on 'the belief that heritage is an objective and neutral representation of the past that is bound up in finite and irreplaceable, usually tangible, resources that are under threat and must be protected and

preserved as part of a duty of stewardship for the benefit of future generations' (Fredheim, 2018, p.3). The next chapter looks more closely at the existing structures of national heritage management and the assumptions which underpin them to detect where these are conflicting with critical heritage theory, as well as where there is evidence of changing ideas in response to theoretical discussions.

This is not a new discussion; many critical heritage theorists have criticised the materialist focus of heritage legislation and policy around the globe. Smith's *Uses of Heritage*, which as discussed above created the terminology of the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' or 'AHD', describes not only the problematic features of mainstream or 'national' heritage (its inherent racism, sexism, and other exclusionary features) but the discourses and attitudes which enable the selection of certain specific heritage assets (and the power structures they embody) as nationally or even globally important, prioritising them over the heritage assets of other cultures or groups (2006). Smith argues that this top-down discourse creates exclusive heritages by focusing attention on the aesthetic and historic, and by defining the 'legitimate spokespersons for the past' within its own parameters of expertise (Smith, 2006, p.29). Legislative frameworks are, naturally, a part of this 'authorisation' process, and she uses a number of national and international documents to highlight how certain assumptions about heritage influence the ways in which it is defined and therefore managed.

The idea of the AHD has been widely influential within critical heritage theory (c.f. Pendlebury, 2013; Mydland & Grahn, 2011; Waterton, 2010). A concern with the political subtexts of heritage practice, central in the 1980s, is still very present. Waterton (2010), using critical discourse analysis to look in depth at English heritage policy, argues that it upholds the AHD by calling attention to linguistic detail in 'official' heritage documents, such as government White Papers and international charters. She describes them as 'ideological and hegemonic tools that work to enact and sustain certain understandings in the service of a dominant discourse' (p.28). The power of this dominant discourse, she argues, is so strong that it is self-perpetuating:

'traditional forms of heritage (sites, monuments, buildings) simply conform to a dominant way of seeing. It is against this benchmark that many alternative ways of understanding heritage are misrecognized as something *other than heritage* and are thus summarily dismissed from the management process' (2010, p.208, original emphasis).

By highlighting the assumptions made by legislators, she depicts an underlying conceptualisation of heritage which is centred around 'images of material remains from the past that were shrouded in something akin to universalized and romanticized holism' (p.94). Similarly, Mydland and Grahn (2011) use careful textual analysis to examine the Norwegian heritage management system, finding that new ideas about 'the social significance of heritage' and the importance of allowing

people to make decisions about their local heritage are generally given lower priority in practice than more traditional materialist concerns about the aesthetic or historical value of tangible artefacts. Other authors (e.g. Lähdesmäki, 2016; Winter, 2014; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2014) have critiqued the biases in international heritage documents – including the World Heritage lists and European Union heritage charters – to show their tendency to maintain materialist definitions of heritage.

Clearly, there is a widespread disconnection between the way heritage is viewed by theorists and how it is defined in legislative terms; this much has been clearly demonstrated by these detailed critiques. However, what is less clear is how much connection has been made between critical heritage theory and external heritage management practice, including legislation and policy.

Where have conceptualisations of heritage changed? Rather than criticising non-theorists for failing to apply the new ideas suggested by critical heritage studies, I prefer to investigate whether certain theoretical concepts are used in practice while others are not. The reasons for such variability raise questions: firstly, about the feasible applicability of some of the abstract concepts raised within theoretical discussions; secondly, about the way these ideas pass between different branches of the heritage sector; and thirdly, about whether heritage theorists are addressing and responding to pressing practical issues – an approach which would potentially ensure that their ideas are of benefit to the wider sector. Instead of taking a detailed, narrow-scope view of the flaw in the state's heritage management tools, this research takes a broader perspective to see the wider system of links between critical heritage theory, the sector as a whole, and the public.

Elements of textual analysis are used in later chapters to highlight how particular concepts have been transmitted in and out of critical heritage theory, drawing on Waterton's work but broadening the scope beyond government documentation; legislation and policy is compared with academic discussions to see when and where ideas became popular, and to begin mapping the communication of certain concepts. Critical theory is not created in a vacuum: social and political contexts affect the topics chosen for study by heritage theorists as well as affecting its management in practice. Therefore, rather than assuming a single-way spread of ideas from critical theory downwards to practice, heritage theory is shown within a wider context of the sector as a whole. This demonstrates when theoretical ideas have responded to or influenced heritage practice more broadly, as well as highlighting the theoretical concepts which have not been widely accepted – a way to show whether critical theory is still in touch with the realities of



heritage work outside its own theoretical sphere. The following chapters demonstrate that critical heritage theory is not only the producer of new concepts, but also constantly reacts and adapts to wider trends, producing research which is relevant but not necessarily accessible.

## 2.5 Communication and expertise

In June 2016 the then-Justice Secretary of the United Kingdom Michael Gove famously declared that ‘people in this country have had enough of experts’ (Mance, 2016). The statement provoked outrage amongst political campaigners who felt that Gove was attempting to undermine the ‘expert’-led economic arguments for remaining in the European Union for his own ends. Since then the quotation has become emblematic of an anti-intellectual mood, linked to widespread mistrust of scientifically-based products (such as climate change information or genetically modified food) and to the rise of populist political movements such as the Brexit campaign in the United Kingdom or the election of Trump as United States President, both of which have visibly drawn on sentiments against inscrutable expert-led high-level decision making (Motta, 2017; Sayer, 2017; Corner, 2017). Indeed, Battista and Sande characterise the ‘current historical moment’ as one in which ‘anti-intellectualism has become the *modus operandi* for our predominant governing bodies’ (2019, p.3).

Certainly studies of expertise and its reception among the general population have increased in recent decades (Gardner & Harrison, 2017, p.3). Fischer (2009) and others have argued that as scientific work has become too complex for the general population to understand, it has not only become increasingly opaque but has also detached itself from the real-world context in which its results operate. The role of scientific researchers as a ‘fifth branch’ of government has, it is claimed, supported a misleading belief in the pure, objective truth of scientific developments (despite the clear pressures of project funding and political expediency), and has blocked any possibility for the public to have input into political decision-making processes, although ‘scientific’ answers will sometimes lack the normative input which would make them practically applicable (c.f. Rampton & Stauber, 2002; Janasoff, 1994). This opacity has enabled (and possibly contributed to) the suggestions by primarily right-wing politicians and conspiracy theorists that public information provided by officially ‘neutral’ bodies has in fact been manipulated to mislead its audiences (Motta, 2017).

There have been a variety of influential studies which propose methodologies to improve the relationships between experts and wider society, such as: Fischer’s ‘deliberative democracy’ which argues for the development of policies and consensus drawn from ‘critical learning based on the communicative interactions of those who differ’ (2009, p.84); Grundman’s relational

concept of expertise, which argues that knowledge must not only be held but also appropriately applied in different situations for a productive outcome (2017); Innes & Booher's 'public participation' approach, which argues for the empowerment of currently marginalised groups to voice opinions and influence decision-making (2004); and Turner's analysis of the ways expertise can be held and judged within liberal democracies (2001). The solution Fischer proposes to address current communication gaps and misunderstandings (following Janasoff, 1994) is that increasing dialogue is needed to combine new knowledge produced by research with the 'empirical and normative knowledge' of other groups (local residents, for example), as their contributions 'may be of different character to that of the professional experts, but they are nevertheless to be considered as experts in their own right' (2009, p.98; Burström, 2014, p.101). In other words, what we frequently refer to as 'common sense', the ability to create socially acceptable and practical solutions to problems presented, is as likely to emerge from decisions made by those who are not considered 'expert' in any academic sense, and that resource could be more widely used if systems such as deliberative democracy are put in place to enable greater communication between different branches of the state and wider society (Fischer, 2009).

The universal thread within these works is that they do not seek to abolish the category of 'expert' or deny that the divisions of labour within society will inevitably result in certain people being more knowledgeable on certain topics than others – instead, they seek to create locations for discussion, or deliberation, within which different forms of knowledge (academic, local, practical, or political) can be combined and used to develop coherent and practicable strategies. Fischer is at pains to point out that his proposed deliberative democratic framework 'would by no means side-line or even exclude scientific assessment; it would only situate it within the framework of a more comprehensive evaluation' (2009, p.165). By allowing people outside the current boundaries of professional, academic or political expertise to participate in debates, these studies suggest that not only will decision-making become more robust due to a wide evidence basis, but also that the citizens participating will become aware of alternative viewpoints, engaged with wider social and political issues, and educated on a variety of issues. Innes & Booher promise great things from their proposed system of public participation:

'when an inclusive set of citizens can engage in authentic dialogue where all are equally empowered and informed and where they listen and are heard respectfully and when they are working on a task of interest to all, following their own agendas, everyone is changed. They learn new ideas and they often come to recognize that others' views are legitimate. They can work through issues and create shared meanings as well as the possibility of joint action' (2004, p.428).

Fischer, similarly, suggests that deliberative democracy would result in both 'developmental effects', wherein participants 'learn from experience how the social system and surrounding

environments work, come to understand diversity and tolerance, and gain political skills that help them efficaciously contribute to social change', and in 'intrinsic benefits', which describe 'the less tangible internal effects that result from participation, such as a sense of personal gratification, heightened self-worth and a stronger identification with one's community' (Fischer, 2009, pp.56–7). Such prospects may be utopian, but the consistent idea that open communication and debate are the pathway to personal and communal improvement and a higher decision-making capacity among non-expert communities is key to addressing the divisions between theory and practice in the heritage sector (Thomas & van de Fliert, 2015).

So far, the literature around anti-intellectualism and expertise has focused particularly on 'hard' science, such as medicine or military technology (e.g. Osborne, 2004; Rampton & Stauber, 2002). Nevertheless, the idea that 'expert' knowledge can require modulation and adjustments in different contexts and that broader knowledge bases would allow for more realistic solutions is applicable to other forms of expertise (Grundmann, 2017). There are some equivalencies between this contextualisation of the expert role of science and critical heritage theory's criticisms of a materialist approach to heritage which assumes authority on the basis of scientific knowledge. An overarching theme within critical discussions is that expertise in the fields of heritage practice does not automatically equate to sufficient knowledge or authority to make decisions about the future of heritage assets, which should be shared with the groups who also use and value the assets on a non-professional basis, often through similar approaches to Fischer's 'deliberative democracy' (e.g. Jones, 2017; Maeer, 2017; Mydland & Grahn, 2011).

The sociological approaches discussed above which emphasise discussion and participatory decision making are also particularly relevant – more so than some studies of the communication of scientific research – because this research does not simply investigate how ideas are passed from "experts" to "non-expert" audiences. Instead, it looks at the relationships between different forms of expertise: that which offers insights through theory and analysis; that of practitioners, who are deeply knowledgeable about specific modes of heritage work in different contexts; and that of policy-makers, who can develop and implement structures within the complexities of the political landscape. The final form of heritage expertise, which is not incorporated within this research but which is relevant to all the forms above, is that of communities and groups who understand particular sites or forms of heritage through their own knowledge and experiences in ways those without such experience cannot.

This final type of expertise – that of members of the public who, without any professional heritage qualifications, nevertheless are deeply informed about their own heritages – has been

more thoroughly incorporated within theoretical studies than examinations of the expertise of practitioners and policy-makers (with a few notable exceptions, e.g. Mualam & Alterman, 2018; Yarrow, 2014; Pendlebury, 2013). Indeed, much recent debate within critical heritage theory has centred around finding ways to allow the public to not only access but also to make decisions about the management of heritage; as previously discussed, heritage is now seen to be created by the beliefs of those people who identify with it, and therefore it may be assumed that they have some rights to claim ownership over it (Schofield, 2014). Work including Marwood *et al*'s research on 'action heritage' (Marwood *et al.*, 2019; Johnston & Marwood, 2017), Kiddey's work with homeless heritage (2017), Waterton's study of community relationships with landscape in Yorkshire (Waterton, 2005), Byrne's mapping of Aboriginal heritage in Australia (2003), and Cipolla's work on Native American historical archaeology (Cipolla, 2013), among others, have all in different ways sought to facilitate and amplify community expressions of their own heritage sites and values, which have traditionally been overlooked by scientific-materialist approaches to the identification and management of heritage. These studies are based within archaeology and critical heritage theory, at the intersections of the two areas of study, but within other sub-disciplines of heritage (such as museology and archiving) there is a similar pattern of critically-informed research studying the inherent power structures within those areas of practice, and examining how practice can be made to answer social goals (McCracken, 2015; Kidd, 2017; Orloff, 2017; Lynch, 2017; Project Muse, 2015; Pieterse, 2005). Like the 'public participation' scholarship discussed above, these studies often promise great rewards in terms of empowerment, community building, place-shaping, and related social goals when critical heritage theory is brought into use with these community groups. Although there is a natural tendency for the positive impacts of projects to be given most attention when reporting findings and impact (a notable exception being Fredheim's work with community groups in Yorkshire (2019)), these studies nevertheless demonstrate that the concepts of critical heritage theory can have a welcome effect on heritage practice. Although they may not be described as critical theory themselves – Vergunst and Graham situate their research outside critical heritage studies as, they argue, it 'tends to look back in order to diagnose and unveil power and inequality' rather than focusing on collaboration and present-focused work – the key themes of critical heritage theory, as identified above, are present within all the work discussed above (2019, pp.3–4).

With regard to the intersections of knowledge and sharing of ideas which are the focus of this research, it should be noted that the interactions between practitioners, particularly those within the local authority, and members of the public with whom they work are an important area within which ideas about the definition and management of heritage are constantly negotiated

and debated. The role of local authority conservation officers as arbiters and enforcers of heritage-related legislation and policy will be examined further in later chapters; however, the input of the communities with which they work, and how they may influence professional ideas of what is valued or significant, fall outside the work of this thesis, though it would be a valuable topic for further study. In part, this research does not cover the transmission of ideas between professionals and members of the public because it is a broad and complex area in itself; in addition, this area has received more attention than other pathways of communication from heritage scholars including Yarrow (2019, 2016), Graham (2015) Burström (2014) and Pendlebury (2013). This research draws on their work to help understand this area.

As far as connections between theory and practice are concerned, the extent to which the majority of heritage practitioners are aware of the arguments of critical heritage theory at all is generally unclear. Indeed, at its most extreme the argument that communities should be able to define and make decisions about their own heritages has been criticised for undervaluing the forms of expertise enacted by heritage professionals, who are able to provide unique perspectives and resources without which communities may be unable to sustainably manage the heritage which has been nominally handed to them (Lewandowska, 2019; Winter, 2013b). There is concern that this approach will thereby alienate them from the concepts of critical heritage theory (Hølleland & Skrede, 2019).

Part of the concern about lack of communication within the heritage sector is due to the different approaches taken by the different branches of the sector (Orbaşlı, 2017, p.158). Courtney points out that critical heritage theory has 'questioned the meaning, purpose, and use of heritage to arrive at a state of complexity where there is no singular conception or attachment to heritage' (2018, p.691). In contrast, as discussed above, much heritage practice is focused on scientific-materialist schools of thought which rely on expert technical knowledge and frequently have no clear system to allow for input from surrounding communities or target audiences (Stefano, 2016, p.586; Hollowell & Nicholas, 2009). Heritage is, from this perspective, considered the property of 'future generations', not its present users, and only those who have the necessary professional qualifications in materialist disciplines are considered able to judge what future generations will value (Holtorf, 2015, p.407-8; Waterton, 2010, pp.38-9). Somehow the term 'heritage' has become emblematic of both an expert field in which oversight is required by conservation professionals to ensure responsible decision-making, and a public asset which offers opportunities for representation and communication among its surrounding communities; both top-down and bottom-up (Emerick, 2014, p.150). One of the communication barriers which will be addressed in later chapters is the developing division of these two schools of thought into

separate areas of discussion, which impedes the open sharing of ideas and resources between different areas of the heritage sector.

Heritage studies currently has not made full use of the potential scholarly resources available within sociology, political studies, anthropology and related fields, which offer new perspectives on enactments of expertise (Lewandowska, 2019; Carr, 2010). The debates over the extent to which academic research serves external populations is of course not isolated to critical heritage theory, or even to heritage more broadly, of course; as seen above, it is a concern for science, which is seeing the development of 'science communication' as an expert field in its own right (Fischhoff, 2019; K. H. Jamieson et al.(eds.), 2016). Within more closely related fields, public history and public or community archaeology have also developed as distinct areas of expertise and research (Carman, 2017; Richardson & Almansa-Sánchez, 2015; Tosh, 2014; Simpson & Williams, 2008). The political climate of anti-intellectualism described above has highlighted the need for good public communicators within academic disciplines to make research accessible and engaging for external audiences, but the roots of this trend do not date simply from recent politically turbulent years. Instead, like the field of critical heritage theory itself, they have been informed by and drawn from twentieth-century postcolonial work and the 'cultural turn' in scholarship, which drew attention to the exclusionary nature of traditional academic structures and communication methods, and questioned the purpose of research disseminated only to academic audiences (Carman, 2017; Tosh, 2014; Fischer, 2009).

Critical heritage theory has embraced the concept of community involvement in heritage decision making, often drawing on sociological or political theories to propose models of public consultation (e.g. Vergunst & Graham, 2019; Jones, 2017; Harrison, 2013; Lixinski, 2013; Mydland & Grahn, 2011). Recent work from the 'Heritage Decisions' project has contributed to a broad-scale overview of interactions between various branches of the heritage sector and the context within which they work; what Courtney describes as the 'heritage ecology', relating the interdependent network of organisations and people to a natural system (Courtney, 2018). This project will be further explored in Chapter 7. However, the communication of critical heritage theory itself – the reasoning which justifies such inclusive practice – into the realms of heritage practice can still be characterised as patchy, at best. The central theme of the communication of ideas, which allows cross-disciplinary collaboration and the transmission of ideas to situations where they can be practically applied, will be the goal of the recommendations of this research. Such communication can offer new models for the co-production of knowledge and methods within the heritage sector, combining the pragmatic applicability of heritage practice with the political and ethical awareness of critical theory.

As critical heritage theory is a broad area of study and has connections with various areas of practice, as well as with related research in anthropology, geography, and sociology, there is much further work to be done to see how it relates with heritage practice. What is also unclear is the extent to which theory reacts to work in practice, rather than leading innovations; critical thinking may be expressed and disseminated in theory, but its inspiration and generation may come from practitioners or indeed public communities. One of the themes highlighted in Chapter 5 is the awareness within critical theory of external political and social developments; although practice more generally could not be incorporated within the study due to its breadth, it is not a great leap to consider the possibility that innovative practice is creating related discussion within theory.

The studies of communication and collaboration highlighted above offer a variety of models which could potentially be applied to individual situations to improve the sharing of ideas and of decision-making power. However, this research is fundamentally exploratory; rather than seeking to test a pre-existing solution to a problem, it takes the earlier step of identifying and locating the problem itself – in this case, gaps in communication within the heritage sector. It therefore adopts the idea that increased and open communication can offer progress and improved relationships between groups, but does not select and apply one of the methodologies discussed above as this would have limited the potential range of areas which could be studied. To have begun with a particular methodology in mind for addressing communication issues as they arose may have limited or misdirected such exploration. Instead, the research takes a broad perspective to highlight where solutions are needed. The approach taken was therefore one of critical realism, but also of openness and an iterative methodology, which sought to pursue issues as they arose through the research. Not infrequently, solutions to the problems identified appear self-evident but the resources to implement them are lacking.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

There is a single question at the root of this research: is critical heritage theory being used by the wider heritage sector? This question begs a set of others, which ask whether there are communication routes which share critical theory with those outside theoretical discussions, and whether the theory currently being produced is of use and therefore applicable. There is an urgent need for such critical and analytical work which offers external perspectives on theoretical discussions (AHRC, 2018; Winter, 2013b). In the absence of such perspectives, theory can become a self-referential circle which risks becoming out of touch, and consequently impractical. Indeed, the opinions offered by heritage practitioners for this research suggest that critical theory is already seen by some as irrelevant, due in part to broader social and structural issues which

enforce barriers between academic research and wider public engagement, but also in part potentially due to a failure by theorists to develop collaborative and engaged research practices. This provides an evidential basis for concerns among critical theorists that their ideas are not gaining wide purchase within the heritage sector, as well as offering particular areas which will benefit from increased communication in future to address gaps in mutual understanding.

This chapter has highlighted the development of critical heritage theory, from a critical awareness of the impacts of heritage narratives in the 1980s to its present form, which is characterised by a constructivist definition of heritage as a mutable and subjective quality and a concern with the socio-political impacts of celebrating and publicising particular heritage narratives, particularly those which legitimise prejudices. The particular themes which were selected to provide a basis for the analysis in later chapters were authenticity, tangibility versus intangibility, and power and authority. These will be used in Chapter 5 as over-arching categories in the analysis of journal abstracts to study how the ideas of critical heritage theory have spread into other areas of heritage research.

This chapter has also discussed the extensive research done into the ways expertise can be communicated and negotiated within different contexts, drawing on alternative forms of expertise (such as local knowledge and practical experience) to develop and implement ideal working practices. Although critical heritage theory has embraced the need to devolve some decision-making capacity to communities with regard to their valued heritage assets, it has not engaged fully in the potential for collaboration and communication with heritage practitioners; this thesis aims to begin addressing concerns among critical theorists that their work is not widely known or understood within the heritage sector by suggesting greater involvement with heritage practice to develop a better awareness of key concerns and achievements from both sides. The models proposed by the studies discussed in the later part of the chapter were used to inform the aspects of the project which sought opinions from practitioners within the heritage sector, by providing a theoretical basis for the need for open communication and collaborative working practices to develop strong partnerships and effective solutions to problems.

This chapter has supplied the theoretical basis for the themes studied in this work; the following chapter will offer further context by exploring the state's role in heritage management, offering a brief overview of the development and current structure of state-centred systems which define, manage and protect certain forms of heritage. The complex structure of intersecting organisations depicted demonstrates that very little within the heritage sector is apolitical, and none can be separated from its socio-economic contexts. As such, governmental priorities and



aims can be argued to have more impact on the heritage sector than new theoretical concepts. This contextualisation is an important part of an understanding of the wider heritage sector and the ways in which concepts can be communicated at a sector-wide level.

## Chapter 3: The State as Heritage Manager

### 3.1 The State

This chapter sets out the reasoning for one of the fundamental bases of this work; that the framework developed by the government of an area impacts how heritage is defined, protected, managed, and even conceptualised within that area. It argues that the methods of identifying what is significant or valued within this framework legitimises certain types of heritage and devalues others through the nationwide provision of protection, funding for research or conservation, and celebration for only those heritage assets which meet the criteria for this identification. The 'state', as discussed in this chapter, is not only the bodies which comprise the national government, such as the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) or local authorities, but also comprises a network of interconnected organisations which are semi-independent of government, such as Historic England, or nominally independent organisations which nevertheless have their role directed or limited by government policy, such as the NLHF. When funding, consultation, and policy direction are taken into account, there are few heritage organisations in England and Wales which can be argued to be entirely independent of this state system.

Firstly, the chapter outlines the function and role of the state, and discusses how it can be understood to be a heritage manager on a national scale. It then explores the heritage sector in England and Wales in more detail, outlining the key pieces of legislation and policy which have shaped how heritage is currently managed and exploring their socio-political context. Finally, it discusses how heritage policy and legislation can never be viewed in isolation, but are rather part of a wider political landscape, taking on social, ideological and economic roles according to the political priorities of decision-makers. In the following chapters, the discussion will delve into the relationships between state and individuals, asking: who influences and shapes national heritage policy? Is it a creative or reactive process? And how do the current structures of the heritage sector enable or prevent communication and collaboration within the sector?

The first task is, necessarily, to define the 'state' itself. The subject of wide debate amongst sociologists, historians, and political scholars, it is nevertheless generally understood to describe a set of interlocking organisations which in sum provide a system with the ability to regulate the behaviour of people within its specific geographical area, usually based on a belief that this regulation is in the interests of the welfare of the majority. Ling describes a state as:

'simultaneously a collection of institutions, a sovereign power claiming the right to act in the public interest (however defined) and a uniquely well-organized coercive force' (1998, p.3).

The two central points of this definition that are relevant here are firstly, the coercive force of the state, as Ling puts it – the ability of a governing power to enforce particular forms of behaviour among its subjects – and secondly, the reach of a state across a wide area and large number of people who are generally unconnected aside from their residence within particular imagined boundaries (Anderson, 2006).

This coercive power is, in a modern democratic state, infrequently enforced. Instead, as Lukes has argued in his definitive work on power, it results from the knowledge that the state has the *ability* to punish transgression:

‘the features of agents that make them powerful include those that render activity unnecessary. If I can achieve the appropriate outcomes without having to act, because of the attitudes of others towards me or because of a favourable alignment of social relations and forces facilitating such outcomes, then my power is surely all the greater. It may derive from what has been called ‘anticipated reactions’ where others anticipate my expected reactions to unwelcome activity (or inactivity) on their part, thereby aiming to forestall overt coercion’ (2005, p.480).

A modern state, particularly in wealthier countries, has both the physical and logistical capacity and, generally, the freedom from social repercussions to be able to take action against individuals, companies or groups which violate accepted rules of behaviour (as codified in legal systems). The state therefore has a role in both maintaining and in shaping what falls within and without the boundaries of the acceptable and normal within its population, since legislation and policy arise from general understandings of the acceptable/transgressive dichotomy and thereafter have a role in maintaining the division between the two (Hutchings & Dent, 2017; Hay, 2016; Ling, 1998, pp.2–3). One of the most influential thinkers in this field, Foucault, examined how power is expressed not only through the direct actions of the state but also through what he termed ‘governmentality’, which, although difficult to define precisely, relates to the conceptualisation of the state in modern sociology, and, particularly relevant here, to its legitimisation of norms of understanding and behaviour upheld without any need for enforcement (Rose et al., 2009; Foucault, 1997). Foucault described governmentality as:

‘the broad sense of techniques and procedures for directing human behavior. Government of children, government of souls and consciences, government of a household, of a state, or of oneself’ (1997, p.82).

In this idea lie the roots of current sociological understandings of the state as more than the individuals which form its government (Rose & Miller, 2010; Rose et al., 2009). This means that government and society cannot be studied independently:

‘cultural politics in civil society, between civil society and the state and within the practices and institutions considered to be of the state itself must all be taken into consideration, as well as the effects of action taken in the name of the state which provide the conditions of social action’ (Nash, 2001, p.85).

There are naturally a number of features of the role of the state which are not studied here, including its position as military force which usually functions to make the state the only legitimate user of lethal force (Ling, 1998) and its fiscal role in collecting and reappropriating capital, which are beyond the scope of this discussion but nevertheless play into its wider function (Chandler, 2013). However, for the purposes of this research, the key role the state plays is to exert control over the behaviour of its subjects not only by direct means such as legal coercion, but also to some extent regulating norms of behaviour and understandings of social contexts. Any study of the development and process of heritage management in modern society is inevitably closely concerned with the ways heritage is defined, protected and used for socio-economic or political purposes by state or semi-state elements in that society. The following section will outline the convergences between how heritage is understood and how it is framed within legislation and policy.

### 3.2 Heritage and the state

Where heritage is concerned, the state plays a major role in not only its management, but also its definition. In order for heritage protection legislation to be generally applicable, it is practically necessary for there to be limits set on what is protected; in other words, on what qualifies as heritage and therefore falls within the legislation's remit. Carman identifies the effect that legislation can have on people's perception of heritage:

'laws change things conceptually. In England, passing laws to protect ancient remains made those remains important in a way they had not been before' (2000, p.303).

What is protected – and therefore what is 'heritage' in the eyes of the law – is by no means a universal absolute, but varies from country to country: sometimes the quality of 'heritage' is a matter of age; sometimes it is based in perceived aesthetic, architectural or artistic merit; sometimes through connections to famous or celebrated historical events or figures; sometimes it is framed through forms of the 'significance' it holds which can be recognised in various combinations within heritage assets; many states, including those in the United Kingdom<sup>ii</sup>, use a combination of all the above. Plets argues that not only the creation of these categories but also the concurrent and 'inescapable use of a specialized terminology, analytical categories and organizational standards ultimately constructs local regimes of truth that bind trained professionals together', therefore legitimising certain types of heritage and simultaneously the forms of expertise which manage those types (2016, p.198). This acts to 'territorialise' heritage work, excluding non-experts from engagement.

The long history of the development of legal protection for historic buildings and monuments in England and Wales has been thoroughly covered in the literature. Emerick (2014) gives an in-depth depiction of the socio-political context of the late Victorian period and the balancing act required between private property ownership rights and the interests of antiquarians and the preservation movement, while Delafons' work *Politics and Preservation* covers built heritage legislation in England and Wales from 1882-1996 (Delafons, 1997). Many scholars including Lees and Mulhuish (2013), Waterton (2010), While (2007), and Hewison (1987) have examined various aspects of post-war conservation movements, connecting the trend towards increasing state heritage protection with the increasing role of the state in protecting the welfare of its citizens and the new ideals of egalitarian access to education and culture across classes and areas. Here, rather than fully rehashing the history of heritage from Enlightenment antiquarianism to a sense of national ownership, the focus will be on developments in legislation and policy since the 1990s, though a brief contextual overview offers an insight into the development of the current system.

The focus of this chapter is on the identification and designation of heritage assets. Designations have historically been divided into two categories within England and Wales: Listing and Scheduling. The histories of these two systems show an increasingly widespread enthusiasm for and sense of national ownership of sites from the past, balanced against the need to respect the rights of private property owners and the financial demands of conserving and managing these historic sites. The development of the fields of antiquarian research, and later archaeology and architectural history, encouraged research which highlighted the potential of historic sites for discovery and education (Emerick, 2014, p.36; Cherry, 2007). Thurley highlights how popular historical fiction, such as Walter Scott's work, and the development of railway travel which permitted the first iterations of mass tourism to visit historic sites, contributed to a groundswell of enthusiasm for history and a 'romantic interest in the 'Olden Time'' (Thurley, 2013, p.23). This combination of elite and popular interest in the past led to the first protections for historic sites in 1882, in an Act which created the first Schedule of important sites, known as Monuments (Thurley, 2013, pp.40–1). However, initially the protections for these sites were weak, limited by Parliamentary concern for the need to defend the property of landowners from compulsory purchase or oversight. It was gradually strengthened over intervening decades, reaching its current form in 1979, which will be examined further below.

The main distinction between Schedules and Lists is that the Schedules did not cover buildings which were still in use (Emerick, 2014, p.278). Although Preservation Orders were created in the interwar period as the government became increasingly heavily involved in town

and country planning, and could be used to prevent the demolition or alteration of significant inhabited sites, their use was heavily controlled and complex (Thurley, 2013, pp.88–90). It was not until the 1940s, in the need for widespread reconstruction following bombing, that a national List of historic buildings was created (Emerick, 2014, p.91; While, 2007, p.647). While Scheduled Monuments were retained statically, and ‘the approach ‘froze’ monuments in time and place’, the protections created for Listed Buildings were intended to allow their use while preventing damage to their historically significant elements. This duality within the heritage protection system has continued to the present.

An additional level has been added to this planning-based system of heritage protection to allow more flexibility within the planning system. Building on the Conservation Area designation system, which allows local councils to identify wider historic areas and give them a level of protection, the planning system has evolved to permit and, more recently, encourage the creation of ‘local lists’ of heritage assets, which are also offered a limited measure of protection (Lennox, 2013; Ludwig, 2013, pp.57–8). This has run concurrently with a trend for the devolution of powers to local governments, and with the broadening of concepts of what makes heritage significant to communities, and thereby is intended to facilitate the collaborative creation of more representative heritage lists at a local level (Jackson et al., 2014).

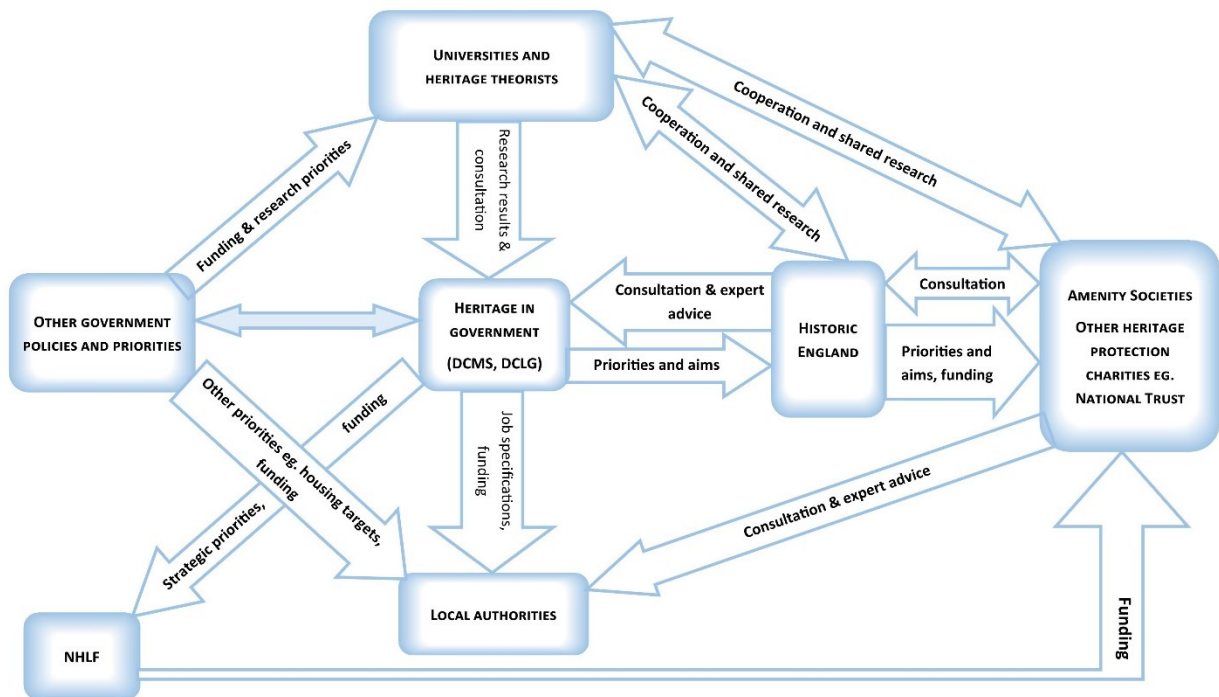
These systems of protection – Scheduling, National Lists and Local Lists – form the central focus of this chapter. However, they do not, of course, represent the whole of the system by which the state regulates interactions between heritage and its citizens. A simultaneously comprehensive and detailed study of all aspects of state heritage management was not possible here, and therefore the most relevant elements have been highlighted. Within the many different areas of government which are involved with various aspects of heritage management, the documents examined in detail will primarily relate to planning issues at heritage sites, in particular built heritage and above-water archaeological sites, rather than policies on antiquities, accessioned museum objects, and other aspects of heritage which are affected by legislation such as the Treasure Act (1996, currently under review) or regulations on international export. This is because survey respondents, who were primarily local authority conservation officers and archaeologists, work within planning departments, and their knowledge and responses are based within this context. The ‘conservation-planning assemblage’, in Pendlebury’s terminology, is the set of mechanisms through which the state intervenes in physical alterations to spaces to protect certain types of heritage asset (Pendlebury et al., 2019; Pendlebury, 2013). Pendlebury argues that this system has developed an identifiable ‘Authorised Heritage Discourse’, which legitimises and maintains certain types of heritage and embodiments of particular values (2013, pp.710–1).

However, he points out that this is not an entirely internal construction within conservation-planning workers and staff, 'but is affected and changed because of wider social forces and tactical positioning within the political and economic frames within which it works' (2013, p.710). These frames will be discussed alongside the development of new ideas in theory to show which forces have affected the development of concepts of heritage within the conservation-planning assemblage and the wider heritage sector.

The political history of recent decades coincides with the development of a trend of critical scholarship in heritage. Looking at a limited time period of less than three decades allows a close analysis of the socio-political context of discussions around heritage and the development of heritage legislation and policy, showing the influences that come not just from heritage experts but also from economic and wider political pressures, situating heritage as one of many interconnected aspects of government policy. This is the element of critical scholarship which Hølleland & Skrede recently identified as lacking from the literature, as discussed in the previous chapter; they called for scholarship which 'fully explor[es] the the realms of heritage politics, governance and bureaucracies' in order to 'gain a better understanding of how different types of knowledge and expertise are integrated and utilised when heritage policies are created' (2019, p.831). This broad perspective allows for a more nuanced perspective, 'studying up' towards policy not as an isolated topic but as one part of a complex national system, as discussed in the previous chapter (Hølleland & Skrede, 2019, pp.831–2). This is a key aim of this work; the overview provided here will be used in later chapters to show how changes in the heritage sector are driven by a variety of internal and external pressures.

A part of the complex network which maintains the state's heritage management system are the individuals and organisations which feed opinions and information into the policy-formation process. Since Thatcher's Conservative government undertook a programme of 'hollowing-out' and slimming down the bureaucratic functions and responsibilities of central government, policy-making has increasingly been 'a collaborative act that takes place in the extended networks that can be found in any policy area' (Moran, 2015, p.326; Green, 2015, p.35; Sayer, 2014). So who makes up this extended network of governance for the heritage sector in England and Wales? This chapter will highlight not just key pieces of legislation, but also the bodies which represent various interests and which influence the course of heritage management on a national scale – the ways in which this extended network interact and communicate with the wider sector will be examined more closely in Chapter 6.

Figure 3.1: The state as heritage manager in England



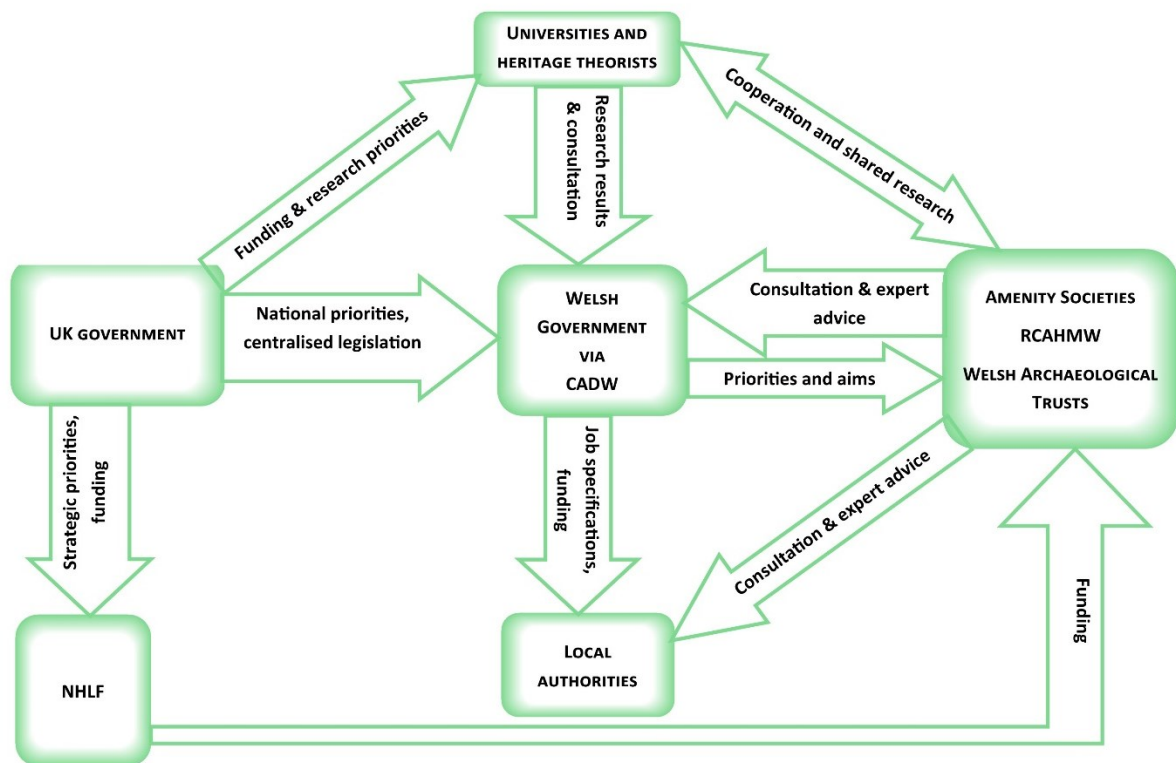
In investigating how heritage policy and legislation is formed, and which branches of the heritage sector are influential in forming government opinion on the issue, the first step was to create a ‘map’ of the interactions between key parts of the heritage sector and the various strands of government. Figure 3.1 shows particular routes of communication and certain forms of influence in England, Figure 3.2 for Wales. Although necessarily somewhat simplified, these are intended to show how the system of governmental and non-governmental actors co-operate, relying on one another for funding, guidance, or the legitimacy of a recognised expert organisation. The core part of this work, following the background information laid out in this chapter, will be centred on the arrows which connect the various components of the state heritage management system. These diagrams do not show the pathway to the formation of legislation (which can be found in detail in Waterton’s *Politics, Policy, and the Discourses of Heritage* (2010)); nor can they feasibly map out all the professional and personal links which interconnect various branches of the heritage sector. What is mapped instead is the ways in which the organisations pictured interconnect to form a system of *management* which has been constructed by and around government institutions. Management, in this context, not only refers to the regulation of permitted activities affecting heritage assets, but also to the process of deciding *how* to maintain, use, fund, and promote heritage in its many forms (Emerick, 2014).



These centralised forms of heritage management are then filtered into wider heritage practice through networking, training, and regulation and guidance documents.

One thing that is noticeable in these diagrams are the limited number of ways in which universities and theorists interact with other heritage organisations. Moreover, of the existing mechanisms – policy consultation and collaborative working with other sector organisations and practitioners – it is not clear how many are fully utilised for the purposes of external engagement and communication. These issues will be explored further in Chapters 6 and 7, which look at systematic routes and barriers to the wider communication of critical heritage theory to the heritage sector.

Figure 3.2 The state as heritage manager in Wales



### 3.2.1 English heritage legislation

When examining the role of the state as heritage manager in the twenty-first century, there are a number of key government documents to consider, some of which fall within the main time frame of this study and some of which pre-date it but are still in force. The first is the 1979 **Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act (AMAAA)**, which is still the key piece of legislation for the protection of many heritage assets.

The 1979 AMAAA was an update to the first piece of heritage legislation passed in the United Kingdom; the 1882 Ancient Monuments Protection Act was the first mechanism which

enabled the creation of a list (or 'schedule') of sites of archaeological 'national importance' (Emerick, 2014, p.36). After several updates, it found its most recent form in 1979, since when it has remained largely intact (Emerick, 2014, pp.72–81). This act identifies monuments for inclusion on a 'schedule' (or list), which automatically gives the state, or its representatives, the right to arbitrate on what are or are not acceptable changes to the physical form and setting of the asset (Wainwright, 1989, pp.165–7; United Kingdom Parliament, 1979). The main amendments to the 1979 AMAAA came with the **1983 National Heritage Act**, which firstly defined the criteria for 'national importance' with regard to monuments, specifying qualities of condition, age, rarity, vulnerability, diversity of features, documentation of their history, their group value in connection with similar surrounding monuments, and the potential for future discoveries of such values after further investigation (Wainwright, 1989, pp.165–6; *National Heritage Act 1983*). In addition, protection was given to five broader 'areas of archaeological importance', based around historic urban centres, within which notice must be given to the local authority prior to works, even if there are no known archaeological remains (Belford, 2020, p.4). This Act also created Historic England as a statutory body which took over most of the day-to-day work of managing the schedule of ancient monuments and list of historic buildings from the Secretary of State – its role will be discussed in section 3.3.

It is important to note that the 1979 AMAAA legislation only covers archaeological sites, and does not include buildings in use as residences or for ecclesiastical purposes – these were first protected in the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, which created an equivalent list of buildings of national importance once the inter-war depression, increased death duties and the sale of many inherited properties, and the changing social expectations of the government's role made the rights of individual property owners of less immediate concern than the need to protect those historic buildings which were still intact after World War Two bombing (Emerick, 2014, p.91; Delafons, 1997, pp.55–61).

The **1990 Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act** effectively combined a number of separate pieces of legislation that had developed over the post-war years into a single piece of legislation which, like the 1979 AMAAA, has remained in force with only minor alterations since. This Act continued the practice of listing buildings, with a similar control mechanism to that used for the scheduling of monuments:

'no person shall execute or cause to be executed any works for the demolition of a listed building or for its alteration or extension in any manner which would affect its character as a building of special architectural or historic interest, unless the works are authorised' (United Kingdom Parliament, 1990, chap.2(7)).

However, in the case of listed buildings there are various gradings – I, II\* or II – which signify different levels of importance, Grade I being the highest and indicating ‘exceptional interest’. The vast majority (over 90%) of listed buildings are at the lowest level, Grade II (Historic England, 2017c). Another notable difference, as mentioned in the above quotation, is that alteration does not automatically require permission, in recognition of the fact that listed buildings are generally still functional and in use (unlike scheduled monuments). Delafons highlights that the wording used demonstrates an awareness that keeping the physical material of a historic site entirely static, frozen at a moment in time, is not always practical or even desirable:

‘listing does not imply preservation but is simply a means of ensuring that the special architectural or historic interest of the building is considered and properly assessed when planning permission for alteration or redevelopment is sought’ (Delafons, 1997, p.184).

The ‘architectural or historic interest’ mentioned were the key factors included within the 1990 Act by which the Secretary of State and Historic England were to identify buildings worthy of inclusion on the national list. The subjectivity of judgements which assess what the ‘special interests’ of an asset are and how its conservation should be weighed against other public benefits in fact leaves a considerable amount of flexibility for local government planners and amenity society advisors – a theme which will recur throughout this chapter.

Conservation areas, the other part of the heritage environment protected by the 1990 Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act, are areas of special architectural or historic interest – rather than individual sites – designated by local authorities (Hudson & James, 2007; While, 2007). First created by the Civic Amenities Act in 1967 in response to a groundswell of interest fomented both by specialist campaign groups and, more broadly, an increasing sense that the state had responsibility to maintain and improve the quality of life created by the places in which its citizens live, the creation of these areas ‘introduces a general control over the demolition of unlisted buildings and provides a basis for planning policies whose objective is to conserve all aspects of character or appearance, including landscape and public spaces, that define an area’s special interest’, according to Historic England (2018c, p.C5: Conservation Areas; Cherry, 2018, p.262). Again, ‘special interest’ is a term open to interpretation by local planners, although in practice, most conservation areas will correspond to the criteria of architectural and historic interest used to describe individual listed buildings. Deng and Larkham have highlighted how the interpretation and implementation of conservation area protections by different councils can, indeed, act as a microcosm of the power struggles and political concerns of a variety of local actors (2020).

Additional features of the historic environment with their own specific legislative protective systems are historic parks and gardens, which are listed and accorded relative levels of importance with the same grading system as listed buildings; historic battlefields, which have their own register; and underwater wreck sites, which can be designated and awarded similar levels of protection to archaeological sites elsewhere – all, notably, physical sites which must be identified by recognised experts according to their material properties. As discussed in Chapter 2, these ways of defining and measuring what is interesting about a site have been increasingly criticised as an elitist and overly academic approach to classifying heritage worth, when ‘heritage’ is understood as a quality of a place which is in fact created and mediated through people’s interactions with and experiences of their environment (c.f. Schofield, 2014; Waterton, 2010; Smith, 2006). It is interesting that twenty-first century policy and guidance documents more often use ‘the historic environment’ as the collective term for heritage assets covered under the scope of current state measures, thus limiting themselves to those forms of heritage tied to physical places. This change represents both a broadening of focus within the heritage sector – from individual sites to contextualised landscapes – and an explicit narrowing of focus away from the socially-constructed and fluid terminology of ‘heritage’ to the physical remains of past human activities; a more accurate reflection of the state’s heritage concerns, and a linguistic change which will be addressed further in Chapter 5.

An attempt was made in the 2000s to simplify various sets of legislative regulation into a single system, but never passed in law. The closest representation of what might have been are the **2007 White Paper on Heritage Protection for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**, a report by DCMS which laid out the expected pathway of legislative changes, and the resulting **2008 Draft Heritage Protection Bill** (which ran out of time to pass in Parliament before the 2010 general election changed the political landscape). It may seem strange to analyse a government document which has never come into force, but within these it is possible to see how perceptions of heritage management had changed at a national level in the nearly two decades since the 1990 Planning Act, reflecting shifting policy and broader thought. The proposed legislative changes had three stated purposes:

- ‘Developing a unified approach to the historic environment;
- Maximising opportunities for inclusion and involvement; and
- Supporting sustainable communities by putting the historic environment at the heart of an effective planning system’ (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 2007, p.6).

The first point was largely practical: it was intended to merge the schedule of ancient monuments and the lists of different types of protected sites to create a single set of sites with appropriate levels of protection, minimising confusion over the different types of designation and streamlining situations where a single site has multiple types of protection. The second and third points are

more reflective of the changing discourse about the relationship between heritage and people. By highlighting that 'heritage provides communities with a sense of identity and place', the document echoes academic discussions of the connections between heritage and people, and the importance of heritage for personal interconnection and integration into a wider community; the emphasis placed on the potential benefits heritage can have for the wider socio-economic sphere has been central to twenty-first century heritage debates, and will be explored at length in Chapter 5. The same line of thought can be traced in the White Paper's declaration:

'People ... want to see the historic environment at the heart of planning, of regeneration, of environmental stewardship, and of building sustainable communities' (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 2007, p.4).

Similarly, the stated intention in the second point of the white paper's summary – aiming to increase the accessibility of heritage for 'people from ethnic minorities, with disabilities or from lower socio-economic groups' – is evidently simultaneously a response to criticisms of exclusivity and elitism which were levelled at the heritage sector by heritage theorists and a way to connect heritage policy to the New Labour policy priority of 'reducing social exclusion' (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 2007, p.7; Walker, 2014, p.183).

The White Paper and following Draft Bill were not received with universal acclaim, although generally seen as a more progressive piece of proposed legislation than its predecessors due to its emphasis on inclusivity, public participation in heritage decision-making, and simplifying the protection process. Where the proposed new legislation would have fallen short of contemporary heritage scholarship and other national or international heritage policies and charters (such as the 2005 Faro Convention or the Australian New Burra Charter, explored in 3.4) was in its definitions of heritage and identification of the potential ways in which heritage can be significant. Waterton and Smith broke down the ways in which the paper maintained a conservationist focus on tangible heritage and on expert-led definitions of 'special interest' in a close analysis of the White Paper in 2007, arguing that it was 'clinging to traditional core values that privilege a social "elite" and the requisite responsibilities of "the expert"' (2008, p.192). By leaving out recognition for social or communal values (which heritage scholars believe are the basis of the existence of heritage), the Draft Bill maintained a closed, conservationist definition of heritage, while simultaneously emphasising the potential for increased public participation by collaborating on management decisions for already identified heritage assets. The Bill would therefore have updated the practicalities of the heritage management process in England and Wales, but would not have broadened the official definition of 'heritage' to incorporate more constructivist theoretical ideas. There are obvious practical reasons for not completely overhauling the entire system of heritage management nationally; indeed, a Historic England

guidance document published at the time of the draft bill specifically stated that ‘it has been a fundamental principle of the drafting that protection levels are not up for change in substance and concepts that work well should not be tinkered with’ (English Heritage, 2008b, p.2). However, it must also be taken into consideration that consultees helping to draft the bill and responding to comments were primarily drawn from the professional and voluntary heritage sector, based within organisations such as Historic England, the Archaeological Forum or the National Trust. As such, expert guidance on the new form of the law was primarily given by those trained and working within conservationist fields of heritage, who could reasonably be expected to wish for a system which refined and improved the existing protections for material heritage assets. This closed circle of communication will be examined further in Chapter 6, which looks at the communication between heritage in theory and in practice, and Chapter 7, which examines how more collaborative working in future could create new possibilities for implementing theoretical ideas in practical ways.

### 3.2.2 English policy

Beyond these documents which directly prescribe how identified heritage assets should be protected and maintained, there are also connected pieces of legislation and policy produced by the state which influence the management of heritage nationwide. Unlike legislation, which must be debated and passed in both Houses of Parliament, the formulation and implementation of policy is a more or less continuous process – ‘a never-ending stream’ – intended to guide the interpretation of legislation and provide specific guidance to fill in the gaps in the implementation of legislation (Moran, 2015, p.319). Although more easily replaced than legislation, policy is equally important for the day-to-day management of heritage, since legislation must be general enough to apply to a wide variety of situations and to keep longevity while political and economic backdrops change around it. Policy, in contrast, changes in order to direct the application of legislation towards the aims and priorities of the government of the period, and to the conceptualisation of best practice in relevant professional fields, representing ‘a snapshot of contemporary understanding and approach, rather than a set of unchangeable truths’ (Drury, 2012). Indeed, Hewitson has highlighted how heritage policy has changed in so many ways over the intervening decades that it is now increasingly conceptually distant to the current legislative provisions, to the point of ‘significant differences in both the terminology used and the range of what is protected’ (Hewitson, 2019, p.300).

The most relevant items of policy here relate to the interpretation of heritage protection legislation and to planning, which is the context for most day-to-day decisions about static heritage assets in the current system. These policies dictate when the protection of heritage assets

should be prioritised over competing interests, such as the development of new infrastructure, the construction of new commercial areas which have potential to increase local employment levels, or the creation of new housing stock, all of which are also high priorities in the current political landscape. The potential economic incentives for such developments mean that heritage protection must be sufficiently specific that it can withstand legal challenges from highly-funded and experienced rival interests, while still being generic enough to cover a wide range of potential situations and conflicts of interest (Mualam & Alterman, 2018).

DCMS have published **Principles for Selection of Listed Buildings** (2018), which was first published in 2010 and underwent revisions in 2013 and 2018. This document sets out in detail the qualities of a site which merit listing, adding age and rarity, aesthetic merits, a building's representation of a particular style, its national interest, and its state of repair to the architectural and historic categories of interest already laid out in the 1990 Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act – all of which are still tied to the material form of the asset.

With a broader scope, the **National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF)** was first introduced in 2012 as a way to combine and streamline the earlier extensive corpus of Planning Policy Guidance documents – of which there had been 44 in total, which had resulted in considerable pressure on the government from development interests to clarify the process (Interview 1, p. 207; Lennox, 2013, p.36). These were consolidated into a single document which offers advice on the interpretation and application of planning law as well as providing guidance on the creation of local plans; it constituted 'guidance for local planning authorities and decision-takers both in drawing up plans and as a material consideration in determining applications' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012, para.1.13). It again emphasised the government's political commitment to 'sustainable development', which had been a popular cross-party theme in politics since the 1990s (Cowell, 2013, pp.27–8); Chapter 5 will examine how this new concern originated in environmental activism but by the publication of the NPPF had become a more holistic approach, merging environmental, social and economic concerns. The updated version of the NPPF published in July 2018 retained the emphasis on sustainable development, as well as clarifying and updating the earlier version in line with government aims for issues like the construction of new housing, the development of transport infrastructure and responding to changes in town centres (Government Advice Team, 2018, pp.1–2).

Where heritage is concerned, the NPPF lays out recommendations for when local planning authorities should prioritise the conservation of heritage over other policy aims, such as

constructing affordable housing. The document sets out definitively what should not be permitted within planning applications:

‘Where a proposed development will lead to substantial harm to (or total loss of significance of) a designated heritage asset, local planning authorities should refuse consent, unless it can be demonstrated that the substantial harm or total loss is necessary to achieve substantial public benefits that outweigh that harm or loss ... Where a development proposal will lead to less than substantial harm to the significance of a designated heritage asset, this harm should be weighed against the public benefits of the proposal including, where appropriate, securing its optimum viable use’ (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2018, paras.195–6).

The only way to justify ‘substantial harm to or total loss of significance of a designated heritage asset’ is to demonstrate that potential ‘substantial public benefits’ cannot be achieved without causing this harm, or that the heritage asset is functionally unusable. This may appear initially a clear-cut and straightforward decision-making process, but precisely what qualifies as ‘substantial’ in terms of harm or public benefit, and how to identify the features which make a heritage asset significant and should therefore be retained, are left to the discretion of local authority planning departments to determine, leaving them some freedom to exercise independent judgement (see Yarrow, 2019, 2016). These concepts – of significance, substantial harm, and substantial public benefit – are representative of the terminology of policy, which must be simultaneously prescriptive and able to be applied to a wide range of situations. Planners are thereby given the opportunity to justify a wide range of decisions based on their own opinions of what will or will not harm the features that make a heritage asset significant – as one survey respondent pointed out, ‘who decides what is a substantial public benefit and how? Another grey area’ (Respondent #86). This highlights the importance of planning officials’ understandings of heritage and its significance, and the potential for variety in decision-making between different authority areas.

The key word – ‘significance’ – is central to the way the NPPF discusses heritage, balancing harm to the significance of an asset against the benefits to be achieved. The terminology of significance – as discussed in Chapter 2 – is related to the theoretical ideas which argue that heritage assets are not intrinsically valuable in themselves, but acquire value in society because of the ways in which they are seen to be significant. The use of this terminology may suggest that some ideas of theory are filtering into the realms of government policy. However, the definition of significance provided in the NPPF’s Glossary ties the new terminology firmly to the tangible and expert-led:

‘The value of a heritage asset to this and future generations because of its heritage interest. The interest may be archaeological, architectural, artistic or historic. Significance derives not only from a heritage asset’s physical presence, but also from its setting.’ (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2018, p.71).



This reinforces the criteria for scheduling or listing already laid out in the 1979 AMAAA and the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990, as discussed above.

Other areas in which government decisions affect heritage without directly legislating on it include the funding available from DCMS for arts organisations such as museums, its tourism promotion and advertising (Lees & Melhuish, 2013). There is also heritage management work done within the remit of the Department for Environment and Rural Affairs (Defra), which oversees the National Parks and nature conservation bodies, as well as landscape management which impacts upon the conservation of local heritage assets, like forestry work or water infrastructure development. Constraints of space limit discussion to those documents which are explicitly focused on the definition and management of heritage assets, but the variety of ways in which government approaches shape the physical surroundings of heritage assets is worth bearing in mind when considering the influence legislation and policy can have nationwide. The ways in which the central mechanisms of the state, such as government departments and their published policies, perceive heritage and its management have wide-ranging impacts on the network of associated national and local organisations and their priorities and aims; the state therefore influences the heritage sector in both direct and indirect ways.

### 3.2.3 English local government

At a local level, the state's heritage management role is less prescriptive, in the sense of nationally-enforced guidelines, but takes on a more managerial role, in that local representatives of government make decisions, day-to-day, on the interpretation and application of generally-applicable national rules to specific local contexts (Griffiths, 2017). Local government officers balance a number of priorities and guidance documents, some of which have already been highlighted, which require subjective judgement on a case-by-case basis (Yarrow, 2019). This heritage work includes judging planning applications, which may affect protected or undesignated heritage assets, as well as running or funding local museums, archives, libraries, and tangentially heritage-related groups such as volunteer gardeners to maintain local parks.

Indeed, the importance of local council work has increased steadily in recent years. The **Localism Act 2011** marked a return by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government to the Thatcherite 'hollowing-out' of the central body of government, in particular 'a return to localized control and spending' (Sayer, 2014, p.62). The rhetoric of the 'Big Society', studied extensively by Lennox (2016) and Jackson *et al* (2014), drove a set of policies which handed power and responsibility – and thereby expenditure – from central government to a combination of local government and third-sector organisations (Orbaşlı, 2017, p.166; Jackson *et al.*, 2014). Local

councils had been able since 2004 to create Local Plans, which could then be used as templates and decision-making guides for the physical, social and economic development of their areas, and the NPPF in 2012 reinforced their importance and required their creation (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012; United Kingdom Parliament, 2004). Alongside these Plans, heritage assets could be identified and 'locally listed', giving them an element of protection within the planning system since the NPPF directs that local developers should consult the Local Plan when available. This has allowed increasing flexibility within the heritage protection system, since locally listed assets do not have to conform to the qualification requirements for national lists or schedules, and can be listed as a site of 'community value' if it 'furthers the social wellbeing or social interests of the local community', rather than for the tangible qualities required for national listing (United Kingdom Parliament, 2011, para.5(3)(88)). It also permits a more community-led approach to heritage, as local residents could suggest heritage assets for listing within the local plan, and because the local focus permits a more holistic understanding of community heritage than the more scientific conservationist approaches of national specialists. Lennox hailed this increased emphasis on locally significant heritage as a step forward for the heritage sector, allowing it to become 'more integrated into the place agenda, more democratised, less expert, and more societally relevant' (2016, p.220).

This shift towards a more locally-focused planning approach marked the incorporation of ideas from a variety of fields, of course, not only the desire by heritage theorists to see a more representative and 'bottom-up' heritage protection system, but also the 'place agenda', mentioned by Lennox, which has been part of debates in geography and planning throughout the second half of the twentieth century, as discussed in the previous chapter (Parkinson et al., 2016, p.261; Warren-Findley, 2013, p.381; Pierce & Martin, 2015). Conceptualisations of place as more than a physical context, a social and relational location for the interaction of people and the external world, can clearly tie in to debates within critical heritage theory about the simultaneous tangibility and intangibility of heritage assets. Both contribute to the idea that an evolved differentiation between human environments, 'local character and distinctiveness' as it is described by the NPPF, can contribute to a 'sense of place' among local communities (Jones, 2017; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2018, para.185). This shared sense of place then helps to build a community based on a unique local identity (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2013; Waterton, 2005).

Unfortunately, the fundamental driver for decreased national planning regulation and increased local autonomy was not just for progressive participatory ideals, but for the purposes of economic efficiency (Veldpaus & Pendlebury, 2019, p.5; Lennox, 2016, pp.82–3). The localism

agenda coincided with the austerity measures brought in to reduce government deficits after the 2008 economic crash, which reduced council budgets for planning and development, culture, and related services by an average of 40% between 2010 and 2016, with councils in poorer areas which are most reliant on central government funding as opposed to local taxes disproportionately affected (Smith et al., 2016, p.2). This hamstrung the potential for councils to use their new powers to develop new methods of co-operation and co-production with local communities, as resources and staffing have been significantly reduced and leave little time or space for creativity, particularly with regard to areas like culture and heritage as opposed to vital services like healthcare and education (Belford, 2018, p.119). Historic England's *Heritage Counts* survey of the historic environment in 2018 estimates that since 2006 the number of conservation officers and archaeologists employed (at full time equivalent) by local authorities has fallen by 34.8% (Historic England, 2018a, p.21). This leaves planning departments working to (or beyond) capacity before adding additional concerns such as creating local lists of heritage assets or developing strategic management plans (as permitted in the 2013 Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Act) to streamline the permissions process for designated assets (Historic England, 2017a).

This is a major concern within the heritage sector, because while the national government makes decisions which affect how heritage is managed and understood nationally, it is just the tip of a pyramid of state heritage management. At lower levels, local government archaeologists, planning and conservation officers, museum and archives staff and others all make decisions which directly impact the management of huge numbers of individual heritage assets within the area, whether state-owned or private. The state's role in heritage management reaches from the national to the individual, affecting how people perceive heritage, and how it is defined, protected, and managed across the country, from the macro-scale of national lists and schedules to the micro-decisions of approving or rejecting a planning application. Although the legislation and policy documents already discussed may seem prescriptive in the precision of their sub-clauses and careful wording, they must also be sufficiently broad to cover all types of heritage designation and, additionally, all potential types of development or planning situation. In order to achieve this, they must also be purposefully general, which leaves local government officials freedom to make value judgements about the specific applications of terminology like 'significance', 'substantial harm', or 'public benefit'. The approaches taken by conservation officers and planners are therefore central to the decisions they make about the preservation or destruction of protected heritage assets (Graham, 2002, p.1005). This was highlighted in Yarrow's ethnographic studies of architecture, planning and conservation, in which one conservation officer described their work as 'constant philosophical debates as to what would be appropriate,

[and] what wouldn't' (2016, p.343). His work has articulated how '[t]he everyday politics of conservation is a matter of the situational negotiations through which some ways of knowing gain traction at the expense of others', which 'involve a subtle interplay that is not well captured through broad-brush deconstructions of Authorized Heritage Discourse as the dissembling of elite interest' (2019, p.15). The complex situational contexts created by the interplay of different knowledge bases and political, professional and personal priorities must be understood for heritage practice to be effectively studied.

### 3.2.4 2016 Historic Environment Act (Wales)

When originally passed, the 1979 AMAAA applied to England, Scotland and Wales. However, although the Scottish Parliament was not officially created with devolved powers until 1999, the Scottish Office and Secretary of State for Scotland, working within the British government, had separately dealt with increasing amounts of administrative control over Scottish affairs (Galloway & Jones, 2010; Little, 2000). The National Heritage (Scotland) Act was passed in 1985, which delegated control of national museums, galleries and libraries in Scotland to their own Boards and gave the Secretary of State for Scotland 'power to make grants for cultural and scientific purposes', already giving significant power over heritage assets to the Scottish Office as opposed to the other areas of Westminster government (*Introduction*, 1985). The 1990 Planning Act, although nearly a decade before the formal devolution of power to the Scottish Assembly, was only applicable to England and Wales; unlike Scotland, before the devolution Act in 1998 Wales was still considered an extension of England for most administrative and political purposes (Belford, 2018, p.103).

For the purposes of this study, the Scottish system of heritage legislation and policy was so far removed from that of England and Wales, having been evolving in a separate direction for decades, that it falls beyond the practicable scope of investigation. Similarly, while Northern Ireland is a part of the United Kingdom, it is administered by the Northern Irish executive and has its own complex challenges regarding heritage and planning given the conflict in its recent past (Parkinson et al., 2016; Crooke, 2010). There is potential for an equivalent further study to compare the systems in England and Wales to heritage management in the planning systems elsewhere in the UK; the differences which mean that these systems are too far apart to easily analyse within this context will offer a number of interesting point for comparison. A number of relevant studies which look at the philosophical and professional approaches taken by practitioners in Scotland have already been undertaken by Yarrow and Jones, among others, which offer a starting point for studying the development of practice alongside policy and the guidance of Historic Scotland (Yarrow, 2019; Douglas-Jones et al., 2016; Jones & Yarrow, 2013).

Moreover, recent policy documents published by Historic Environment Scotland clearly outline guidance on assessing significance, the intersections between heritage management and other policy concepts, and, of particular interest, a strategy for managing Scottish intangible cultural heritage (Historic Environment Scotland, 2020, 2019; Gao & Jones, 2020).

Although these parallel developments offer many interesting comparisons, the scope of this study has been limited to England and Wales. Welsh policy has historically been united to that of England, without even a separate government office comparable to the Scottish Office until the 1960s (National Assembly for Wales, 2018b). Even after the Government of Wales Act 1998 created a separate elected National Assembly for Wales, its powers were more limited than those of the Scottish and Northern Irish executives (Colomb & Tomaney, 2016, p.7). Further powers were devolved from Westminster to the Welsh Assembly in 2007, 2011, 2014 and 2017, reflecting the gradual shift of decision-making abilities from the centre in London to the Welsh government, which now has a comparable level of independence to that of Scotland and Northern Ireland (National Assembly for Wales, 2018b; Colomb & Tomaney, 2016). As its powers have gradually increased, so has the potential for sweeping changes to heritage management, most of which have been recent; the Planning (Wales) Act was passed in 2015, while the Historic Environment (Wales) Act passed in 2016, both created by the Welsh government before passing into UK law.

The 2016 **Historic Environment (Wales) Act** amended the previously discussed legislative heritage protection measures passed by the government in Westminster (with regard to Wales). Some of the changes were to close loopholes or improve the implementation of the existing legislation – for example, tightening the situations in which ‘defence of ignorance’ can be applied to cases of damage to scheduled monuments, and the addition of the right of the state to authorise archaeological works without the permission of the land owner in case of damage or the threat of damage to scheduled or listed heritage assets – as well as updating the Welsh legislation to match current practice in England by creating a list of protected historic parks and gardens (National Assembly for Wales, 2016; Belford, 2018). Other changes were more forward-thinking, and responded to in-depth consultation with heritage sector representatives: Belford points out that the requirement within the Act to maintain Historic Environment Records (HERs) as a statutory responsibility is the ‘first of its kind in Europe and very warmly welcomed across the sector’ (2018, p.114). (A statutory requirement to maintain HERs in England and Wales had been promised in the Draft Heritage Protection Bill, but never materialised (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2008).)

Belford's study of the development and provisions of the Act is admirably thorough and goes into more detail than possible here; I will highlight only one more aspect of the Act, the statutory requirement to 'compile and maintain' a list of Historic Place Names in Wales, which Belford attributes largely to pressure from the nationalist Plaid Cymru party in the Welsh assembly for recognition of characteristically Welsh cultural forms (2018, p.112; National Assembly for Wales, 2016, para.34). This particular requirement is interesting not only because it is unique within the United Kingdom, but also because place names represent a form of intangible heritage in the linguistic history of an area, although they are tied to specific places. As such, it is unprecedented within heritage protection legislation in England and Wales (although, as mentioned above, in 2020 Scotland became the first nation within the United Kingdom to have an overarching strategy for the management of intangible heritage, which is primarily concerned with recording and engagement) (Historic Environment Scotland, 2020). Provision for the recording of Welsh place names appeared relatively late within the process of drafting the Act and was not included in the Draft Bill sent for consultation in 2015 (National Assembly for Wales, 2015); however, a response to the 2015 consultation by Meri Huws, the Welsh Language Commissioner, made a case for their inclusion:

'I understand that this Bill does not intend to protect place-names, topographical names or the names of physical traces of past human activity in Wales. However, I believe that it is necessary to protect these names as far as possible because of their cultural and historical significance, as well as their importance to communities' (Huws, 2015, para.5).

Part of the ethos of the devolved Welsh government is to encourage the unique cultural features of Wales, including the Welsh language (Belford, 2018). The nationalist policy impetus to maintain characteristic tangible and intangible legacies of Welsh culture provided the political drive to include place names alongside the more traditional physical elements of the past – demonstrating again that the management and protection of heritage can never be isolated from wider socio-political trends. An extension of this comparison could be drawn with the more holistic development of intangible cultural heritage protection in Scotland, which has a more nationalist-dominated devolved government and a longer history of independent heritage policy development, but which falls outside the scope of this study (Belford & Foreman, 2020, p.3).

The Historic Environment (Wales) Act and its accompanying policies can act as a way to compare newer ideas about heritage in its creation and implementation to the older ideas of English statutes. In this case, it demonstrates that intangible features such as language can sit alongside more traditional conservationist heritage practice – provided the political impetus is present for their inclusion.

### 3.2.5 Welsh policy

The Historic Environment (Wales) Act was accompanied by policy documents to guide and inform its implementation, filling much the same role as the English NPPF. **Planning Policy Wales (PPW)** was most recently updated in November 2018, and like the NPPF emphasises the role of planning policy to deliver sustainable development, while combined with an additional focus on ‘placemaking’, a term which originated in geographical theory to refer to ‘an affective experience of individuals which is co-constituted through social interaction’ or the combination of spatial and social factors to turn a physical ‘space’ into a social ‘place’ (Pierce & Martin, 2015, pp.1287–8). PPW draws upon the discourse of the social benefits of place attachment and identity, although due to its development-planning focus its definition of placemaking implies a largely tangible, physically constructive process:

‘a holistic approach to the planning and design of development and spaces, focused on positive outcomes. It draws upon an area’s potential to create high quality development and public spaces that promote people’s prosperity, health, happiness, and well being in the widest sense’ (National Assembly for Wales, 2018a, p.16).

The concept of placemaking is thus used to draw together the ideas of spatial planning with the Welsh government’s ‘well-being’ targets.

The PPW includes a section on the Welsh language, described as ‘part of the social and cultural fabric’ in its planning requirements, echoing the inclusion of Welsh place names in the Historic Environment (Wales) Act – though interestingly, it is part of the section dealing with ‘placemaking’ issues, rather than in the historic environment section, which suggests that living cultural forms are still perceptually divorced from tangible heritage. Planners are encouraged to consider the impact of developments on the Welsh language, incorporating factors as diverse as ‘education, demographic change, community activities and a sound economic base to maintain thriving sustainable communities and places’ (National Assembly for Wales, 2018a, para.3.25).

The historic environment, on the other hand, is categorised as part of the ‘Distinctive and Natural Places’ section, which combines natural and tangible cultural heritage conservation. Unlike in the NPPF, each type of heritage asset protected under the legislation is considered separately, with a jumble of different terms inherited from various pieces of legislation used for what is in the NPPF referred to generally as ‘significance’: planners should consider the ‘special architectural or historic interest’ of listed buildings, the ‘character or appearance’ of conservation areas, the ‘special interest’ of parks and gardens, the ‘qualities’ of historic landscapes, the ‘importance’ of unscheduled archaeological remains, and the ‘special local interest’ of local assets

which are not nationally designated – and are also recommended to ‘protect, conserve and enhance the significance of historic assets’ (National Assembly for Wales, 2018a, para.6.1).

In the absence of a glossary to define significance, special interest or character in the PPW, those looking for more specific guidance must turn to the Welsh government’s Technical Advice Note on the Historic Environment (TAN 24), which offers additional guidance and clarification. This itself draws heavily on the Conservation Principles written by Cadw (who are discussed further in section 3.3). Significance is thus defined by Cadw’s four key forms of value: evidential; historic; aesthetic; and communal – which makes Welsh government policy significantly different to English in that it incorporates socially-constructed forms of heritage value (in addition to the value of the material qualities of heritage assets) through the ‘communal’ element, which in England are only incorporated within the ‘guidance’ document *Conservation Principles* (National Assembly for Wales, 2017, para.1.12). However, the ‘character’ of places is, according to TAN 24, created only by tangible heritage assets, which have communal relevance but are not dependent on it for their significance:

‘Every place has its own history, which has shaped its character and leaves tangible traces in its present form and fabric. This historic character makes each place unique and gives it a distinctive identity’ (National Assembly for Wales, 2017, para.1.14).

TAN 24, unlike the PPW, does include a glossary of terms: including:

- *Significance* ‘The sum of the cultural and natural heritage values of a place’;
- *Significant* ‘Extensive or important enough to merit attention’; and
- *Historic Asset of Special Local Interest* ‘Local historic assets which are not already designated ... which make an important contribution to local distinctiveness and public knowledge’ (National Assembly for Wales, 2017, pp.47–8).

The close relationship between the Technical Advice Note offered by the Welsh Government and the non-statutory advice offered by Cadw means that the ways it recommends planners and developers assess historic significance and heritage value are closer than English policy to the ways heritage theorists think about heritage – as a socially-constructed quality associated with things or places but not inherent to them.

### 3.2.6 Welsh local government

Generally, the local planning system in Wales functions much like its counterpart in England, although conservation officers now work to a slightly different set of rules since updated legislation has been published there (National Assembly for Wales, 2017). However, unlike England, there are locally based expert bodies which share some statutory responsibility for the management of local heritage assets with councils. Wales is divided between four Archaeological Trusts, which were originally formed to ensure all areas of Wales had rescue archaeology



provision. By now, these bodies have a statutory role to maintain and update the regional HERs, advise local governments on planning issues affecting the historic environment, and offer heritage management advice and archaeological services both commercially and for local government, thus effectively falling part-way between the roles of local authority and the amenity societies (Belford, 2018).

### 3.3 Historic England, Cadw, the amenity societies and national charities

Legislation and policy can be characterised as the ‘top-down’ aspect of the state’s heritage management, in which it publicly delineates what qualifies as heritage and how it should be protected. There are also less direct elements to the state’s role in defining heritage and balancing its protection with the economic and practical imperatives of development and change; the expansion of the state network into heritage management required the co-operation of existing individuals and organisations within that field. The twentieth century saw the incorporation into national heritage management structures of groups known as the ‘amenity societies’ – expert heritage organisations which receive state funding in order to take on the role of offering guidance and commentary both to national and local government with regard to issues which may impact heritage and to the general public seeking advice on heritage management. In England, these statutory heritage bodies comprise the Council for British Archaeology (CBA), the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, the Georgian Group, the Victorian Society, the Ancient Monuments Society, and the Twentieth Century Society, while other groups like the Gardens Trust and the Theatres Trust are consulted when relevant. Effectively, these bodies receive public funding in exchange for ensuring that local authorities’ work with heritage is monitored, offering some of the standardisation in the planning process that is hard to achieve when local conservation officers come from a variety of professional backgrounds. However, it is also important to note that these bodies not only work *for* local authorities, but can also work *against* them by advocating for others, such as local communities, their own membership, or a body of professional opinion, criticising or opposing local authority decisions which threaten to damage particular heritage assets.

Most of these recognised expert bodies began as enthusiast groups coming together to lobby for the protection and maintenance of their particular area of interest. However, there is in addition a body with a closer relationship to centralised state heritage management: Historic England was originally formed as part of the 1983 National Heritage Act and has thereafter held a privileged position as the government’s first port of call for advice on heritage related matters

(Wright, 1985, p.150). It can be characterised as a non-departmental public body (NDPB), one of the semi-independent organisations set up outside the departments of government to perform a national function, which proliferated in the 1980s. Although originally combined with and known as English Heritage, the two bodies divided in 2015 into English Heritage, which acts as a charitable conservation trust for heritage sites ‘in state guardianship’, and Historic England, which retains its semi-governmental role (Historic England, 2017b).

Historic England occupies a grey area between government and independent organisations. Since 2005, it has assumed sole responsibility for the listing process and the maintenance of existing listed site records, which was formerly shared with the Secretary of State for DCMS; although the Secretary must still approve the listing suggestions, they are selected and prepared by Historic England (While, 2007, p.648). Like the amenity societies, it also comments on planning applications which affect certain heritage assets, to act as a check on the work of individuals at local authority level. However, it can also use its position to influence the development of the heritage sector by exercising its independent judgement as an expert organisation. For example, in 2008 Historic England published the first version of the guidance document **Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance**, and have also made public their ‘Listing Selection Guides’, which go into detail about how to identify the architectural and historic features which make buildings of different types worthy of listing (Historic England, 2018b). The Conservation Principles, in particular, are intended to guide decision-making around heritage protection. Ostensibly written to explain the organisation’s own internal decision-making processes for reasons of transparency, the Principles have since become widely used in planning contexts as a useful guide in how to judge whether alterations to heritage assets should be permitted or not, including within local authority heritage strategies (Chitty & Smith, 2019). In particular, it is noteworthy that Historic England have publicised that they take into consideration a number of factors around heritage assets which do not have legislative enforcement – as one must when considering a heritage asset within its environmental and social setting and making decisions on the impact proposed alterations would have to the asset in the long term, including factors like its continued and sustainable use.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the most noteworthy element of the Conservation Principles is the use of heritage ‘values’, as distinct from the forms of importance used within legislation. Although other policy documents had used the terminology of significance prior to this, there had been no method offered to assess this significance, which was implicitly tied to the material qualities protected under legislation (Clark, 2019). The four values which Historic England identified as making a place significant in heritage terms are:

- ‘Evidential value: the potential of a place to yield evidence about past human activity.
- Historical value: the ways in which past people, events and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present – it tends to be illustrative or associative.
- Aesthetic value: the ways in which people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from a place.
- Communal value: the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory’ (2008a, p.7).

Chitty and Smith point out that the Conservation Principles filled an important gap in policy in England by offering a clear way to assess significance based on these values, providing

‘a process that works in practice to guide from a first encounter with a site of unknown heritage significance, to an understanding of how to manage change at that site in an informed and transparent way’ (Chitty & Smith, 2019, p.295).

This approach has proven to be both impactful and popular within the sector, and Chapter 5 will explore the impact of the inclusion of ideas of communal significance within national guidance further. Indeed, when a draft proposed updated version of the Principles was published for consultation in 2018 which removed communal value as a key source of significance, it was not well received by the sector; ‘the response on that has put it firmly back on the shelf for a while’, as an interviewee described it (Interview 3, p.274). Another respondent described it as ‘really sad’ that the idea of communal value would be ‘done away with’ in the new version, suggesting that, from their experience working with Historic England, the new version was deliberately regressive in order to align with legislation and policy and thereby provide the organisation with a basis for justifying planning decisions – the original document had been intended as a companion to the abortive 2008 Heritage Bill, and without its passage was left ‘disconnected from the details and terminology of underlying legislation’ (Interview 5, pp.352-3; Drury, 2012). Its reach was, nevertheless, limited; as Clark points out, it is easier to incorporate values within a national management system when judging the impacts of changes on heritage assets, which require the balance of a number of factors, than it is to include them within the identification of heritage assets for protection, which is a simpler process of deciding whether or not the asset meets the legislative requirements (2019; c.f. Cameron, 2020).

The inclusion of communal values in the Conservation Principles was seen by heritage theorists as a move towards the idea of heritage as a social construct, and thereby a towards the approach taken by critical heritage theory (Waterton, 2010, p.155). However, Drury, an author of the Conservation Principles, traced many of its concepts to developments in international heritage rather than to theoretical debates, in particular referencing the European Year of Architectural Heritage in 1975 and the Australian Burra Charter, which broke ground as it ‘set out a process for identifying the values people attach to places as the basis of managing change’ (2012). The Conservation Principles also draw on the *Nara Document of Authenticity* in its definition of

authenticity, basing it within an understanding of the heritage values of a place (*ibid*). The extent to which these international movements in heritage prefigured and inspired critical heritage theory will be further explored in later chapters.

In Wales, although the national amenity societies still have a role to play in planning application commentary, and some have active local groups such as the Council for British Archaeology Wales, the internal structure of the Welsh Archaeological Trusts was recently formalised by the 2016 National Heritage (Wales) Act and covers some of the functions that the amenity societies and Historic England fill elsewhere, including advising local planning departments on heritage matters. There is also an element of duplication in the Welsh system: Cadw fulfils, in Wales, much the same function that Historic England filled prior to its split with English Heritage, including staffing the Ancient Monuments inspectorate and managing the (at last count) 129 monuments and sites which are in the care of the Welsh Government (Belford, 2018, p.108). Cadw have also published a set of Conservation Principles, which are very similar to those published by Historic England, and use the same definitions for four types of relevant heritage value (Cadw, 2011). However, Historic England's function is also paralleled in Wales by a branch of the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments (RCAHMW), which is funded by the Welsh government and is responsible for the surveying of monuments and the maintenance of the National Monuments Record – but which is, unlike Cadw, situated outside the official structure of the Welsh government. A hangover from the days when Welsh and English heritage systems were more closely comparable, its function somewhat overlaps with those of Cadw and the Welsh Archaeological Trusts (Belford, 2018, p.111). However, despite discussions on a possible merger raised by the Minister for Housing, Regeneration and Heritage, a consultation between 2012 and 2013 found that 'at least numerically, there was overwhelming opposition from stakeholders to the prospect of merging the functions of the RCAHMW with the functions of other organisations, including Cadw', with stakeholders particularly concerned about 'the loss of the RCAHMW's independence and the arm's length principle that underpins it' (Communities Equality and Local Government Committee, 2013, p.10). In this instance, the distinction between governmental and semi-governmental organisations is made clear through the desire to retain RCAHMW's 'independence which preserves it from political control – its most serious asset and [which] uniquely differentiates it from CADW', as one respondent put it (Davies, 2012, p.1). Despite the negative consultation response, consideration of ways to merge the two – possibly by making Cadw itself an arms-length body – have continued (Belford, 2018, pp.18–19).

It is also important to consider within the network of governmentality the charities which work nationwide to protect and manage heritage and raise awareness of conservation issues.

These are not directly under the control of the state, in the sense that they can appoint their own staff and directors and can make independent decisions about their funding priorities, but they have a similar role to the statutory heritage bodies in the sense that they can advise governments and run high-profile political campaigns (Chitty & Smith, 2019, p.283). Moreover, they frequently have to justify funding or even their continued existence by proving their contributions to key government priorities, such as sustainability or social equality, and therefore cannot be considered to be completely independent despite their non-governmental status; they function for the public good, yet what decided to be good for the public is often one of the changing concepts that is decided and legitimised through the processes of governmentality. Much like amenity societies, these charities therefore operate within the system of the state, but may also work against other state interests by promoting their priorities over others in competitions for funding or increased legislative protection for their particular area of concern.

The National Trust, for example, is run as a charitable body, but the governance structure of its organisation has been laid down in law since 1894 (National Trust, 2019). With a membership of over 5 million, around 61,000 volunteers and 248,000 hectares of land, the Trust does not only make a huge impact on the amount of historic and natural assets which are conserved, but also carries considerable weight when it campaigns on political issues, such as cuts to local park services, or when it chooses to highlight particular forms of heritage to educate their visitors, as in the LGBTQ\* theme 'Prejudice and Pride' which was a centrepiece of the Trust's interpretation in 2018, and which displayed their credentials as an inclusive organisation (National Trust, 2018; Lennox, 2016). Other organisations may have fewer members, be more localised or more specialist in their concerns, but nevertheless act as the centrepieces of networks of individuals with a shared interest and concern, and can channel the political, social and economic power of these individuals into actions and campaigns which are more precisely directed and carry more force than those of individuals acting independently – a theme which will return in Chapter 6.

It is clear that to a certain extent these archaeologically- and architecturally-focused groups make for a self-perpetuating kind of expertise, in which knowledge of the conservation of historic sites becomes a requirement for a heritage amenity society or charity role and is consequently a central concern for the members of those bodies which are best placed to influence future national heritage management strategies (Craggs et al., 2015, pp.372–3). However, these groups also form a connecting bridge between amateur enthusiasts, specialists with a high level of academic or vocational knowledge and qualifications, and the machinery of government. Increasingly, in the twenty-first century atmosphere of decentralisation and austerity, non-government bodies have been responsible for helping to maintain the functionality

of the state, filling in ‘the institutional cracks of the traditional state’ by providing a national resource of expertise that is no longer a part of the government structure itself – even, given recent cuts to local government services, at a county level (Crewe, 2016; Fischer, 2009, p.70). Therefore while these bodies are not a part of the government, they nevertheless function as part of the state’s system of heritage management through their provision of expertise within statutorily required roles.

Devolution of government power to semi-independent bodies has also resulted in the creation of the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF) in 1994,<sup>iii</sup> to channel money raised by the National Lottery into heritage projects. Although officially non-governmental, it receives policy directives from the Secretary of State for DCMS which affect how and where the funding is allocated (Sayer, 2014, p.60). Under the Labour government elected in 1997, therefore, the NLHF moved from funding large-scale works like the Great Court at the British Museum to ‘broadening the range of people who were involved in the projects it funded and benefitting from them’ by targeting areas most in need of funding and moving towards a system of smaller grants for more local projects, allowing it to change its focus ‘from museums, archives and historic buildings, to increasing amounts for natural heritage, to the intangible heritage of customs and traditions’ (Maeer, 2017, p.41). This reflects a wider trend in heritage policy which will be explored further in Chapter 5, and has been argued to be a driver of changes and the adoption of new ideas of significance and values within the wider heritage sector (Clark, 2019; Drury, 2012). By opening itself out to projects which focus on heritage that is of importance to local communities, the NLHF has supported and developed the types of heritage which do not fall under the remit of government protection, or within the consideration of the amenity societies, and through its emphasis on community participation and locally valued heritage has required heritage professionals working on NLHF-supported projects to prioritise engagement and impact over the material conservation of a heritage asset, which NLHF’s Head of Research Gareth Maeer describes as ‘little short of revolutionary’ (2017, p.43). Like the Conservation Principles, the NLHF guidance on preparing funding applications and conservation management plans drew on concepts of value, particularly those in the Burra Charter, to encourage sustainable community involvement (Clark, 2019). In many ways, therefore, the funding and guidance offered by the NLHF can be seen to supplement and enable the continuation of the current state structure, by papering over gaps and helping to conserve locally and communally significant forms of heritage which fall outside the official state remit.

Independent or semi-independent organisations like Historic England, NLHF or the amenity societies are an example of national heritage work at a case-by-case micro scale that

governmental departments are simply unable to fulfil themselves. Such organisations are vital for the maintenance of the heritage management system in England and Wales, and their autonomy allows them to provide an important check on the work of 'official' government functions such as local planning departments, as well as offering a channel for public opinion through campaigns for the protection or maintenance of certain assets. However, such a national system is irrevocably tied in to broader government priorities through the funding and legitimacy that visible support of those policies provides; in this way, these independent bodies can still be seen as inseparable from the network of the state.

### 3.4 International heritage

From the local to the global: although this work focuses specifically on England and Wales, the UK does not, of course, exist in a political vacuum. UNESCO's collected list of heritage protection legislation submitted by member states includes 198 countries or regions, demonstrating that heritage management is a global concern – and one which in an era of increasing international travel is likely to continue, fuelled by the economic income and cultural capital generated by popular tourist heritage spots (UNESCO, 2018; Staiff et al., 2013; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998).

UNESCO itself – the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation – was formed in 1945 and is without doubt the most influential international organisation in the field of heritage, controlling World Heritage designation as well as contributing to United Nations programmes intended to lead to global educational, social and scientific progress (Lixinski, 2015). UNESCO and particularly the World Heritage Organisation (WHO) have frequently been criticised for promoting a single idea of heritage based on Western conservation approaches, which prioritises the age and material authenticity of a monument over other qualities which may be more relevant for the communities who created or maintain it (see Holtorf, 2015; Alivizatou, 2011; Smith, 2006; Cleere, 2001). Nevertheless, the World Heritage Convention (WHC) is one of the most successful UN conventions (by numbers of ratifications), and the award of World Heritage site status is seen as an immensely powerful accolade, both in terms of cultural capital and more prosaically for its potential to attract tourism (Vigneron, 2016, p.115).

In response to criticisms, UNESCO launched a 'Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List' in 1994, and in 2003 created the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, (Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, or ICHC) which aims to record and publicise forms of culture which are not related to specific places, thereby expanding the remit of World Heritage so as not to exclude cultures whose material

legacies did not meet the standards of the WHC. The ICHC raised awareness of the importance of intangible forms of cultural heritage at a global level, and explicitly stated the need for the communities whose intangible cultural heritage was under consideration for listing to be involved in policymaking regarding its protection, moving deliberately away from an expert conservation-led approach to cultural practices – although, like the WHC, the ICHC and its implementation have not been without criticism (Smith & Campbell, 2018; Pocock et al., 2015, p.962; Lixinski, 2013).

The UK ratified the 1972 WHC in 1984 (thereby agreeing to be legally bound by its principles). There are nineteen World Heritage sites in England and three in Wales, (including one site of Natural rather than Cultural Heritage, the Dorset and East Devon Coast, and one site on the list of World Heritage in Danger, the Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City area, which is considered to be under threat due to planned new development in the area) (UNESCO, 2019). However, the UK has not yet ratified the 2003 ICHC. Neither have a number of other economically developed ‘Western’ countries, including former British colonies the USA, Australia, and New Zealand. Hill suggests this may be due to the importance the ICHC places on the rights of minority groups to control and maintain their own cultural expressions, which might disrupt the political balance between the governments of those countries and their Indigenous populations, while Smith and Waterton argue that the legal protection of intangible cultural heritage would be too drastic a change from the UK’s current national definition of heritage as a fixed, material legacy of the past – historic, not living (Hill et al., 2018; Smith & Waterton, 2008). Nevertheless, coming from an organisation with global reach, the ICHC made an impact on the way heritage was perceived even among non-ratifying countries, as shall be seen in Chapter 5.

There are other organisations with a broad international reach, including ICOMOS, the International Council of Monuments and Sites, which is a widely respected organisation of conservation experts. It acts as a connection point between heritage experts and governments, ‘works to provide advice to national governments and international organisations about the philosophy, terminology and methodology for conservation and management practices’, as well as providing expert advice to UNESCO (Waterton et al., 2006, p.341; Meskell et al., 2015). ICOMOS was itself originally created by an international congress of specialist historic building conservators and architects in 1965 to propagate the ideas of the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*, better known as the Venice Charter (1964), a widely influential ‘textbook’ charter of conservation (Waterton, 2010, p.41). ICOMOS also has nationally-based branches, which have authored a number of charters which guide heritage management practice in individual national contexts. Some of these have made a far wider impact, such as the 1979 Burra Charter by the Australian branch of ICOMOS, led by James Semple Kerr, and their ideas



have been adopted elsewhere. The Burra Charter's ground-breaking use of terminology like 'cultural significance' and 'social value' to include different communities' subjective attachments to heritage assets and analyse the best way to manage these made a considerable impact on heritage around the world – as discussed above, English and Welsh heritage policy has picked up on a number of these key terms (Jones, 2017, p.23; Drury, 2012; Waterton et al., 2006). ICOMOS also created the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994), which 'gave legitimacy to the opinion that the heritage conservation process is far from universal, and is instead contingent upon and relative to context' by highlighting that the World Heritage definition of authenticity as being inherent within materiality is a subjective perspective, and is now widely cited within debates over authenticity, as discussed in the previous chapter (Winter, 2014b, p.124).

The United Kingdom, as a member of the European Union from 1973 to 2019, was also affected by EU policy on heritage. Although legislatively heritage management is left up to individual states, Article 3(3) of the Treaty on European Union states that the Union shall 'ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced', and several resolutions have been passed to help facilitate international cooperation over conservation issues like tackling the illegal trafficking of artefacts and the protection of underwater cultural heritage (Pasikowska-Schnass, 2018, pp.4–6). In addition, EU funding was available for the UK's use for researching, conserving and promoting heritage; a report compiled for Historic England estimated that heritage-focused or -related projects in England received at least £450 million from the European Union in the decade from 2007-2016 (Euclid, 2017). This funding has, of course, been targeted towards European Union strategic priorities, such as the Europe for Citizens funding which encouraged active participation in democracy, and funding for rural heritage assets which was part of the European Structural Investment Fund (Euclid, 2017, p.4; Lähdesmäki, 2017).

Alongside the EU, the work of the Council of Europe (of which the UK is currently still a member) runs separately but in parallel and deals more directly with heritage. Moreover, it is a broader collective than the Union, being the largest intergovernmental organisation in the northern hemisphere with 47 members, and its treaties are open to others; 26 non-member States (mainly American and African) have signed and/or ratified them (Wolferstan, 2014, p.44). One of the most interesting Council of Europe treaties is the 2005 *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, or Faro Convention. This document embraces an 'innovative and expansive use of the concept of heritage', defining cultural heritage 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' – a far more present-centred and socially constructed definition than had been used by any Council of Europe

convention in the past (Hill et al., 2018; Council of Europe, 2005, para.2(a); Schofield, 2014b, p.5). Another key part of the Faro Convention is the connection it draws between human rights and cultural heritage, stating that:

‘every person has a right to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice, while respecting the rights and freedoms of others, as an aspect of the right freely to participate in cultural life enshrined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and guaranteed by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)’ (Council of Europe, 2005, Preamble).

By making this link, it adds force to the idea that heritage belongs to those who value it and who should be permitted to use it as they desire, moving away from the idea that heritage is something that can be defined and managed by the state alone (Hill et al., 2018). Like the ICHC, the Faro Convention has not been ratified by the UK – in all probability due to this explicitly people- and rights-centred approach which prioritises the rights of communities over the judgements of the state, and its fluid heritage definitions which are the antithesis of the current legislative framework – but it has provoked discussion within heritage scholarship about the ways it approaches heritage, thanks to its broad and influential platform.

The 2000 European Landscape Convention (ELC) was also created by the Council of Europe. Although at first it may seem that this document’s concern with natural conservation makes it of less relevance to cultural heritage, in fact the connection made by the ELC between natural and cultural landscapes was a ground-breaking response to academic discussions in geography and archaeology which argued that ‘natural’ landscapes cannot be understood in isolation from the cultural trends which shaped and cultivated them – or, in more familiar heritage terms, that the tangible and the intangible heritages of the landscape are inextricably linked (Taylor & Lennon, 2011; Moylan et al., 2009; Council of Europe, 2000). The idea of a ‘cultural landscape’, bridging cultural and natural heritage conservation and situating individual heritage assets within a broader context, was adopted by UNESCO in 1993 when they added three cultural landscapes to the World Heritage List, breaking the previous barrier between natural and cultural listings (Taylor & Lennon, 2011, p.539). Alongside this new understanding of the interconnectedness of human history and landscape conservation, the ELC also, like the Faro Convention after it, emphasised the need for public participation in the management of heritage and the need for experts to act on public opinions about the values of that heritage – albeit only when related to the heritage of (not necessarily rural) landscapes (Scott, 2011; Jones, 2007). Unlike the Faro Convention, the ELC was not only signed but also ratified by the UK in 2006, which began integrating the use of Landscape Character Assessments into the existing planning system through guidance like the NPPF and the Landscape Project 2020 (De Montis, 2014). It is harder to

measure the effectiveness of its recommendations on participation in any meaningful way, and Jones (2016) lays out the various problems which challenge the implementation of participatory planning, including issues of cost, representation of minority groups, and the incorporation of public viewpoints within an expert-led system. Nevertheless, the 'democratic intent' of the ELC (Jones, 2016, p.126) is now an official part of UK national landscape management policy, with (it can be presumed) some level of consequent impact on the ways archaeologists, heritage managers and other 'experts' view their role within the state's system.

In some ways, international charters like the Faro Convention or UNESCO Conventions can be seen to articulate ideals around heritage which reflect current issues: just as the 1972 WHC reflected post-war utopian visions of a united humanity developing international cooperation and understanding, the 2003 ICHC was part of a move towards recognising diversity within human experience and creating inclusive spaces for non-Western societies to enter global dialogues on an equal footing. Arguably, as they articulate general aims for heritage management without prescribing exactly how they should be achieved or enforced in specific nation states, international charters have more freedom to make sweeping statements and to reach for a more idealistic than realistic outcome for heritage, giving guidance as to the direction in which signatories should move rather than every step needed to achieve the desired outcome.

### 3.5 'Top down' heritage management?

The 'state' and the network of organisations associated with governance may seem like faceless entities, following their set roles in pre-set, inflexible patterns. Naturally, this is untrue; the government is composed of individuals, who form organisations and groups which then make decisions on behalf of the wider country. Who these individuals are, what they believe, and which jobs they do all change frequently, particularly following general elections in which the success of one political party over another can precipitate a change of direction politically, economically and in terms of key underlying motivations and beliefs. Moreover, the individuals at the top of the pyramid may be the figureheads for the decisions that are made in their names, but they do not act independently; legislation and policy documents are the products of combined expertise from a wide variety of sources within the networks of governmentality, and must also be created by balancing political and practical responsibilities in the interests of providing the nation with the best solution while maintaining a consistent (and, if possible, positive) public image for an individual and their party (Fischer, 2009). That is the first key theme which has emerged during this chapter – that the government is not isolated, but a part of wider national networks of 'governance':

‘an increasingly complex state-society relationship in which network actors are prominent in policy-making and the state's primary role is policy co-ordination rather than direct policy control’ (Bache & Flinders, 2004, p.35).

Chapter 6 will pursue this by examining more closely the patterns of communication within these connected individuals and groupings and outwards to the wider heritage sector, examining which voices are heard and which, in contrast, feel themselves to be isolated from the state’s complex negotiations and decisions.

The second factor which has emerged consistently from studying the role of the state as a national heritage manager is the political motivations which drive so many changes within national heritage management – from the Coalition government’s rhetoric of Big Society which pushed heritage designations towards a more local and community-based focus, to the Welsh nationalism which led to the first legislative measures to protect intangible heritage (in the form of historic Welsh place names). Heritage management and heritage legislation and policy are tied together with multiple bonds: including through the funding of certain heritage assets and projects; the maintenance of lists and schedules of specific assets; and the philosophical impacts of legislative definitions over what can and cannot be considered heritage (Harrison, 2010b, pp.26-7). Heritage management cannot therefore be considered in isolation from governmental approaches to heritage, which in themselves cannot be fully understood out of the context of the wider political landscape. Heritage is inevitably present-centred and political.

In Chapter 5, these contextual shifts will be analysed alongside trends in published heritage studies, as a way of mapping the impact that heritage theory can have on heritage practice and, particularly, tracing where heritage theory is responding to and negotiating with the wider political situation. This will be used to show where heritage theory is in touch with the wider world. Chapter 6 will then reverse the perspective and examine whether the wider world is in touch with theory. The background described in this chapter will provide a context for the issues raised by survey respondents and interviewees who discuss the current structures of the heritage sector, and where that enables or hinders open communication and productive collaboration. This overview will then be used to highlight where improvements can be made to facilitate better communication in future.

## Chapter 4: Research methods

### 4.1 Questions

This chapter will lay out the research methods used to gather the data underpinning the findings of this thesis. These methods were selected with the intention of answering the main question of my thesis: ‘How (well) do critical heritage theory, legislation and practice share ideas?’. This was then broken down into the following research questions:

- How has critical heritage theory impacted on national policy and legislation in England and Wales?
- How has critical heritage theory impacted on heritage in practice at a local government level?
- What have been the barriers to the wider adoption of the ideas within critical heritage theory?
- How has critical heritage theory been communicated beyond the academic sphere?
- How does heritage work in Wales differ from that in England, and what does that tell us about the impact of changing legislation on practice?

These questions cover three main themes: which aspects of critical heritage theory have had an impact outside academia; the channels through which these have been communicated; and reasons why theory may not have been adopted in practice. Naturally, these questions are all interrelated and the combination of methods selected aimed to provide a broad picture of communication as it currently exists within the heritage sector.

### 4.2 Approach

Throughout the development of the methodology I have drawn on a fundamentally constructivist epistemology with regards to conceptualisations of heritage. The purpose of my work is not only to show where within the sector heritage is defined and described variably, but also to interrogate how changes in vocabulary can throw light on the birth and adoption of new ideas, which then have tangible effects outside the abstract world of language. As Hay (2016) argues:

‘Social and institutional facts are not made and given, but are constantly being made and remade in and through the practices to which they give rise and out of which (and at the same time) they are constituted and re-constituted’ (pp.526-7).

The ways in which we understand our world and the complex social systems within it are communicated, replicated, and formed through language – never more so than in the case of legislation, where important decisions can hinge on the interpretation of single words (Haas, 2004). Legislation and policy are, fundamentally, a set of ideas about the ideal structure and

management of an area and its inhabitants, expressed and communicated through language, which may then be discussed and redefined in order to match the abstract sounds and shapes of spoken and written language to the lived situations these words are intended to describe and control (Fairclough, 2010; Wodak, 2009).

My approach has been fundamentally rooted in the belief that language has the power not only to express thoughts but to change the ways in which people conceptualise and understand the wider world (Delaney & Kaspin, 2011). And the same is also true in reverse – our conceptualisations of the world and the ways in which we have learnt to understand and process information will then change the meanings we aim to convey through certain linguistic concepts. For heritage, which is itself a socially constructed concept with a variety of accepted definitions, changes in its conceptualisation and construction inevitably lead to changes in the decisions made about its management and future (Schofield, 2008; Edson, 2004). A qualitative approach is, therefore, necessary for a study which looks not only at the transmission of words but also the concepts they represent.

However, although this conceptualisation has informed the way in which I have approached the concepts which I study in this research, the fundamental purpose of the research has been to develop practical and practicable solutions to help create a more collaborative heritage sector in which research can be transmitted into practice more efficiently. The constructivist understanding of knowledge transmission has therefore been combined with a critical realist perspective, which allows the analysis of the causes of specific problems and the development of potential mitigation measures. Realism separates what is constructed by humans – language, philosophical concepts, political ideologies – with an existing and separate natural world, which (unlike in fully constructivist epistemologies) exists independently of people (Fairclough & Jessop, 2004). Therefore, although a heritage designation or value is an ‘imagined’ quality within the landscape (Anderson, 2006), the landscape itself exists; the people who use historic or valued aspects of their surroundings to inform their own identities and develop communal bonds also exist, and therefore there is a purpose to enabling heritage work which can offer positive effects for these people. This connects to the *critical* element of the critical realist approach. As described by Waterton in her analysis of heritage policy and politics in the United Kingdom, criticality ‘requires the researcher to *take a position*, politically and socially, and therefore advocate for a topic they see as not simply interesting but having implications for social change’ (2010, p.21, original emphasis). This research adopts the position that critical theory can offer some valuable perspectives and new methodologies for heritage practitioners, although it is not universally perfect; for such learning to take place, the theory must be accessible to

practitioners in both format and location. Theory, research and academic knowledge is a resource, albeit one that is hard to measure in quantitative terms, and this resource should be shared with others in the sector that lack equivalent time and information to construct their own research, for reasons of equality and in the interests of permitting research to fulfil its intended purpose. This methodology therefore sets out to test where theory is not currently being used, and whether that is due to issues of accessibility which can potentially be addressed to improve knowledge sharing in future.

The whole subject area of communication and the wider use of theoretical ideas is deserving of study because it ties together what some fear are increasingly distant schools of thought which have developed within heritage practice and critical heritage theory, as discussed in Chapter 2. Critical heritage theorists hope to improve the way that heritage is managed through theoretically-informed critiques of current practice, while practitioners aim to follow their own guidelines for 'best practice' insofar as that is possible within the practical limitations of their work. If critical heritage theorists are unaware of quotidian limiting factors, and practitioners are unaware of developing critiques or the reasoning which motivates them, it is unlikely that critical heritage theory will ever make the impact it seeks. The extent to which this perceived distance has been shown to exist in this research will be outlined in following chapters, while the root causes for areas of reduced intra-sector communication will then be studied.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there have been a number of studies of the way information is conveyed from the context of expertise to public audiences and official policies, in particular with reference to scientific ideas such as nuclear power or medical developments (e.g. Rampton & Stauber, 2002; Janasoff, 1994). However, equivalent work on the communication of research in the arts and humanities has been slow to develop, at least until the "post-truth" populist political developments of the late 2010s highlighted that academic qualifications can no longer be relied upon to give weight to opinions expressed in all spheres of public life (Corner, 2017; Motta, 2017). No research has been done before which systematically examines how critical heritage theory has been communicated and applied within the wider heritage sector, despite concerns among researchers that their work is not being widely used. This methodology has therefore had to combine a number of qualitative research methods to examine communication through different routes and to different groups, as no single method would suffice to research the different areas which were identified as the focal points for measuring the extent of the communication and use of the ideas of critical heritage theory. Each methodology incorporated into the overall design is discussed in turn in the following sections for the sake of clarity.

Within this critical realist epistemology, quantitative research would produce little meaningful knowledge. As textual sources and individual opinions are reliant on context and are meaningful only within their social settings, a qualitative methodology allows the investigation and understanding of broad trends of knowledge development and interpersonal communication which cannot be reduced to a set of figures. This research therefore drew on a mixture of ethnographic and sociological sources and strategies to construct a methodology, particularly using Cresswell and Poth for the research design (2018), Hesse-Biber and Levy's (2011) and Strauss and Corbin's (1998) guides to qualitative research, and Thomson and Holland's work on longitudinal qualitative studies (2003) to develop a rigorous process of investigation.

### 4.3 Structure

This research required a qualitative, mixed-methods approach to address the research questions outlined above:

- qualitative textual analysis to measure the trends of particular ideas within critical heritage theory and related fields;
- a nationwide survey of local authority practitioners to investigate the penetration of the ideas of critical heritage theory within heritage practice;
- and in-depth interviews to highlight whether the thinking represented by these key words or phrases has been faithfully transmitted, and where the communication routes are which enable the transmission of new ideas.

The aim of this mixed-methods approach was to combine a longitudinal analysis of changing ideas by tracing and measuring the spread of the words used to communicate and represent them, with an awareness that individuals may have different conceptions of the ideas represented by the words. Concepts may twist and warp in transmission, so although the words used by one set of people to convey a particular idea may be adopted and used by another set of people, that does not automatically equate to a shared understanding of the concept underlying the terminology.

The breadth of the heritage sector, which covers a wide range of professions and approaches, required selectivity to ensure that meaningful data could be gathered with the available time and resources. Although critical heritage theory is relevant to many disciplines, including tourism work, archaeology, and museology and conservation, there is such a wide variety of professional roles and educational backgrounds within these areas and there exist so many organisations of different sizes and with different purposes that it is impossible to represent them all within the 'heritage practice' bracket of this project.

Local government conservation work was selected for close study because it represents a comparatively standardised role within heritage management. Local government staff must follow



a standardised model laid down by national legislation and policy which is sufficiently robust to stand up to legal challenge at appeals, as discussed in the previous chapter, and must therefore have a good knowledge of any updates or changing language. However, they also have some freedom of interpretation with regards to their interpretation of subjective concepts relating to heritage, such as 'significance' or 'substantial harm'. Their methods and views are, therefore, an ideal frame through which to view how the knowledge of critical heritage theory can affect an individual's work, particularly regarding their interpretation of theoretical language and their application of critical ideas to everyday decisions.

In the spirit of improved communication, and mindful of the need to share theory in ways which can be practically applied if theorists intend their work to change the wider sector, it was particularly important during this research to balance the voices of critical heritage theorists and policy-makers with those who use heritage management guidance documents and work (consciously or subconsciously) within established conceptual frameworks of what 'heritage' is and how it should be managed on a daily basis. The voices of these practitioners are infrequently heard within critical heritage theory, though they are central to the process of heritage management. The interviews which provide additional information about the reception of critical heritage theory and the survey of those who work within the sector were intended to also allow a more balanced view of critical heritage theory, from both its target audience and its proponents, to demonstrate its future potential but also highlight shortcomings in its accessibility and applicability. It would have been deeply hypocritical for a research project so focused on collaboration and communication to present a set of findings drawn from desk-based research as a solution to the divisions within the heritage sector, without allowing heritage experts outside theory to offer their own perspectives on the nature and causes of problems within the sector and their suggestions for future improvements which would answer their needs.

This philosophy of open communication and actively listening to responses also meant that the methodology was iterative, each phase helping to inform and define which areas were particularly selected for focus within the next part of the study. Specifically, an academic knowledge of critical heritage theory informed the themes which were tracked within the textual analysis portion of research, while initial reading and conversations with other members of the heritage sector informed the questions asked in the survey. The interviews were then used to contextualise and pursue the issues which arose in the results of both elements of research. This adaptation also permitted the pursuit of emerging themes which were particularly central to answering the research questions outlined above.

The detailed outline of the methodology has been divided into sections on qualitative textual analysis, the results of which will be presented in the following chapter, and research drawing on people's opinions and experiences, which is intended to provide an insight into the way these textual sources are used and interpreted in practice, the results of which are explored in Chapter 6. The impact critical heritage theory has had on 'official' attitudes to heritage, represented by national legislation and policy, was investigated using written sources and by comparing the language used by different areas of academic discussion over recent decades. However, in order to find out how these changes were received and the practical impacts they have made, interviews with people who work within heritage practice (in particular those who have expertise in ways the sector communicates) were needed to provide data on the interpretation, uses and applicability of critical heritage theory.

The research questions laid out above are answered by combinations of evidence from these different research methods. Some of the broadest research questions (*How has critical heritage theory been communicated beyond the academic sphere?*, for example) have been informed by multiple different strands of the research in order to inform a balanced and representative answer to the question. Other research questions, however (such as *How has critical heritage theory impacted on heritage in practice at a local government level?*) can only be answered very directly by examination of the available evidence, which in the case of this example required combining responses of survey participants with the experiences of practitioners in interviews. Nevertheless, the combination of methods not only answered the research questions, but permitted heritage practitioners to express their opinions in a way which would influence the final product and recommendations of the thesis in a meaningful way.

#### 4.4 Textual analysis

The use of changing language around heritage can indicate when particular ideas, encapsulated and defined by the use of specific words, have a significant impact; noticeable rises in the use of words which are strongly related to certain topics or ideas signify an increased general awareness of the topics themselves. This section of the thesis therefore aimed to create a longitudinal comparison between written sources from various branches of the heritage sector, using linguistic trends to illustrate how different branches of the sector interrelate – in particular, where certain policy documents or theoretical debates have sparked related discussions elsewhere. It is also particularly important to put trends in changing language and descriptions of heritage in context; the timeline created by these trends has been juxtaposed against socio-

economic and political trends which may have inspired particular areas of debate to become more popular, as discussed in the previous chapter.

This methods used in this section are similar, though not identical to, methods of critical discourse analysis which have been widely used within analyses of the heritage sector (see, for example, Waterton's 2010 analysis of the UK government's heritage policy and Skrede and Hølleland's 2018 critical analysis of the development of critical heritage theory). The purpose of this type of close, detailed reading of texts is to interrogate the conscious and subconscious assumptions and biases contained within and consequently reinforced by sources; it is fundamentally 'concerned with the process of communication' (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p.238). During this work I have remained aware of the philosophy underlying Waterton's work, which is justified by the practical implications of subtle differences in meaning between apparently similar or innocuous choices of word:

'Discourses are thus not only *constituted* by certain knowledges, values, identities, consciousnesses and relationships, they are also *constitutive* in the sense of not only sustaining and legitimizing the 'status quo' but in transforming it' (Waterton, 2010, p.23, original emphasis).

Using written texts as a source through which to analyse and detect underlying ideas is a central part of critical discourse analysis and of the longitudinal content analysis employed in this part of the research. However, despite its frequent use for similar research on the heritage sector, the discourse analysis method as prescribed by Fairclough (2010) (which usually distinguishes the practice of critical discourse analysis from other qualitative content analysis) was not entirely appropriate for this research. Fairclough's method constitutes the close analysis of every aspect of a 'text' – which could be a video, image, or other material, as well as more traditionally defined written text – considering both the source as a whole and each detail which demonstrates how it was created and how it conveys messages, either overtly or subliminally. While this approach has many merits, it is most appropriately used on a few selected sources. Given that my project involves a longitudinal comparison of critical theory generation, legislation, policy, and heritage practice, the level of detail required for critical discourse analysis would be impossible.

Moreover, critical discourse analysis is frequently used to make explicit political points about the biases contained within sources, deliberately uncovering the inequalities as part of a campaign for a more egalitarian approach in their selected area (Skrede & Hølleland, 2018, pp.79–80; Wodak, 2009). Here, there is a more exploratory than illustrative aim; rather than seeking to demonstrate bias or a similar failing within the heritage sector, the point of this research is to create an image of communication between different areas. This is in contrast to the work of Waterton or Smith, who both used critical discourse analysis in its more direct form, to select

documents from authoritative or mainstream sources and use these to show a bias in how 'top-down' heritage is conceptualised and managed (Waterton, 2010; Smith, 2006). In addition, as discussed above, this approach was constructed with the deliberate aim of allowing honest and constructive feedback from heritage practitioners, in order to use this information to suggest future research topics and communication methods for critical heritage theorists which address key issues in practice. This precludes taking an overt stance on the current status of critical heritage theory from the outset, as would be required for critical discourse analysis. The relevance and accessibility of theoretical ideas, while under scrutiny, were left to be determined based on the outcomes of the research – in particular, the views and experiences of heritage practitioners who can offer a valuable perspective, and whose input I did not wish to circumscribe or limit in order to pursue a pre-defined political agenda.

My approach to my textual sources is therefore more in line with what Soderland describes as 'heritage historiography': the detailed study of written records about heritage which reveal past attitudes and knowledge bases:

'The historical dimension of heritage not only documents past production of knowledge but also provides an enduring context within which its changing meanings can be traced. Written records and textual documents attest to how knowledge was created and chronicled, embodying and assimilating the particular values of the time when the history was recorded' (2009, p.55).

She used these written sources to identify the key factors which affected the creation of heritage legislation in the United States, looking not only at the laws themselves but at the values of the period in which they were written. Like Soderland's, this project aims to investigate not only final, public products of our beliefs about the nature of heritage and its management, but also 'the process through which the concept of heritage is expressed as well as how it is perpetuated in law' (*Ibid*, p.78). Again, however, while drawing from Soderland's approach, I have had to adapt and broaden this method as this study looks beyond single pieces of legislation and their backgrounds. Therefore, the historiographical element of textual analysis has been combined with a wider overview tracking language trends.

In order to create a longitudinal diagram of discussions within multiple branches of the heritage sector, it was necessary to be selective about the information I chose to use. While critical discourse analysis builds up a detailed analysis of individual documents, and heritage historiography can highlight the complexities of a debate at a particular point in time, this study involved a broader approach combining tactics from both methods. I have therefore traced particular ideas through the language associated with them, on the basis that increased discussion of an idea implies awareness of the idea, and potentially a greater number of proponents advocating for it. By seeing where these ideas first gain popularity, it is possible to show where

communication has been successful within the heritage sector, and when ideas have failed to pass outside their own sphere of origin.

Other recent research within the heritage sector has also used longitudinal studies to trace how academic discussions have developed; most notably, Gaydarska's paper on the topics covered at the annual Theoretical Archaeology Group's conferences (2009). That paper steps into a veritable mine of potential information which could not be covered within the limits of this study: namely, the themes and papers at conferences, which represent a central focal point for communication between academic institutions and professional organisations. It was too broad a resource to incorporate within the textual analysis here, but contains much potential for further study of trends in research and communication pathways of ideas. Gaydarska's methodology is very similar to the one adopted here, manually analysing downloaded information and classifying it into relevant sets of topics which were then used to produce longitudinal comparative data.

One framework often used to analyse communication structures is Actor-Network Theory, or ANT, which has recently expanded outside sociology, where it was created in the 1980s, to become used as a methodological and analytical tool in a number of disciplines, including within the heritage umbrella. It uses a network model within which humans and non-human elements interact and shape each other, attributing agency to the non-human 'actors' (Sayes, 2014; Elder-Vass, 2008). This has been a useful perspective for heritage scholars who work with objects such as archaeological artefacts, as it places these within the context of social relationships and functions (Oyen, 2015). However, the study of communication of knowledge and understanding requires in many ways the reverse perspective; looking at objects like documents or places not as independent actors, but as the products of individuals with their own world views and knowledge bases. A fundamental theme throughout this work will be the roles of individuals, in creating, advocating for, and applying different frameworks for understanding and managing heritage. The ways certain documents – such as academic publications, policies, or guidance documents – can communicate new ideas is naturally a major part of the research. However, these documents are understood as representing the views of their creators, and acting as a pathway from one set of people to another, not as actors in their own right.

There have been a number of studies outside heritage research which use qualitative content analysis, primarily of textual sources, and frequently for longitudinal studies. There are numerous social science guides which helped to inform this research design, in particular Kohlbacher (2006) and Mayring (2000). These were consulted during the development of the research design to help create a methodology which would be as rigorous and reliable as possible

given that the entire qualitative research process was to be conducted by a single researcher, which leaves potential for individualist interpretations or human error. The strategies Kohlbacher and Mayring recommend to avoid such errors, including revisiting the data after the initial analysis and keeping memos of the process during its development to ensure continuity, were incorporated into this method.

#### 4.4.1 Textual sources

The material used for this analysis was selected to represent as much of the heritage sector as possible within the scope of the study, to offer a broad-spectrum overview. Therefore, the theoretical academic journal *The International Journal of Heritage Studies*, which has primarily professional-academic contributors and audiences, was used to represent a core of ‘pure’ critical theoretical approaches, which could be compared with more practice-based journals: *Curator: the Museum Journal* (based within the California Academy of Sciences); *Antiquity* (a British-based archaeology magazine); the *Journal of Cultural Heritage* (a multidisciplinary journal focusing on the scientific-technological aspects of heritage conservation) and *International Journal of Cultural Property* (another multidisciplinary journal, based at Cambridge University). The subject area covered by each journal, taken verbatim from their online webpages, are listed in the table below.

Table 4.1: Journal subject areas

Journal	Description <sup>1</sup>
<b>Antiquity</b>	‘A review of world archaeology’
<b>Curator: the Museum Journal</b>	‘Written by museum professionals for museum professionals, Curator: The Museum Journal provides a forum for exploration and debate of the latest issues, practices, and policies in museum administration, research, exhibition development, visitor studies, conservation, education, collection management and other subjects of current concern to the community.’
<b>International Journal of Cultural Property</b>	‘International Journal of Cultural Property provides a vital, international, and multidisciplinary forum for the broad spectrum of views surrounding cultural property, cultural heritage, and related issues. Its mission is to develop new ways of dealing with cultural property debates, to be a venue for the proposal or enumeration of pragmatic policy suggestions, and to be accessible to a wide audience of professionals, academics, and lay readers. This peer-reviewed journal publishes original research papers, case notes, documents of record, chronicles, conference reports, and book reviews. Contributions come from the wide variety of fields implicated in the debates - law, anthropology, public policy, archaeology, art history, preservation, ethics, economics, museum-, tourism-, and

<sup>1</sup> All descriptions taken from the journal homepages in April 2020. No further details were available for Antiquity.

	heritage studies - and from a variety of perspectives and interests - indigenous, Western, and non-Western; academic, professional and amateur; consumers and producers - to promote meaningful discussion of the complexities, competing values, and other concerns that form the environment within which these disputes exist.'
<b>International Journal of Heritage Studies</b>	'The International Journal of Heritage Studies (IJHS) is the interdisciplinary academic, refereed journal for scholars and practitioners with a common interest in heritage. The Journal encourages debate over the nature and meaning of heritage as well as its links to memory, identities and place. Articles may include issues emerging from Heritage Studies, Museum Studies, History, Tourism Studies, Sociology, Anthropology, Memory Studies, Cultural Geography, Law, Cultural Studies, and Interpretation and Design.'
<b>Journal of Cultural Heritage</b>	'The Journal of Cultural Heritage (JCH) is a multidisciplinary journal of science and technology for studying problems concerning conservation and awareness of cultural heritage in a wide framework. The main purpose of JCH is to publish original papers which comprise previously unpublished data and present innovative methods concerning all scientific aspects related to the knowledge of cultural heritage as well as novel interpretation and theoretical issues related to preservation. The journal is intended to offer a venue to scientists from different disciplines whose common objective is developing and applying scientific methods to improve the research and knowledge on cultural heritage, in particular in the following fields: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Safeguarding, conservation and exploitation of cultural heritage</li> <li>• Heritage management and economic analyses</li> <li>• Computer sciences in cultural heritage</li> <li>• Impact of climate change on cultural heritage and management of the change'</li> </ul>

These journals are all primarily English-language, peer-reviewed, with international author- and readerships; it was simply impractical in this internet era to attempt to focus exclusively on British publications, as international debate is so widespread and interrelated. These journals were selected to cover a range of the most popular academic disciplines which may be said to fall under the heritage umbrella. They can be expected to refer to major debates which have made an impact on the heritage sector, and can therefore be used to trace trends in the popularity of these debates. As an additional cross-check, all were recommended via the *Association for Critical Heritage Studies* website's recommended reading list, which is selected on the bases of academic rigour and relevance for its audience, and were therefore likely to be sufficiently related to the subject areas covered by critical heritage theory to provide relevant information.

A condensation of the complexity of debate into a short word limit and the need for a reliable set of content for comparison among different journals were the main reasons for selecting titles and abstracts for analysis rather than whole articles, or only paper titles which may highlight only one issue or leave the main subject of their argument ambiguous. I did not include keywords or other sources of information, as they were not reliably present in all journals, and often were only present after the transition into online publication. However, in the interests of measuring as broad a range of sources as possible, I also included the titles of books reviewed within journals. These would naturally have been selected for their relevance and interest for the journal's audience, and would therefore highlight some extra sources of knowledge for both academics and practitioners; collecting and analysing full publication lists of all books related to certain fields was a task beyond the scope of this study.

All the abstracts were publicly available online, and could be copied directly into local documents to ensure their availability throughout the project. Abstracts were gathered and analysed on a year-by-year basis (rather than by issue or by each journal as a whole) to allow for temporal separation within each journal. They could then be used to illustrate changing trends or selectively analysed at specific points in time, such as when legislation and policy documents relating to heritage emerged, to see how the key ideas which now influence heritage management in England and Wales spread across the sector. 1994, when the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* began publication, formed a natural cut-off point for the comparison of heritage theory with the broader heritage sector, so most of the analyses began at that point, but the *Journal of Cultural Heritage* did not begin publication until 2000, and the *International Journal of Cultural Property* did not publish in 2001-2004, before re-launching in 2005. As the analysis was a cumulative process of interpretation and cross-referencing, rather than a purely numerical comparison of the topics discussed year-on-year, I felt this would not seriously bias the data from the affected years (though naturally these gaps were taken into account when studying the data). However, journals which began after 2000 were rejected as they would not have a long enough date range to show significant change over time.

#### **4.4.2 Textual source analysis**

This analysis was done during 2018 and 2019, with a pause of several months between the initial analysis and a secondary check to allow for cognitive distance and therefore increased objectivity. The program NVivo was the primary site of analysis for these source documents, as it enabled the categorisation of sections of text into various related topic areas, described within the program as 'nodes', which could then be condensed and compared over time, between different sources, and in combination to look at broader trends. The process began with selecting

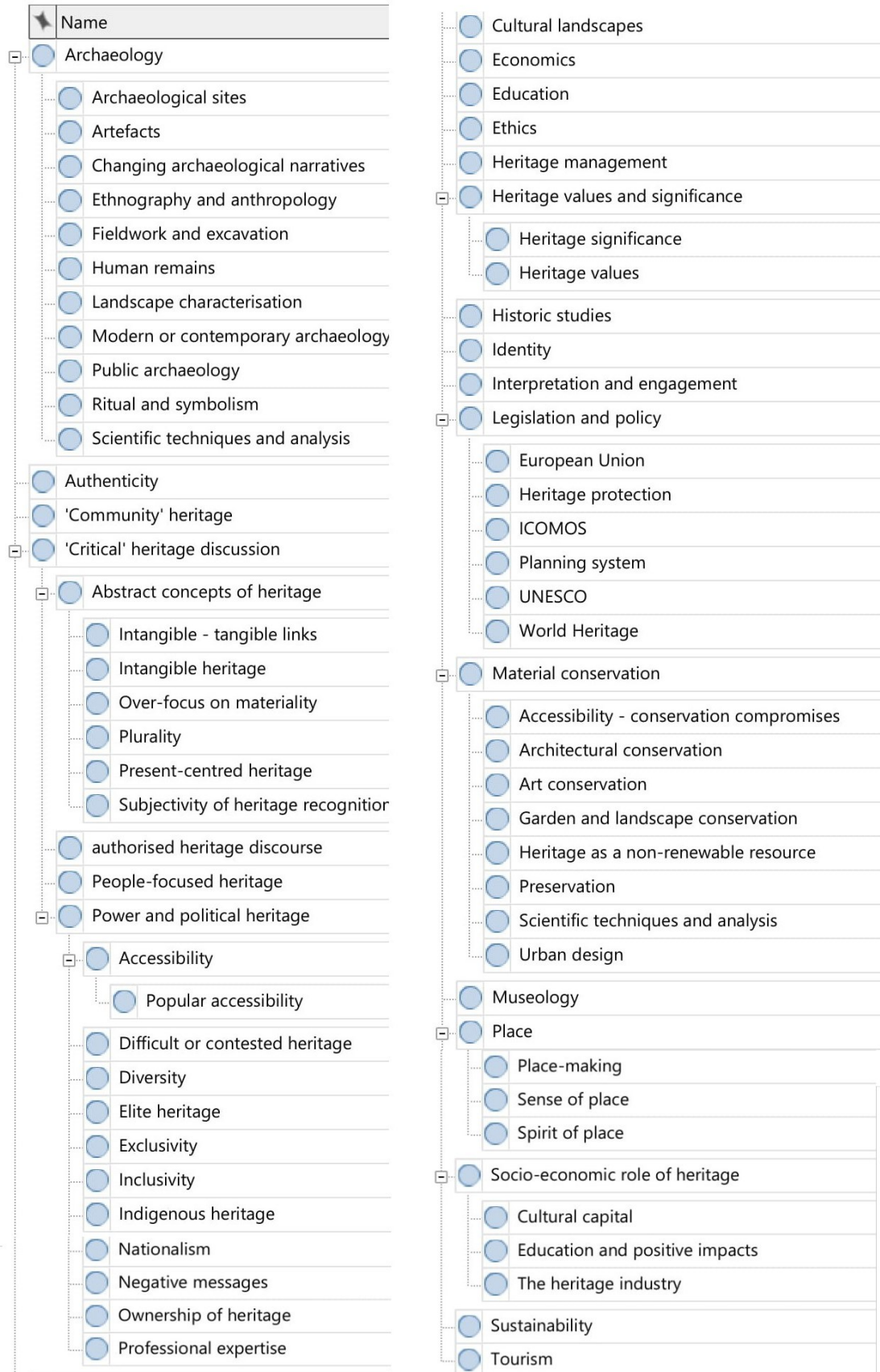


the most applicable topic, or node, under which to categorise each piece of text within an abstract, which is then saved to that node. NVivo can then calculate the number of times each node has been mentioned within a document, or, particularly usefully, what percentage of each document relates to which node. This is more representative, as entire paragraphs relating to a single topic naturally suggest more attention given to it than a single word would do. The documents uploaded were divided by both year and source – so, for example, a single document would contain all the abstracts and titles from *Antiquity* in 1994, another all the abstracts and titles from the *Journal of Cultural Heritage* in the same year – which allowed for the comparison of changes in topics discussed both over time and between different areas of discussion.

The choice of which nodes would be used and how they could be recognised began as a theory-driven process but was also developed inductively through the close reading of the source material. The initial topic areas on which the research focused were intended to answer the research questions around the dissemination of critical heritage theory, and were therefore drawn from three of the key areas which have developed within critical heritage theory, as distinct from heritage conservation or management scholarship: authenticity, tangibility/intangibility, and power and authority. These were selected because they mark particular trends in the move away from a materialist focus to a ‘critical’ awareness of the role of heritage in society more broadly, as was explained more fully in Chapter 2. However, I did not use a simple word-searching process for those three words or phrases, as they all (particularly the third) can be expressed in a number of related ways with contingent vocabulary. Moreover, only highlighting instances of these three categories would have risked overlooking other interesting or informative trends within the sources. The process was therefore iterative: it began with a simple set of key words to which additional themes and examples were added during the analysis process. Once the process was completed, each node individually was retrospectively edited to ensure that all the sections which had been added to that particular theme were correct and that sections had not been added by error or which would belong more appropriately to a different node. It was also then possible to move sections into more appropriate nodes created during the process. In this way it was hoped to make the results as accurate and reproducible as possible, although the element of independent judgement necessary when drawing patterns from qualitative data inevitably removes the possibility of exact scientific reproducibility (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p.250; Sandelowski et al., 2009).

Figure. 4.1: The node families used to categorise material found in journal and conference abstracts

## Nodes



This subjectivity and the focus on topics which were of relevance to my particular interest means that this data does not represent a quantitative breakdown of the contents of these journals over time. A researcher with an interest in, for example, a particular aspect of archaeology or a conservation technique would have drawn completely different results from the data. However, it represents a focused analysis of the elements which would most directly contribute towards an understanding of the use of critical heritage theory in the heritage sector more widely.

The node 'family' created by the coding process has been laid out in Figure 4.1, with the working definition of each node and examples of the types of phrases used laid out in Figure 4.2. As illustrated, it is possible within NVivo to group sets of nodes together under 'parent' nodes, which allowed for a detailed record of what was mentioned, while also facilitating a focused analysis through use of the 'parent' nodes, within which the mentions could be grouped and analysed as a single entity. Within the table, the 'parent' or main topic node is to the left of the column, with its 'children' indented beneath. Appendix B contains all the content coded to each individual node and the contents of each source for the purposes of comparison, as well as the original NVivo 11 project.

The selection of a node for the contents of each abstract was a process of case-by-case judgement, considering the primary foci of each sentence and the context within which key words were used. As it is possible to compare the verbal content of different nodes separately or in combination, I avoided coding sections of the text to multiple nodes simultaneously, as this may have had misleading effects on word frequency measurements when analysing nodes as a group – a multiply-coded section of text would count as multiple 'mentions' of a single extract, which might result in an unrepresentatively high percentage of the total content. For this reason, there was considerable variety within the length of extracts highlighted – extracts could range from several sentences which discuss a single idea to single words, for example a word within a list of topics discussed in the article. As abstracts frequently deal with complex topics within a small word limit, I felt this was the best way to include all the ideas raised within each article. It was still possible to analyse these varying length sections comparatively, as they could be expressed as a percentage of the total source document rather than by comparing the number of sections coded to each node.

Choosing a single node which applied to each section of text naturally meant that some key words or phrases included additional contextual information while others did not. Coding containing lengthier additional information when an abstract focused on the topic for an entire sentence or more indicates the dwell time given to a particular idea; I believed this to be more

accurate than simply coding single words and leaving the rest of the abstract blank. I did, however, deliberately avoid coding repetitive or ‘filler’ words and phrases, such as ‘This paper will discuss’, which would add little to the overall meaning to the content of any node and may, instead, dominate word frequency counts.

To demonstrate the process, Table 4.2 contains extracts from selected nodes, which are highlighted yellow within their contexts to show how the process of selection worked. So, for example, the sentence *This paper's review of relevant Australian writing critical of theory and practice concludes that official protection of the nation's heritage is a prejudicial, narrowly conceived system in the sense that it is not readily embraced by the public at large, and does not relate well to vigorous public concerns for the environment* was split up and coded to multiple nodes: *relevant Australian writing critical of theory and practice* was coded as ‘Critical heritage discussion’; *official protection of the nation’s heritage* was coded as ‘Heritage Protection’; *a prejudicial, narrowly conceived system* as ‘Elite heritage’; *it is not readily embraced by the public at large* and *does not relate well to vigorous public concerns for the environment* were both coded as ‘Exclusivity’. There were several coding options for each phrase – for example *vigorous public concerns for the environment* could have been coded as ‘Sustainability’ – but the selected nodes were those which were felt to best encapsulate the variety of topics mentioned within the sentence – so, for example, the topic was focused less on the popular concerns for the sustainability of the resource than it was on the failure of the Australian system to consider and include these concerns, which is why ‘Exclusivity’ was felt to be more appropriate than ‘Sustainability’. Other coded references were more simple, as the ‘direct reference’ column of the table of examples demonstrates, and many sentences only required less complex or subdivided coded mentions.

Table 4.2: Examples of NVivo coding selections

Node name	Definition	Direct reference	Indirect reference
'Critical' heritage discussion	Discussions which draw on recent heritage theory (as defined elsewhere)	Conference announcement: Association of Critical Heritage Studies	The theories of heritage and museum experience developed by recent heritage studies researchers create a theoretical frame through which to interpret the practices of this museum.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Abstract concepts of heritage</li> </ul>	Heritage discussions which assume heritage is not an inherent physical property of a site or item, but is a process, an attribute assigned to a tangible thing by people, and is	N/A	The World Heritage Site of Røros has as an attractive place become a resource for the production of cultural capital among various stakeholders, taking the form of a large body of 'heritage

	flexible or changes with context.		knowledges'.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Intangible - tangible links</i></li> </ul>	Connections made between intangible heritage properties such as religion or emotions and an item or place.	The living relationship between intangible and tangible forms of heritage, as well as natural and cultural heritage, is a situated one, always in place.	The paper suggests that values and meanings that individuals ascribe to material of the past derive their importance from being a reflection of people's contexts. Throughout the process in which meanings are created and ascribed to archaeological sites, the remains of the past are transformed into such reflections.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Power and political heritage</li> </ul>	The association of a form of heritage with social inequalities or political structures, or its use in maintaining these structures.	All too often in the past, state politics has exerted a strong influence over the direction of academic archaeology. This was particularly true of the German Archaeological Institute under the Third Reich in the 1930s.	This partly reflects Australia's history as a former British colony which currently has a minority of indigenous Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, many of whom regard archaeology as yet another colonial imposition which at best is largely irrelevant to their own understanding of their history.
<b>Interpretation and engagement</b>	Explaining and promoting heritage for the public.	New and established narratives can coexist, in harmony and in tension, and visitors should be invited into the interpretive process.	Most recently, the York Youth Mysteries of 2008 have continued this tradition in a radical way, self-consciously seeking to present the heritage aspects of the production tradition in a way that appeals to a new 'youth' audience.
<b>Socio-economic role of heritage</b>	The use of heritage assets to work towards economic or social goals.	The economic value of cultural assets is defined as the extent to which they generate benefits for society.	the museum service has tried to achieve its various objectives: making 'high culture' widely accessible, providing a recreational and educational facility for local people, expressing civic pride and promoting cultural tourism.

The trends demonstrated through this were used to inform the selection of questions for later interviewing work, creating a viable picture of the status of the theoretical debates over recent decades.

## 4.5 Survey: critical heritage theory in the heritage sector

This section discusses the work done to try to discover the impact critical heritage theory has had on the heritage sector in England and Wales so far. The first requirement for this was to collect broad-spectrum data which would permit a picture of current connections between critical heritage theorists and the more practice-based sector. As discussed above, local government conservation officers and archaeologists represent an intersection between heritage in policy and practice; their work is standardised nationally but conservation officers, particularly, come from a variety of professional backgrounds and are therefore an excellent case study for how heritage work can differ in response to different epistemological world views.

The first part of the research which used the input of heritage practitioners was a survey. This was intended to build up a broad picture of the levels of awareness among those who regularly work with the historic environment and to highlight issues which should be raised for the more in-depth interviews. It was sent to members of every local government planning and conservation department in England and Wales, through publicly available email addresses, via the HistBeke mailing list, and with promotion on social media and through personal contacts. It was created using the platform Qualtrics (supplied by the University of York) to ensure confidentiality of the data.

This sample group was selected, as discussed above, in order to provide a nationwide comparable group, more clearly defined and accessible than professionals in a variety of private heritage sector organisations. It gained a total of 167 responses over a two-month circulation period from 31 July to 30 September 2018, which was considerably higher than the target of 75 respondents. Of these, 17 were automatically recorded by the software after the survey link was opened, but contained no usable data, as the respondents had not provided answers to most or any of the questions. These were discounted, leaving a sample size of 150.

Respondents were primarily from local government planning and conservation officers and archaeologists, but including some responses from freelance conservation consultants and members of charitable heritage organisations. These were not excluded from the overall results as they are heritage professionals, who are not based within academic institutions, and who would therefore have a similar experience to local government heritage workers as regards balancing abstract ideas of heritage with the need for practicality and the restrictions of the current legal system. Only 5.3% of respondents (8 individuals) were from Wales – a small proportion, but not unrepresentative of the overall spread, particularly as respondents based in England worked in all regions. Survey respondents were also varied in age range, and were therefore felt to be a good

representative sample of heritage professionals working in local government contexts across England and Wales, as is discussed further in Chapter 6.

The survey was brief and did not require long or in-depth responses, in order to minimise the time commitment required and therefore maximise the response rate, although extra space was provided for comments and a number of interesting insights were shared this way. It was also a deliberate choice to make questions simple and open-ended to avoid leading respondents into particular types of answer, and to ensure that questions were applicable to their own fields of work. The following questions were circulated:

- *Please enter a name (This is to identify your responses in case you wish to withdraw them later for any reason. All your responses will be anonymised and no-one except the researcher will be able to access your personal information. It need not be your full name.)*
- *What is your professional role?*
- *Age: 16-29, 30-44, 45-59, 60+*
- *In which county of England or Wales is your work primarily based?*
- *What higher education qualifications (i.e. university / college level and above) do you have, and approximately when did you complete them?*
- *Have you come across critical heritage studies? (Yes / Unsure / No)*
- *If Yes: If you have heard of critical heritage studies, can you remember when and how you last came across it? (I.e. in a book, conference, or paper.)*
- *If Unsure / No: If you have not heard of critical heritage studies or are unsure, can you comment about why this might be?*
- *Which of the following do you think applies to critical heritage theory? Please tick all the options which you think are TRUE.*
  - *It is concerned with how best to preserve the physical fabric of heritage assets.*
  - *It is concerned with how different groups of people are represented within the interpretation of heritage sites and heritage narratives.*
  - *It is concerned with the definition of heritage.*
  - *Critical heritage theorists believe that the stories we tell about heritage can have wider social and political impacts.*
  - *It describes the work of investigating and comparing methods to prevent the deterioration of the physical fabric of heritage assets.*
  - *Unsure*
- *And finally: what do you think is the best way to define 'heritage'?*
- *Are there any further comments you would like to add?*

A number of these questions collected personal information which could potentially be used to identify the respondents when reported all together, even when identifying respondents by number rather than name. It was felt necessary to include these, as mapping trends in different locations and among heritage sector workers from different educational backgrounds is a valuable part of seeing how widespread critical heritage theory has become. For this reason all results are

identified by a number rather than a name. It was also possible for respondents to decline to answer any of the questions, if they felt uncomfortable sharing the information. These procedures for ensuring anonymity were approved by the University of York ethics board. The complete set of survey data is included in Appendix C, with respondents' names removed and counties generalised to regions for the purposes of anonymity.

The questions were selected with the primary intention of judging as accurately as possible the general awareness of the concepts of critical heritage theory among local government officers. The term 'critical heritage' is a moderately obscure theoretical term and may perhaps have led to some false negatives as respondents considered whether they have ever heard of critical heritage discussions, as they may have come across what were in fact critical discussions of heritage but which do not overtly claim the label. However, one way to measure the spread of awareness of a topic is to find out how many respondents recognise the name of the topic itself. This was why the term 'critical heritage studies' was selected, instead of 'critical heritage theory', as the former implied a more general strand of academic study, rather than 'theory', which may have suggested to participants that the survey was focusing only on the more abstract or complex forms of discussion.

Moreover, to counterbalance this potential misleading factor, the question 'how would you define 'heritage'?' was a way to measure wider perspectives on heritage as a concept. This concept has been so drastically re-thought by heritage theorists (as discussed in Chapter 2) that different responses to this question worked to indicate the extent to which respondents are aware of or adhere to the ideas propagated by heritage theorists, even if they are not familiar with the theoretical discussions which justify changing conceptualisations. The multiple choice question which preceded it was also a way of judging how familiar participants in fact were with 'critical heritage studies'. Out of the possible responses, three could be correctly applied the critical heritage theory as it is defined within this project: '*It is concerned with how different groups of people are represented within the interpretation of heritage sites and heritage narratives*'; '*It is concerned with the definition of heritage*' and '*Critical heritage theorists believe that the stories we tell about heritage can have wider social and political impacts*'. The other two potential responses ('*It is concerned with how best to preserve the physical fabric of heritage assets*' and '*It describes the work of investigating and comparing methods to prevent the deterioration of the physical fabric of heritage assets*') are more accurately applied to conservation studies, which fall within the bracket of 'heritage' but which cannot be accurately described as 'critical'. This question was therefore a way to judge participants' familiarity with critical heritage theory in a more objective way than simply through a self-reported 'yes/no' answer. A correct response to this



question, combined with an affirmative answer to the question about whether they had previously come across critical heritage studies, clearly demonstrates a familiarity with critical heritage theory.

The responses elicited by this survey have a more quantitative element than much of the rest of the research done, and offer more generalisable results than interviews with individuals, which aim instead for depth. This is to attempt to gain a wider picture of the impact made by heritage theory than is possible to gain through more selective interviewing processes. The results of the survey and the implications these have for our understandings of communication and collaboration within the heritage sector are discussed in full in Chapter 6, which highlights where critical heritage theory has made an impact on the wider sector.

## **4.6 Interviews: communication in the heritage sector**

The final area of investigation was intended to gather more in-depth information on whether and how ideas pass from one side of the heritage sector to another. Drawing on the preliminary results of textual analysis, an interview format was developed to discover how widespread the ideas of critical heritage theory had become, and how well understood these concepts are among different areas of the heritage sector.

Preliminary historical research was done in the archives of the CBA. The CBA has participated in and coordinated advice and responses from the heritage sector to the government and other public bodies (such as Historic England), acting as a bridge between practitioners, theoretical discussions and legislation and policy. As such, archives of their correspondence offer valuable insights into the way communication works within the sector, and was used as a basis for a better contextual understanding of the work of the sector in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. This understanding was incorporated into timelines created in Chapter 5 and the topics targeted for further question in the interviews.

The final step to discover how communication worked was, simply, to ask. A key part of this research process involved speaking to members of different areas of the heritage sector to discover how their views on heritage had been formed and reformed over the course of their careers. Initially, the data recovered from the survey offered an overview of the key elements of critical heritage theory which have been widely adopted, as well as an insight into the barriers which prevent the public (including heritage practitioners) from accessing academic publications. These results were used to inform and develop the questions asked during the interviews. Anonymised transcriptions of these interviews are available in full in Appendix A.

Interviewees were selected specifically for their connections within the heritage sector. In particular, many combined academic work or experience with jobs in practice, or vice versa. Just as the surveys were targeted towards respondents who worked specifically with the planning and heritage legal frameworks in England and Wales, the interviewees were also selected for their work with planning policy and as liaisons between heritage in theory, in legislation, and in practice. This allowed the interviews to focus on understanding how heritage theory and legislation is 'translated' as it is passed from one specialist role to another, and how ideas work in practice. The previous chapter discussed how the amenity societies provide a connection between networks of governmentality and the wider sector – a number of interviewees worked for organisations which aim to represent parts of the sector and act as foci of discussion around heritage work. It was intended that these respondents would offer insights into the structures which enable communication, the different discourses and conceptualisations of heritage which are employed in different contexts, and the gaps which currently exist between different parts of the sector and which could potentially be bridged by improved communication in future.

In order to gain as wide as possible an insight into heritage work, I conducted 9 interviews, divided between members of different heritage organisations in England and Wales. Respondents were selected from a variety of organisations and locations to gather a broad range of opinions, though selection of respondents was limited due to a low response rate to invitations. These interviews aimed to discover firstly, how widespread knowledge of critical heritage theory has become among heritage specialists; secondly, how this awareness has spread and how practitioners are kept up to date with the latest ideas; and thirdly, whether this theory is considered useful or practical out of its theoretical context, from the perspective of those whose role it is to cross the boundary lines between theory and practice. The number of interviews was intended to allow a range of different job roles, ages and opinions to be voiced, without conducting so many interviews that responses became repetitive and an unnecessary amount of transcription work was created.

Each interview was semi-structured, with a leading set of questions to ensure that the relevant topic areas were covered but with follow-up questions depending on the interviewee's experience and the topics which they raised in response to the central themes of the interview. An introductory question requested the participant's background, particularly their education and employment history, which is relevant to how their views on heritage have developed, though these were not included within the transcripts for reasons of anonymity. Following this, participants were asked to discuss how the heritage sector has changed during their professional career, and what the major factors were driving this change; external factors, such as government

policy, or internal factors like new research and priorities developing within the heritage sector. They were then asked whether their own ideas and conceptualisations of heritage had changed over the course of their career, in response to changes in the sector or exposure to new ways of working. The fourth of the guiding questions related to the development of heritage legislation and policy, and who can feed into the development of new national instruments which direct heritage work, to uncover the major influences on these changes. The final question asked whether heritage practice and heritage theory take different approaches to heritage, which invited comparisons of the work patterns, knowledge bases, and priorities of heritage work in different areas. These questions were developed and respondents were encouraged to develop their answers with reference to the themes highlighted by survey responses. Interviewees were also encouraged to share any future pathways which they thought would benefit the sector and improve communication.

Interviews took place either in person or by phone when meetings were impractical, during 2019. They were audio recorded at the time; I chose to transcribe them myself afterwards using OTranscribe (a transcription tool which offers data confidentiality), as part of the process of analysis to familiarise myself thoroughly with the content (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Interviews were then anonymised as far as possible while retaining the relevance of the data. The completed transcripts were sent to respondents to ensure that the transcription was an accurate representation of their views, and to allow them to edit out any sensitive content when necessary for their own wellbeing. Due to the variety of information contained within the interviews and the loose structure, any formalised textual analysis would have been unproductive. Instead, the information within the interviews was considered during the process of transcription, anonymisation and reading, and incorporated into findings and discussions as relevant.

Rather than risk losing valuable information, the interviews were transcribed verbatim, with only syllable filler words (um / er) and stutters removed. Producing 'clean' transcripts meant making subjective and potentially incorrect decisions about which elements of speech added to the contextual meaning of the whole and which were meaningless; discourse analysts argue that pauses and re-phrasings contain important information about thought processes during discussions, and this approach was adopted here (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p.303).

## 4.7 Summary

The mixed-methods qualitative approach outlined in this chapter was intended to uncover particular issues around the communication and use of research within the heritage sector of England and Wales. The key elements of this methodology were:

- A longitudinal analysis which provides the basis for a comparison of changes in critical heritage theory with changes in the heritage sector and wider contextual developments;
- A qualitative approach which permits a nuanced understanding of complex ideas;
- And an iterative and developing methodology which incorporates the results of each stage into the foci of the following stages, allowing the responses of practitioners to be an influence on the final research design and thereby on the results and recommendations of the research overall.

The research drew on a critical realist epistemology to investigate not only how changing language can be used to track the spread of ideas, but also to look at structures which enable this spread, and the flaws in these structures where communication and the sharing of new ideas are incomplete or absent.

Naturally, alongside these formal investigation methods, results have been informed by informal conversation with members of the heritage sector, by conferences and online discussions and newsletters which deal with changes in the sector. As such, the results here depict the sector at one particular point in time and from a particular perspective; the qualitative and iterative nature of this study was deliberately constructed to allow a range of opinions and information to feed into the findings, but also was intended to raise issues which will require much further work to build up a coherent picture of current and potential communication and collaboration work within the heritage sector.

The following two chapters present the results gained through the methods outlined here: first, presenting a longitudinal picture of trends within academic journals and analysing how they respond to each other and to wider events; Chapter 6 then discusses the results of the survey and interviews to provide more a more focused and detailed depiction of the relationships between theorists, policy-makers and practitioners.

## Chapter 5: Changing Language

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the development of heritage theory over a twenty-five year period, from 1994 to 2018, using data gathered from the abstracts of five journals which deal with different aspects of heritage studies: *Antiquity*; *Curator*, the museums journal; the *International Journal of Cultural Property*; the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*; and the *Journal of Cultural Heritage*. The longitudinal trends revealed by this analysis provide an insight into the way heritage studies has evolved over time.

Initially, this chapter focuses on intra-disciplinary communication, examining whether critical heritage theory has noticeably affected the approaches or language of the work published in related fields. Following that, the data is divided into three roughly equal time periods, and noticeable trends within the data gathered from the journals are compared to the contemporary political and economic contexts, informed by broad reading and the archival research undertaken in the CBA archives. The results suggest that the study of heritage is closely tied to the practicalities of negotiating changing cultural and political contexts; it is notable that the language within the abstracts changes as key policy aims put changing pressures on heritage practitioners. These results paint a picture of academic work concerned with and aware of the issues of the wider sector, and in a position to put time and resources towards addressing them. The following chapter will examine how these publications are used in practice, and whether there are ways to develop collaborative working based on these shared concerns.

One of the main questions which this analysis was designed to answer was whether particular topics, which have become central to the discussions of critical heritage theorists, gain increasing attention and awareness in other related areas – effectively, whether critical heritage theorists have influenced the topics studied and approaches taken in other fields of heritage studies. This will then be used in later chapters to examine how critical heritage studies relates to and communicates with others in the heritage sector. The collected dataset from the five journals analysed can be used to demonstrate where and when the key themes of critical heritage theory, as identified in the first chapter, have been discussed, and where they have made less impact.

The simple answer to this hypothesis is that the increased discussion of critical heritage theory within its ‘home’ journal, the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (IJHS), has run parallel to the increased discussion of these topics elsewhere as often as it has preceded them. The key topics highlighted here have increased in frequency over the 25-year period studied,

sometimes across a range of subject-focused journals – but sometimes focused specifically within IJHS rather than being reflected in other areas.

The patterns within the data show that in some cases, when a topic initially becomes popular it increases in frequency among both the IJHS abstracts and those from other journals, before a widening division shows a decrease or levelling-out in the popularity of these topics among other heritage journals while they maintain their frequency within IJHS. This, I believe, is an indication of the disciplinary boundaries around these topics; as critical heritage theory has become more widely known, the topics it discusses have been ‘claimed’ for the discipline and therefore fall outside the remit of scholars in other areas of heritage. The possible disadvantages of demarcated disciplinary boundaries have been widely discussed elsewhere (Walker, 2014; Wells, 2009, p.1). No firm conclusions can be drawn without further research, but I suggest that interdisciplinary working and communication will be valuable for the future impacts of critical heritage theory.

This is not the case for all topics; naturally, there is variation. Some topics show a widespread increase in frequency after achieving popularity in IJHS, while others have maintained a steady level of popularity both before and after they became of interest to critical heritage scholars. Examples will be used to highlight the three key topics already discussed in Chapter 2 in detail, discussing the impact made on heritage studies outside critical heritage theory, before the later sections of the chapter examine the wider socio-political context which has informed theoretical trends.

## 5.2 Abstract concepts of heritage

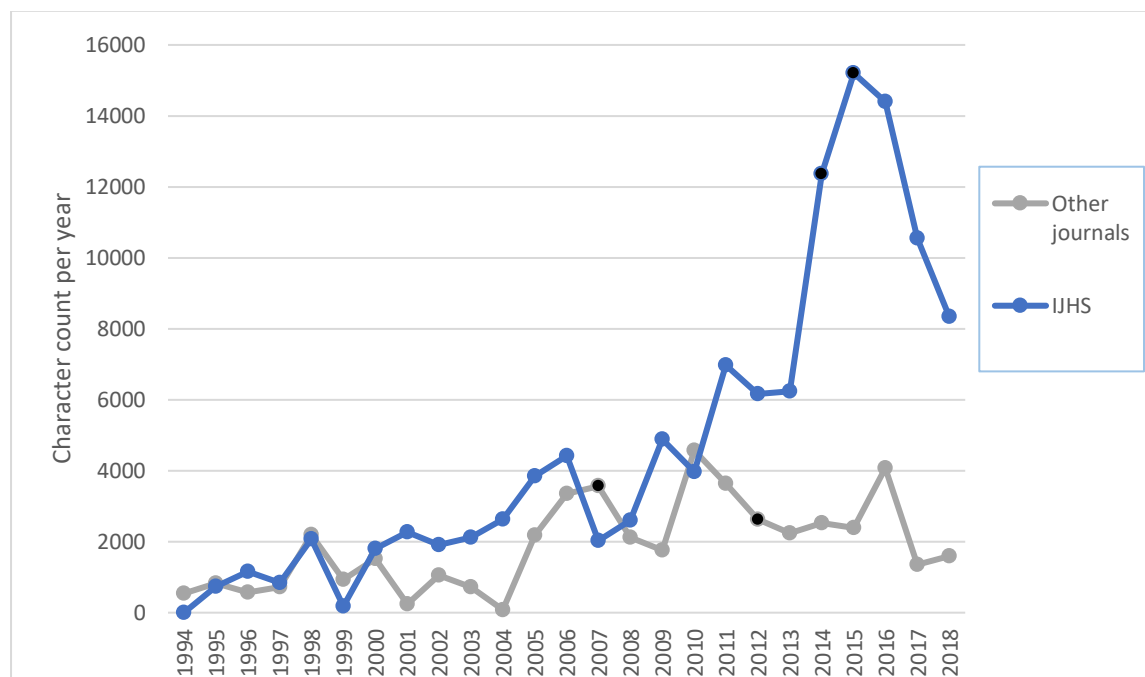
One of the central themes of critical heritage theory, the term *abstract concepts of heritage* was used to encapsulate the idea that heritage is not a physical attribute or collection of assets, but rather a socially-constructed and impermanent quality resulting from the values held by communities and individuals. As a broad and complex topic, this category was subdivided into themes which emerged over the course of the close analysis of the data, including the following sub-categories:

- *Intangible heritage*;
- *Tangible-intangible links*: references to intangible values and significance residing in physical assets;
- *Over-focus on materiality*: criticisms of heritage approaches which prioritise maintaining the physical properties of an asset, instead of those aspects which give it meaning;

- *Plurality*: references to single heritage assets having multiple meanings or identities assigned to them;
- *Present-centred heritage*: references to heritage which can change and develop over time and is a reflection of current society rather than being a static form;
- and *Subjectivity of heritage recognition*: references to the idea that heritage is not a universal quality, but is more meaningful for some people than for others depending on their backgrounds and the context.

These themes highlight different areas of discussion and will be examined in more detail below. For a more generalised depiction of the popularity of *Abstract concepts of heritage* in heritage studies, as shown in the graph in Figure 5.1, all these sub-categories were ‘aggregated’ (in the terminology of the analysis program used): the extracts which had been categorised to each heading were combined and added to extracts which had been categorised simply to *Abstract concepts of heritage* because they did not fit within one of the subcategories. The theme could then be analysed as a single whole.

Figure 5.1: Abstract concepts of heritage in IJHS and all other journals, 1994-2018



Throughout this chapter, black centres on the graph points have been used to illustrate special issues which have collected and boosted discussions on the topic in question in particular years. These of course illustrate a particular interest in a topic within an academic field, in order for sufficient material to be gathered to create such an issue. For example, Figure 5.1, above, demonstrates how successive issues in 2014 and 2015 on popular music heritage and public folklore pushed up the content of the *Intangible heritage* theme and therefore of *Abstract*

*concepts of heritage* as a whole. However, it is perhaps more notable when individual topics demonstrate a collective decision by a number of different authors to publish work on a theme independently of any push from a journal editor, as this suggests a widespread interest in this topic, spurred by internal or external events.

Figure 5.1 shows how an initial rise in the volume of discussions of the topic of heritage as an abstract concept in both *IJHS* and other journals is followed by a widening gap between the different journals from 2010-2015 as the topic increases noticeably in popularity within *IJHS*, while levelling off elsewhere. This is reflective of the socially-constructed nature of heritage becoming a central theme of critical heritage studies – which is, of course, the reason it was selected as a topic of study.

The key question is whether this graph shows that the increasing discussions of heritage as an abstract concept within critical heritage studies (as represented by *IJHS*) resulted in a wider awareness of the subject elsewhere in heritage-related journals, and (in a limited way) the answer is positive; the upward trend in the topic from 1999 onwards within *IJHS* is followed by an upward trend in the other journals, from almost nothing in 2004 to a peak in 2010. Certainly the last decade of the graph shows that the topic has achieved a fairly consistent level of discussion among other journals. However, the spikes in discussion of the topic in 1997 and 2000 – when the popularity of the topic is almost identical within *IJHS* and the other journals – suggests that all the journals are initially reacting to external factors which pushed the topic into authors' awareness during the 1990s, rather than following a path pioneered by critical heritage studies. What these external factors may have been will be examined in the second part of this chapter.

### 5.3 Authenticity

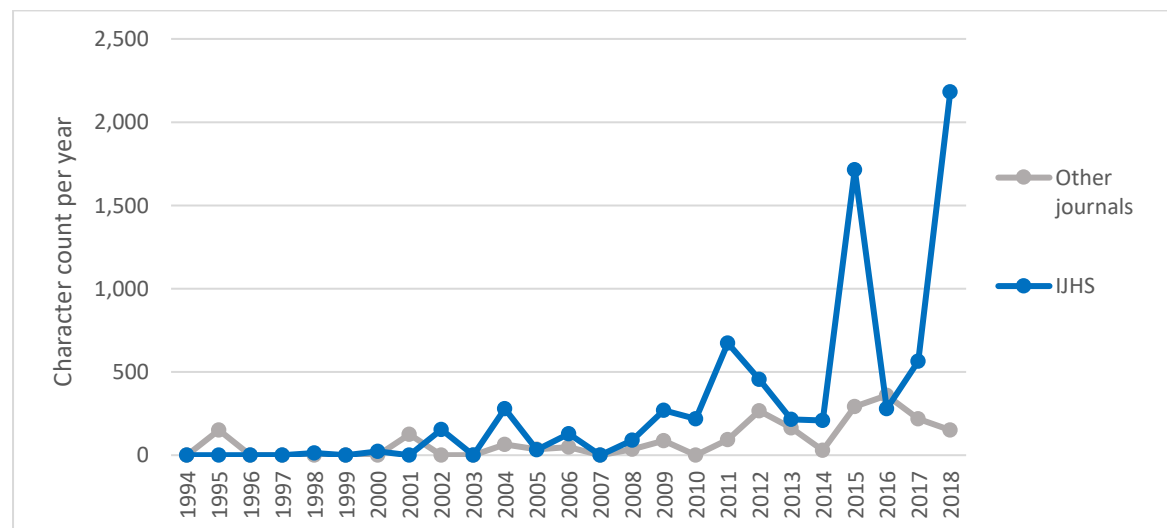
Authenticity was the second theme highlighted as a central focus of current critical heritage scholarship in Chapter 2; as discussed there, its definition has moved on from a materialist understanding in which original and unaltered physical forms of heritage are prioritised, to alternative definitions which incorporate authenticity of practice or experience – or, as one interviewee put it, 'you unpack what is authenticity and you understand it's an entire pile of rubbish' (Interview 5, p.345; see also Yarrow, 2019; Madgin et al., 2018; Labadi, 2010).

Figure 5.2 shows how discussions of the topic of authenticity have appeared within *IJHS* and the other four journals over the period studied. It is clear that the problematisation and re-definition of the term 'authenticity' has become a key theme of the emerging critical heritage field – yet this has not always been the case, as this graph demonstrates. It was not a part of the discussions in *IJHS* until almost a decade after the journal was founded. Other journals discussed



the topic more frequently until 2003. Yet after this, the pattern of discussion is not dissimilar to that of Figure 5.1, as spikes in the popularity of the topic among IJHS are followed by a smaller rise and levelling-out in popularity of the topic among other journals.

Figure 5.2: Authenticity in IJHS and all other journals, 1994-2018



This reinforces the argument that discussions among critical heritage theorists may initially encourage a wider debate on the topic, but that once the topic has become popular within a discipline, those wishing to discuss the topic frequently do so within the virtual space delineated for that discipline. However, it is also worth noting that critical heritage theorists did not lead the way in discussions on the nature of authenticity within heritage, as evidenced by the discussions of the topic in other journals before it appears in IJHS; the external influences which inspired its analysis will be explored in section 5.6.4.

## 5.4 Power and political heritage

The final core theme of critical heritage studies as highlighted in Chapter 2, was categorised under the heading 'power and political heritage'. The two graphs below display the aggregated (combined) totals of the power and political heritage category and all its sub themes:

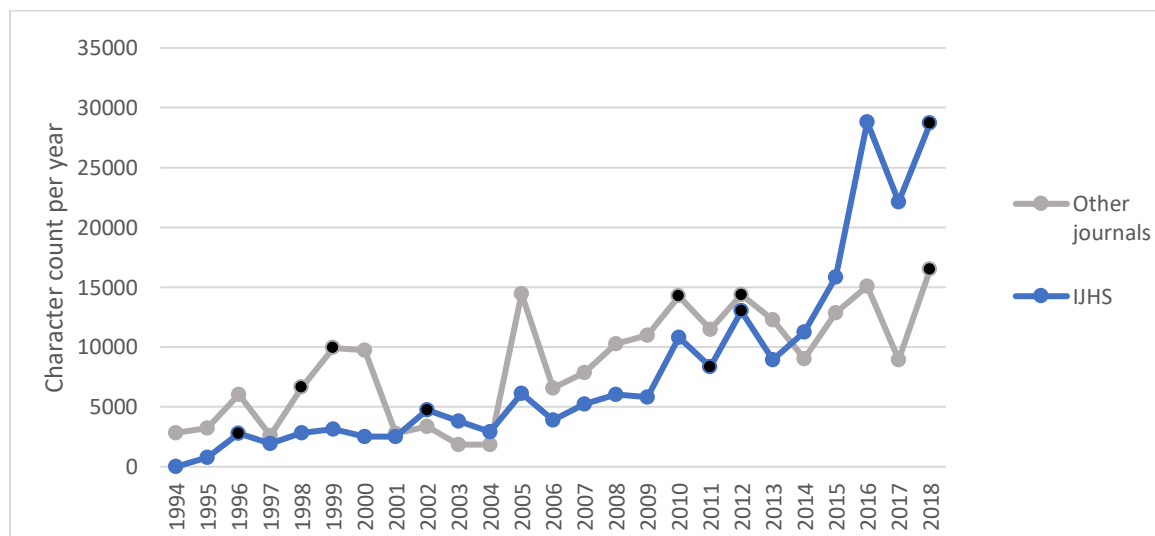
- *Difficult or contested heritage*: references to heritage associated with conflict, death, or other negative legacies, or which is causing or continuing conflict or disagreement in the present;
- *Diversity*: references to diversity, multiculturalism, and discussions of immigration into established communities;
- *Elite heritage*: discussions of heritage which only reflects a particular privileged viewpoint;
- *Exclusivity*: references to heritage which is only accessible or relevant to a certain group, or which seeks to maintain a group identity at the exclusion of others;

- *Inclusivity*: references to deliberate attempts to make heritage accessible or relevant to a wider group of people and to represent a wide range of views;
- *Indigenous heritage*: references to the heritage of Indigenous groups;
- *Nationalism*: references to the political or emotional affiliation to a nation and discussions of how heritage can be used to bolster this affiliation;
- *Negative messages*: references to unwanted impacts of heritage, including communication of ideas which cause political or emotional damage;
- *Ownership of heritage*: references to contestation between different individuals or groups over the right to claim a particular embodiment of heritage;
- and *Professional expertise*: here used to contain criticisms of heritage professionals, often for failure to understand public understandings of or attachment to heritage, and discussions of how heritage professionals are differentiated from or hold different viewpoints to other people.

In addition to these sub themes, the ‘parent’ theme, *power and political heritage*, included related topics of discussion which did not have their own sub-category, such as colonialism, gender, or international relations.

What is made clear by Figure 5.3a (below) is that there was an awareness of the intersections between politics, power and heritage before IJHS was founded. Indeed, this theme shows a far higher level of content than either of the two discussed previously.

Figure 5.3a: Power and political heritage in IJHS and all other journals, 1994-2018

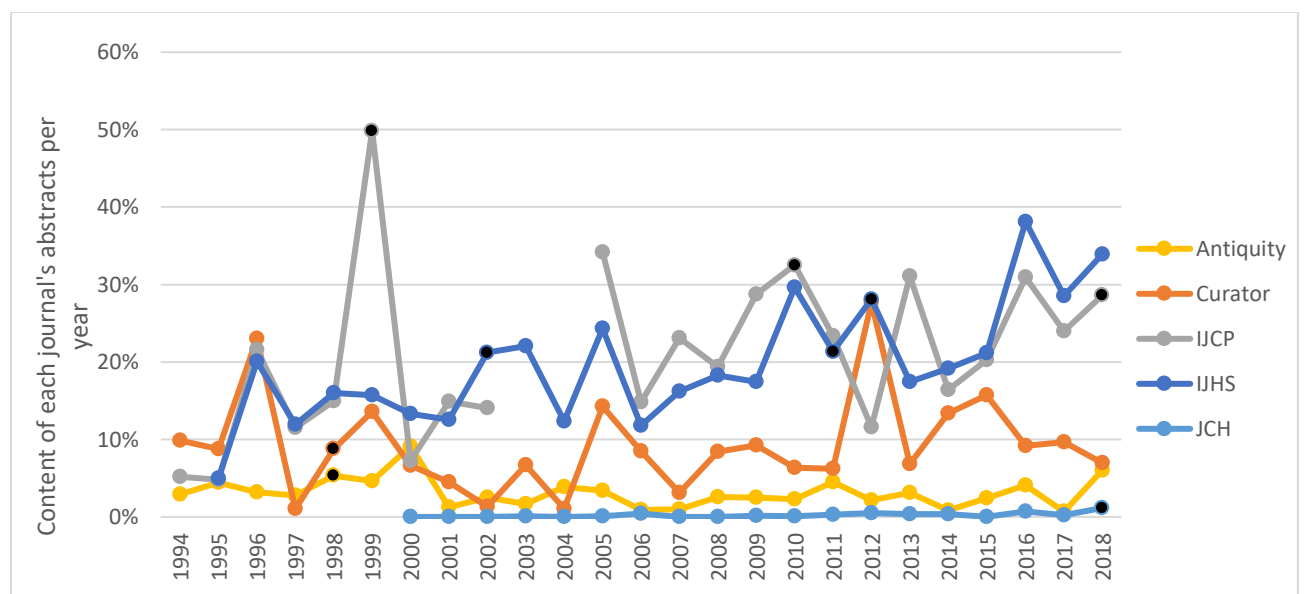


Although IJHS is now leading the discussions of the subject of *power and political heritage*, this was not consistently the case until as late as 2014. (The dip in related content in 2001-2005 can be explained by the gap in publication of the *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, which impacted the cumulative total.) It is, of course, worth noting that overall, the non-IJHS journals had an upward trend in content related to this theme, which suggests an increasingly widespread awareness of

one of the fundamental tenets of critical heritage theory: the political nature of heritage. However, this is not sufficient to prove a cause-effect relationship. The spikes in content dealing with *power and political heritage* in 1999-2000, 2005 and 2010 suggest that article authors were responding to external events which inspired discussion.

Figure 5.3b shows a more complex picture; what percentage of the content of each journal's abstracts published each year deals with the topic of political heritage. Due to the different number of issues and the length of the abstracts published by different journals, comparing these percentages can give a more nuanced idea of the weight given to a topic within a certain field.

Figure 5.3b: Power and political heritage in individual journals, 1994-2018



It is particularly noticeable that the peak percentage of content devoted to issues of *power and political heritage* was not achieved by a volume of IJHS, but by the 1999 publication of the *International Journal of Cultural Property* (IJCP), helped by a special issue on 'Indigenous peoples: issues of definition', which helped *Power and political heritage* to total 49.9% of all the abstract content when all sub-themes were combined. Overall, IJCP, which focuses on issues of legal debate and principles relating to heritage legislation, shows the highest proportional focus on issues of power and politics. In particular, IJCP consistently contained discussions which were categorised as *Ownership of heritage*, *Indigenous heritage*, and *Difficult or contested heritage*: all areas in which legislators and courts in many countries have intervened. In marked contrast, the *Journal of Cultural Heritage* (JCH), which primarily focuses on scientific and technological conservation methods, achieved a maximum percentage of abstract content which deals with *Power and political heritage* of just 1.2% in 2018.

Against this disciplinarily apportioned backdrop, the percentage of *IJHS* devoted to the topic of *power and political heritage* rose fairly steadily, as expected from a theme which has become increasingly central to critical heritage studies. However, none of the other journals follow suit; on the contrary, the period around 2001-4 when the content of *IJHS* dealing with *power and political heritage* begins to climb above the other journals is marked with a concurrent *drop* in the percentage of equivalent content in *Antiquity* and *Curator*. *Curator*, the museums journal, later regains and surpasses its political content percentage, peaking again thanks to a special issue on 'Human rights and Museums' in 2012. However, *Antiquity*, representing archaeology in this analysis, never again equals its 2000 *Power and political heritage* percentage of 9.1%. Echoing the results of the study of *Abstract concepts of heritage*, it appears here that by claiming *Power and political heritage* as a key concern for critical heritage theory, its writers collected discussions within a single place. Rather than drawing attention to these debates in the wider sphere of heritage studies, this instead seems to result in a compression of discussion into a single journal, reducing the breadth of the debates while increasing their frequency.

Overall, results of these comparisons between the content of different journals have so far indicated that the emergence of critical heritage theory has encouraged discussion of these central themes within heritage studies – but also that there is a natural limit to the extent of these discussions within areas with other disciplinary foci, so critical heritage content has become compressed within the boundaries of its own subject area. The data showing that many of these areas of discussion were active without other journals before achieving popularity in *IJHS* demonstrates that issues of power, political heritage, and the definition of heritage are not new within the heritage sector; critical heritage theory is addressing long-standing concerns. However, studying them in combination and through a critical lens can highlight intersections and underlying themes, offering new perspectives on old issues.

## 5.5 In context: 1994-2018

This section will present three timelines, covering the periods 1994-2002, 2003-2010, and 2011-2018. These time periods divide the overall period studied roughly equally, and were necessary in order to examine trends in detail. However, the decision to start the final period in 2011 also marks the political change as the United Kingdom moved from a long-standing Labour majority to Conservative-led government, which naturally affected heritage management in the country. These shorter timelines will be used to highlight a number of particularly noticeable trends in the data collected from journals and place these within the context of relevant academic, political and socio-economic events. It will explore how heritage studies have both informed and

reacted to external events, highlighting the role heritage has assumed in working towards the goals of social cohesion, economic regeneration and combatting political extremism.

These three time periods each contain data which can be used to show how heritage discussions have changed over the time; in practical terms, the 7-8 year divisions were selected because they permit the demonstration of noticeable trends while also allowing detailed annual examination. Within each period, themes were selected which demonstrate interesting trends over the period selected, particularly when these show clear interactions with wider events which illustrate the relationships between academic studies and their context. Due to the large number of themes tracked and the different background events of different periods, each time period will demonstrate a different set of themes, as there was a large amount of data to summarise and a single set of themes continuing throughout the period would not be sufficiently illustrative. Where it is felt necessary to show the longer context of a changing theme, a graph of the theme for the entire timeline studied will be included to provide the full longitudinal perspective.

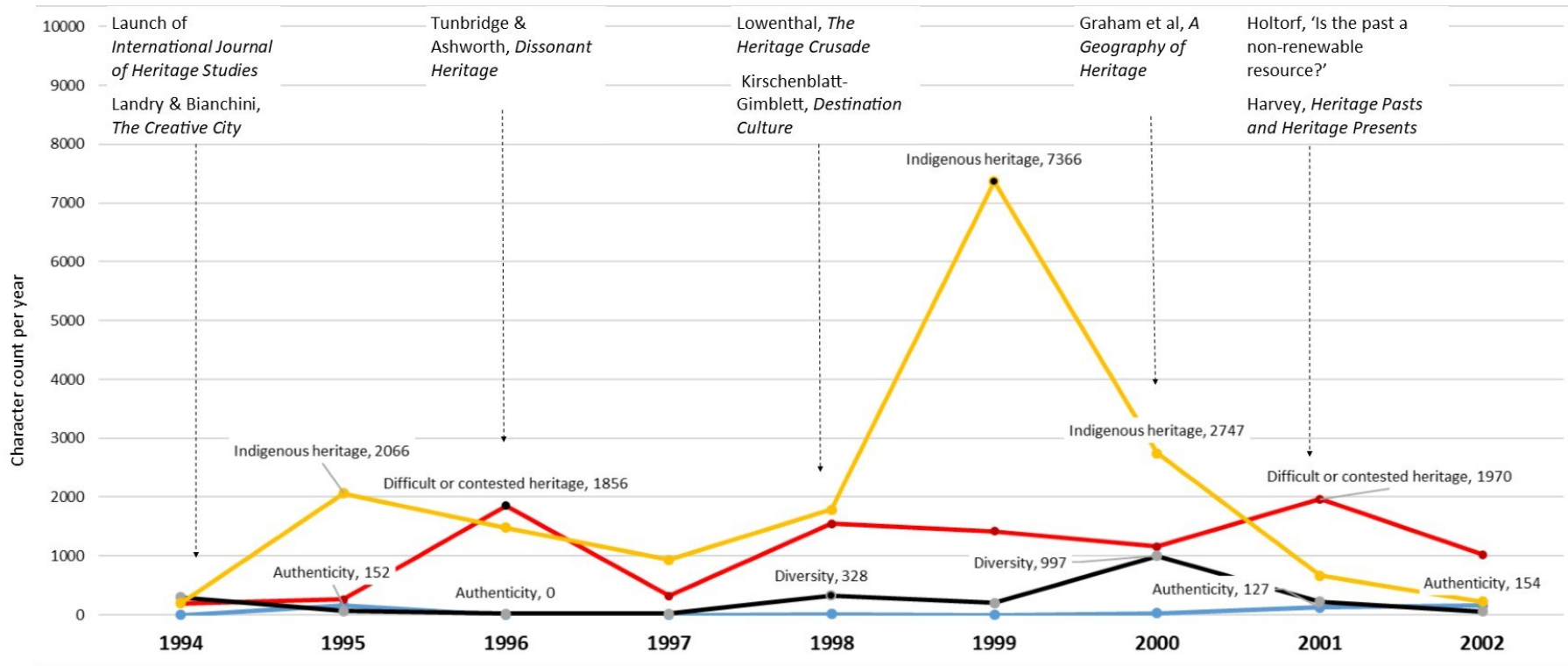
## 5.6 1994-2002

Although critical heritage studies can trace its roots back to the debates over the purpose and commercialisation of heritage published in the 1980s, as discussed in Chapter 2, it did not coalesce into a defined strand of academic studies until the 1990s, when it found a home in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* – the first publication of which marks the starting point of this qualitative analysis. In this first section of the time period studied, 1994-2002, trends in academic discussions within the journal abstracts are compared to the publications of major works in the field and key pieces of international legislation, which are now recognised as landmarks in the path of our understanding of heritage.

### 5.6.2 Difficult or contested heritage

The first strand, *Difficult or contested heritage*, was used to categorise discussions which addressed heritage as not necessarily beneficial or conventional, but potentially divisive, traumatic, or disputed. In many ways this is one of the central themes of critical heritage theory, as it questions not only *who* benefits from heritage, but also whether heritage is necessarily a positive force at all, and how to deal with its less cohesive elements. The trend begins with low popularity until 1996, at which point it peaks and thereafter maintains an increased level of discussion until the end of the selected time period. This peak was largely down to a special issue on 'Contested Heritage' in IJHS – co-edited by Tunbridge, whose work with Ashworth published during this year established the terminology and theorisation of 'dissonant heritage' firmly within the sphere of what would become known as critical heritage theory.

Figure 5.4: Trends 1994-2002



Year	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
<b>NATIONAL</b>	PPG15 HLF created English Heritage <i>Historic Landscape Project</i>	Moore, <i>Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government</i>	ALGAO formed Treasure Act Welsh office: <i>Planning and the Historic Environment</i>	<b>LABOUR GOVERNMENT</b> Social Exclusion Unit established UK rejoin UNESCO	Conservation Area Partnerships replaced by Heritage Economic Regeneration Strategies 'Heritage at Risk' begins	<b>SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE</b> <i>Government Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment</i> begins RCHME & EH merge	English Heritage <i>Power of Place</i> Report by <i>Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain</i>	DCMS <i>A Force for our Future</i>	First <i>Heritage Counts</i> Heritage Alliance founded QUEST: <i>Making it Count</i>
<b>INTER-NATIONAL</b>	Council of Europe: <i>Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities</i> ICOMOS: <i>Nara Document of Authenticity</i> Scottish Office: <i>NPPG 5</i>	UN World Commission on Culture and Development: <i>Our Creative Diversity</i>			UNESCO programme <i>Proclaiming Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage</i>	New <i>Burra Charter</i>	<i>European Landscape Convention</i> (Florence Convention)	UNESCO: <i>Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore &amp; Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity</i>	

It is worth noting that while the peak in 1996 is largely due to the theme's frequency in *IJHS* – where the theme comprised just over 10% of the total content – it was also popular among other journals, notably the *International Journal of Cultural Property*, which (as discussed above) frequently discusses cases of heritage which are so contested as to be the subject of legal proceedings, such as items which were formerly seized by Nazis or exported under colonial governments. The theme also has a small but steady presence within *Curator* and *Antiquity*. This overall picture suggests that the popularity of this theme among critical heritage theorists after its championing by Tunbridge and Ashworth was a reflection of the resonance it held for practitioners. The appropriate treatment and interpretation of dissonant or contentious heritage is an issue with which many practitioners have had to grapple – and the answer is far from being reached. Section 5.8.3 will return to this issue to explore how the simultaneous pressures for polyvocality and cohesion with regard to contested heritage have evolved.

### 5.6.3 Indigenous heritage

The second strand of discussion which is highlighted in Figure 5.4 is *Indigenous heritage*. This refers to the heritage of peoples who were the original residents of a place before being colonised – and in this analysis included the heritage of groups who had become oppressed minorities due to changing political borders around their native lands – for example, Bosnians in Yugoslavia. Like the management of *Difficult or contested heritage*, *Indigenous heritage* was of concern for heritage before the evolution of critical heritage studies. Indeed, Claire Smith argues that the World Archaeological Congress meetings, which began in 1986, 'provided one of the first opportunities for Indigenous peoples and scholars from low income countries to express their views in a major international setting', raising the profile of 'considerations of power and politics in framing archaeological questions and results' almost a decade before the beginning of the time period covered here (2017, p.9).

Prior to the period studied here, the 1990 Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) became federal law in the United States, requiring federal agencies and federally funded museums to provide Indigenous communities and their descendants with information about their collections. It allows some Native American groups to reclaim items of significance, such as human remains and sacred items, as long as they fulfil certain criteria to prove the claim. It has been described as fundamentally changing the relationship between museum professionals and Native Americans, encouraging and sometimes requiring consultation and collaboration (Graham & Murphy, 2010).

This was followed by the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, which was adopted in 1994 and which came into force in 1998. A key part of the Convention is that signatories (which include the United Kingdom),

'undertake to promote full and effective equality of persons belonging to minorities in all areas of economic, social, political, public and cultural life together with conditions that will allow them to express, preserve and develop their culture, religion, language and traditions' (Council of Europe, 2016).

While the relationship between cultural or ethnic groups in Europe does not divide into coloniser/Indigenous with such historical clarity as in USA/Native American relations, this Convention reflects the power imbalances between dominant and minority or underrepresented cultures, such as the Roma and the minority groups created by the implementation of borders in Eastern Europe and the Balkans in the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> Although the word 'heritage' is not specifically mentioned, 'culture, religion, language and traditions' are all elements of cultural heritage, and therefore enshrining the right to maintain and curate these things freely is a legal measure which upholds the rights of minority groups to have and to celebrate a cultural heritage which is not shared by the majority. This is a reflection of the same spirit of cultural empathy which motivated NAGPRA.

The passage of NAGPRA and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities demonstrate that there was already a widespread discourse around Indigenous rights in Western society and more specifically in heritage studies by the mid-1990s. This is reflected in the amount of space devoted to *Indigenous heritage* within the journals studied, which is overall significantly higher than any of the other themes highlighted in this section. The peak in 1998 marks a special issue in IJCP on 'Indigenous peoples: issues of definition'. In the case of *Indigenous heritage*, it can be seen that heritage studies is aware of and responds to political concerns – and was doing so long before a 'critical' strand of heritage (which emphasises the political nature of heritage) was well established. The passage of legislation provoked discussion as to the intricacies of its implementation within the journals, which maintains a focus of attention on the issue and invites further study.

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<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting here that there are, of course, parallel histories of enslavement of minorities in both the USA and Europe, and that many non-Indigenous people of colour in the United States are not colonisers but the descendants of victims of human trafficking (Crang & Tolia-Kelly, 2010; G. Dann & A. V. Seaton (eds.), 2001). Their histories of non-Indigenous people of colour were contained under "difficult or contested heritage", because although their heritage is different to the heritage of those with racial privilege, their right to a more equal and representative history is often discussed alongside the rights of other groups marginalised for other reasons, such as gender or class, and the practicalities of this study required grouping topics of discussion under themes.



#### 5.6.4 Authenticity

However, for *Authenticity*, the third theme studied in detail here, there is a contrasting lack of response to international policy. The Nara Document on Authenticity was published by ICOMOS in 1994, as discussed above, and has since been hailed as ‘highly influential’ and ‘a landmark moment’ (Winter, 2014a, 2014b). According to Winter, it ‘foregrounded intangible heritage within global discussions about authenticity and value’ (2014b, p.124), while Araoz states:

‘The global impact of Nara in bringing about the heritage paradigm shift cannot be exaggerated. Nara shattered once and for all the long-held Eurocentric insistence that there were universally accepted cultural principles for heritage identification and treatments’ (2013, p.151).

However, this retrospective importance is not reflected in the journal abstracts of the time. Indeed, in 1996 and 1997 the debate over authenticity was not referenced at all, in any of the journals.

With hindsight, the Nara Document articulates many of the ideas about the contextual and subjective nature of what we value in heritage which have since become widely accepted by heritage theorists, and was drawn on by the authors of Historic England’s Conservation Principles, as discussed above (Turner & Tomer, 2013; Drury, 2012; Waterton, 2010). However, at the time it did not immediately spark discussion. This is perhaps down to a sense of distance between the meeting in Nara and the discussions with Japanese heritage experts which inspired the document, and the canon of Western heritage practice: heritage practitioners who had worked with sites and artefacts from a particular cultural context their whole lives may not have felt the need to engage professionally with the heritage values of other cultures. In fact, as Figure 5.4 demonstrates, *authenticity* was not regularly discussed until the 2000s, with frequent discussion within critical heritage studies not taking off until the 2010s. This perhaps reflects the priorities of the authors within these journals, which were selected to represent heritage discourse in English which is, inevitably, largely reflective of the UK and USA.

In parallel to this delay in the widespread discussion of the concept of authenticity, the World Heritage Committee did not modify its own definition of authenticity (based on the Nara Document’s qualities of material, workmanship, design and setting) in paragraph 24 (b)(i) of its Operational Guidelines until 2005, despite a number of meetings related to the topic, including the 2000 meeting on ‘Authenticity and Integrity in an African Context’ held at Great Zimbabwe (Labadi, 2010, pp.71–2; World Heritage Committee, 1996). This meeting, and the 2005 revision of the definition to include ‘integrity and/or authenticity’, allows nominated sites to avoid judgement on the basis of their material authenticity – provided they are nominated for the following criteria:

‘(v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;

(vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.’ (World Heritage Committee, 2005, para.77)

These categories were a clear response to criticisms of a bias towards Western sites and heritage values in the World Heritage list, and can be seen as a part of the internal movement ‘for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List’ launched in 1994 (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2014; Labadi, 2010; Harrison, 2010a, pp.127–9). These new guidelines represent a compromise between conservationism and the contingent nature of authenticity and ‘respect due to all cultures’ described in the Nara Document (ICOMOS, 1994, para.11).

The meeting at Great Zimbabwe and the 2005 new Operational Guidelines are coincident with the beginning of the widespread discussions of authenticity in the journals studied, not the endpoint of a theoretical debate. It appears in this case that international organisations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, which are subject to pressure from their non-Western members, can be the focal point where issues created by a culturally homogenous conservationist approach to heritage are met head-on. The compromises and debates created by the need to balance multiple viewpoints within these organisations are then brought to the attention of the heritage specialists at a national level, who are then – in the case of authenticity – inspired to discuss how these culturally variant views can relate to their own professional contexts. This was also the view of an interviewee who now works as a lecturer and has seen critical heritage theory develop, and who locates the roots of the new ways of thinking about heritage within international discussions and contexts, beginning with the European Year of Architectural Heritage in 1975:

‘I still believe profoundly that that international network of thinking around value-based citizen-centred approaches, to thinking about heritage, are really fundamental to us ... My reading of it is that it came in through Europe, and then through the international protocols and charters and Conventions and thinking at ... UNESCO and ICOMOS level’ (Interview 3, p.264).

The ideas of Indigenous heritage were of increased urgency in countries finding ways to deal with the legacies of colonialism, authenticity and related themes of critical heritage theory, and were brought to the fore by international discussions which showed prominently the contingent and constructed nature of heritage, which diverges in different cultural contexts.

### 5.6.5 Diversity

The final theme tracked in this section is *Diversity*. This concept is more widely related to the socio-political background of the United Kingdom in the 1990s than the other theoretical topics discussed above. An awareness and even celebration of diversity was a key part of the

inclusive, multicultural society that was the aim of the Labour government's social policy. The UK was of course not alone in this: migration, mobility, and rapid globalisation were major features of the later twentieth century, resulting in the need to integrate new communities in formerly fairly homogenous areas. The UN designated a 'Decade for Cultural Development' from 1988-1997, with cultural diversity as a key theme, in response to fears that unique cultural practices would be lost as formerly isolated cultural groups acclimatised to more frequent mingling with others (Logan et al., 2010, p.7). The summary report advised that:

'A nation that believes in creative diversity needs to create a sense of itself as a civic community, rooted in values that can be shared by all, hence freed from any connotations of ethnic exclusivity. All its policy approaches should be grounded in this awareness' (World Commission on Culture and Development & Pérez de Cuéllar, 1996, p.21).

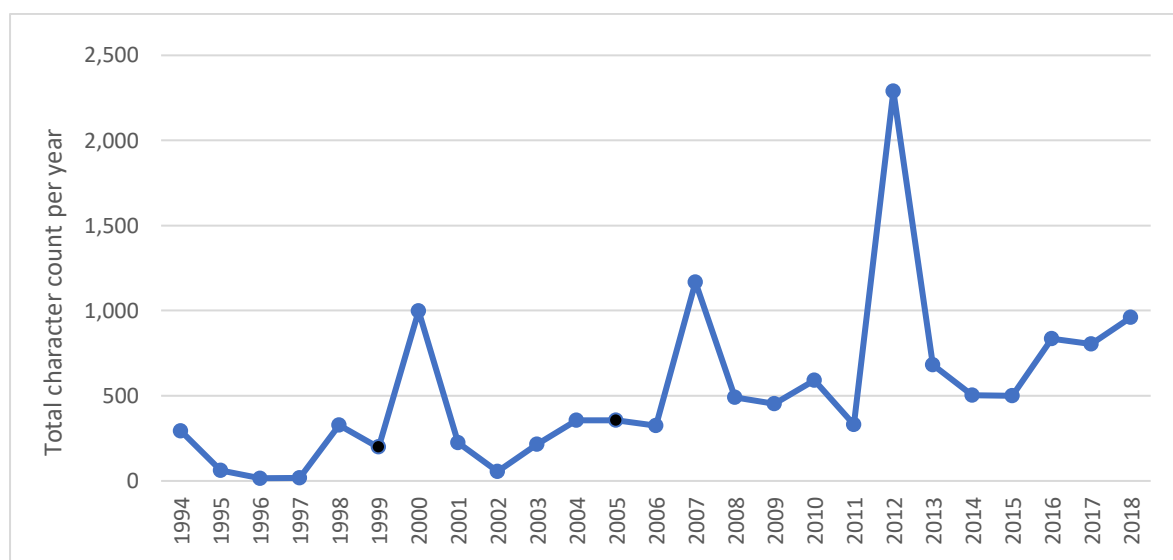
UNESCO followed this in 2001 with the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, which aimed to encapsulate 'a new ethic for the twenty-first century' by explicitly linking human rights with freedom to express diverse forms of culture (Logan et al., 2010, p.7; UNESCO, 2001). In 2005 the *UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* demonstrated an increased awareness of intangible cultural heritage, and also promoted the language of diversity within heritage studies – the broad aims of the Decade for Cultural Development gradually filtering their way into the specificities of heritage (Hill et al., 2018, p.41).

Figure 5.4 shows how the discussion of the theme of *Diversity* gradually makes its way into heritage discourse following the election of Labour in 1997, and against the background of connections being made between cultural expression and minority rights and freedoms. As one interviewee described the New Labour period,

'a lot of progress was made over that 10 year period in terms of pushing for changes in understanding of what heritage was, was that kind of achievement ... when the wider world, including government, internalised the fact that heritage wasn't just about old posh things, it was actually about everybody in places that they live' (Interview 6, p.362).

The push to celebrate diversity within society was making an impact on how heritage was conceived and described, and providing a political backdrop against which these new ideas could be put into practice. This is more clearly illustrated in Figure 5.5, in which it can be seen that from almost nothing in 1996-7, the theme of *Diversity* has a peak in 2000, in a clear response to the policy drives of nations and international bodies including the UK, the USA, and the United Nations. The graph demonstrates that issues of cultural freedoms, global politics and social inclusion have sunk deep within the discourse of heritage theory and management.

Figure 5.5: Diversity in all journals 1994-2018



To summarise the period from 1994-2002: it saw the nascent strand of critical heritage studies begin to coalesce into an identifiable academic discipline, demonstrating an awareness of the legislation and policy that was being developed to both protect and use heritage, at national and international levels. Nevertheless, the lack of interest in the idea of *Authenticity*, even after the publication of the Nara Document, suggests a still generally Western conservationist perspective, despite an increasing interest in diversity and multiculturalism, and potentially a wariness among heritage scholars to tackle such a complex and subjective topic.

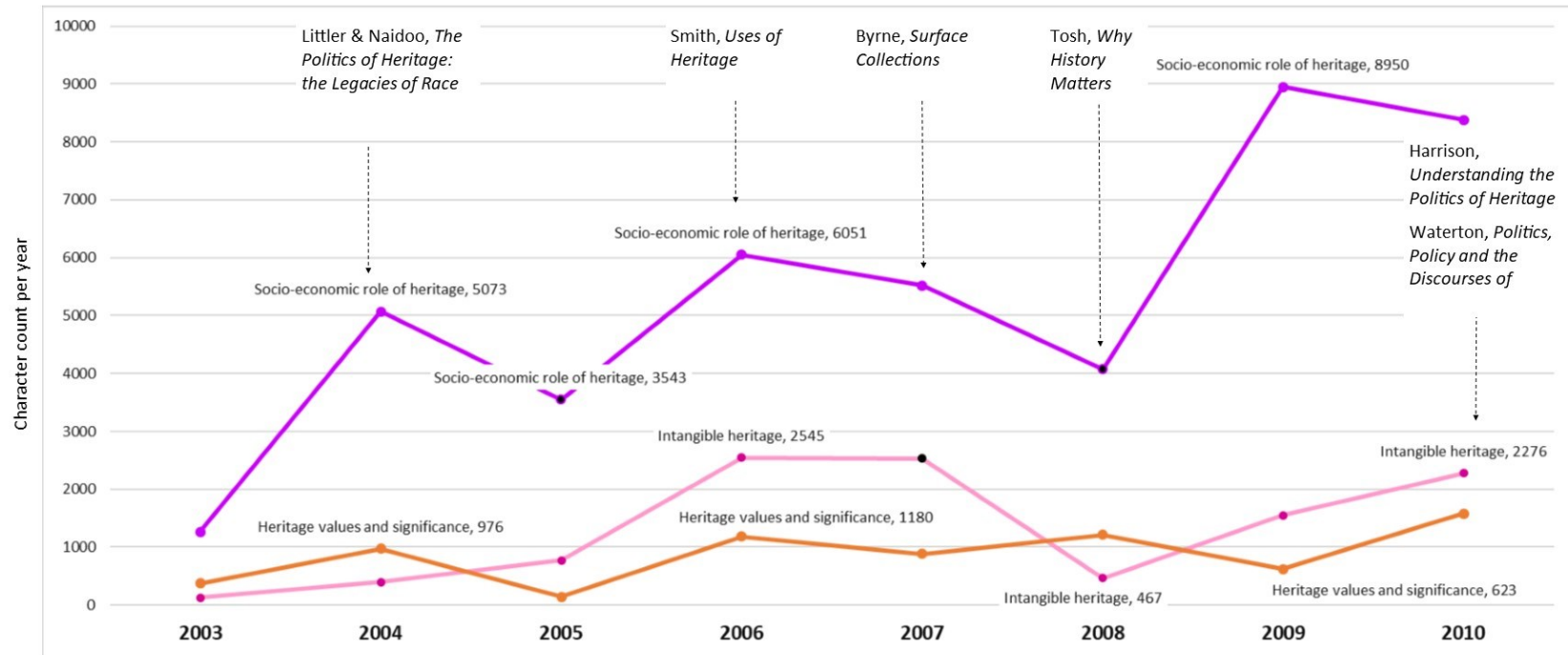
## 5.7 2003-2010

The first decade of the twenty-first century featured an economic boom and bust on a global scale. Heritage, established as a 'Force for our Future' (in the words of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001) which could be used to push towards key policy goals of social inclusion and wider participation in cultural activities, developed a vocabulary of values and significance as its contingent and socially-constructed nature became more broadly recognised.

### 5.7.1 Heritage values and significance

Heritage values and significance were first used in a heritage context in the Burra Charter (1979) by ICOMOS Australia, as discussed above, to try to create a legal environment in which Western and Indigenous understandings could coexist (Waterton et al., 2006; Byrne, 2003). Although not immediately imported into a European context, which had less pressing need to cater for plurality in heritage in the absence of an internal binary colonial-Indigenous power imbalance, it nevertheless has become widely influential. One interviewee remembered,

Figure 5.6: Trends 2003-2010



Category	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<p>DCMS: <i>Protecting our Historic Environment: Making the system work better</i></p> <p>Heritage Protection Review begins</p> <p>Local Heritage Lists enter planning</p>	<p>DCMS: <i>Review of Heritage Protection: The Way Forward</i></p> <p>Tessa Jowell, <i>The Value of Culture</i></p>	<p>English Heritage take over responsibility for listing</p>	<p><b>GOVERNMENT OF WALES ACT</b></p> <p>DCMS: <i>Protecting and Preserving our Heritage</i></p>	<p>Heritage White Paper</p> <p>Cabinet Office / Treasury: <i>The future role of the third sector in social and economic regeneration</i></p>	<p>English Heritage: <i>Conservation Principles</i></p> <p>Draft <i>Heritage Protection Bill</i></p> <p>UK signs <i>European Landscape Convention</i></p>	<p>PPG 15 &amp; 16 replaced by PPS5</p> <p><b>ELECTION OF CONSERVATIVE-LIBERAL DEMOCRAT COALITION</b></p> <p>Spending Review</p> <p>Social Exclusion Taskforce abolished</p>	
<b>INTERNATIONAL</b>	<p>UNESCO: <i>Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage</i></p>		<p>Council of Europe: <i>Faro Convention</i></p> <p>UNESCO: <i>Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions</i></p>	<p>UNESCO: <i>Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage</i> comes into force</p> <p>European Heritage Label launched</p>	<p>UN: <i>Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)</i></p>	<p><b>INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL CRISIS</b></p>	<p>ICOMOS: <i>The Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of the Place</i></p>	<p>ICOMOS New Zealand: <i>Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value</i></p> <p>UK Equality Act</p>

‘being hugely impressed by that in the late 70s... when somebody, at an international conference, ... shared that, spoke about that, and [I] thought "wow, this is just extraordinary"' (Interview 3, p.264).

Therefore, unlike some of the more recent theoretical elements of critical heritage studies, heritage values were already a part of the academic discourse by 1994, as demonstrated in Figure 5.7. They are now central to our understandings of heritage, as an interviewee at Historic England explained:

‘it's all about humans, it's all about how we ascribe value and so it's all about how we inspire and change value in people's minds’ (Interview 5, p.345).

Nevertheless, however central to current understandings of heritage they are, they as yet have no place within English and Welsh legislation, though the vocabulary is present in policy documents (see Interview 3, p.264).

The 2005 Council of Europe *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (Faro Convention) shifted the capacity for identifying heritage values from professionals to communities, adopting and publicising the idea that these values are social and contextual, not scientifically deducible by experts (Schofield (ed.), 2014; Council of Europe, 2005). A more consistent level of discussion on the theme of heritage values and significance can be seen in Figure 5.7 during the second half of the 2000s, suggesting the Faro Convention may have drawn increased attention to the usefulness of this vocabulary for describing and managing heritage.

In England, the *Conservation Principles* published by Historic England in 2008 are as yet the clearest national adoption of this approach, although values and significance are also embedded within the work of the National Lottery Heritage Fund, which also began in 1994 at the beginning of this period of analysis (Clark, 2019, 2014). As discussed above, they identify the significance of a heritage site as being rooted in its values, and guides its audience to assess these, including the input of communal value (English Heritage, 2008a, p.31; Clark, 2019). This demonstrates how the vocabulary of values and significance was sufficiently ubiquitous in the discourses of heritage management, and particularly in the international charters and policy documents which inspired its authors, for the terminology to merit inclusion in an advice document by a national body, even when the terms do not appear in the legislation which guides that nation's heritage protection (Drury, 2012).

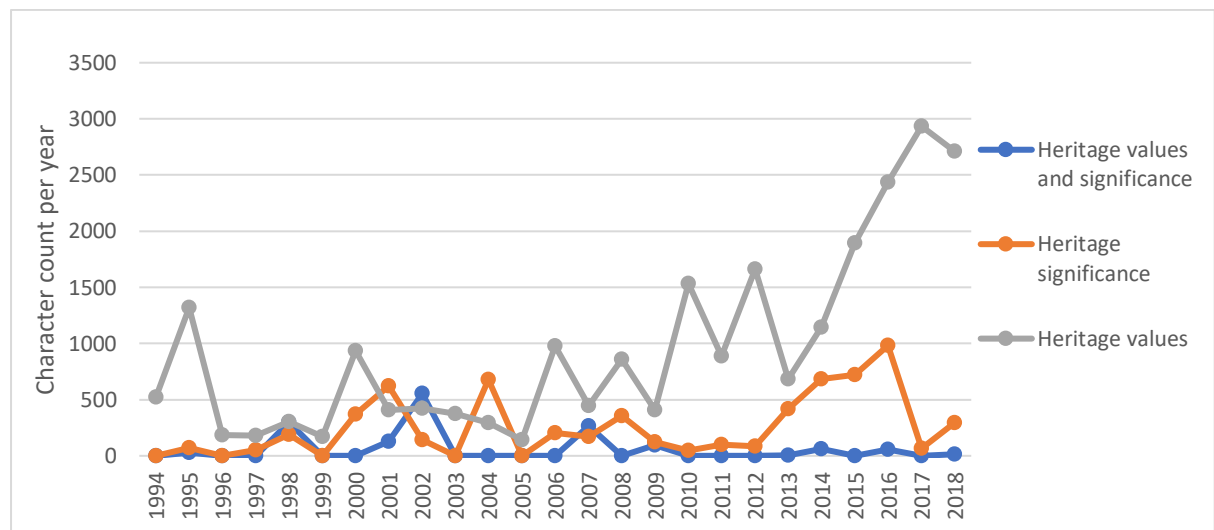
The language of significance is also present in the National Planning Policy Framework, or NPPF, which recommends that planners ‘conserve heritage assets in a manner appropriate to their significance’ (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2018, para.126). The

significance of heritage assets is a key feature within the national planning policy, and given a high priority against competing development interests:

‘Where a proposed development will lead to substantial harm to (or total loss of significance of) a designated heritage asset, local planning authorities should refuse consent, unless it can be demonstrated that the substantial harm or total loss is necessary to achieve substantial public benefits that outweigh that harm or loss’ (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2018, para.195).

At first glance, this adoption of the idea of significance which is individual to different heritage assets may seem to step drastically away from the purely tangible definition of heritage which focuses entirely on the preservation of fabric, as ‘significance’ can be a product of the communal or intangible features of a heritage asset, as discussed in Chapter 2. However, the NPPF’s definition of ‘significance’ is rooted firmly in the 1990 Planning Act and 1979 AMAAA, as discussed in Chapter 3. The use of the word ‘significance’ therefore does not represent an inclusion of intangible heritage within the national framework of England and Wales. However, conserving the features which make a heritage asset significant, rather than the fabric in its entirety, represents an understanding that change to fabric is not always negative and that assets do not need to be preserved in a static state to retain their heritage function.

Figure 5.7: Heritage values, heritage significance, and significance and values, 1994-2018



The terminology of values and significance was noticeably absent from the Heritage White Paper (2007) and Draft Heritage Protection Bill (2008) proposed for England and Wales by DCMS, which instead proposed to clarify and streamline the scheduling and listing procedures and retain categories of ‘special interest’ based on ‘historic, archaeological, architectural or artistic interest’ (2008, para.2.1(b)). In this case, it is evident that a topic which, although widely discussed in

previous years by heritage theorists, had not yet reached an equivalent level of acceptance within policy circles, at least in England.

Although heritage values and heritage significance peak in their popularity among academic journals in the 2010s, as shown in Figure 5.7, there is a fairly constant level of interest in both from 2000 onwards, reflecting a widespread adoption of the terms to describe the complex socially-constituted elements of heritage. That heritage values are the subject of more discussion than heritage significance is, arguably, reflective of the more fluid and multivalent nature of value, as opposed to a relatively binary scale of significant-to-insignificant; while significance is a subjective judgement based on what is considered to be ‘important’ about a heritage asset, this significance (to borrow the words of the *Conservation Principles*) ‘embraces all the diverse cultural and natural heritage values that people associate with it, or which prompt them to respond to it’ (English Heritage, 2008a, p.21). The significance is, in other words, a product of these values – which can frequently be dissonant, contested, or under-recognised and are therefore subject to considerable study by heritage theorists, with equivalent prominence in the data.

There is, moreover, an element of ambivalence to the concept of ‘heritage value’ which necessitates its study alongside significance for the purposes of disambiguation. Clark identifies the three types of values which are ascribed to heritage thus:

‘ideas about significance in the protection and management of heritage (so-called *intrinsic* values, relating to significance); second, ... the wider economic, social, and environmental benefits of heritage (*instrumental* values, relating to sustainability); and third, ... how heritage organizations themselves create value (*institutional values*, related to service)’ (Clark, 2019).

This overlap in vocabulary between intangible heritage element and functions performed by heritage and heritage organisations required differentiation in the process of analysis between the intrinsic values, discussed above and the instrumental and institutional values, here bracketed under the term ‘the socio-economic role of heritage’.

### 5.7.2 Socio-economic role of heritage

This theme is, clearly, related to the socio-political trends of the period. The second half of the 1990s in the UK marked the end of a long period of Conservative government, which had been characterised by the devolution of public services to privatised or semi-autonomous public bodies and by the pursuit of a free market economy (Green, 2015; Sayer, 2014). It was replaced by Labour in 1997, who shifted the focus away from consumer-driven economics, instead aiming to ensure the benefits of economic wealth were felt at local and community levels, and attempting to reduce social divisions through policies of inclusion, while maintaining a largely decentralised structure of government (Sayer, 2014; Waterton, 2010; Levitas, 2004). In the United States under



the Clinton presidency, there was a similar approach; combining centrist economic policy with a leftist social approach (Campbell & Rockman, 2001).

In the UK, the Blair administration's desire to decrease social exclusion without drastically increasing spending meant that already-existing social and cultural structures were encouraged to follow the government's agenda: to increase participation by those previously excluded due to poverty, race, gender, class, disability, or other factors (Sayer, 2014; Levitas, 2004). Bennet and Savage identify the election of 'New' Labour as the point when tackling social exclusion became 'a significant point of cultural policy reference in Britain' (2004, p.9), as does Waterton (2010, p.8). Initially, however, the New Labour rejection of traditionalist and conservative values engendered a lack of interest in the field and developing 'industry' of heritage (Interview 7, p.403, Hewison, 1987). In 1997 the Labour government had dropped the title 'Department for National Heritage', renaming it as the 'Department for Culture, Media and Sport' in what can be seen as a deliberate move to distance the new socially-progressive government from the traditionalist-nationalist values of the preceding Conservative administration (Lennox, 2013, p.46; Lowenthal, 1998, pp.xi–xii). In response, heritage organisations justified their existence – and particularly their continued funding – by creating 'a new focus on the 'value' of heritage to a wider social sphere' (Jones, 2017; Sayer, 2014).

An example is the 2000 document produced by Historic England, *Power of Place*, which was the result of broad consultation and set out a case for the historic environment not only as a contributor to economic prosperity, but as a major factor in the quality of life for those who reside or work in it (Cherry, 2007; Graham, 2002, p.1015; English Heritage, 2000). *Power of Place* and the following document by DCMS, *A Force for our Future*, brought the potential use of heritage in socio-economic programmes into national prominence. These were 'seminal documents' in bringing about 'a clear millennial shift' in governmental approaches to heritage (Interview 3, pp.278 & 271). But even preceding these, in 1999 the launch of Historic England's *Heritage Economic Regeneration Schemes* used heritage as a direct amelioration measure for socio-economic problems, targeted at what government indices suggested were some of the most deprived areas (Pendlebury, 2013, p.718). This tactic was accepted and reaffirmed by organisations and individuals who set government policy. For example, in 1999 the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) published a policy document called *Regeneration through Culture, Sport and Tourism*, which explicitly described the potential of culture to address social exclusion (Lees & Melhuish, 2015, p.249). The 2004 essay *Government and the Value of Culture* by Tessa Jowell, then Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, is described by Belfiore as an argument for 'the importance, for the government, to support artistic engagement as an antidote

to the ills afflicting the disadvantaged young’ (2009, p.350). By positioning culture and heritage as such a powerful force for positive change, it then became a part of the role of cultural organisations to enact such changes – though arguably truly meaningful and wide-ranging change is beyond the remit or capabilities of the cultural sector (Lees & Melhuish, 2013; Sayer, 2014; Waterton, 2010; Newman & McLean, 2004).

Figure 5.8a: Socio-economic role of heritage in each journal, 1994-2018

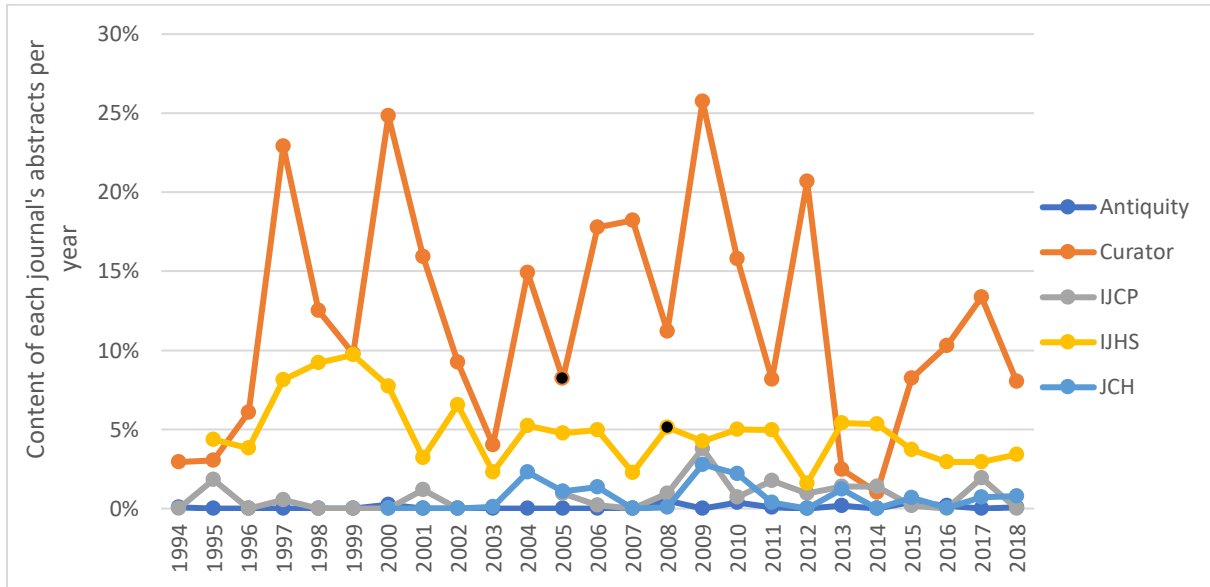


Figure 5.8a shows the percentage of abstracts in each journal which relate to all the topics grouped under the heading ‘socio-economic role of heritage’. It is clear that in the 1990s this is a subject for the heritage journals which are more focused on interpretation and engagement – *Curator*, the museums journal, and IJHS, which has always contained studies on the relationship between heritage and its communities. Notably, in 2009 there is an increase in interest in heritage’s beneficial impacts not among one single journal, but among three of the five journals studied, as funding for arts and culture was threatened in many countries. This interest gradually decreases over the following few years but the initial reaction demonstrates that heritage studies is deeply concerned with wider socio-economic developments.

Following decades of upward growth, the 2008 crash sent shockwaves through global economic and political systems, resulting in ‘a new age of austerity’, wherein all public services considered to be ‘non-essential’ were stripped back by governments seeking to reduce their spending deficits (McCann, 2013). In the UK, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government, formed in May 2010, instigated a policy of cuts in public spending which were passed from national to local governments, resulting in a prioritisation of education and welfare at the

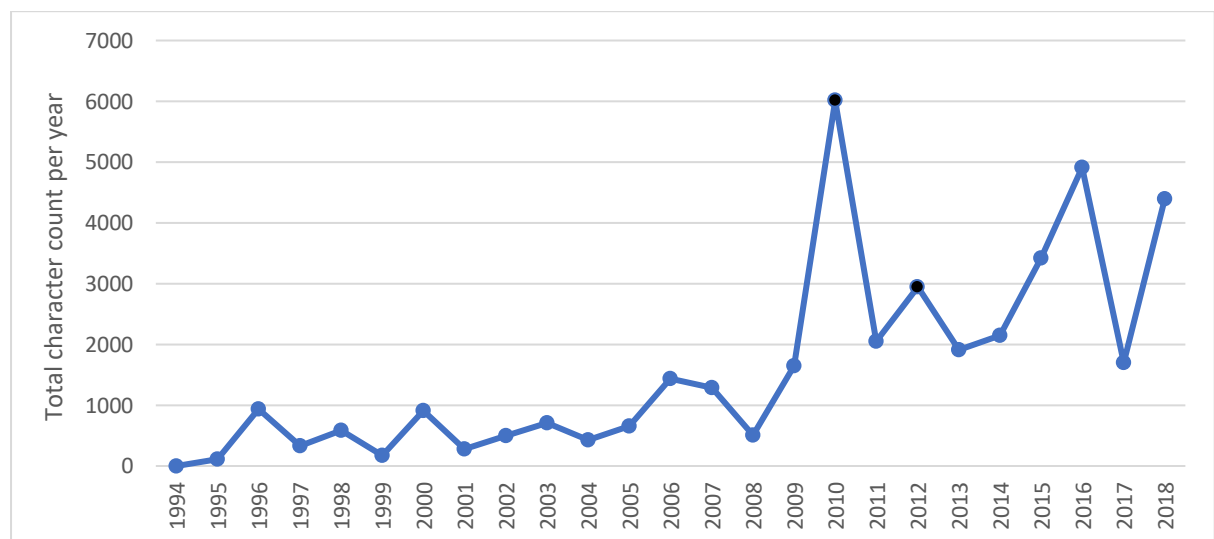
expense of culture and arts (Morel, 2019; Belford, 2018; Fredheim, 2018). Publicly funded projects had to ‘qualitatively justify themselves’ by providing value for money to their audiences / consumers (Sayer, 2014, p.62; Pendlebury, 2013). The concurrent change in rhetoric from ‘social inclusion’ to the ‘Big Society’ placed the emphasis on community and civic engagement at a local level (Sayer, 2014; Mohan & Bulloch, 2012, p.3). The impact of this change in focus on heritage has been extensively analysed by Stella Jackson and Rob Lennox, who have studied the combination of local empowerment and diminished financial support which characterised the Big Society period (Lennox, 2016; Jackson et al., 2014). The shock of the change was described by an interviewee:

‘a period of austerity, when all of a sudden everyone is panicked about the future of their quango, and the funding that they’re going to receive, and so, from a period of relative forward looking thought about what heritage should be, into a real defensive position, how do we protect the funding that we’ve got, how do we appeal to a different ideological idea about what heritage is’ (Interview 6, p.374).

Here the close attention paid by heritage studies to the socio-economic background of current heritage work is reinforced in Figure 5.8b by the clear upswing in discussions of community and local heritage – the kind explicitly celebrated by Big Society rhetoric – from 2010 onwards. However, this was not a dramatic change from the way heritage had used policy goals to bring itself into prominence under Labour:

‘if you look at the response of some of the national amenity societies and civic groups to the Big Society agenda, then they’re just shrugging their shoulders and saying, “...that’s what we’re doing for the last forty years ... what are you talking about?” and very glad to be able to step onto that moving train, as it were, because that was ... taking them in the direction they wanted to go’ (Interview 3, pp.271-2).

Figure 5.8b: Community heritage in all journals, 1994-2018



Discussion of the socio-economic role played by heritage in wider society had already gained popularity, in part thanks to the contemporary discourse of public value (Waterton, 2010,

p.148). For example, in 2002 Pickard argued that ‘heritage is an asset that should be maintained for future generations as a sustainable activity, as it can provide employment, skills training and functional benefits, and it also reinforces identity and community values’ (pp.359–60). However, in 2009, as it was becoming clear that government spending in many countries was about to be retrenched, discussions around the role of heritage in society rose rapidly in popularity. It seems clear that the response by heritage scholars to cuts in non-essential public services was to point out the myriad of ways that heritage can contribute to the well-being of the public – putting forward a case that culture is itself an essential service. A member of the Heritage Alliance described how this adjustment to fit heritage goals within wider policy goals is very much a part of their day to day work:

‘I have to make heritage relevant to other people's agendas, you know, so that they can understand why it's relevant to them as either as politicians or as policy people ... at the moment, where there is absolutely no Parliamentary time - well, it's going to be for the next 10 years, is all going to be clogged up with either Brexit or the NHS or whatever else - that is very important that we're able to articulate heritage in terms of solving problems for others. So we're doing work on how heritage underpins the creative economy, how heritage supports soft power, how heritage benefits well being, we're not going to get a bill just for its own sake ... we're thinking about this in public policy terms and we're thinking about it in terms of kind of wider themes’ (Interview 7, pp.401-2).

Heritage advocacy must be alert to all the potential changes which might impact heritage practice, whether in planning policy, environmental concerns, trade agreements, or a myriad of other areas. What is suggested by the data in the *socio-economic role of heritage* theme is that academic studies of heritage are by no means unaware of the pressures on the wider sector and the trends in the wider political scene.

### 5.7.3 Intangible heritage

The final noteworthy theme to look at in detail for the period 2003-2010 is *Intangible heritage*. The increased attention given to immaterial forms of heritage has been described by Pocock *et al* as ‘an important development in a field of practice that has heavily emphasised materiality’ (2015, p.962), while Lixinski points out that it ‘was an important change of focus which happened gradually in heritage studies’ (2011, p.83). The concept of intangible heritage is now broadly understood and demonstrates a steady level of interest within academic articles, but this has not always been the case – one interviewee remembered that at the beginning of their career in the 1970s, it was ‘completely different .... you just wouldn't have thought about [intangible heritage] when I first got involved’ (Interview 1, p.202). One key turning point can be identified in Figure 5.6, which shows a significant and sustained climb in interest in the topic following UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention (ICHC) (2003). While intended primarily to protect forms of minority and Indigenous knowledge, the creation of a legally-binding Convention with operational guidelines for states party to follow placed intangible heritage on the world stage

as an equal counterpart to tangible heritage; Smith and Campbell have explicitly credited the Convention with accelerating discussions around intangible heritage, and their experience is clearly supported by the data (2018, p.4; Lixinski, 2013). Much like the increasing interest in *Authenticity* following the 2000 World Heritage Committee meeting in Great Zimbabwe and the 2005 new Operational Guidelines, the 2003 ICHC brought into global prominence ideas which may previously have been thought irrelevant to Western heritage conservation, thereby stimulating interest and discussion. Once again international perspectives and discussions are crucial to widening and contextualising concepts of heritage.

## 5.8 2011-2018

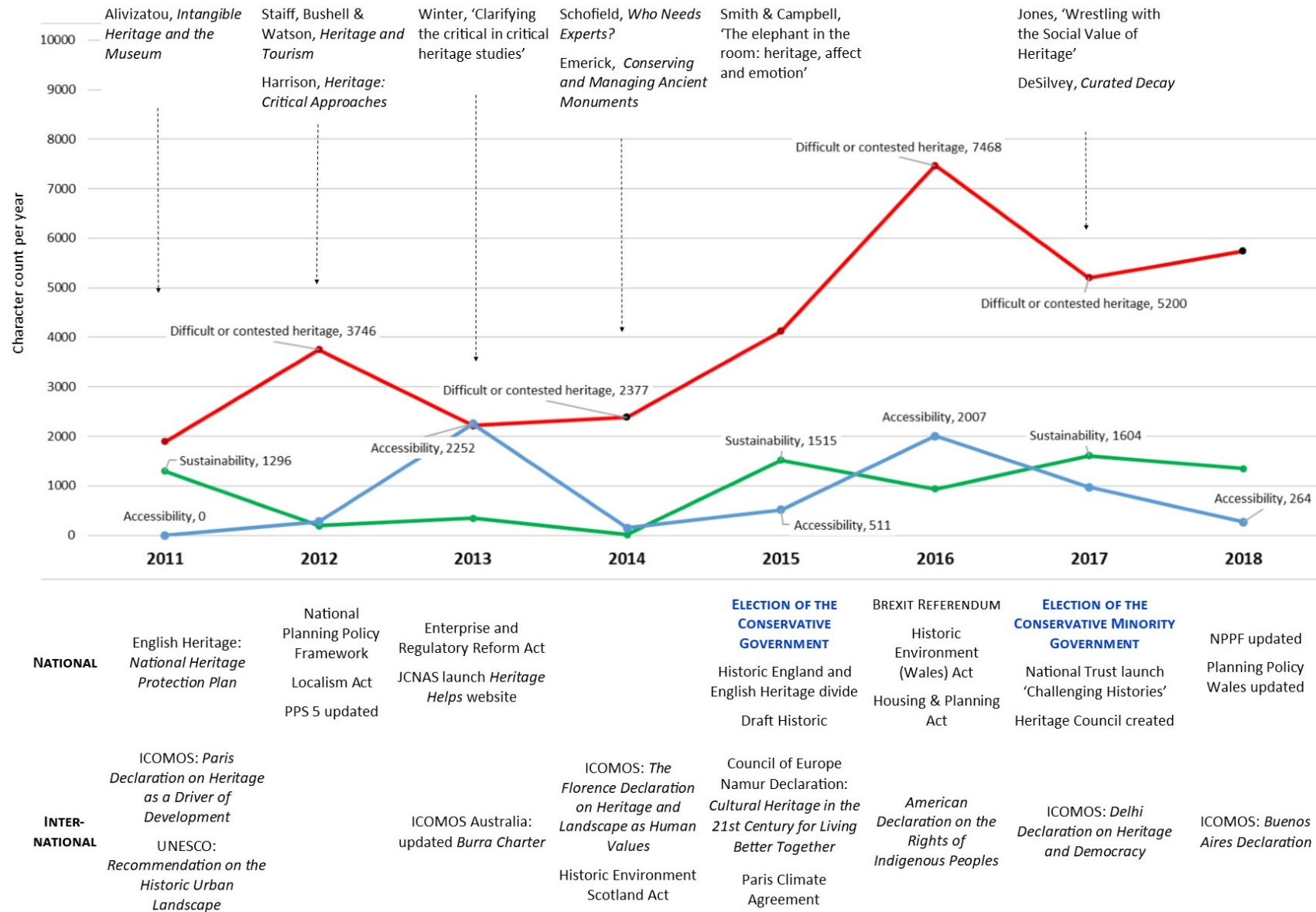
In the first decade of the twenty-first century certain themes that are now central in heritage theory, including *difficult or contested heritage* and *heritage values and significance*, could be seen gaining and maintaining a steady presence, not only in the academic discourse but in national and international legislative and policy documents. The second clear feature of the period is an increasing connection between heritage and wider socio-economic interest – both within heritage as it promotes itself as a public service, and from states which become aware of the potential for cultural organisations to deliver policy goals.

In the economic uncertainty which followed the global financial crisis at the end of the 2000s, these discussions of the socio-economic role that heritage can play maintained popularity, though never again achieving the peak level of 2009. Moreover, there is clear evidence of other ways in which heritage studies responds and contributes to wider global discussions, including those around ideas of ecological sustainability and social cohesion.

### 5.8.1 Sustainability

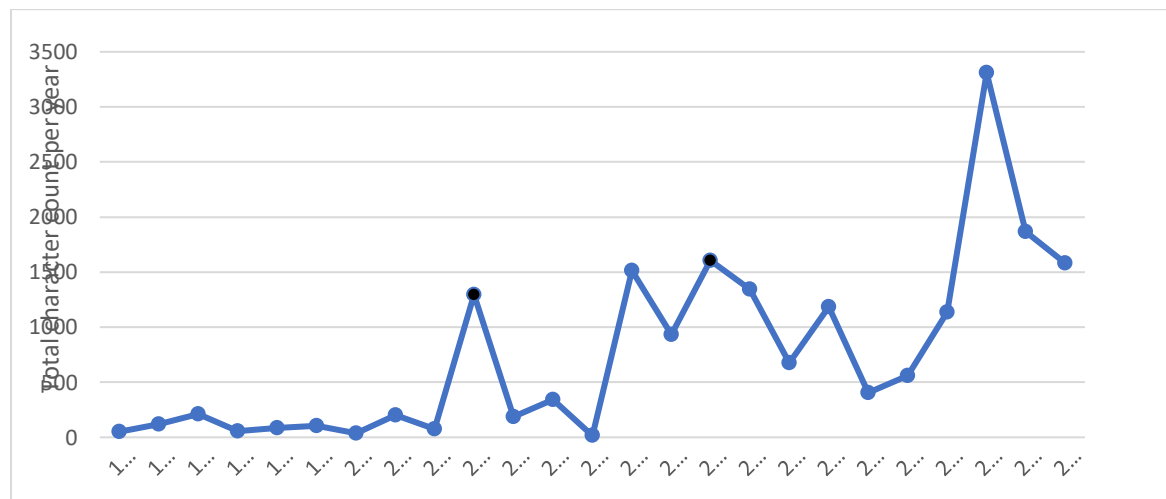
Although studies of climate change began within scientific disciplines, the idea of ‘sustainability’ has found much wider purchase, implying as it now does a combination of political, social, economic and cultural aspects. Discussions of sustainability – which was used to categorise mentions of the ways heritage can be used to combat environmental change – increase significantly during this later part of the period studied, as demonstrated in Figure 5.10, but had been present for a long time within heritage discourse. In his retrospective analysis of the development of archaeology during the later twentieth century, Geoff Wainwright pinpoints Peter Fowler’s introduction of the idea of archaeology as a ‘nonrenewable resource’ to the professional UK archaeology sector in 1975 (with implications for the practices of rescue archaeology) as ‘the first glimmerings of what we now call sustainability’, in ethos if not terminology (2000, p.915).

Figure 5.9: Trends 2011-2018



Widespread use of the term ‘sustainable development’ spread rapidly after publication of the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development report, *Our Common Future*, and the concept began to be integrated into policies on development at multiple levels (Ripp & Rodwell, 2016, p.101; Haas, 2004, p.570). Rising interest in this topic was stimulated by the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, which can plausibly be described as the moment when a global consensus was first publicly reached on the need for human-driven action to tackle environmental damage. The first principle of the Declaration published by the summit explicitly name-checks sustainable development, and throughout a concern for sustainable resource management is evident (Emerick, 2014, p.161; UNESCO, 1992). It was followed by an action plan, Local Agenda 21, ‘which basically said to governments, and to local authorities, and to local people, if you want sustainable development it has to start at grassroots ... and that was promoted very strongly at the time through English Heritage, as it was’ (Interview 3, p.272). The impact of the Rio Agreement on the attention given to sustainability in heritage journals is confirmed by the second spike in 2016, coinciding with the signing of the Paris Climate Agreement at the end of 2015. The Paris Agreement was the result of a long and painstaking process of negotiation, culminating in a set of goals to be pursued by signatory nations, and a major new step in the incorporation of climate science and public pressure into international policy (Jacobs, 2016; Cléménçon, 2016). As can be seen in Figure 5.10, it drew significant attention to the need for sustainable resource use.

Figure 5.10: Sustainability in all journals, 1994-2018



Heritage has, of course, since its integration within the state planning system, been tied to issues of urban development and the appropriate (re-)use of physical and cultural resources. The concern with sustainability combines well with the pre-existing heritage management principle of the conservation of heritage assets ‘for future generations’. The integration of the two is symbolised by the change in language in official policy documents, from ‘heritage’ or ‘archaeology’

to ‘the historic environment’, which creates a linguistic connection between the conservation of heritage assets and the conservation of natural resources. Although the term ‘historic environment’ was possibly first coined by David Baker in his book *Living With the Past: The Historic Environment* (1983), a mainstream change appears to have occurred in England and Wales around the year 2000, after the publication of Local Agenda 21 and clearly connected to ‘international sustainability policies and how they filtered through government’ (Interview 3, pp.273-4). From 1999-2001 a government review of policies relating to the historic environment (described in detail in Waterton & Smith, 2008) sought to research the public perceptions of the terms ‘heritage’ and ‘historic environment’ – the deliberate use of ‘historic environment’ within Historic England’s *Power of Place: The future of the historic environment* (2000) and DCMS’s (2001) *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future* marked a preference for the term in official documents. The ‘historic environment’ descriptor is a more specific and accurate term than ‘heritage’ to describe what is protected by England and Wales’ legislation and official bodies: historic, therefore primarily old, and a part of the geographical environment, therefore mostly tangible. But, more positively, it also makes clear the connections between culture, history, and lived space. Clark connects this concern for ecological sustainability with the increasing use of values in heritage management, arguing that both require a concern for the wider community attitudes towards and uses of a heritage asset:

‘thinking about sustainability often means finding connections between heritage and the wider context for heritage places, such as land-use planning, economic development, or social inclusion’ (Clark, 2019).

The terminology of the historic environment draws on theories of place-making to show how people and locations interact and shape each other, as well as encouraging the holistic idea that any place which shows traces of former human activity can be a part of a broader historic environment (Pierce & Martin, 2015; Taylor & Lennon, 2011). This is a move away from the idea of individual and disconnected heritage assets in an otherwise blank, heritage-less map (Schofield, 2013; Moylan et al., 2009). *Power of Place* had made this plain:

‘The historic environment is what generations of people have made of the places in which they have lived. It is all about us.’ (English Heritage, 2000, p.1).

The language of conservation and of the sustainable use of available resources has therefore spread, now being applied to both the natural and the historic environment, and just as heritage management increasingly used the concepts of sustainability, so it became better integrated into other environmental and land management policies (Clark, 2019).

In the past decade, sustainability has become a key tenet of policy development, encapsulating the idea of long-term planning for the consistent use of resources for survival. It is



applied to social organisations, businesses, and lifestyles, as well as in more directly ecological terms to the use of physical resources, such as in energy usage or material sourcing. Heritage is therefore brought in to help achieve political aims – just as it was when the key focus was diversity and inclusion. The historic environment is used to help build sustainable communities by encouraging personal connections with built spaces, and the heritage manager’s long view of time periods is coming into play when it comes to reusing existing spaces and planning for long-lasting construction (Lees & Melhuish, 2015, p.247; Bertacchini & Segre, 2015, p.69; Cowell, 2013). The same ethical compulsion to save the world ‘for future generations’ which motivates volunteers and charitable organisations to pursue ecological goals also underlies heritage conservation activity (Fredheim, 2018). For example, ideals of re-use and sustainable maintenance of buildings are being used to push for a VAT reduction on repair of buildings, which is currently 20% on repair but 0% on new building (or complete destruction and reconstruction) – encouraging repair of old buildings rather than the construction of new is clearly ecologically beneficial, but would also represent a win for the eternally financially struggling heritage sector (Interview 7, pp.406-7).

In summary, Figure 5.10 shows how sustainability, a concept that was developed outside heritage studies, went from the background of heritage theory to the foreground in the early years of the twenty-first century. This reflects the importance of aiming for sustainability not only in scientific or ecological discussions, but also in cultural and social situations. The popularity of the term demonstrates how heritage scholars and practitioners have not only acquired the language of sustainability, but have used its urgency and presence to improve support for heritage with both the public and with policy-makers.

### 5.8.2 Accessibility

‘Accessibility’ is another popular yet fluid term, widely applied to a variety of contexts. In general, it means removing barriers to participation in activities, whether physical, mental or social, permitting the inclusion of a diverse range of people. Although other terminology is used to refer to the same goal in different areas – such as inclusive or universal design – accessibility has become the most commonly used and understood (Persson et al., 2015). Persson *et al* trace the origins of accessibility in official usage to the 1950s in the USA, when high numbers of injured veterans increased popular pressure for physically accessible venues. However, it was during the 1990s and 2000s that accessibility became a mainstream concern, in both policy and practice. They characterise the societal change thus:

‘a shift in focus, from a perspective where the individual is seen as an asset that should contribute to society by performing work that is suitable for the individual’s physical characteristics, to a perspective where the individual is seen as someone who should have the right to participate in all parts of society irrespectively of his/her physical abilities’ (Persson et al., 2015, p.513).

There have been a number of key pieces of legislation which have raised the profile of accessibility issues nationally and internationally. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) was first created in 1990, prior to the period studied – which is reflected in the steady level of interest in the idea of accessibility throughout the 1990s displayed in Figure 5.11. In 1991 the DesignAge research program was created at the Royal College of Art in London, positing the need for ‘bringing design-excluded communities, such as older adults and people with disabilities, from the margins to the mainstream of society’ (Myerson & Lee, 2011, p.36.4), while The European Institute for Design and Disability (EIDD, also known as Design for All or DfA, a federation of organisations in seventeen European countries) released a document known as the Stockholm Declaration, in which it stated that its aim was:

‘to enable all people to have equal opportunities to participate in every aspect of society. To achieve this, the built environment, everyday objects, services, culture and information – in short, everything that is designed and made by people to be used by people – must be accessible, convenient for everyone in society to use and responsive to evolving human diversity’ (European Institute for Design and Disability, 2004).

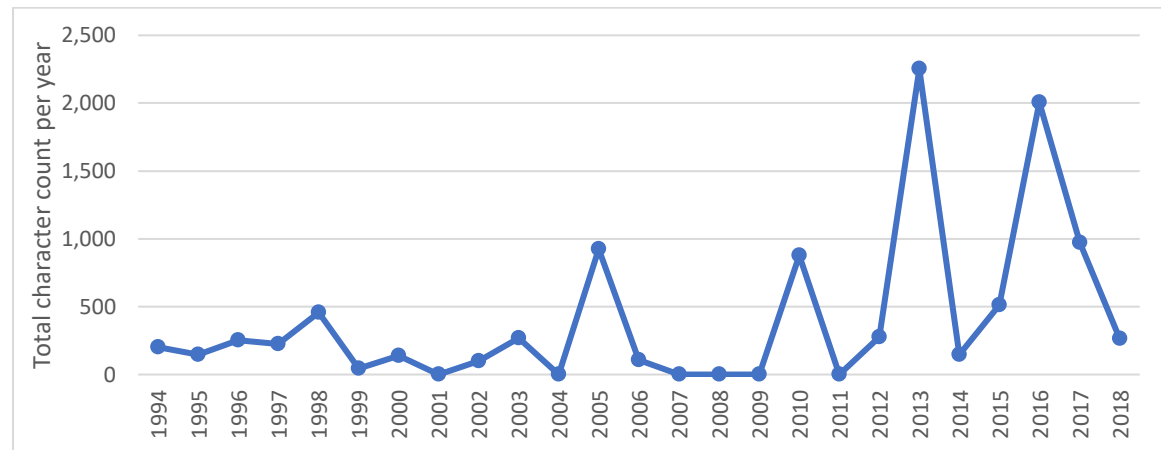
The Declaration explicitly drew on the ethos of social inclusion and human rights, as well as highlighting that ‘We now survive illness and injury and live with disability as never before’, which connects modern standards of healthcare with the need for equivalent provision for the elderly, ill and disabled in the public realm. It is particularly notable that the types of ‘design’ referred to were not only the architectural or infrastructural, but also social elements such as culture.

While a good reflection of the developing consideration for accessibility at the time, the Stockholm Declaration was a guidance document and not legally binding. Later documents made more of a visible impact on discussions of accessibility in the journals. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) mandated that countries which ratify the Convention work towards ‘Full and effective participation and inclusion in society’, ‘Equality of opportunity’ and ‘Accessibility’ for people with disabilities (2006, Article 4). The UK signed the Convention in 2007 and ratified it in 2009, while the USA signed in 2009 but has not ratified yet.

The UK’s signature was followed in 2010 by the passage of the Equality Act 2010, which not only enshrines in law the rights of people with disabilities, but also seeks to prohibit discrimination on the grounds of sex, gender, marital status, ethnicity, and religious beliefs (United Kingdom Parliament, 2010). The effectiveness of these reforms in the UK is debatable – a recent United Nations report found that government welfare reforms had resulted in ‘grave and systematic’ violations of the rights of disabled people in the UK (House of Commons Library, 2017) – but the cultural and legislative shift towards an expectation that businesses and organisations

will not ‘do anything that constitutes discrimination, harassment or victimisation’ has made an impact on the heritage sector, which is demonstrated in Figure 5.11.

Figure 5.11: Accessibility in all journals, 1994-2018



Although accessibility has been a topic of conversation within heritage literature since before the start of the period studied, it increases significantly in the 2010s. But what does ‘accessibility’ mean in heritage terms? A survey of the literature suggests that there are four main ways in which accessibility is referenced within heritage studies:

- 1) Physical accessibility, in which historic structures or existing museum spaces are adapted to allow access for people with wheelchairs or other requirements of the constructed environment;
- 2) Intellectual accessibility, usually with reference to the language used in interpretative materials and its wide comprehensibility;
- 3) Adaptations for other disabilities, such as planning interpretation or events with consideration for deafness, vision impairment, or autism; and
- 4) The accessibility of heritage assets (particularly highly valued artefacts) to the public, which frequently draws on technological advances such as the ability to accurately reproduce artefacts in 3D or the potential of online platforms to permit virtual access to physical spaces.

These are complex issues, which intersect with other interplays of power and exclusion within the cultural heritage field, but all come down to the fundamental principle of providing resources which can be used by as wide a variety of people as possible without the need for adaptation (Taylor & Gibson, 2017). It is another topic, like *sustainability*, which demonstrates that changing cultural expectations and legal standards impact heritage on a theoretical and conceptual level as well as in day-to-day management.

### 5.8.3 Difficult or contested heritage

For the final strand we return full circle to the first studied: *Difficult or contested heritage*, seeing how it has developed in recent years. This theme, used to categorise discussions of

potentially divisive, traumatic, or disputed forms of heritage, gained popularity at the start of the time period investigated in this chapter and became a central theme of nascent critical heritage studies. In this final in-depth look, I suggest that the sustained and increasing interest in this theme during the 2010s, demonstrated in Figure 5.9, is a reflection of wider political turmoil.

In the aftermath of the financial crash and subsequent economic fragility, there has been evidence of increasing polarisation between different political viewpoints, over issues such as immigration, welfare provision, and (increasingly in the age of internet culture) the vocality and visibility of communities which challenge socially conservative norms (González-Ruibal et al., 2018; Corner, 2017; Motta, 2017). This political polarisation has highlighted, and possibly exacerbated, existing social divisions between groups based on intersections of wealth, class, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexuality, disability, political affiliations, and cultural groupings (Bradshaw & Howard, 2018; Corner, 2017). There is now a broad awareness of the acuity and potentially devastating consequences of these divisions, and heritage has been called upon to address where its own narratives foster the myths which underlie exclusive identity constructions, and to encourage dialogue between opposing groups (Kiddey, 2017; Johnston & Marwood, 2017; Lehrer, 2010). This is not new, of course; heritage in areas of recent or politically sensitive conflict has frequently had to consider how to address controversial topics in constructive ways (Crooke, 2010; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Indeed, despite the negativity of the subject heading, the studies of heritage which relate to this topic are frequently aiming to create positive impacts by fostering understanding, allowing cathartic emotional experiences for groups which are recovering from damaging situations like conflict, and challenging xenophobic or reductionist heritage narratives.

As with many other themes studied in this chapter, an increasing awareness of the capabilities of heritage to inform and shape social and cultural identities, and thereby political views, has led to a greater responsibility placed on the shoulders of those who study and manage heritage to find solutions for problems as varied as social exclusion, urban deprivation and political polarisation. This increasing pressure is reflected in the rising levels of discussion of *Difficult or contested heritage* in the final years of the period studied.

## 5.9 Changing times, changing language

The results in this chapter demonstrate a constant process of dialogue between academic studies of heritage and the concerns of the wider sector and the wider world. Published work responds to major national and international events, adopts the language of policy as it evolves, and constantly demonstrates the relevance of the studies done. This, arguably, suggests that these

publications are indeed of use to the wider heritage sector, as they are responding rapidly to pressing concerns, and are aware of the practical issues which face the sector – such as the need to prove the socio-economic benefits of heritage in competitive funding environments, or global concerns over the sustainable and environmentally friendly use of resources.

Throughout this chapter, the data from journals which address heritage from a variety of disciplinary viewpoints have demonstrated a clear connection between external events, such as political trends and economic crises, and academic and theoretical approaches to heritage. As such, heritage studies could be seen as inherently reactive rather than creative. This is, however, not a criticism; heritage studies occupies a liminal space between the practical applications of heritage conservation and management and more abstract theoretical disciplines like anthropology and sociology. The connections between contextual events and the trends within published heritage studies demonstrate that there is an intention of functionality to these studies; this is academic debate which is intended to be put into practice to help heritage practitioners navigate complex issues of ownership, conflict, inclusivity and accessibility which are inherent to the nature of heritage.

Moreover, by positioning heritage as a resource which can be used to achieve ‘soft’ policy goals such as social inclusion and community cohesion, these studies have ensured a certain level of financial support for heritage even within the competitive economic environment of austerity. Veldpaus and Pendlebury described how heritage has to be seen to ‘facilitate and stimulate’ economic development to retain its place within a growth-focused planning agenda, with emphases placed on its potential to ‘enhance quality of life, provide a sustainable mode of development, sustain a local connectedness, and foster local character and traditional approaches in a globalising world’ (2019, p.3). As early as 2010 Waterton identified the ‘strange twist of instrumentalism’ within which “the ‘historic environment’ is discursively given the power to *do good*, rather than simply *be good*’ – an active rather than passive feature (2010, sec.209, original emphasis).

This change reflects the work done by advocates for heritage within policy spheres, which is a constant process of anticipating threats and identifying opportunities for heritage to achieve its goals within wider political contexts, including by positioning it as a vehicle for delivering policy aims (Interview 7). However, it also represents a change in the way heritage is perceived, no longer as a set of tangible assets or something which only rewards those who actively engage with it, but as a social, communal, economic and political actor in its own right. The effect of this wider change on discussions of heritage in academic formats can be seen in the results presented in this chapter,

which demonstrate a rise in discussions of heritage as a socio-economic actor. In some ways this shift can be connected to arguments by critical heritage theorists, redefining heritage as ‘that part of the past which we select in the present of contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social’ (Graham et al., 2005, p.29). Nevertheless, it is indubitable that the frequency with which heritage is described as having socio-economic benefits is primarily due to factors which affect heritage practice and the way heritage is managed at a state level, and is an example of the ways internal and external forces both push the directions in which the heritage sector develops.

Considering the wider area of study of this research, these results demonstrate that academic work in the heritage sector responds to the external pressures which affects the sector, and is not irrelevant to practitioners. This also suggests that there is an open channel of dialogue from the wider sector to academic studies which allows such issues to be identified and addressed as they arise. However, these results do not investigate whether this channel is also open in the opposite direction: are the discussions published within these journals, which reflect and potentially inform the role of heritage within wider political and economic contexts, actually accessible and of use to those outside academic institutions who need them? The existence of these works does not automatically demonstrate their impact or the demographics of their readerships.

Questions also remain with regard to critical heritage theory, specifically. Heritage studies may have succeeded in arguing for the importance of heritage as a socio-economic resource, but other elements of heritage theory have had less obvious impact at national and international levels – in particular the idea that the definition and recognition of heritage is socially constructed, and cannot be scientifically defined or measured. It is unclear from the results in this chapter whether these ideas have spread into practice, or whether they are contained within an exclusive echo chamber of theoretical discussions. The next chapter will examine how theoretical ideas have been adopted, rejected or adapted in the ‘real world’ of heritage practice, investigating how practice has changed alongside, or separately from, the changes in theory tracked here. This will use results from the survey and interviews to highlight the pathways by which theoretical ideas pass from publication into practice, and identify the areas of discussion which are not currently being shared more widely.

## **Chapter 6: Sharing ideas**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter explored the ways in which theory has developed and responded to external concerns. Within this chapter, the perspective is reversed and members of the wider heritage sector are asked to give their views on the development and uses of theory during their careers. Given the theme of this thesis, I felt it important to incorporate the voices of heritage practitioners into the analysis, including negative responses, as a preliminary step towards improving communication and building trust between theory and practice.

Firstly, the results of the survey of local government archaeologists and conservation officers will be discussed, which highlight the elements of critical heritage theory which have made a significant impact on practice as well as identifying some key barriers to communication. A more detailed perspective will then be provided by the interviews, conducted with people in the heritage sector who are in professional positions which allow them to cross barriers and work with a variety of people and organisations. These pursued and clarified central themes, including the way theoretical ideas within the heritage sector have changed; the impact of political and economic contexts on the sector as a whole; the role of organisations in collecting and amplifying voices from within the sector; and the widely shared perception that academia is increasingly isolated from heritage practice.

### **6.2 Local government survey**

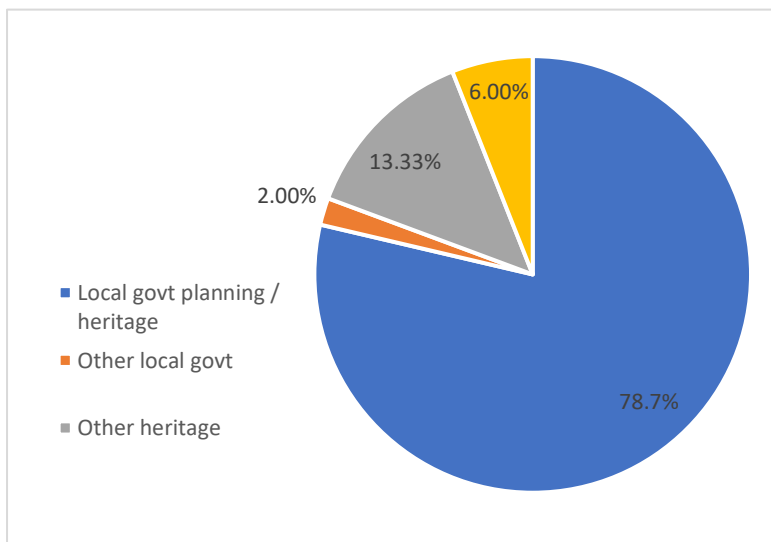
As discussed in Chapter 3, there are many ways in which national and international legislation and policy can delineate and direct heritage practice. Some of those who work most closely with this centralised policy structure in England and Wales are local government archaeologists and conservation officers, who act as local representatives of both conservation and heritage expertise and of national frameworks and governmental decision-making. Their role involves balancing heritage-focused priorities – protecting listed or scheduled heritage assets and refusing planning permission for developments which cause significant unjustified harm to the significance of heritage assets – while also working towards other policy goals, such as creating new housing and maintaining the strengths of the local economy (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2018). They are required to make subjective judgements about the significance of designated and undesignated heritage assets and the severity of potential harm caused by proposed changes on a regular basis. This is why the survey circulated focused specifically on people within these roles as a sample of heritage practice which works closely with

existing legislation and policy. The interviews which followed then brought in a broader perspective on the issues raised by the survey.

The following section details the results of the survey, demonstrating where there were patterns shown within the responses. Although the number of respondents is too low to be fully representative of local government heritage practice, where possible broader trends may be indicated by the results, the results are shown to highlight potential areas of further research.

*Q1. What is your professional role?*

Figure 6.1: Job roles of respondents

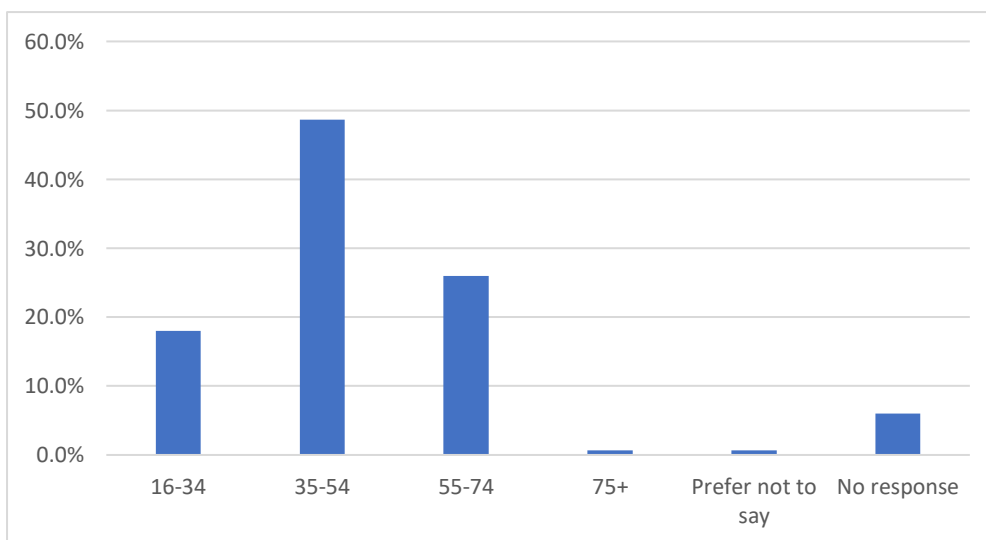


Although the survey was primarily aimed at local government archaeologists and conservation officers, a number of the ‘other heritage’ responses were also consultants to local authorities or worked in a similar role in private heritage practice; I therefore decided

not to eliminate these results as they also represented heritage as it is practised at a local level. However, job roles were taken into account during later analyses.

*Q2. Which age bracket do you fall within?*

Figure 6.2: Age of respondents





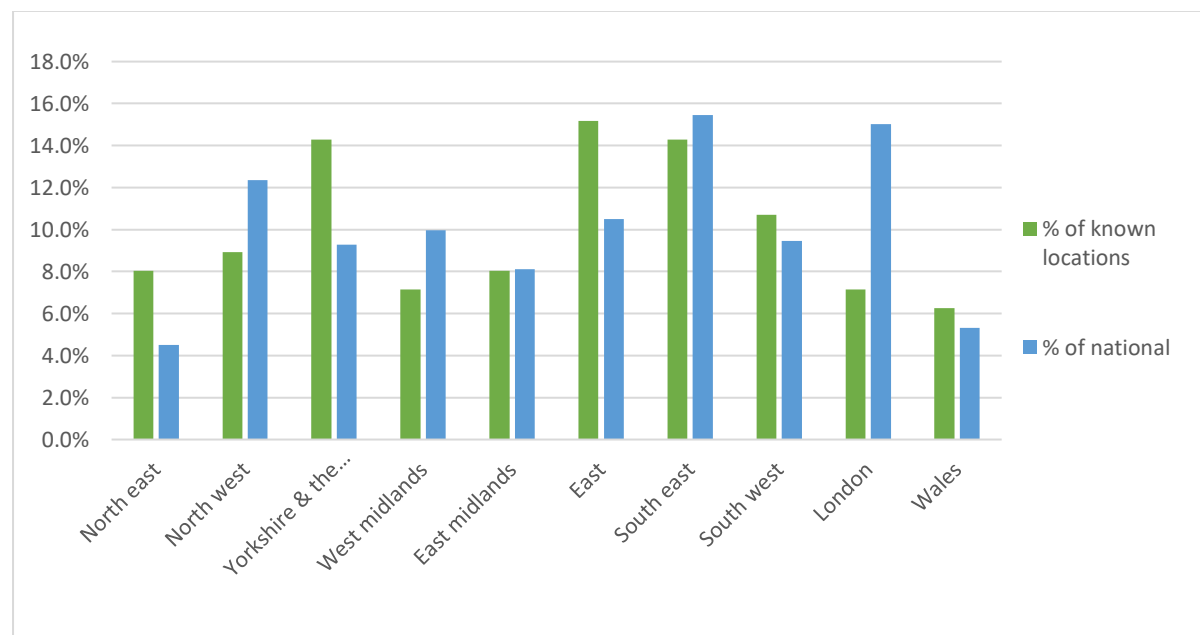
This age range is generally representative of local authority conservation officers and archaeologists, shown to be largely similar to the wider working population according to the most recent survey (English Heritage et al., 2009), and also demonstrates that respondents are at different levels of experience and were educated at different periods – these factors were analysed in cross-comparisons.

*Q3. In which county of England or Wales is your work primarily based?*

Table 6.1: Locations of respondents

Region	Number of responses	% of total responses	% of those who specified counties
North East	9	6.0%	8.0%
North West	10	6.7%	8.9%
Yorkshire & the Humber	16	10.7%	14.3%
West Midlands	8	5.3%	7.1%
East Midlands	9	6.0%	8.0%
East	17	11.3%	15.2%
South East	16	10.7%	14.3%
South west	12	8.0%	10.7%
London	8	5.3%	7.1%
Wales	7	4.7%	6.3%
Multiple regions	7	4.7%	
England (not specified)	22	14.7%	
No Response	9	6.0%	

Figure 6.3: Percentage breakdown of known locations of respondents compared to population breakdown



Respondents represent a broad cross section of heritage work across England and Wales. I compared the percentage of respondents who specified a particular area of work with those of population statistics from the Office of National Statistics (2017) which demonstrate that the questionnaire responses are generally representative of broader population distribution, as shown in Figure 6.3. This hypothesis is strengthened by the tendency of some less densely populated areas, such as the North East and the East of England, to have more survey responses compared to their populations. The reduced response rate in London may also be due to the greater role played by Historic England in the Great London planning system, rather than local authority employed archaeologists and conservation officers (Morel, 2019, pp.165–6).

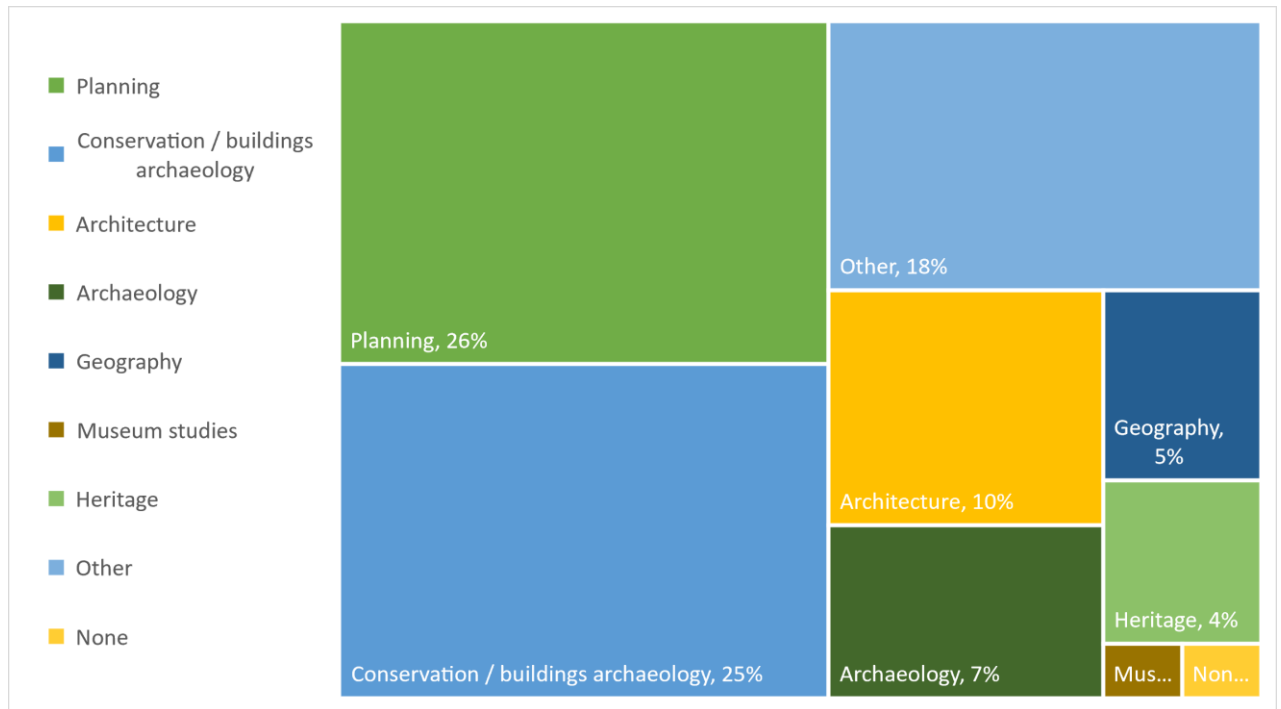
*Q4. What higher education qualifications (i.e. university / college level and above) do you have, and approximately when did you complete them?*

Table 6.2: Higher education qualifications of respondents

Area of main qualification	Number of responses	% of responses
Planning	39	26.0%
Conservation / buildings archaeology	38	25.3%
Other	27	18.0%
Architecture	15	10.0%
Archaeology	11	7.3%
Geography	7	4.7%
Heritage	6	4.0%
Museum studies	1	0.7%
None	1	0.7
Not specified	59	39.3%

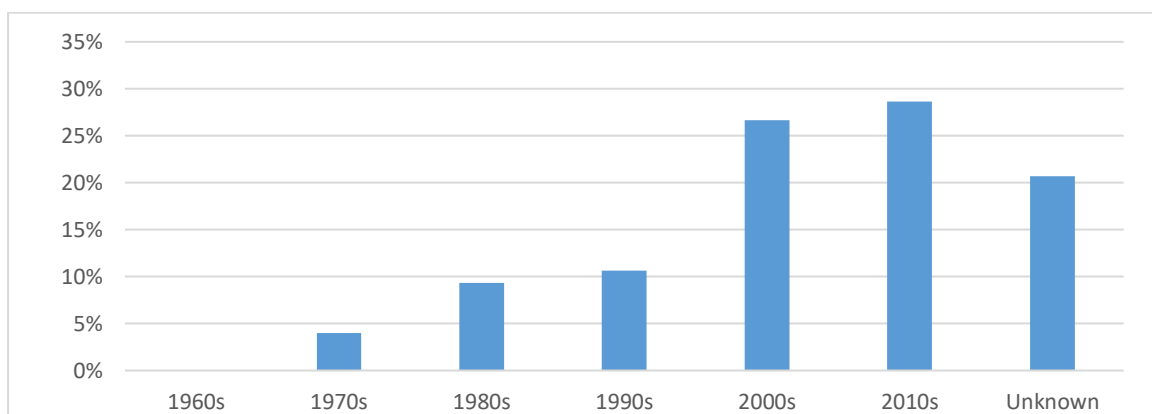
The number of ‘unknown’ responses to this question was disappointing; a large number of responses specified the level of qualification but not the subject or date of completion, which reflects a failure to phrase the question clearly enough. However, the responses which specified a subject area (as shown in figure 4) demonstrate a range of educational backgrounds within the responses, which is useful for the breadth of opinion it represents. The types of subject specific and vocational qualifications also reinforce that the survey reached the desired audience. However, as the numbers involved are small, no firm conclusions can be drawn from the results.

Figure 6.4: Educational backgrounds of respondents (when specified)



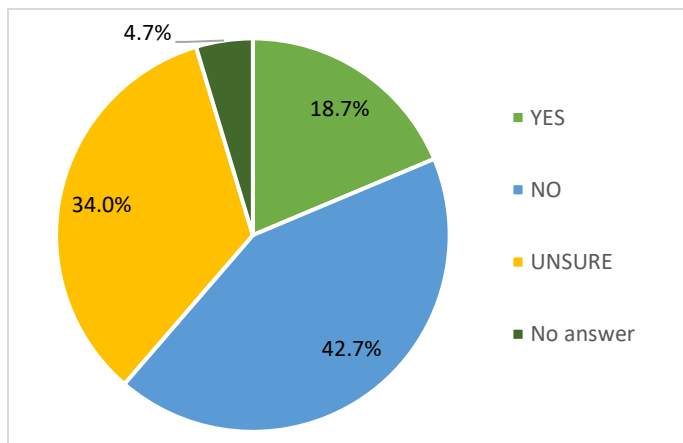
As Figure 6.5 demonstrates, a majority of respondents have been in formal education relatively recently, given the age ranges shown above. This partially reflects a number of respondents who returned for further education mid-way through their careers, to develop further skills or change direction. The age range alone cannot therefore be taken as indicative of a respondent's exposure to formal education environments within a particular timeframe. Indeed, the highest percentage of respondents (28.7%) had been within a formal educational environment within the 2010s, the period critical heritage theory became well established within scholarly discourse, and responses will therefore represent a fairly accurate picture of the level of understanding that could be expected of a local authority heritage professional with a recent qualification.

Figure 6.5: Most recent formal education of respondents



*Q5a) Have you come across critical heritage studies?*

Figure 6.6: Whether respondents had come across critical heritage studies

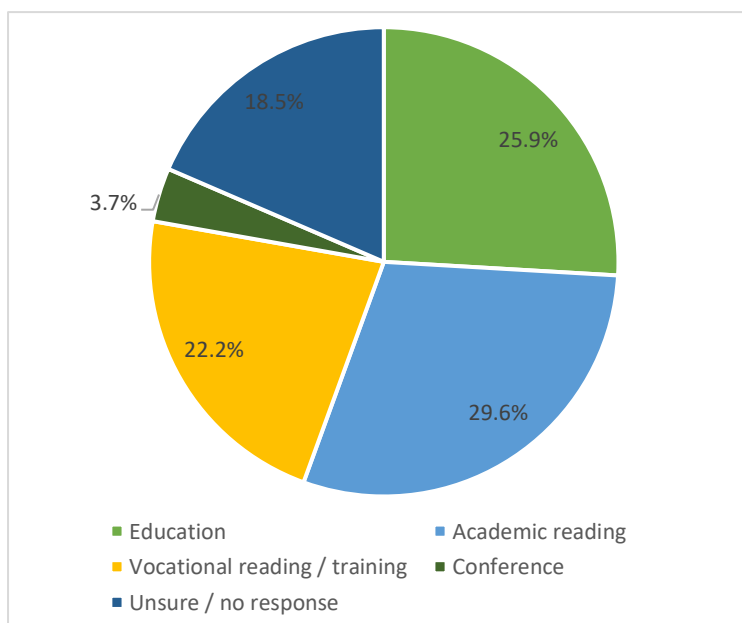


There is a fairly clear conclusion to be drawn from the answers to this question. The relatively low numbers giving a certain ‘yes’ to this question certainly indicate a divide between theory and practice as represented by these survey respondents. The comments left later in the survey reinforced this.

*Q5b) If you have heard of critical heritage studies, can you remember when and how you last came across it? (I.e. in a book, conference, or paper.)*

These categories were drawn from the responses, rather than from a multiple choice question. Respondents generally made clear distinctions between reading done for academic qualifications or academic interests and for training given or required as part of their professional role so the categorisations were relatively clear-cut.

Figure 6.7: Of respondents who have heard of CHT, where had they come across it?



Despite the fairly high numbers of respondents who had recently been in formal education, only seven respondents had been introduced to critical heritage theory this way. It was more common for respondents to have come across the idea by reading academic works – which is frequently done due to a personal interest or a professional “sideline” interest,

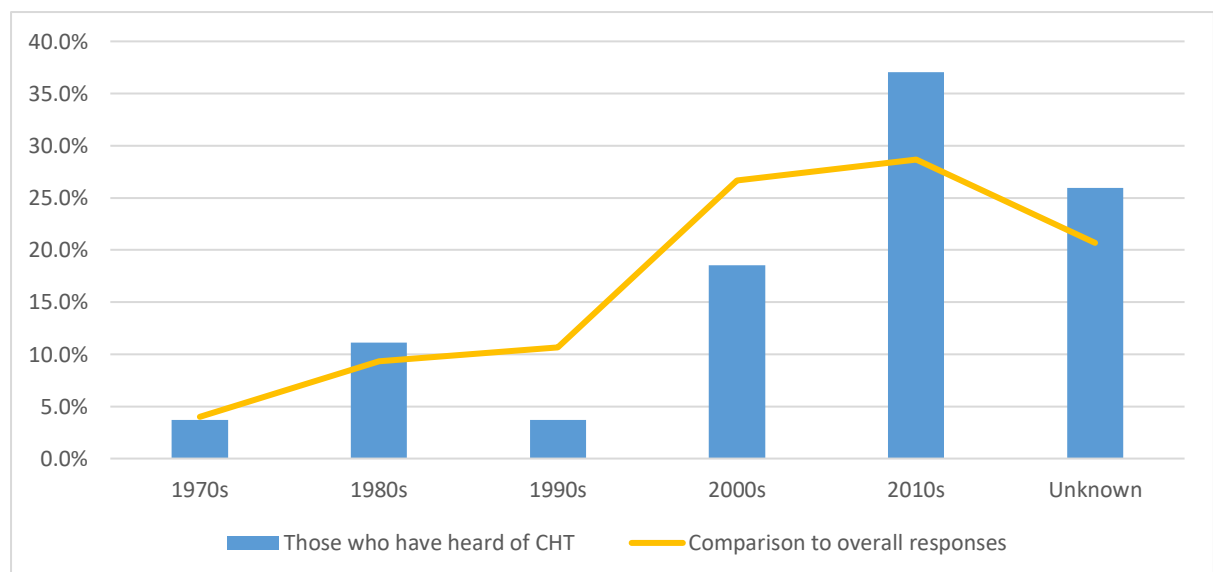
rather than as a part of everyday work. The overall picture therefore suggests that it is currently individual effort which leads practitioners to find and understand these ideas, and the institutional

access usually required to make such research accessible limits the number of local authority staff who can pursue such interests. However, the number who had also come across the term in vocational reading or training (6 respondents in total) indicates that there may be some overlap between what is felt useful for their professional careers and what is discussed in critical heritage theory, which holds some promise for future communication.

Figure 6.8 compares when respondents who had heard of critical heritage theory (by any route) were in education compared to the overall pattern of responses, and it indicates that those who have heard of critical heritage theory are more likely than their peers to have been in formal education in the past decade. Therefore, education may be introducing a larger proportion of respondents to critical heritage theory than was suggested by the responses to question 5b.

However, it may also indicate that those respondents who are pursuing further education are also more likely to pursue their vocational interests in their free time through academic reading and independent study; the credit cannot entirely be given to the formal education programmes on offer. Vocational reading was often accessed through organisational sources: English Heritage / Historic England publications, the Institute for Historic Building Conservation and UNESCO were all cited alongside academic resources as particular locations where respondents could find new and relevant theoretical ideas.

Figure 6.8: What decade were those who have heard of CHT last in education?

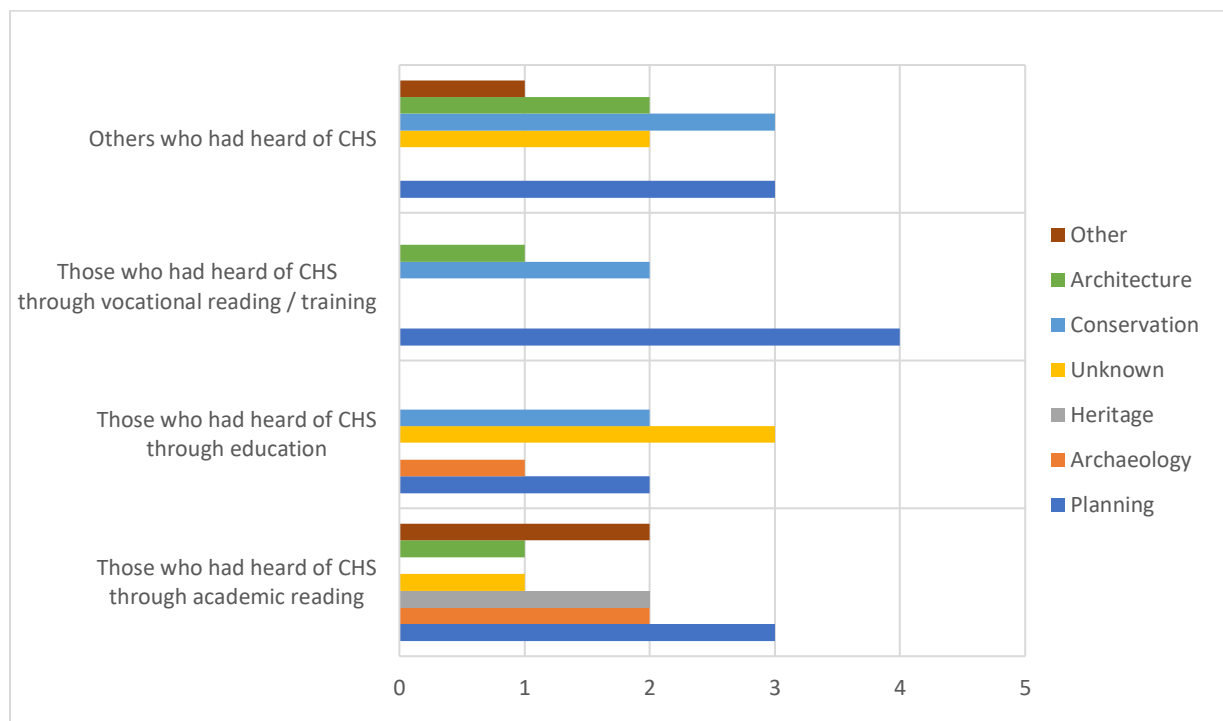


It is also worth considering the dip in knowledge of critical heritage theory among those who were last in education in the 1990s; does this represent a set of respondents who were in education before critical heritage theory was widespread but have not returned to pursue further

qualifications and are less interested in academic pursuits than their peers who may have continued to study further? This is perhaps the most probable reason; although it may also represent a ‘mid-career’ dip between those who have recently qualified and those who have achieved a level of seniority at which they might be involved in more high-level or broad-scope discussions and are thereby introduced to new ideas, those who were in higher education during the 1990s are likely to now be aged 40-50, so well into their career progression. The sample sizes are so small that no generalised conclusions can be drawn, and further study would be needed to investigate these trends before any solid conclusions could be made.

When the particular types of education undertaken by people who had heard of critical heritage theory are analysed, as shown in Figure 6.9, there is a wide range, but it is worth noting that those who studied heritage and archaeology were likely to have come across the term through their studies, while those who had come across the term through vocational reading had studied planning, architecture and conservation. Further generalisations cannot meaningfully be made from such small sample sizes.

Figure 6.9: Education of those who had heard of CHT



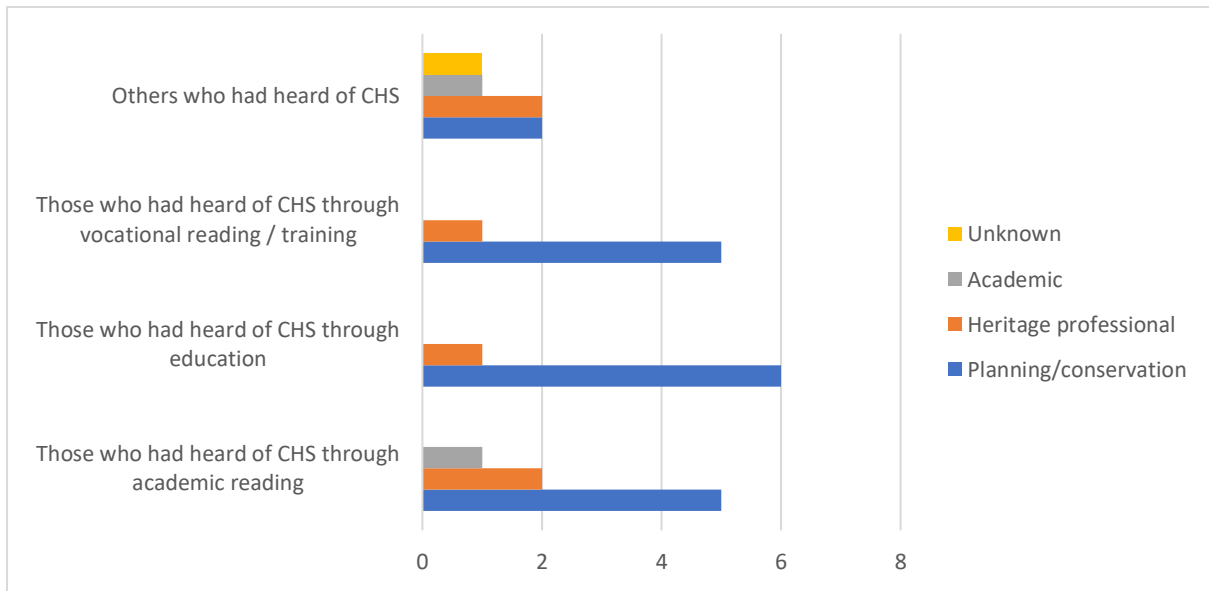
I then compared the current job roles of those who had heard of critical heritage theory, as shown in Figure 6.10. This sub-category may, at first glance, appear to be strongly represented by local government planning workers and conservation officers. However, given that 118 out of the 150 respondents worked in planning (almost 80%), this graph in fact represents more “other” job roles than would have been anticipated. Unsurprisingly, two respondents who were working

in related academic fields had heard of critical heritage theory, and there are also a disproportionately high number of respondents who work in other heritage roles, such as consultants or advisers. This is potentially a reflection of more self-directed job roles which leave more time for independent research such as academic reading, in comparison to local authority staff.

Table 6.3: Job roles and sources of those who had heard of critical heritage studies

<b>Those who had heard of CHS through academic reading</b>			
<b>Job</b>		<b>Education</b>	
Planning/conservation	5	Planning	3
Heritage professional	2	Archaeology	2
Academic	1	Heritage	2
		Architecture	1
		Other	2
		Unknown	1
<b>Those who had heard of CHS through education</b>			
<b>Job</b>		<b>Education</b>	
Planning/conservation	6	Planning	2
Heritage professional	1	Conservation	2
Academic	0	Archaeology	1
		Unknown	3
<b>Those who had heard of CHS through vocational reading / training</b>			
<b>Job</b>		<b>Education</b>	
Planning/conservation	5	Planning	4
Heritage professional	1	Conservation	2
Unknown	0	Architecture	1
		Unknown	2
<b>Others who had heard of CHS</b>			
<b>Job</b>		<b>Education</b>	
Planning/conservation	2	Planning	3
Heritage professional	2	Conservation	3
Academic	1	Architecture	2
Unknown	1	Unknown	2
		Other	1

Figure 6.10: Job roles of those who had heard of CHT



*Q6 Which of the following do you think applies to critical heritage theory? Please tick all the options which you think are TRUE.*

This question was intended to test the general awareness of critical heritage studies, as respondents' familiarity with the subject could not be taken at face value without risking false positive responses. Respondents were given three options which characterise critical heritage studies:

- *It is concerned with the definition of heritage.*
- *It is concerned with how different groups of people are represented within the interpretation of heritage sites and heritage narratives.*
- *Critical heritage theorists believe that the stories we tell about heritage can have wider social and political impacts.*

And two options which describe other forms of heritage research (i.e. conservation):

- *It is concerned with how best to preserve the physical fabric of heritage assets.*
- *It describes the work of investigating and comparing methods to prevent the deterioration of the physical fabric of heritage assets.*

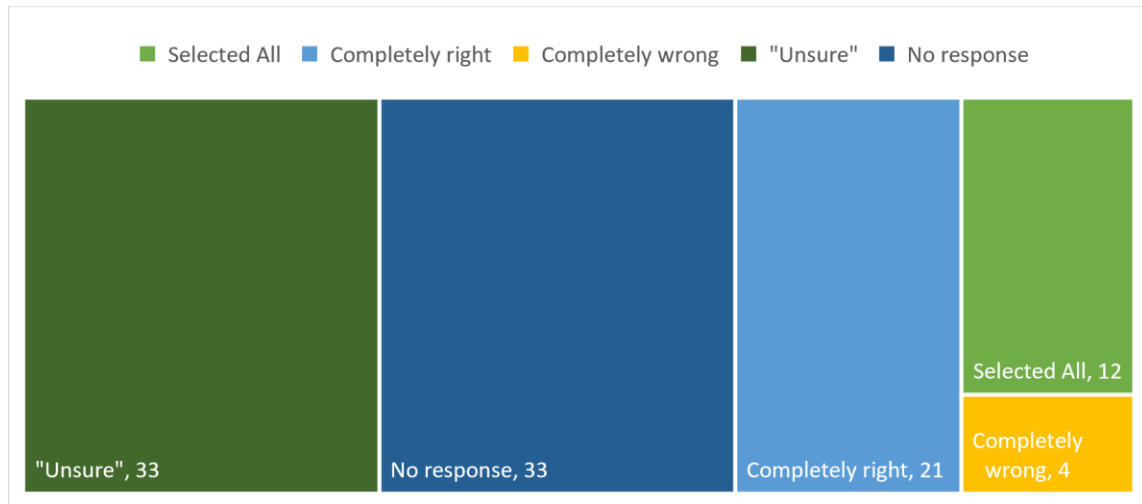
And an 'Unsure' response.

There was a mixed response, which underlines the gaps in communication and the obscurity which can surround theoretical discussions. Overall, more respondents – 21 in total – selected entirely



the right set of choices than selected only the wrong responses, which only 4 respondents did. However, the number who answered entirely correctly is significantly outweighed by the number who selected a combination of right and wrong answers, selected every available option, or responded “unsure” – these three categories cumulatively totalled 74, or nearly half of the 150 respondents.

Figure 6.11: Testing respondents’ knowledge of critical heritage theory



It is also notable that although 28 respondents had heard of critical heritage studies, only 21 respondents in total correctly identified all three elements of the multiple-choice ‘test’ question, Q6 – and out of the 28 who recognised the name ‘critical heritage studies’, only 6 in fact correctly identified its 3 features. There are two conclusions suggested by this: firstly, that a number of those who appear to understand critical heritage studies were either making lucky guesses or had come across it under a different name; and secondly, that having heard of the topic does not imply complete understanding or knowledge thereof.

*Q7: And finally: what do you think is the best way to define ‘heritage’?*

This was an open response question, and this and the final comments were primarily used to inform the interview process. However, there were specific trends which could be picked out of the responses to this through close reading of the suggested definitions.

These categories are not mutually exclusive – so for example, a respondent might have put an attempted definition of heritage and then added “but I am not sure” so the definition would have been categorised and then a count added to “Don’t know / unsure”. However, the “tangible heritage (only)” was used only for responses which defined heritage as purely a feature of physical assets: for example, one respondent replied ““Hard” Heritage is concerred [sic] with past (though

can be relatively recent) structures/buildings/artifacts that we value because of their age, intrinsic value and the story they tell of our past". This implies that they are aware of non-'hard' forms of heritage but as they did not elaborate further I could only use the definition they had provided, which referred only to tangible forms of heritage.

Table 6.4: Definitions of heritage

<b>Tangible heritage (only)</b>	<b>Intangible / socially constructed</b>	<b>Focused on present</b>	<b>Direct from legislation / policy</b>	<b>Preservation / conservation</b>
26	73	9	12	7

<b>'Future generations'</b>	<b>Significance / values</b>	<b>Sustainability</b>	<b>Individual</b>	<b>Variable</b>	<b>No response</b>	<b>Don't know / unsure</b>
10	24	2	7	17	38	5

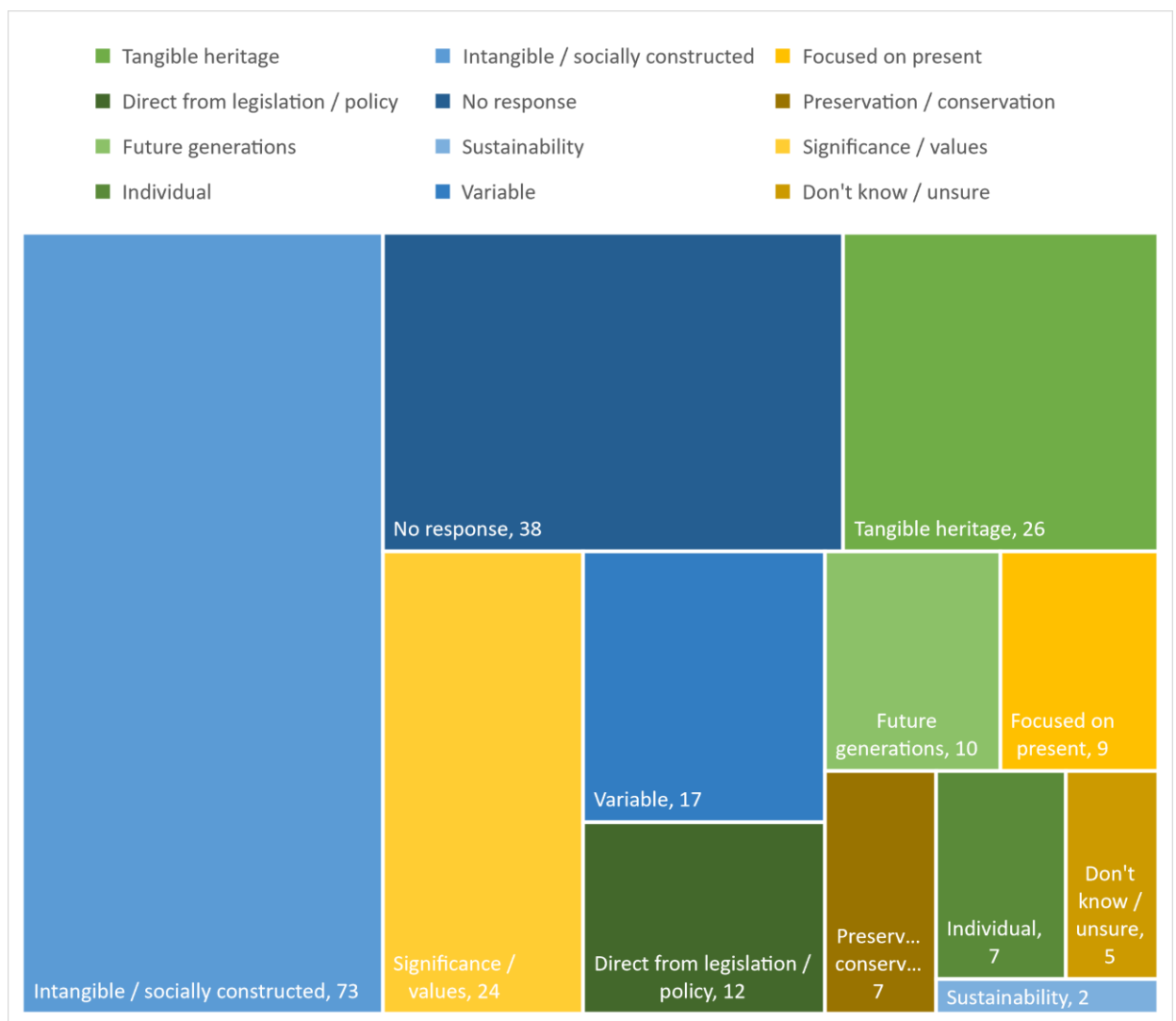
It is very interesting that so few respondents had purely 'tangible' definitions of heritage: only 26 out of 150, while 73 respondents (nearly half of those surveyed) see heritage as an intangible feature which is not an intrinsic part of tangible assets. This implies that there is a shift in the understanding of the definition of heritage, which is happening on a broad scale within heritage practice. Although the causes for this are not clear, it is clearly happening within local government practice in advance of heritage legislation and policy which explicitly defines heritage as socially constructed or intangible, which suggests that the governmental framework does not entirely direct or limit the approaches taken by local authority practitioners.

The 'focused on present' category was used for definitions which described heritage as created by current attitudes and beliefs – e.g. *"Connections with the past - usually through physical remains, art, music, literature, buildings, structures and landscapes shaped by the past activities of people - that add context, meaning and richness to the present lived experience"* (respondent 66).

12 respondents directly quoted from legislation or policy documents, mainly the NPPF or Historic England's *Conservation Principles*, which supports the idea that changes in policy both directly and indirectly affect the way local government workers approach heritage (Chitty & Smith, 2019). Similarly, the two respondents who mentioned sustainability and heritage reflect the current political trend of 'sustainable management' which has been adopted within Historic England guidance and national policy, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The ‘future generations’ theme was a count of the number of respondents who described the purpose of heritage work as for the sake of future generations’ enjoyment or information – as opposed to the enjoyment or use of present communities. This relates to ideas of preservation and stewardship which are part of more traditional approaches to heritage, though the phrase is still commonly used by heritage professionals and organisations, and is also connected to current themes of sustainability and sustainable resource use so may not necessarily represent a belief in static preservation methods. Similar to purely tangible definitions of heritage, this idea was not popular among respondents – only 10 out of 150 mentioned it, though this may partly down to the phrasing of the question which asks what heritage is, not why it is valued or should be conserved.

Figure 6.12: How would you define "heritage"?



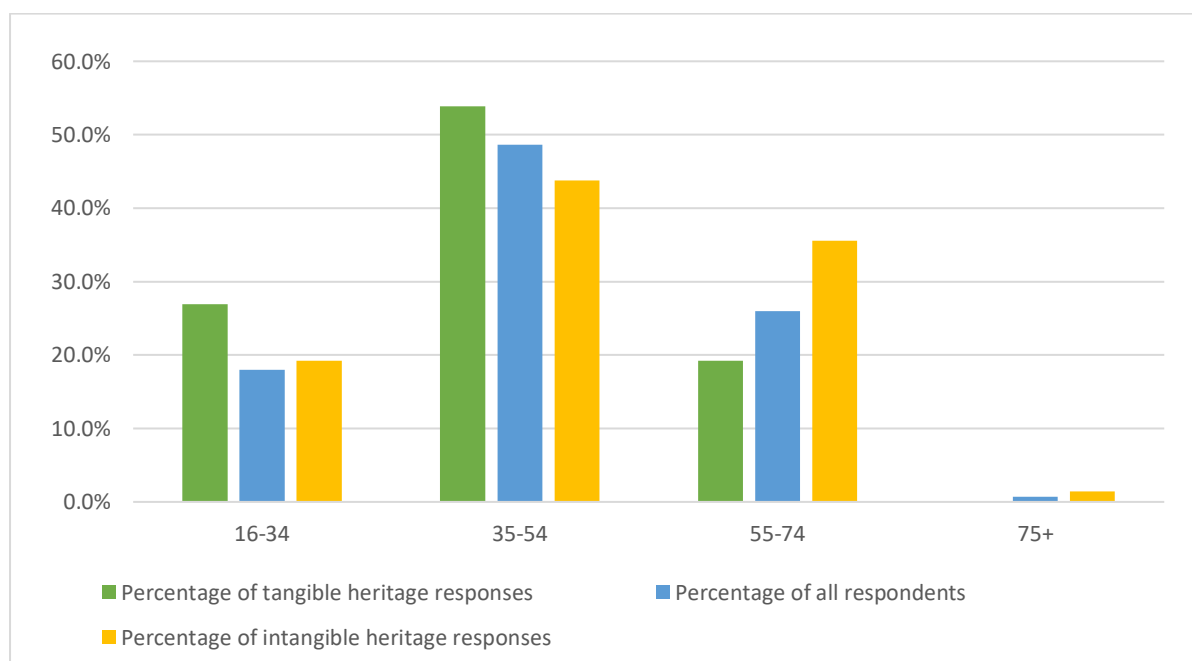
A higher number (24) referenced significance or values in reference to heritage, which reflects the impact of this popular strand of heritage discourse. As discussed above, these terms

are connected to contingent and constructivist definitions of heritage, but as their definitions within English and Welsh policy are primarily tied to materialist features their usage does not automatically imply a constructivist definition of heritage on behalf of the respondent. However, their popularity again demonstrates the power of policy documents to change standard definitions and working practices.

The themes of ‘Individual’ and ‘Variable’ are closely related but distinct; while ‘Variable’ was used for respondents who described heritage as being different depending on how people approach it – for example, *“Items/structures/intangible objects which possess important meanings and significance, often varying between different communities and groups”* (respondent 53). Individual, however, was used for a stronger expression of this idea which described heritage as being entirely dependent on an individual’s associations – for example, *“something, either tangible or intangible, meaningful to someone”* (respondent 56). Both of these themes had surprisingly high numbers of responses – 17 for ‘Variable’ and 7 for ‘Individual’ – which demonstrates a relatively widespread adoption of the idea of heritage as socially constructed and subjective. This is somewhat unexpected given the relatively low awareness of critical heritage theory among respondents; these individual and variable definitions are a key tenet of critical heritage studies and are not widely reflected in policy or practice guidance, although they have become widely accepted within academic literature.

### Cross comparisons

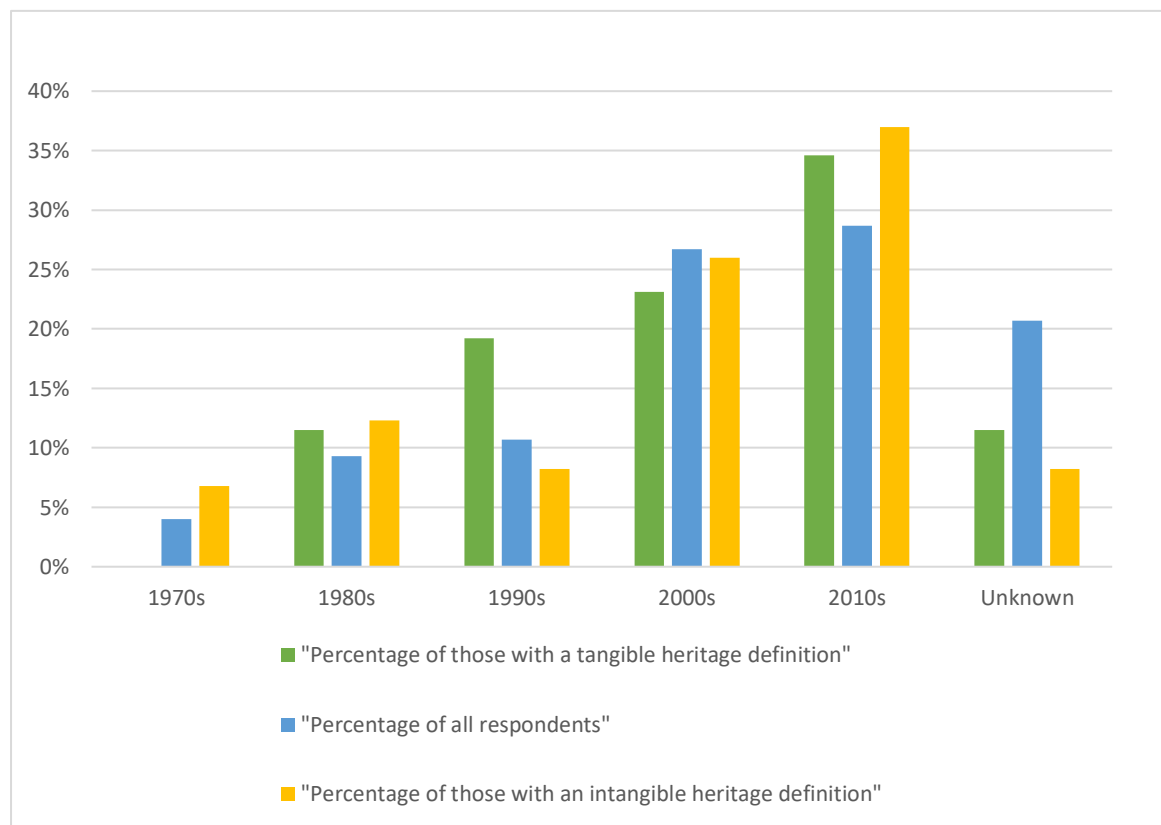
Figure 6.13: Age breakdown of respondents who defined heritage as tangible / intangible



First, I looked at the respondents who defined heritage in purely ‘tangible’ or physical terms, which suggests that they are either unaware of or disagree with the ideas of critical heritage theory, in comparison with those who gave a wider, ‘intangible’ or more socially-constructed definition of heritage.

The survey results indicate that younger respondents were more likely to give a **tangible** or purely physical definition of heritage; the proportion of respondents which defined heritage as intangible was highest among the respondents aged 55+, as shown in Figure 6.13.

Figure 6.14: Most recent education of tangible / intangible heritage definitions



Although there are too few respondents to claim that this age-based trend is representative of the wider sector, the results is backed up by comparisons which suggest that those who were in education more recently are not significantly more likely to give an ‘intangible’ or socially-constructed definition of heritage than a tangible definition. These results taken together suggest that those who have come across a critical heritage theoretician’s definition of heritage (socially-constructed and fluid) are as likely to have come across it over the course of their career as during their education, given that the terms ‘Critical Heritage Theory’ and ‘Critical Heritage Studies’ have only been used widely since 2010.

Table 6.5: Date of most recent education of intangible / tangible heritage definitions

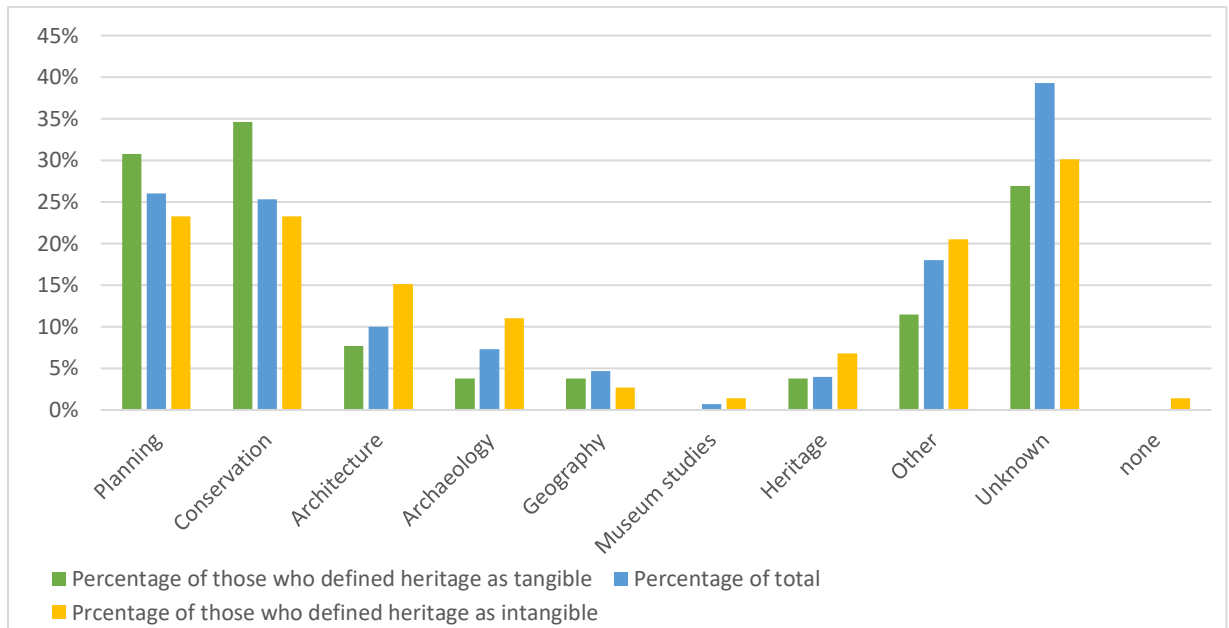
Most recent education	Of tangible heritage responses	Tangible in %	Of intangible responses	Intangible in %	All responses	Of all respondents
1960s	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0%
1970s	0	0.0%	5	6.8%	6	4.0%
1980s	3	11.5%	9	12.3%	14	9.3%
1990s	5	19.2%	6	8.2%	16	10.7%
2000s	6	23.1%	19	26.0%	40	26.7%
2010s	9	34.6%	27	37.0%	43	28.7%
Unknown	3	11.5%	6	8.2%	31	20.7%

Analysing the educational backgrounds of the respondents who gave tangible or intangible definitions demonstrated that generally, those who had studied planning and conservation were more likely to give tangible definitions, while those who had studied architecture, heritage or archaeology were more likely to give intangible definitions. However, the relatively small differences make it hard to draw any sweeping conclusions.

Table 6.6: Education of respondents with tangible / intangible heritage definitions

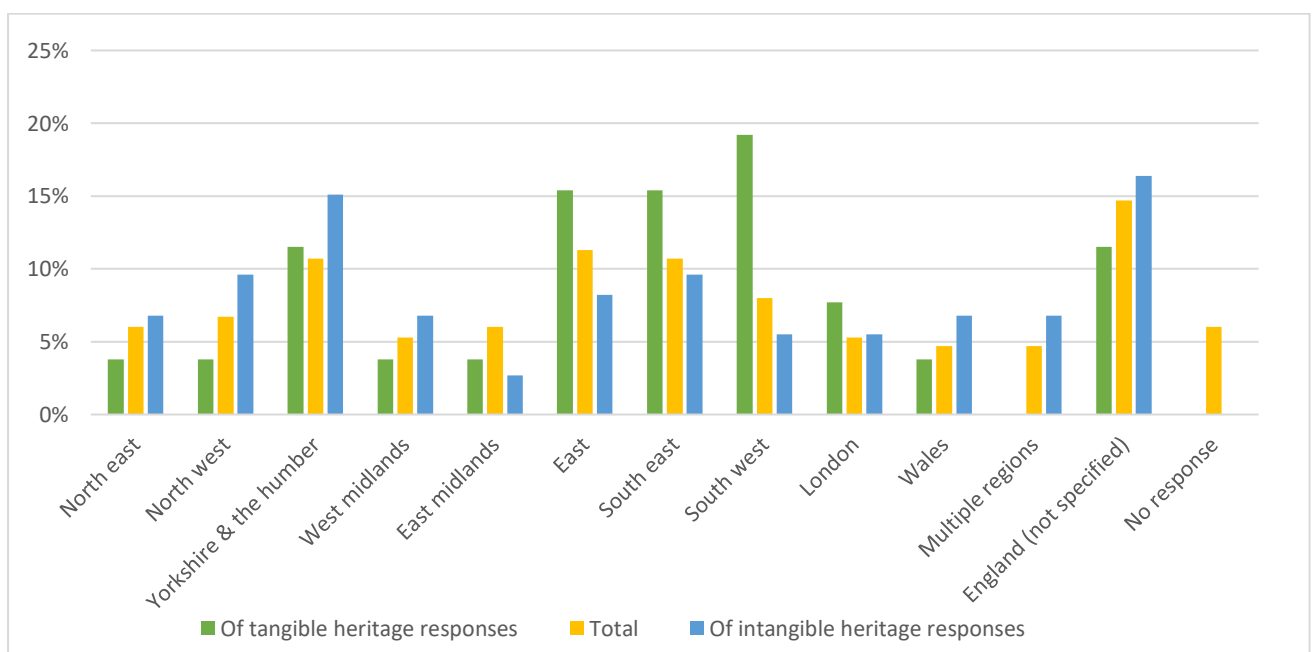
Education breakdown	Of tangible heritage responses	Tangible in %	Of intangible responses	Intangible in %	Of all respondents	% of all respondents
Planning	8	30.8%	17	23.3%	39	26.0%
Conservation	9	34.6%	17	23.3%	38	25.3%
Architecture	2	7.7%	11	15.1%	15	10.0%
Archaeology	1	3.8%	8	11.0%	11	7.3%
Geography	1	3.8%	2	2.7%	7	4.7%
Museum studies	0	0.0%	1	1.4%	1	0.7%
Heritage	1	3.8%	5	6.8%	6	4.0%
Other	3	11.5%	15	20.5%	27	18.0%
Unknown	7	26.9%	22	30.1%	59	39.3%
none	0	0.0%	1	1.4%	1	0.0%

Figure 6.15: Education backgrounds of tangible / intangible heritage definitions



The next element analysed was the location of respondents in comparison to whether they defined heritage as physical or socially constructed. Although the numbers of respondents are small, there are some apparent trends suggested, which may suggest interesting routes for further study. Respondents from the south and east of England show the clearest tendency towards a tangible, physical construction of heritage, while the north west has the strongest inclination towards a socially-constructed concept.

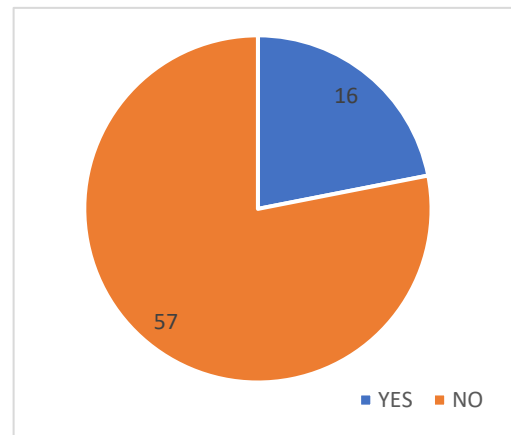
Figure 6.16: Work location of respondents with tangible and intangible definitions of heritage



Out of the seven respondents from Wales, five had a definition of heritage which included the intangible, while only one had an entirely tangible definition. With such small numbers of respondents to compare, no firm conclusions can be drawn from this data to suggest an overall regional trend. However, there is the possibility that these results suggest informal network-learning among local councils within particular areas, which influences their practice.

Figure 6.17: Had respondents with an intangible definition of heritage ever heard of CHS?

In comparing the respondents who had heard of critical heritage studies (a total of 27 respondents) and those who offered an intangible definition of heritage (a total of 73 respondents), it became particularly clear that those who had heard of critical heritage studies had not necessarily



embraced its socially constructed definition of heritage, while many respondents who had not heard of critical heritage studies embraced it, as demonstrated in Figure 6.17.

This disparity between the number of respondents with intangible definitions of heritage who had and had not heard of critical heritage studies further illustrates that critical heritage studies is not making **direct** impacts on practice at a local government level, although its concepts are being adopted.

### 6.2.1 Further comments

The respondents were given the opportunity to add additional comments at the end of the survey. Some were positive, suggesting that the survey had raised new ideas or introduced them to a new concept. A few criticised the decision not to define and explain critical heritage theory at the beginning of the survey, which, although a necessary methodological choice, was understandably frustrating for some of the respondents. Many engaged with the wider topics raised within the survey, offering a snapshot of a range of opinions and attitudes which are not always freely voiced within academic work. This provided valuable insights, and was the basis for some of the themes pursued in the interviews.

The most common set of comments explained particular barriers which prevented respondents from engaging with academic discourses, which were an informative cross-section of professional challenges. Some suggested that the practical focus on tangible heritage within their professional work makes more theoretical approaches less applicable or relevant for them:



'Conservation Officers tend to focus on the buildings we work with and places we work in' (Respondent #35).

'As building conservationists we inevitably concentrate on historic buildings and places as physical manifestations of heritage' (Respondent #166).

'I don't think many share ideas due to the fact that many organisations are busy with their own projects as volunteers and experts in their own field or particular part of the heritage picture' (Respondent #160).

'I am interested in the theory of heritage and ideas of why we want to preserve it and for what purpose, but I don't think that often comes into my day job. Legislation and policy does follow an established theory of keeping old stuff, valuing rarity and a real emphasis on authenticity but as to why, that's not a question often asked in day-to-day local planning authority work' (Respondent #67).

'It is rare in my working environment that heritage theory is used.' (Respondent #57).

Several cited a lack of time and resources:

'it might be help ful (*sic*) to consider what the issues are facing both groups. From our perspective, local government are facing year on year cuts which means that staffing at a local level can be patchy and leaves individuals working alone in Authorities nto (*sic*) building on their skills or knowledge. If we as a society value our heritage we need to invest in looking after it, not [o]nly financially but also we as local government officers need to be flexible in our approach and encourage others to value what they have' (Respondent #24).

'the challenge will be to overcome stretched resources, and especially the imbalance between the resources available to private and public practitioners.' (Respondent #51).

'When you are a practitioner you tend to shy away from theory. Your time is limited, resources are short & university-based theoreticians do not have a good track record in communicating useful, jargon-free ideas (in my opinion)' (Respondent #77).

As suggested by the last line of Respondent #77's comment, a significant number of respondents also specifically identified problems with the communication of theory outside academic studies:

'It is a pity that the term 'critical heritage theory' is so obscure and (might I say) off-putting - even to a heritage professional such as myself' (Respondent #84).

'Academic research on this topic should be more outward looking as even those practicing in the heritage sector get marginalised by development practice, so academia is even more remote to what goes on' (Respondent #135).

One particularly interesting comment on communication suggested that conservation officers particularly were left out of touch with their colleagues in heritage academia:

'There are no standard routes by which research in the historic built environment feeds CPD for planners or conservation officers. This is in marked contrast to archaeology as a profession, where academic knowledge seems to be made more available to practitioners' (Respondent #68).

There are a number of possible reasons why there would be improved communication between archaeologists, including the existence of the Association of Local Government Archaeologists (ALGAO), which provides a network and communication route. One interviewee, speaking from an archaeological perspective as a member of staff at the CBA, corroborated the idea that archaeologists are more in touch with the theoretical side of the discipline, suggesting that

potentially a more uniform academic background expected for professional work allows for more easy communication in a shared 'language' of theories:

'that is one of the big differences, I think, with the rest of the heritage sector, that archaeology does have that discipline embedded in a university context, whereas building conservation isn't quite the same, from that point of view' (Interview 1, p.202).

The potential for the integration of more theory into professional networks is one of the issues that will be considered in the following chapter.

Finally, some respondents, at the extreme end of the scale, demonstrated a sense of mistrust or alienation towards theoretical discussions, which were perceived as out of touch with the 'real world', unaware of challenges and constraints faced by those working in practice.

'I don't think critical heritage theory has any bearing on most professionals' working practice. Academics move in their own circles and seem rarely to descend into the real world' (Respondent #20).

'Critical Heritage Theory appears to be quite far removed from professional practice' (Respondent #89).

The real world of Heritage and conservation is very different (*sic*) from the subject matter taught by academic institutions!!' (Respondent #16).

There are many working within critical heritage theory who would say that their work is not only aware of practice, but offers potentially beneficial improvements for practitioners, including those whose work primarily centres around physical sites or objects. Nevertheless, this stigma associated with theoreticians and their work may be actively hindering potential involvement or interest in heritage research from practitioners. One interviewee described it as 'a sort of knee jerk negative reaction ... to the idea of critical heritage studies, ... it seems to be ... "you don't have any of the challenges but you sit there and criticise us"', which certainly reflects the mood of some of these respondents (Interview 3, pp.280-1). Another interviewee had experienced similar attitudes during their work:

'I have come across, for instance, people who work in a job, in the profession ... who have a negative perception of academics who stick their oar in with professional practice ... And the attitude there has been, "well they don't know because they don't do the job"' (Interview 6, p.370).

These responses, which show evidence of a sense of hostility towards academic researchers from both sides of the theory / practice divide, are of concern as they offer an evidential basis for systematic barriers to communication between these areas of the heritage sector. The concerns are both that this hostility may prevent communication due to mistrust and reduced motivation to cooperate, and that the causes for these feelings may be based in problematic past collaboration and failures to communicate, which will need to be improved before relations can be mended. This is a complex challenge involving a number of intersecting issues, which will be addressed further in the following chapter.

### 6.2.2 Reflections on the survey

The survey, inevitably, provided a snapshot of a particular set of people at a particular point in time. Some responses reflected an austerity-hit atmosphere of pressure and potentially isolation for conservation workers following staff cuts. Others spoke positively of 'how much more sophisticated our application of conservation philosophy has become' (Respondent #51) and how heritage is 'part of our shared identity' (Respondent #50).

Overall, there are two undeniable, and apparently contradictory conclusions to be drawn from the survey: firstly, that respondents had generally not heard of critical heritage theory and frequently showed little interest in it; and secondly, that many of the key parts of critical heritage theory regarding the subjectivity, construction and potential uses of heritage in society have been widely adopted by respondents. Reconciliation of the two suggests that there are some communication routes between heritage in theory and in practice, but these are not direct, although there are some indications that this may be improving. Indeed, given the results of the textual analysis which show the responsive nature of heritage studies, it may be more accurate to say that both critical heritage theory and heritage practice are inspired by the same external events and travel on parallel pathways of development. Further contextualisation of these findings was sought in the following interview stage.

It is also notable that some respondents were evidently not only unaware of the existence of critical heritage theory, but that the idea of such an area of study invoked negative emotions. This apparent hostility may be at least in part born of frustration from past experiences of inaccessible or apparently inapplicable theory, which argues the need for clear and grounded theoretical work. It may also be in part due to the pressures of time and limited funding which prevent practitioners from engaging with published research; the contrast between this and the perceived time and freedom to explore ideas in the 'ivory tower' of research might provoke a reaction against those who do not appear to understand the functional limitations of practice. Such emotions, whatever the cause, will discourage future engagement with heritage theory and exacerbate divisions within the sector. It is evident that developing methods to counter this anti-theoretical bias will be crucial to future collaborations and audience engagement in heritage studies.

## 6.3 Interviews

The interviews undertaken for this research followed the survey, and aimed to contextualise and develop understanding of the issues raised, particularly looking at how heritage practice has changed and what the major factors driving change have been, as well as

interrogating the use and perceptions of theory outside the academic sphere. Because of the project's focus on communication and the sharing of ideas, interviewees were deliberately selected because their work crosses the boundaries of practice, policy development and academic work, or their career has included several of these roles and they have an insight into different approaches and modes of practice. In the case of an interviewee from the CBA, they described their own role as an intermediary:

'I can see what's going on, over there in academia ... and over there in commercial practice, over there in the voluntary sector, and kind of make those connections and try and bring some of those things together' (Interviewee 1, p.197).

Each interviewee was asked: what they felt the major changes had been in the heritage sector over the course of their career; what were the major factors that had driven that change; how their own ideas about heritage have changed; who has a say in the development of heritage legislation and policy; and how the approach to heritage of those in practice differs to that of theorists. There were additional questions to clarify points made or expand on interesting routes of conversation, which varied between interviews, and naturally respondents' opinions varied depending on their particular discipline, their personal experiences, and their length of time in the sector. Nevertheless, several clear trends emerged from the collected data.

### 6.3.1 Changing ideas

One of the themes explored in every interview was how a respondent's own personal views had shifted in response to changes in academic thinking about heritage and changes in the wider sector. There was an interesting divide in responses; some, particularly those who were later in their careers and consequently had longer professional experience, recalled the revolutionary perspectives offered by changing heritage and archaeological theory in the later decades of the twentieth century. One highlighted how at the beginning of their career in the 1970s, intangible heritage was not on a professional's radar (Interviewee 1, p.202). Another recalled the impacts of key moments like the European Year of Architectural Heritage in 1975, which introduced:

'the idea that people should have a view about what their heritage is, and should have ways of being able to look after it. ... I had no idea it was actually just the leading edge of what was going to become normative in heritage practice over the next thirty years. So, I think, that was a very canonical and significant moment in thinking' (Interview 3, pp.263-4).

and, the following decade, of Hewison's *The Heritage Industry*:

'because it was the first time that I'd seen anybody look critically at the notion of heritage and how it had just simply assumed a form ... without anyone looking at it and questioning whether it was legitimate, and democratic, economically driven and socially acceptable, and all of those things' (Interview 3, pp.262-3).

Another respondent, who now specialises in public outreach, described how initially their approach was far more traditionalist:

'I think when I first went into archaeology, I was into that niche interest ... what does and doesn't qualify as something that should be in a museum, for example ... what qualifies as cultural engagement ... is it worthwhile, and my thoughts about what was worthwhile is like, is it academically viable ... is it good for the safeguarding of this like monument's ... structural integrity, ... because I was interested in archaeology, I was quite narrow-minded in to what that actually meant ... But as I've worked a lot more in outreach, and especially with teaching communities, it's just like, well, the way that I view what culture is so blinkered .... and just because I value university education and just because I enjoy visiting a historic site and being talked at by somebody ... that's not the only valid way to engage with heritage and history, that's not the way that other people build their identity or build their sense of relationship to a place, so I've definitely become a lot more socially focused' (Interview 9, p.454).

In these cases, exposure to debates over the way elements of heritage are used and managed led to changes in individual's opinions and practices. Theoretical concepts were applied to practical situations and were the force which drove new approaches in practice.

However, there was also an alternative strand among other respondents, which suggested that in practice, heritage had always contained complexities beyond what was widely studied prior to the recent boom in critical heritage studies, and that the development of critical thinking had not created new perspectives of thinking as much as it had provided theoretical frameworks within which to situate feelings or experiences which had already been present. This is reinforced by the data from the previous chapter which demonstrates that key topic for critical heritage theory were studied and debated prior to the existence of critical heritage theory as a distinct academic strand. Interviewees 5 and 7 both discussed how their own personal approach to heritage had remained steady:

'my approach to heritage has always been, it's about learning, it's about quality of life ... That was part of ... my own experience really, so I think it's just full circle really, in that sense, so I think you learn all the time about the different ways that heritage can benefit society' (Interview 7, p.412);

'I think as I've got older, I can apply people's theory back to it better. ... I didn't know the theory when I was doing it, so I can't say the theory has made me behave like that. ... I just think maybe I'm more open to those ideas. And so actually I do things and then I realise, "Oh, people have been writing theories about it"' (Interview 5, p.327).

Similarly, Interviewee 6 recalled how studying heritage gave them a framework within which to explore aspects of heritage which had arisen during their previous visitor-facing work in a heritage site:

'[I] certainly wouldn't have been locating my thinking about some of the challenges that were evident in some of the kind of wider cultural situ and potential economic contexts that really now I do like talking about, ... I was just looking at heritage as a person with an English accent and a complicated identity background working in a Welsh castle, dealing with Welsh people with cultural expectations about the site that was built by an invading English king, and rebuilt by a wealthy Scottish aristocrat ... and thinking about those complex identity questions and cultural issues' (Interviewee 6, p.375).

Nevertheless, the same respondent was clear that certain theoretical approaches have influenced practice in perceptible ways:

'the likes of 15 or 10 years ago, Laurajane Smith's research into the Authorised Heritage Discourse ... that is now part of mainstream understandings, I think. ... Very clearly now can see heritage organisations trying to avoid that authorised discourse, and broaden narratives, you know, explore heritage from different angles, so, so you do see that, that similarity now, but there is also a lead in time for new ideas' (Interview 6, p.372).

The idea that socially-conscious and people-focused ideas have become embedded within heritage practice was reinforced by Interviewee 2, who as an archaeological practitioner without any professional knowledge of critical heritage theory, put forward a strong argument in favour of that approach:

'To me, if you privilege physical remains of the past, that is to me that's very naive and morally probably wrong, because there's also people in the present, and they have to be looked after' (Interviewee 2, p.231).

Moreover, the results from the survey, as discussed above, demonstrate that those same ideas have spread widely within heritage practice.

The possibility that heritage theory may be catching up to the experiences of practitioners as much as leading them is certainly worth considering – though it is also worth noting that respondents which were chosen for their experiences in successful careers in academia and practice may also have achieved some of those successes by being in line with the zeitgeist of analytical thinking. There is, of course, also the natural effect of hindsight when recalling one's personal opinions and development to take into consideration. In many ways the cycle cannot be disentangled, as one respondent pointed out:

'I think it's a bit chicken and egg really, isn't it? ... Does practice happen and then people try and come up with a theory for how it works ... or does theory come first?' (Interview 5, p.326).

It is clear that professional ideas and language have changed since the 1970s and 80s; what is less clear is how theoretical work has interacted with those changes. In many cases, changes in the heritage sector have allowed elements of theory to be incorporated into practice, but the changes themselves may have been pushed by far wider events.

### **6.3.2 The effect of changing contexts**

There was no question in the minds of respondents that the heritage sector had changed in response to changing contexts – as was proved to happen in theoretical discussions of heritage in the previous chapter. As the interviews focused on heritage work in England and Wales, particular points of change and periods of development were often connected strongly to the national political and economic developments of past decades, which were contextualised in Chapters 3 and 5.

In particular, many of those interviewed who worked as professional archaeologists or within archaeologically-focused organisations (such as the CBA or the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA)) saw the introduction of Planning Policy Guidance 16 in 1990, which introduced the 'polluter pays' principle, as a key turning point in the expansion and developing professionalisation of archaeology within the planning system.

'it transformed archaeology, basically ... and so that whole sort of professionalisation of commercial archaeology, which has happened since 1990, it's obviously transformed everything, and then ... the foundations of CIfA, and the moves that we're slowly, gradually making to chartered archaeologist status, that's going to have completely transformed things' (Interview 1, p.198).

'the introduction of PPG 16 ... that has been probably the biggest game changer, and overall, you know, a very, very positive development. Obviously that's then gone through different iterations in time up to the present, so it became an Advice Note and then progressed, and so on ... but it gets better and better all the time, the protection basically gets stronger, and the purpose of it and everything else better articulated' (Interview 2, p.232).

'Well, certainly in my experience of public facing heritage practice, in the 80s and mid 70s, was very different to my experience professionally during the 90s ... it was an era of trying to establish norms for professional practice ... in what was a very young discipline, which had kind of, really, been a victim of its own success, with the polluter pays kind of principle ... But it subsequently, well, it kind of politicised archaeology, because it became ... it had a seat at the high table, suddenly ... in terms of big ticket development. But I think it also, it also demanded that as a profession we had to really get our act together. If we were going to be at the same table, with architects and engineers and planners, who had institutional chartered status, and years and years of institutional good practice, and codes of practice that reflected their ethical positions and so on, that if we were going to be at the table with those kinds of professionals, that we had to get into that place too' (Interview 3, pp.269-70).

This professionalisation has had some unexpected corollary effects on voluntary and less formalised heritage practices, which a respondent at the CBA described as 'one of our worries' (Interview 1, p.198). Another respondent described how inclusion of archaeology within the planning system affected voluntary interventions:

'locally-led heritage practice ... was very much there in the 70s and early 80s, and then really drops away as professionalisation of the heritage sector moves in' (Interview 3, p.266).

There have been reparative factors which have contributed to a 'resurgence of the more locally led, socially relevant kind of heritage practice coming back in again', including the creation of the National Lottery Heritage Fund (*Ibid*, p.266). However, arguably the division created between professional-sector and commercial archaeological work and local community or voluntary projects has not been entirely overcome.

Other concerns raised about the impacts of the professionalisation and commercialisation of archaeological fieldwork since the 1990s include the 'loss of reflective time' which Interviewee 8 attributed to 'this commercial drive to do projects and to achieve particular financial targets' which has left 'less scope for variation and innovation than there might have been, maybe thirty forty years ago' (p.432). Interviewee 1 described the change as 'going back to turning the process

of investigation into a ... archaeology by numbers type approach, and not encouraging those people to think about what they're doing and why they're doing it' (pp.204-5). It is clear that the introduction of what would, to an outsider, appear a relatively minor piece of policy has had major repercussions for the structure of archaeological practice within England and the future of archaeology as a profession, which are still continuing in the present day.

Other contextual factors which were highlighted as having changed the heritage sector in England and Wales in noticeable ways included the shift from 13 years of Labour government to a Conservative-dominated coalition, then a Conservative majority, from 2010 onwards, as discussed in the previous chapter. This change involved shifts in not only political discourse, but also changes in funding priorities, the perceived role of heritage in a nation, and policy approaches to planning, development and local service provision.

This shift in political backdrop can lead to considerable difficulties for heritage campaigners, who, having to change from one set of policy priorities and philosophical approaches to another, can lose the progress they made in developing working relationships and helping to draft future legislation and policy – as in the case of the aborted Heritage Bill, which failed to pass in the 'dying embers of the Labour government' (Interview 7, pp.403-4). This can be an impediment to the inclusion of new ideas and strategies within the national state-centred system:

'that's part of the problem I guess with – if that's the right word – with our political system, is that because these things take a long time to gestate and come into being, if the politics of the time is volatile, it can change, and you can go back to square one quite rapidly' (Interview 1, p.208).

These top-down changes in perspective can have clear impacts. For example, the heritage sector under New Labour experienced what Interviewee 6 described as 'halcyon days' for lobbying and consultation – 'Think tanks popping up left right and centre' – whereas after 2010 opportunities for input into relevant policy development were cut drastically and 'it was extremely difficult to get anything listened to' (Interview 6, pp.364-380). This is a result of the structural and philosophical goals of the Conservative party, external to the heritage sector and not reflective of its work, but 'the irresistible force of politics' perceptibly shifted the way heritage organisations related both to government and to their own public audiences – for example, causing the National Trust to take 'unusual decisions like saying we are going to campaign publicly against the government on the National Planning Policy Framework to try and get changes' (Interview 6, p.378-9; Interview 1, p.208). Indeed, the creation of the NPPF in 2012 was also a reflection of the climate of the time, rooted in 'practical planning and politics' (Interview 2, p.232):

'a politically driven process, by a Conservative party that had a very clear idea of what they wanted to do with planning ... partly to try and encourage more house building, but partly, they were representatives of the development industry, to a very large extent' (Interview 1, p.207).



Similarly in Wales, Belford and Foreman have described how the outreach work of the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust altered mid-projects following the 2016 Senedd elections, which changed the balance of power and reduced the focus on a 'Communities First' agenda which had dominated in 2011-16 (Belford & Foreman, 2020, pp.5–6).

One of the most recognisable and consistent features of the post-2010 political climate in the UK has been 'austerity politics', which saw funding for arts and culture reduced, as discussed in the previous chapter. This has had a deep effect on the heritage sector, which had to change its approach from the progressive to the reactive:

'the change [from] that Blairite approach to public spending and public administration ... into a period of austerity, when all of a sudden everyone is panicked about the future of their quango, and the funding that they're going to receive, and so, from a period of relative forward looking thought about what heritage should be, into a real defensive position, how do we protect the funding that we've got, how do we appeal to a different ideological idea about what heritage is' (Interview 6, p.364).

The response of the heritage sector to the changing levels of value placed on heritage, as discussed in the previous chapter, was to position heritage as a way to deliver positive benefits.

Despite increased financial pressure on the sector, somewhat paradoxically, the culture within the Conservative party was described by several respondents as more able to understand and value the heritage sector:

'Conservative government are going to be a lot more nationalistic and push an agenda as we can see, ... whereas Labour don't seem to give a crap about heritage, and I don't think the Left really does, they don't really understand how to harness it' (Interview 4, p.296).

Respondents who had worked closely with government representatives described individual Conservative politicians, such as Michael Heseltine or Sajid Javid, as being more in touch with the needs and aims of heritage than their Labour counterparts (Interview 1, pp.210-2; Interview 3, pp.264-5; Interview 7, p.404).

The role of state-led policies was also clear when comparing England and Wales. Although many of the differences highlighted by interviewees were structural, in particular the statutory role of the Welsh Archaeological Trusts, which Interviewee 8 argued exempted archaeologists in Wales from some of the more negative effects of the commercialisation of archaeology following PPG 16, as discussed above. However, in Wales as in England, broader strategic priorities affect the way heritage work is done and the goals it works towards. Interviewee 9 described the impact of the Well-being of Future Generations Act (2015), Welsh legislation which on the surface is not directly concerned with heritage:

'if you're a government organisation you have to show the way that your work with the public impacts on ... 7 key areas, so it's like mental, physical wellbeing, employability and boosting skills and boosting mental wellbeing, this kind of thing. And because we work with Cadw who are a

government organisation, we really need to build those into our project designs' (Interview 9, p.466).

This need to demonstrate socio-economic benefit again reinforces the idea that heritage must adapt to changing circumstances to maintain its relevance. However, Interviewee 9 also highlighted how this creates opportunities for creative engagement:

'a lot of traditional field archaeologists think, you know, they grumble a bit at first, like, oh, it's not real archaeology, not proper archaeology, you know ... You're taking time away from the excavation, but when they see how much emphasis people like the funders will put on it, and their, when we're reporting we need to report on that now, and they do come around to it ... they can see the difference in our, like, staff and volunteers, because we're having to work with this legislation now, I think it's, we're quite fortunate. ... I think it's really making people examine the way that they actively treat the volunteers and the way that they engage with communities rather than just be, you know, we build a project for you and we go "you will enjoy this" ... "come here now", it's more sort of we go to them first and say what's already happening and what's not happening ... and would you actually enjoy this, kind of thing. So I think, it's good because it gives me, it very easily legitimises what I do, to what can be quite a reticent audience' (pp.466-9).

The Well-being Act is therefore offering opportunities for the kinds of inclusive heritage work, centring communal value instead of materialist and expert-led approaches, advocated for by public archaeologists and critical theorists (Parkinson et al., 2016, p.293; Waterton, 2005). Indeed, this legislation is more theoretically current in its approach than the 'reticent' heritage practitioners who must be 'forced' into making time for inclusive heritage work alongside their more traditional roles (Interview 9, pp.467). As was demonstrated in Chapter 5, discussions of inclusivity and accessibility within heritage studies have developed alongside parallel broader social and political movements. These broader changes offer opportunities for heritage theorists and practitioners to create heritage work which responds to the needs highlighted by these movements, which are closely related to the topics of discussion within theory.

Overall, there was clear agreement among interviewees that changing policy, legislation, and political and economic developments can alter the ways heritage professionals work, the resources available to them, and the communication patterns between advocates and government representatives.

### **6.3.3 Organisations as mouthpieces**

These political impacts may suggest that politicians are leading the heritage sector, rather than vice versa. However, another central strand of the interview responses showed that organisations within the sector have the ability to act as liaisons between sector and government, amplifying and prioritising the aims of heritage professionals in order to guide the development of new legislation and policy. Organisations such as amenity societies and professional groups can claim to represent their constituencies at a national level, and can combine knowledge of the

sector's needs with an understanding of the policy formation process in a way that can be hard to achieve at an individual level.

The creation of English Heritage (and later, Historic England) was a recognised turning point for the heritage sector, for the reason that the organisation was able to bring together opinions from across the heritage sector and additionally was heard at government level when they offered guidance. Its role has been transformational:

'the critical bit from our point of view, I guess, was that it created a sort of policy champion ... for the historic environment' (Interview 1, p.202).

Indeed, former Chief Archaeologist Geoffrey Wainwright was twice specifically named as the individual who most effectively campaigned for the passage of PPG16 and the 'polluter pays' principle (Interview 1, p.198-9; Interview 2, p.244); he was able to use his position to consistently advocate for and encourage others to advocate for his goals for the sector. Later, the Historic England document *Power of Place* was identified as another major step for the development of current national policy on heritage, demonstrating their capacity to affect the sector as a whole (Interview 3, p.277). As discussed above, although not a policy document in an official sense, the development of *Conservation Principles* as a public statement of Historic England's organisational conceptualisation of and approach to heritage has been influential; Chitty and Smith's study of local authority heritage strategies has demonstrated that many adopt an inclusive and constructivist approach which is closer to that of *Conservation Principles* than to the national policy position articulated in the NPPF (2019).

Although Historic England is most closely tied to government, as a non-departmental public body (formerly referred to as a 'quango'), other organisations also have roles within the state system, as discussed in Chapter 3. Indeed, there is a set of organisational representatives who are sometimes referred to as 'the usual suspects' when it comes to developing advocacy positions and representing the sector to government; there is significant overlap between various committees and working groups which often draw on the same small pool of people with this overlapping expertise and authority (Interview 3, p.274; Interview 6, p.381). The subtleties of distinction between knowledge, ability and access to relevant communication methods was frequently highlighted in the interviews:

'who gets to have a say is open to interpretation. There's who's offered an opportunity to have a say, who has the agency to be able to participate, and who wants to. So, one, I think that there is only a tiny group of people who care enough to want to have a say in policy ... and know enough about the way it all works. I'm not saying that in a patronising sort of way, but, who understand the significance about the way policy formation works, to know what a difference it would make if they did have a say' (Interview 3, pp.273-4);

‘there are probably ... a couple of handfuls of people in the heritage sector who are most brilliantly up to date with theory, and most brilliantly up to date about applying it in a policy context’ (Interview 6, p.373).

Each organisation naturally wants to be represented as relevant and in a position of influence, and each organisational representative encouraged a view of their own body as a champion for their members and the wider industry. However, across the interviews there were several bodies who were consistently name-checked as being involved with the development of national policies and approaches in England: primarily Historic England, naturally; ClfA; the CBA and other amenity societies; the Society of Antiquaries; increasingly the Heritage Alliance; the Welsh Archaeological Trusts; and larger local or national voluntary and community bodies. This reflects the bias towards archaeology in the interview responses, who are more likely to think of the CBA or ClfA than of other amenity societies (such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings) because the CBA’s advocacy is more likely to directly affect their work. Nevertheless, it is primarily professional organisations, and individuals within those organisations, which are perceived to have the most influence on policy formation, as opposed to independent experts, or, indeed, academic organisations (Interview 2, pp.240-1).

The mechanisms by which these organisations have an impact on government range from informal conversations to public consultations, and, like everything else, vary in impact depending on the issue under debate and the attitude of the government of the day (Interview 6, pp.378-9). Frequently, giving advice and guidance to the government from a heritage perspective requires a roundabout approach, wherein advocates are constantly ‘horizon scanning’ for proposals that may inadvertently damage heritage or which offer ‘hooks’ for the insertion of heritage goals into only tangentially related policy (Interview 7, pp.409-10; Interview 6, p.377). In many ways, this advocacy role has become professionalised alongside archaeological practice:

‘originally, it was around individuals, who had particular bees in their bonnets, who had particular connections with an MP, or with a somebody who they knew in authority, and that was their avenue to try and pursue that, that bee in their bonnet. Now, you know, we’re thinking ahead, we’re planning, we’re working with other organisations, we’ve got connections in Parliament, got the Parliamentary Archaeology Group, so many different elements’ (Interview 1, p.198).

The need to be aware of proposed changes and to consider their potential impacts requires a familiarity with the political scene as well as a good knowledge of the workings of the heritage sector – hence the need for specialist individuals who are employed in these roles. Respondents who worked within policy advocacy often emphasised the need to offer solutions to politicians, rather than just campaign against government agendas:

‘that is very important, that we’re able to articulate heritage in terms of solving problems for others ... the best form of advocacy is not the flag flying stuff, stomping your feet, you know, saying what’s wrong, I think the best approach to advocacy is through making yourself invaluable to the people

who are doing this thinking, and giving them tangible stuff that they can use' (Interview 7, pp.404 & 413).

'I've not met many civil servants that have a strong (*pause*) sort of zeal themselves to change things, and ... with an idea in their heads of what it should look like. They are very much picking up on what the sector thinks and then trying to put it into operation. ... The politicians ... I think they're not ... career politicians in the same way, they don't come in with a -- and they don't stay in the same place for a long period of time and build up an affinity with something and have a view as to what should happen. They have to be told what to think, essentially' (Interview 1, pp.208 & 211).

It was clear in the interviews that civil servants and politicians are frequently not experts in the fields with which they work, but understand governmental priorities and the process of developing legal mechanisms (Interview 4, p.296). The most successful inputs are those which align with current agendas – such as reducing carbon emission output – or which coincide with campaigns by larger, better funded industries like the construction lobbyists, as in the case of the pressure to reduce the VAT on repairs to buildings in line with the 0% VAT on new builds (Interview 7, p.407). Those who are able to present easily adoptable and deliverable policy suggestions to 'hard pushed civil servants who are very small teams of people expected to deliver lots of stuff' are more likely to have those suggestions adopted than campaigns which attempt to push for more drastic changes to policy, or changes which go against current agendas (Interview 7, p.414).

The outcome of the compression of heritage policy understanding within a few organisations is that the 'usual suspects', drawn from these bodies, are frequently asked to give expert opinions on a wide range of heritage related topics – for which expertise they must often draw on their membership. Thus, membership of an organisation equates to representation for an individual's viewpoint at a national level on a variety of heritage-related issues: these organisations rely on members for financial support as well as for legitimacy in their claims to represent the interests of their branch of the sector. It would not therefore be in their interests to alienate their members by taking a stance which does not represent their views. However, individual consultations may often need responses within a short time frame which does not permit extensive consultation with the expert members, who are after all 'busy with their day jobs' (Interview 6, pp.379-80). In order to have an individual's views represented by these advocates on a national scale, it is therefore often necessary to have expressed them to the organisation in advance. The process was referred to by one interviewee as 'the classic sausage machine ... if you want your bit to come out in the sausage at the end, you've got to be the bit that goes into the mix in the first place' (Interview 1, p.219). Organisational membership is often a prerequisite:

'the people missing at those different models of how you build a policy, both inter-organisational and constituencies to their leaders and policy leaders, is the ones who aren't part of those sector organisations' (Interview 6, pp.380-1).

For individuals within the heritage sector who feel that their voices are ignored or that they cannot compete against ‘the overly influential opinions of certain key individuals’ (Interview 2, p.240), membership of an organisation offers enfranchisement through the chance to provide expert opinions to those influential individuals and use their knowledge of policy formation to advocate for what professionals believe to be most urgently needed.

Because organisations represent their membership, they have been known to put forward opposing views depending on their organisational standpoint, which has at times caused conflicting advice to be given by the heritage sector to civil servants or politicians. This was the main reason cited for the creation of the Heritage Alliance in 2002:

‘it was a very clear response to Tessa Jowell, when she was Culture Secretary, who said several times, in public ... “the heritage sector is fragmented, there are too many organisations, you’re – there’s too many voices, I can’t hear ... what you all want”’ (Interview 1, p.216).

The Heritage Alliance was therefore intended to bring together different voices and liaise with government, though the success of the initiative to create more organisations to limit the number of competing voices has been limited:

‘of course, what was inevitable ... the Alliance was created to be a mechanism, to filter all those voices together, but it’s become a voice of its own’ (Interview 1, p. 216).

Nor was Tessa Jowell the last Culture Secretary to point out that the heritage sector can be divided within itself, judging by this description of a meeting with Sajid Javid:

“‘I’m not going to be the Secretary of State for Culture for very long ... we’ve got a General Election coming up, and you know, other things will change ... so I think the way you should treat me is that I’m in this post for a year ... that’s about right”, he said, “in that year, I’ve got all these responsibilities, I’m Culture, Media, Sport.” He said, “For you, as the heritage sector, I can probably do one thing. ... So what I need to know from you is what is the one thing that you’d like me to do for you?” ... But he said “I’ll only do it if all of you want it ... if you come to me and, you know, you three over there tell me one thing, you three over there tell me one thing, you three over there tell me another thing, you won’t – I won’t do anything for you.” (Interview 1, pp.209-10).

The heritage sector has responded to this with a developing pattern – perhaps partly in response to the decreased potential for consultation since 2010 – of coalition and consensus amongst the ‘usual suspects’, through ‘a broad range of committees and forums and groupings ... official (?boards?) in the sector like the Heritage Council or the Historic Environment Forum, but also ... less formal things with these organisations’ (Interview 6, p.380). This seemed to be a shared consensus:

‘the sector’s got much better at co-ordinating itself, and also talking to other sectors ... we’ve still got some way to go, I would say, but it’s an upward trajectory in the policy sense’ (Interview 7, p.405).

This has enhanced the ability of the sector to present a unified front and press for the most urgent priorities, but perhaps has also encouraged the sense of mystery and exclusivity around policy

development by adding an extra level of private discussion to the advocacy process. One self-described 'policy wonk' recognised this criticism:

'we're these shadowy figures, all middle class white men, tucked away in locked rooms, you know, deciding everything for everybody ... And yeah, that is valid criticism!' (Interview 6, p.386).

Something of a vicious cycle has developed: the better the sector becomes at presenting a coherent, unified position which allows them to apply pressure where necessary in policy development, the more the process of developing that position relies on the work of a few experts and appears untraceable and undemocratic to critics within the sector. It could be argued that the issue here is not the communication between professionals and their organisations – as mentioned above, members are the source of many of the opinions put forward by organisational representatives – but the quality or quantity of the feedback offered to these members which explains how their views were used and where compromises have been made out of necessity, which would offer the 'accountability' which some respondents suggested was missing in the sector (Interview 2, p.241).

#### **6.3.4 The isolation of academic work**

Professional organisations offer a route through which individuals who work in the heritage sector can be connected to wider debates and can influence the sector's future direction. However, these organisations have not succeeded so far at breaching the perceived gap between academic studies of heritage and heritage in practice. That this gap exists at all was widely agreed among respondents; its causes and how it can be addressed are more complex issues and there were, naturally, a range of suggestions and opinions.

There was a widespread perception among respondents that academic heritage studies – and academic work more widely - 'tragically, sits within a bit of a bubble' (Interview 2, p.233), and that academics and practitioners are 'all in different silos doing different things' (Interview 8, p.438);

'a lot of people do thinking about things, a lot of people do things, but the two sides of that don't always come together as well as they should do' (Interview 8, p.432).

The majority of interviewees worked in practice, but all had experience of working with academic institutions or in academic roles, and therefore these views are not representative of a prejudice born of ignorance, but of a genuine concern at a lack of collaboration and a widespread failure to co-produce knowledge. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Two, there are also concerns within academic heritage studies, and the wider research sector, which reflect the points raised in the interviews.

There were several symptoms of this wider disconnection highlighted by respondents, including the segregation of conferences between professional and academic speakers and attendees (Interview 8, p.442; Interview 2, p.239). Several respondents also pointed out that those who are working within universities are those who excel in and are trained in academic methodologies, but have not necessarily spent significant amounts of time in practice, and therefore do not entirely understand the complexities of the sector more widely – in what is often referred to as ‘the real world’ outside academia (Interview 2, p.236).

‘[T]o put it bluntly, if you're brilliant as an undergraduate, and you get a first class undergraduate degree, then you are very strongly encouraged to take that in pursuit of a PhD, and so these first class undergraduates went off and do a PhD. They might do a bit of work in between doing that and doing the PhD, but generally they go straight in to fast track in a PhD, they come out of the PhD full time you know in their mid to late 20s, and then they start looking around for a post doctoral job, and then they get a lecturing job, and so then by the time they're in their mid 30s maybe, they're a lecturer or a senior lecturer, they're responsible for training the next generation of archaeologists, but they themselves have had no practical experience (laughs) in doing archaeology. They've been taught how to do archaeology by a professor who probably followed a very similar route to them, and then they're sat within higher education, and that's the only world they know’ (Interview 8, p.441).

There was also a correlating comment from a heritage advocacy perspective:

‘I wish, and I've said this to them, and all courses need to take notes of this, that, that actually there's a bit of a lack of you know almost the professors of policy? The people who actually get this stuff, the people who've worked in it, the people who actually understand that political and policy context ... you might touch on section 106 or you might touch on this that or the other, but actually, it's very much you know an academic perspective I think, when people are doing undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, or theoretical as you're looking at. Really, there is, I think there is a lack of understanding about how does this play out in the real world’ (Interview 7, p.410-1).

The argument that there should be more professional experts involved in academic courses like archaeology and heritage, in order to impart a practical understanding of probable career pathways and future work, has clear merits. However, there are structural issues with fewer immediate solutions present.

One particular concern is the accessibility of academic and theoretical publications, both in practical terms and in a linguistic and discursive sense. For practitioners without some kind of membership in an academic institution, expenditure of scarce funding on journal subscriptions and expensive monographs is hard to justify – several respondents described the costs as prohibitive (Interview 8, p.446; Interview 2, p.250). When combined with the reported separation of conference attendance between the theoretical and professional groups and the results of the survey above, a picture emerges in which there are few potential routes by which heritage practitioners can access current theoretical discussions, whether they wish to or not.

Even more crucial a barrier, perhaps, is the perceived and actual inaccessibility of theoretical reading: the complex background of obscure specialist terminology which are



referenced within academic publications (Interview 3, p.287). As discussed in Chapter 2, this is part of a wider system within which an academic must prove their own right to contribute to a field by participating in the same discursive style as their peers, whether or not that makes their work less appealing to a wider audience: in Carr's words, 'jargons are often not attempts to guard or obfuscate expert knowledge, as many have suggested, but are rather a way to signify it' (2010, p.20). This has noticeable impacts when heritage theorists share their work with a public audience: the language used by theorists was identified by a respondent now working full-time in a university as 'one of the barriers' to the permeation of that theory into the wider sector (Interview 3, p.272). They recalled a specific example:

'I once heard Laurajane Smith give a keynote at a conference in the early 2000s (...) [to] a room full of a hundred community archaeologists, or ... people who worked in that field. And at the end, they had, people were coming out saying "I didn't understand a word of what she was saying, it was so -"' (Interview 3, p.273).

Another interviewee described a typical response to academic publications:

'I think anything to do with heritage and history is looked at by lots of people, go "ooh, I can't read that, it's way too dense"' (Interview 4, p.303).

The traditional academic writing style can have an off-putting effect for those who would like to become more familiar with or involved in heritage theory, who feel themselves excluded from discussions by the vocabulary which valorises and prioritises academic knowledge (Tosh, 2014). Moreover, the time required to locate relevant academic sources and to continue to stay up to date with a large volume of publications can be difficult even for those in academic posts:

'the breadth and the scope of academic literature, I mean, we find it daunting and ... we've got all these finding aids that we can use ... you develop a knowledge of which journals are the ones you need to go for particular kinds of discussion, and it's kind of self-reinforcing in a way, but that must be unimaginable to navigate from outside' (Interview 3, p.287).

This inaccessibility and exclusivity within academic discussions is a structural issue which spreads far wider than heritage studies, but the barriers it creates are certainly noticeable within the heritage sector. This contributes to the perceived division between theory and practice, as other voices are not always able to engage with debates and respond or contribute to these discussions. Communicating research in an academic format can limit the ways in which professional audiences can consume this research, but also then prevents researchers from receiving constructive criticism in return from those who might potentially use their work.

One respondent articulated their frustration at the ways even apparently collaborative academic projects, which draw on the work of partner organisations in the sector to produce research, can fail to deliver any positive results for contributors outside academia, which disincentivises other future projects:

‘so often, universities are so blinkered they only think in terms of self-benefit. And usually what that amounts to is having their name on published papers ... and then they forget to involve other people, and all the other people who contributed. We had a project by a postdoc from one university, who wrote a paper ... Never got to check it, got published, our name never featured, university win win win, only thought about themselves, it's just beyond belief, this is like children in the playpen, they just don't understand, you need to play nicely, which is if you want stuff from other people, it's called sharing’ (Interview 2, pp.249-50).

The pressures within academic careers to produce large quantities of published research is well-known and documented (Dominguez, 2017; Watermeyer, 2016) – and was acknowledged by all respondents. However, in some situations the need to prove an individual’s impact on the academic scene by publishing within academic contexts can in fact diminish their impact on the wider sector by preventing professionals from accessing this research:

‘in the academic sector, I think there's a lot of stuff that just gets done and not communicated, and therefore a bit wasted’ (Interview 7, p.423).

The issues which contribute to the division within the heritage sector are not solely located within academic structures – heritage practice has its own pressures and restrictions which direct its focus. The increased professionalisation and commercialisation of development-led archaeology which can be argued to leave less freedom for experimentation and creativity has already been discussed above, but at a wider level, the issues of time pressure and a lack of resources which were raised by survey respondents were also present in the interviews. Alongside the financial constraints which make it hard to justify accessing academic publications, other communication methods which help new concepts and methods to spread – such as training sessions and conferences – can also be hard to access in terms of funding or of time away from other work (Interview 6, pp.372-3; Interview 8, p.444). Moreover, time invested in reading academic publications is not easy to find within many professional roles:

‘if you work in a job in an organisation, in, let's say the professional sector, and you are an academic working in a different environment, potentially that's constraining what you have to do day to day ... You are going to think differently about things and the biggest, the biggest thing ... is not about politics, it's about what you are paid to do 37 or 40 hours a week ... and you have to do task after task after task, you don't have as much free thinking time as an academic researcher’ (Interview 6, pp.368-9).

That difference – the role of the academic which is perceived to mandate creative thinking in comparison to roles which tend to be more structured around the delivery of practical goals – is the reason why collaboration and communication are important. The resources which academics can contribute to the heritage sector include time, access to a wealth of previous research, and a critical perspective, which have the potential to be extremely valuable for those with other priorities:

‘the sector needs academia, because you know, you have a lot of the people, the thinking, the resources, a lot of our organisations are very very small’ (Interview 7, p.419);

'there's a sense where academia, theory, should always have an element of the leading edge' (Interview 6, p.371).

However, the contributions currently being made by heritage theorists are at risk of being lost to the wider sector because of these barriers to engagement with academic work. In order to encourage practitioners to consume and even respond to theoretical ideas, it is the responsibility of theoreticians to produce these in accessible and relevant ways.

[O]ften academia seems to kind of be a bit self-perpetuating, operating in a vacuum or in ways that it wants to engage. And hasn't necessarily kind of thought about what's out there already that it needs to engage in and with ... I think it is for academics to be thinking about, why, what, why are we doing this? What is the point, what is the outcome? Who is the end user and why will it help them?' (Interview 7, pp.398 & 401).

## 6.4 Reflections

This chapter has highlighted the complex structural factors of professionalisation and the need to provide results in competitive environments in both the academic and practice-based sides of the heritage sector. These pressures have resulted in a failure to work cooperatively; theorists have not shared work through accessible routes, and practitioners have not engaged with research that could inform their professional work. This has resulted in an atmosphere which is sometimes expressed as outright cynicism or frustration at the concept of critical heritage theory, which demonstrates clearly that work is needed urgently to address divisions in the sector.

These are broad and complex issues for which there can be no easy solutions. However, there is an important point to be made: it is not necessary for practitioners to consume and understand every aspect of heritage theory. That is an impossible demand. Unfortunately, for producers of theory, the structures of academia do not always permit time investment in sharing ideas accessibly and broadly. To overcome these obstacles, both sides will need to explore methods of communication which allow ideas to be shared and developed collaboratively across the sector and which ensure that all participants are able to benefit.

In many cases, what was shown by this chapter is that the connections within the heritage sector are provided by organisations which work with multiple areas, such as amenity societies and advocacy bodies, and even by individuals with personal or professional connections which allow them to cross the divide between theory and practice. Such individuals are able to influence the opinions of their colleagues and, when at a sufficiently established point in their career, potentially the direction of their organisation. Where the communication network fails are the points where individuals are not connected to wider networks; for example, in the case of local authority conservation officers who do not have any colleagues in the same role within their area, or when practitioners are not involved with professional bodies and therefore do not feel that their views are incorporated within national campaigns and the priorities of the organisations

supposed to represent them. While the onus is on individuals within the sector to become involved in organisations or to become familiar with new and emerging concepts in addition to their paid roles, there will always be those who do not have the time, financial capacity, or motivation to pursue such extra-curricular routes. In the following chapter, ways to create broader structures in which it is easier for communication and collaboration to take place will be explored.

## Chapter 7: Discussion

### 7.1 Introduction

The research presented thus far has sought to bring together theoretical studies of heritage, the formal discourses of legislation and policy, and the contingent and frequently individualist work of heritage practice to present a broad ranging picture of the heritage sector in England and Wales. The central purpose has been to study these elements not in isolation, but to highlight and examine the connections between them to show how existing structures enable or inhibit discussion and the sharing of ideas. This holistic process has at times required selectivity regarding topics to study in depth, and there is potential for much further research to elucidate and expand on these findings. However, the key foci of communication and change within the sector have facilitated the identification of areas which demonstrate both strengths to be celebrated and the weaknesses to be addressed. Some communication pathways are not only existing but can be shown to have wide-ranging reach, while other pathways are partially blocked by barriers.

This research has identified a number of ways in which theoretical understandings have had an impact on the wider sector. However, it has also provided evidence to support concerns that the sector does not communicate as well as it could; research with practitioners suggests that theoretical work can be inaccessible for a number of reasons, and there is some evidence for a sense of mistrust towards those who produce critical heritage theory. This chapter will address those issues, but will also emphasise the strengths of the sector and highlight several existing structures which can be used to improve collaborative practice, as well as suggesting potential improvements.

A core theme of this chapter is one of interpersonal connections – the opportunities which are created when colleagues, professional networks and extracurricular partnerships are able to converse, share ideas and create new projects or working practices. Despite the popularity of Actor Network Theory within analyses of social structures, as discussed in Chapter 2, its focus on the agency of non-human actors such as objects, texts and physical structure runs counter not only to the realist approach of this research, but to its results. Not only is ‘heritage’ a socially constructed and contingent concept, but individuals working within heritage do so on the basis of their aims and rules of best practice, which are, in turn, dependent on the training and information each person has received from others (Elder-Vass, 2008; Sayes, 2014). Textual sources like legislation or best practice guidance could be argued to have an element of agency in the sense that they direct the actions of people – but it has been made clear in this research that such

documents are the products of the *people* who create them and enacted by the decision-making of the *people* who use them; the social, professional, political and economic priorities which are behind choices of individual words and their interpretation in settings are about humans in particular situations at particular points in time. Their primary use is to be a communication mechanism between people, even if the message they are communicating is one of instruction or the requirement for certain behaviours (van Dijk, 2008).

Fundamentally, communication is still, even in this digital age, about individuals and the professional and personal networks which connect them to others. Voicing new ideas without an audience is not communication; neither is an individual asking for input without a network available to contribute. The heritage sector in England and Wales at the level of research, advocacy and policy development has traditionally been tight-knit, with a number of organisations and events which connect a high proportion of its members; all of the interviewees had extensively overlapping professional networks. Now, however, economic pressures on local councils, charitable organisations and universities leave ever less time for collaborative activities alongside the required tasks of work, threatening the valuable links which allow interpersonal communication and the sharing of ideas across the sector.

Pursuing the idea of individuals within networks, it is to a certain extent the responsibility of these individuals to engage with opportunities for professional development and continued learning from others. However, in order to facilitate this in the current climate, it is necessary to have clear and accessible sources of new information and organisations which can act as the central point of a network, allowing members of the sector to tap into pre-existing expertise and support. To achieve this, heritage organisations would benefit from explicitly seeking to attract members from different areas within the sector, thereby acting as the focal node around which a network can form. Moreover, despite the pressures on the academic sector, it is also the responsibility of theorists to make their research accessible wherever possible, and to value and promote the engagement work done by other theorists; signs that a culture shift within academic environments is beginning to push increased engagement through tools such as the REF will be discussed below. By valuing the skills required to create and share accessible content, theorists will thereby contribute to a culture shift which rewards impact on the wider sector as much as impact on academic scales of recognition.

There have been a number of studies of the way expertise can inform policy (Lewandowska, 2019; Green, 2015; Fischer, 2009), how communication can be improved between experts and the public (Motta, 2017; Grundmann, 2017; Rampton & Stauber, 2002), and how to

better allow communities and members of the public to voice opinions on issues which affect them, through systems of 'participatory democracy' or 'public participation' (Hollowell & Nicholas, 2009; Innes & Booher, 2004). However, as discussed in Chapter 2, there is a minimal amount of generalist scholarship done to address a communication gap between theory and practice – largely because many communication studies have been done in scientific contexts, wherein 'expertise' is generally used to apply to both research into new methods and the practical work done by specialists. Within heritage, there are many different specialisms, bridging the arts/science divide. Critical heritage theory offers an oversight of this complex range of practice, but enacts an entirely separate form of expertise to that of, for example, conservation specialists or field archaeologists. The creation of new theory is necessary to provide new insights and critiques of heritage; indeed, Battista and Sande point out that in the current climate of right-wing populist politics fuelling a culture of anti-intellectualism, critical theory is more important than ever (2019, p.2). However, there have been calls to make the outcomes of these theoretical discussions more clearly relevant in recent years: 'critical heritage theory needs to do more than merely revel in problems or complexity' (Winter, 2013a, p.542). Critical heritage theory is not therefore prerequisite knowledge for the status of expert heritage practitioner, but I argue that the internationalist, socio-politically aware perspective it offers may nevertheless be of use to practitioners, if it can be shared with them.

Heritage practitioners are not a homogenous group and cannot be categorised either as theorists or as members of the public; they have an insight into current debates within heritage management through their training, interests, or presence at specialist meetings or conferences, but are likely to spend the majority of their working time on tasks which do not include keeping up to date with the latest academic debates. Many survey respondents specifically cited time pressures as a reason they are unable to engage with 'extra-curricular' activities, such as reading theory which does not have any direct bearing on their day-to-day tasks, as discussed in the previous chapter. In many cases, their workplace does not offer any resources to allow for continuing education on matters not related to day-to-day practice; critical heritage theory is not an indispensable tool for local government conservation officers or heritage site managers. Practitioners do not therefore necessarily have the resources, free time, or incentives to track down theoretical discussions as communicated through academic routes, and instead rely on alternative methods of outreach and engagement allow them to engage with new research. The use of professional organisational networks can be crucial here, as theoretical issues can be framed within a context of vocational reading, and can offer ideas targeted to the work done by that particular group to reduce the time spent searching for relevant content – as can be seen in

the development of several initiatives by Historic England, ClfA and similar organisations. Improved communication in both directions – from theorists to practitioners and back – will therefore benefit heritage as a whole, through the sharing of new concepts and feedback on their potential implementation.

There are systemic barriers to communication, some of which will be highlighted in this chapter: the gaps in the network which limit the direct sharing of information. Although many of these are structural, wide-ranging, and complex, mitigation strategies which can bridge these particular gaps will be suggested, which may improve the dissemination of theory and the creation of opportunities for future collaboration. Fundamentally, within the overarching structures of workplaces, impact metrics and official policies, there are individuals who implement policies and make decisions based on the requirements of their roles. The changes suggested in this chapter require individuals to go beyond their current responsibilities in pushing for new methods and approaches, in order to create incremental changes. A shift towards a more collaborative and cooperative sector will not be rapid and benefits may not be seen immediately, but the successes of some initiatives already underway demonstrate how individual changes can build to a more positive culture.

## 7.2 Theory to practice

The sharing of ideas is – or should be – a two-way process. Heritage studies may be in a unique position in this regard; Buström points out that prior to the development of critical theory, heritage research was far more didactic:

‘There was a time, not so very long ago, when the professional experts in cultural heritage seemed quite self-sufficient. Then, there was not much of a dialogue; it was more of a one-way communication whereby experts were supposed to inform the citizens. The role of the latter was generally reduced to reporting new findings and damage to the heritage authorities’ (2014, p.101).

The theory which challenges this expert-led, scientific approach to heritage, however, draws on anthropology, sociology, philosophy, and the other humanities to create a new and ideally participatory approach. This difference in ontological approach to the nature and management of heritage – what Parkinson *et al* described as ‘the unresolved dichotomy’ – can mean that each approach fails to understand the rationale or value of the other (2016, p.293).

One part of the problem is the speed at which critical heritage theory has developed. The rapid expansion of theoretical discussion and the sudden increase in the numbers of specialist scholars have created a new facet to the heritage sector in a matter of decades; a facet which, while looking outward, has nevertheless turned its back on the definitions and tenets of heritage which form the structure of the rest of the sector (Winter, 2013a). Smith’s ‘Authorised Heritage



Discourse' has become an almost mandatory reference within critical heritage scholarship, but the same generality which gives it broad applicability also infers a critique of the vast majority of heritage practice. Heritage as currently practised has variously been described by critical theorists as 'a tool for exclusion as well as inclusion' (Sayer, 2014, p.56), 'the coupling of a material culture of the deep past with the politics of nationalism' (Winter, 2012, p.2), 'repressive' (Turnpenny, 2004, p.303), and 'a form of conceptual imperialism' (Waterton, 2010, p.70). As Fredheim points out:

'Arguably, there is often a lack of willingness of organisations and professionals to engage seriously with academic critiques, on the one hand, and of critics, to consider the specificities and realities of practice, on the other, resulting in an ever-widening gap between theory and practice' (2018, p.620).

Theoretical efforts to interrogate and problematise 'assumptions about the 'goodness' of heritage, and consider heritage beyond an end in itself' have certainly borne fruit (Lixinski, 2015, pp.205–6); but is the 'critical' label of heritage studies being taken too far? With such an ingrained criticality towards the actions of the other branches of the heritage sector, theorists risk being increasingly distanced from their work and its mindset, and thereby miss opportunities to contribute where possible.

Arguing that all values are socially contingent and that an expert's opinion is not necessarily the only (or even the most) important factor in heritage decision-making undermines the rationale for whole careers and even fields of expert practice (Hølleland & Skrede, 2019; Lewandowska, 2019). Cherry argues that as heritage becomes more widely attributed to the kind of 'cultural value' created by communities, conservationists whose authority is based upon the Authorised Heritage Discourse 'find that ... while still bringing much to the party, they are no longer even first among equals' (2018, p.269), while Orbaşlı points out that 'community-based approaches ultimately generate conflict with professional judgements that are either scientifically informed or concentrated on tangible rather than emotional values' (2017, p.166). This downgrading or sidelining of professional expertise may have exacerbated the communication gap which Winter identified emerging in 2013:

'those in the academy might also benefit from better listening to those working in professional practice more closely. There are significant caverns in the knowledge practices of the two, and the privileging of theory within academia, particularly abstract and critical theory, can often lose sight of, or pejoratively dismiss, the values and imperatives of those working in heritage conservation practice' (2013b, p.397).

Just as those in practice might dismiss theory as irrelevant to their work, so do theorists risk undervaluing the expertise and skills of those who work within more traditional conservation heritage roles, creating a defensive hostility and thereby increasing the lack of trust already exhibited towards theorists. If the purpose of critical heritage theory is to change the way heritage

is understood and practised outside theoretical discussions, the perception that '[a]cademics move in their own circles and seem rarely to descend into the real world' will not encourage engagement with their ideas (Respondent #20). In some ways, this negative perception is built into critical heritage theory by its very name; an expectation of criticism can create a defensive attitude, as an interviewee pointed out:

'It means we want you to think questioningly about everything you are told, and read, and see. ... Don't accept anything at face value, look underneath, see what's under the bonnet. That's what we mean by criticality. We don't mean just, you know, give people a really hard time ... But I think for most people on the street, being critical is - that's what it means ... giving somebody a hard time, so I just think even calling it critical heritage studies gets you off on a really bad footing' (Interview 3, pp.281-2).

By acting in a way which demonstrates understanding and appreciation for existent forms of expertise, critical heritage theory may come to position itself not as a revolutionary force, seeking to destroy the established format, but as a complementary strand which will help contextualise and broaden the perspectives and normative assumptions of current approaches (Hølleland & Skrede, 2019; Sontum & Fredriksen, 2018). The hope here is to encourage theorists to share their work in ways which will help to overcome this prejudice on the part of heritage scientists and practitioners, but in order to achieve this positive end, it is necessary to first address some of the flaws in current communication methods.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there have been some projects which demonstrate the potential impact of collaborative working between critically informed academic researchers and heritage in practice, some of which will be explored further below. However, the most common forms of collaboration is between researchers and community heritage groups, such as the Researching Community Heritage project at the University of Sheffield (Marwood et al., 2019), or Madgin *et al's* work with the skating community of the Southbank Undercroft (2018). This, arguably, reflects an established power balance which can relatively easily be negotiated, between community projects who receive support for writing funding applications, heritage interpretation, project design, and other forms of input from researchers with relevant forms of expertise, while the researchers are able to use the collaborative work as a data source and demonstrate the impact of their own work. Collaborative working may present other challenges when non-academic participants hold equivalent levels of expertise in their own fields of practice, which may make it harder to conceive and develop projects which offer equal benefits to researchers and practitioners.

One particular concern raised during interviews was the one-sided nature of some relationships between researchers and practitioners, wherein the research done provides no clear benefit to the 'laboratory specimens' being 'exploited' for their data and experiences, as discussed

in the previous chapter (Interview 3, pp.283-4). Clearly some past research projects have failed to ensure that participant goals were met, and therefore additional effort may be required in new collaborative work to ensure that negative expectations are countered and new participants are encouraged to engage. This should be achievable; if research and the production of theory require the study and input of heritage practice, the results are likely to be relevant to the function of this practice, and therefore should be made accessible to participants. It is already considered good practice within such ethnographic research to make clear what subjects of the study will gain from participation in the study, if anything, and this may indeed be required for academic ethics approval (Lozano, 2017; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). A step onwards from that would be to ask subjects at an early stage in the project design what they hope to gain or learn from the study, as suggested in the 'action heritage' material produced by the Heritage Decisions project (Marwood et al., 2019; Johnston & Marwood, 2017). This would encourage collaborative working and would direct projects towards addressing relevant concerns for practitioners, as suggested in an interview:

'there's such an opportunity to add value to all this, to get mutual synergies out of it and to get mutual benefit, aimed at delivering for all the necessary stakeholders, which is a range of people. It's, you know, the public, the organisations themselves, if it involves commercial data, the client, the people who basically paid for it, the landowner, they've got to benefit. It's the people who are involved themselves, so ... career development, training for students and postgrads and so on, developing the profession, the list goes on and on. But what we find is, so often, universities are so blinkered they only think in terms of self-benefit' (Interview 2, p.249).

Moreover, in the final stages of a research project, ensuring that the findings can be of potential use to the subjects would encourage the dissemination of results in a clear style, including suggested practical changes that can be made where criticism of current practice is involved. By incorporating research subjects in the design of a project in such a way, a natural public audience for the study is created, the results are more likely to be relevant to their concerns and therefore likely to be implemented in practice, and a network of individual connections between a researcher and practitioners is created which enables further knowledge sharing in the future.

These connections already exist in certain places within the sector, and the academic environment is encouraging their development, as discussed above. Ready-made networks and audiences are already formed and in place; organisations which have national reach are ideally placed to share new ideas and research with their members. It was particularly notable that several survey respondents drew their definition of heritage directly from Historic England's *Conservation Principles*, which demonstrates how influential new information from such organisations can be on the wider sector. Other organisations also enable engagement with research among their members – for example, ClfA members are offered a significantly reduced

subscription to the journal *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice*, which allows them to keep up to date with new publications.

It is notable that while local government archaeologists have their own professional network, ALGAO, many local authority conservation officers did not in their responses describe themselves as participating in a similar network. There was formerly an Association of Conservation Officers (ACO) in the UK, set up in 1982 then re-formed into the Institute for Historic Building Conservation (IHBC) in 1997 (Historic England, 2020). Since this change it has become wider reaching, including a range of conservation and heritage professionals and researchers. It may be that IHBC's refocus on historic building professionals has broadened its original core membership, but may have moved the organisation away from its core audience; as discussed in Chapter 6, conservation officers are drawn from a range of planning-adjacent academic and professional backgrounds, and may not see themselves as the 'conservation professionals' which IHBC aims to recruit. IHBC reports that now less than a third of its membership are employed in local authority roles (Institute of Historic Building Conservation, 2020). With a membership of around 2,200 – 2,400, that places the number of local authority members at around 765 (Institute of Historic Building Conservation, 2018, p.5). Although this may appear close to the figure of 798 local authority staff in England in the most recent Historic England report on staff resources, it is important to note that this is the full-time equivalent for staffing – due to some staff being employed part time, the actual number of individuals working on conservation within local authorities will be higher (Historic England et al., 2018). Moreover, the IHBC figures include professionals from Scotland, which complicates the picture. Overall, it is clear that not every local authority heritage worker is a member of IHBC, and therefore are not connected to its wider professional network. It is not clear why this is, although I offer two hypotheses: as discussed above, local authority conservation officers may not consider themselves as falling within the bracket of "professionals" or experts in building conservation, depending on their backgrounds; or alternatively, the annual membership fee may be off-putting for some potential members, although reductions are offered for applicants on lower incomes (Institute of Historic Building Conservation, 2020). Membership of IHBC obviously offers benefits in terms of continuing professional development and connection with other heritage professionals: in the survey, 3 respondents out of the 27 who had heard of critical heritage theory specifically mentioned the IHBC blog or members' magazine, *Context*, as sources for this information. However, its reach within local authority conservation officers appears to be limited, as only 3 out of 150 respondents had apparently come across the relevant information.

Cadw liaise with conservation officers through the Built Heritage Forum, which includes members from all local authorities and national parks in Wales (Cadw, 2020). However, while Historic England is able to contact many through email lists for specialist training courses, there is no public group or list of members which encompasses all conservation officers; naturally, this is a more challenging task to accomplish for the geographical breadth and high population of England. This absence is concerning for two reasons: firstly, that conservation officers are frequently geographically isolated from their peers, and therefore are unable to maintain collegial relationships without a connection mechanism; and secondly, that a conservation officer's role demands individual judgements when it comes to applying legislation and policy to individual cases, and, given that the survey demonstrated that these officers have a wide range of professional and academic backgrounds, it would be reasonable to assume that there is variation in their day-to-day decision-making. Although IHBC has regional groups which function as meeting and communication points for members within an area, as discussed above, not all local authority heritage staff are members. Moreover, although some areas have had regional forums for their conservation officers, in the absence of an overarching network with broader reach the potential for these forums to allow for wide-scale communication and help to ensure that new concepts in theory and practice are generally understood is limited. The extent to which these forums still exist, indeed, is hard to gauge; they may be a casualty of the increased workload and reduced staff numbers in local authorities in the wake of government cuts. Therefore an organisation which offers affordable or free membership, specialised advice, updated information and guidance would ensure a standardised and reliable service while also providing professional and emotional support to individual workers. Such a network would also provide a mechanism through which relevant new research could be disseminated nationally to interested professionals. For IHBC to entirely fill this role, a reduced membership price and recruitment campaign to encourage local authority staff participation would potentially be of benefit to encourage participation. However, these may be difficult to achieve, financially and in the context of the work done by the organisation to establish its high-status reputation among qualified conservation professionals. The adaptation of this existing network or creation of a new platform which is more accessible for local authority staff represents a much-needed connection mechanism which will tackle variation in work practices and the mental strain of isolation among local authority conservation workers.

### **7.2.1 Impact and the academic environment**

Most theoretical production, though not all, takes place within academic environments. As such, the structures, priorities and requirements of universities must be considered when examining the dissemination of theory. This section will discuss the ways in which universities

share the knowledge resources which they produce through teaching, publication and outreach, and where there are insufficient measures in place to ensure that these resources are shared widely.

The university system is, of course, built upon the transmission of ideas. The teaching of new generations of heritage experts, only a minority of whom will spend their careers entirely within academic contexts, allows the ideas within their training to influence their work in the field (Witcomb & Buckley, 2013). However, relying on this as a way to communicate new ideas will lead to an inevitable time lag between the formulation of ideas within theoretical discussions and their implementation by students, who will often have to climb a long career ladder before they can achieve positions with decision-making capacity (Interview 5, pp.349-50). Moreover, assuming that ideas will eventually spread from theory into practice through an inter-generational process is not only slow but also an insular approach. Theorists who rely upon their students to disseminate their ideas limit their opportunities to receive feedback from those whose practice they criticise, as many students may not have the experience or social capital to challenge received ideas.

Academics do not communicate solely to their students; the publication and discussion of ideas is a huge part of the role of any theorist. Published theory is, technically, available to be accessed and challenged by anyone who is interested, but it is nevertheless a highly socially and economically exclusive field. For those unable to go through the full, time-consuming and increasingly expensive higher education system, access to debate is blocked by paywalls on journals, library subscription fees, conference attendance costs, the need to select from among a wide variety and quantity of academic publications, and the eye-watering prices of academic texts. This was a barrier frequently raised in interviews and in some survey comments, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Most fundamentally, a large proportion of academic debate is not written to be accessible to wider audiences. It deals with complex ideas, navigating a labyrinthine landscape of earlier thinking through citation or rebuttal, and frequently uses polysyllabic vocabulary as a signifier of the author's familiarity with academic debate and the extent of their knowledge base, to substantiate their right to join the conversation – what Belfiore describes as 'intentional obscurity and impenetrability' (2009, p.352; Carr, 2010; Tosh, 2008). Creating resources which are publicly accessible can be equated to an act of 'translation' from jargon into widely known language (Fairclough, 2008, p.811). Indeed, the use of complex language may undermine the persuasiveness of arguments made in some quarters; Cherry notes how the 'complex language of

post-modern discourse' within architectural conservation scholarship has been criticised, and appeared to mark a 'methodological shift' within academic training which leaves the sector with a dearth of new members with the required 'hands-on skills' (2007, p.10). The system which is created by rewarding individuals and departments for particular formats of academic productivity risks undervaluing forms of engagement which are accessible to the public, and therefore have an impact on the wider world, rather than on academic discussions or on commercial sector production (Sontum & Fredriksen, 2018; Belfiore, 2009). When the skills of public engagement and collaborative working are devalued, the resulting atmosphere perceives academics who engage with public audiences or policy-makers as 'sullied too much by the contamination of the political world' (Osborne, 2004, p.442). Witcomb and Buckley firmly denounced this perspective:

'While we might be autonomous (although that is questionable too), this does not mean that our institutional location outside of practice means we do not have an ethical accountability to ensure our work matters in the world outside of academia. How we communicate with this outside world is a matter that we should be concerned with, and it does not mean that working to ensure we are accountable means selling out' (2013, p.570).

Even with a carefully selected reading list targeted to the most relevant and accessible articles, most undergraduates will tell you that grasping complex new concepts is not easy. For those outside the system and without access to many of its resources, it is intimidating at the least:

'it's too easy to dismiss theory because it's difficult to understand and engage with, and there's too many gratuitous long words and all of that. And it tends to be written in a certain sort of way, which is quite difficult for the public to sort of get their heads round. And that, that's a shame, I think. And of course, sometimes you have to have the academic debate in academic language, and there's a place for that. But there's also a place for people who can then articulate what that means to a general audience' (Interview 1, p.225).

Without an established tuition system or any guidance as to which ideas are most relevant, interesting or influential, the average member of the public faces endless barriers to becoming familiar with academic debates, and over time is liable to become disenchanted with the culture which perpetuates this inaccessibility – as was suggested in some of the more disgruntled survey responses. To take the additional step of responding to theoretical debates is doubly challenging without the time, financial support, resources, or indeed self-confidence to engage in discussions on the theoretical stages of a conference or peer-reviewed publication. Practitioners are, of course, free to voice their opinions in alternative formats and venues, but given the time pressures faced by academic workers, there is significantly less chance that such opinions will come to their attention than debates within academic frameworks. Such insulation from rebuttals and constructive criticism is far from the 'ethical accountability' recommended by Witcomb and Buckley.

There have been national measures to attempt to incentivise the creation of accessible forms of research. The Research Excellence Framework (REF), which was first created as a measure of higher education institutions' performance in the United Kingdom in 2014, places an emphasis on 'impact' (in which it currently forms a fifth of the overall score), and seeks to encourage 'research with outstanding impact with reach and significance on the economy, business, civil society, government and on public and policy debates' (Watermeyer, 2016). Following this, in 2019 the UKRI's Higher Education Innovation Fund (HEIF) set up a dedicated fund for Knowledge Exchange (KE), intended to 'strengthen the links between universities and their partners in industry and elsewhere, ensuring that our economy and society are able to make the most of the amazing work happening in our universities', according to the Minister of State for Universities, Science, Research and Innovation, Chris Skidmore (Research England, 2019). These moves have positive implications for researchers in less vocational fields, who, as politics and international relations scholar Johnson argues, have 'every reason to engage with agendas in order to ensure that issues and activities perceived to be of critical social value are incorporated into institutional conceptualization of those agendas' (2020, p.2). KE operates with a broader remit than the Impact measurement rubric, offering potentially 'wide-ranging and transformative' changes (Johnson, 2020, p.7).

However, the efficacy of these programmes in promoting real collaboration and engagement has been questioned. In the context of the decentralisation of the state (as discussed in Chapter 3) and the increased pressure on universities to adopt neoliberal business models, Johnson argues that the Knowledge Exchange Framework represents an economic model within which businesses can outsource high quality research to universities, risking the commercialisation of research (Johnson, 2020, p.3). Moreover, in practical terms, providing an evidential basis for impact and engagement requires a significant investment by universities in terms of staff time and training (Watermeyer & Chubb, 2019, p.1555). This risks adding an additional element of bureaucracy to researchers' workloads, above the need to combine teaching and research to justify individual and departmental employment, when academic staff are already reporting high levels of overwork and stress (Morrish, 2019).

This is something of which many practitioners interviewed for this research were aware; the impact assessment system came in for considerably more criticism than individual academics.

'[T]here's a whole system there which is built around the REF and, and you know, it's satisfying certain research outputs, which doesn't sit well with people actually sitting and thinking, I mean I know a lot of academics under pressure to produce ... there are big issues there around security of tenure and around pressures to produce certain types of output and not other types of output ... and so academics aren't in a position to necessarily do very much about that' (Interview 8, pp.440-1).



Another interviewee highlighted how certain forms of ‘impact’ are, habitually or systematically, recognised above others, with reference to the tracking technology system used by the UKRI councils:

‘when I was filling my researchfish in, I would say my research has directly informed my opinions, and my ability to contribute in my job in the sector, I am now sitting on this forum, this forum, this forum, this forum ... and putting those views forward. That's impact. ... But the majority of my colleagues, probably wouldn't even have recognised that as an impact, and certainly weren't targeting those kind of ways of putting their research into practice’ (Interview 6, p.382).

The need for ‘usable knowledge’ which is ‘accurate, accessible, and contribute[s] to the achievement of collective goals’ has been growing within academic discussion in recent decades, but it is not clear that the reforms discussed above have succeeded in systematically reforming the ways academic institutions value and reward different outputs (Haas, 2004, p.575). However, as signifiers of a sector-wide move to valorise the broader communication of academic ideas and to encourage a more accessible research environment, these changes are to be welcomed.

Within heritage specifically, there have been some innovative moves to create opportunities for public engagement, which then provide a successful trail blazed for other institutions to follow. Collaborative Doctoral Partnerships (CDPs) are also available with funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council, intended specifically to allow ‘museums, libraries, archives and heritage organisations’ to gain funding for PhD students to focus on specific topics of interest (AHRC, 2020). In this way, organisations can gain access to high quality research and postgraduate researchers can develop professional partnerships – and the research produced will be put to use in practice by the organisation. Such projects provide a model for impactful collaborations between organisations and practitioners.

Another initiative, the Heritage Engagement Network at Oxford, was set up to create opportunities for local heritage sites to access and use the research of specialists at the university, who are able to contribute to the successful interpretation of these sites while also accessing new sources for research and promoting the impact of academic work. Originally based on the model of the Yorkshire Country House Partnership project at the University of York, Oxford’s network has provided a central hub within the university which connects heritage researchers in both the humanities and the sciences to external partners. There is also a Heritage Partnerships Team, jointly funded by the university and the National Trust, who are responsible for creating partnerships between researchers and external stakeholders; Dr Oliver Cox, Oxford’s Heritage Engagement Fellow, described the work of partnership creation as mainly an act of listening to what other organisations need and understanding how the universities can help to provide that, which is a notable reversal of the more typical academic output of producing research and hoping

that others might find it useful (telephone call, 03/04/2020). The network, once created, has attracted funding and created impact for the university's Research Excellence Framework, but its creation, and potentially the model's replication at other universities, is due to the efforts of individuals who are able to see the potential benefits and persuade institutions to make an initial investment (Interview 7, pp.417-8).

Another project, 'Heritage Decisions' is a collaboration between researchers at three UK universities, several UK heritage institutions, and community organisations, seeking to interrogate existing decision-making processes within the heritage sector and improve participation to increase public value (Courtney, 2018; Bashforth et al., 2017). It studied these various groupings in terms of a 'heritage ecology', an interacting network, and 'a complex of decision-making entities', located within a governance system or 'authorising environment' to arbitrate management and oversee the creation of public value (Courtney, 2018, p.691). By using co-designed and co-produced methodologies and employing the concepts of deliberative democracy, the project sought to internally replace top-down structures of institutionalised heritage management decision-making with horizontal structures which drew on expertise from all types of participants (Vergunst & Graham, 2019; Marwood et al., 2019; Bashforth et al., 2017; Graham, 2015). Indeed, Courtney describes how some participating community organisations were initially unwilling to become involved with larger players in the state heritage structure, like the NHLF, 'resistant to the idea of becoming 'institutionalised'' and fearing that such involvement would lead to a loss of established internal democratic and cooperative decision-making methods (Courtney, 2018, p.696). By extending their study to community networks and volunteer-led heritage organisations, the Heritage Decisions project goes beyond the scope of this research, looking at the inherent power structures between researchers and professionals in the sector and members of the public. However, a number of the key themes are consistent and offer a positive starting point for researchers looking for examples of collaborative work in practice.

Three of the key themes identified on the projects' website, 'Connect', 'Situate' and 'Reflect', encourage their audience to 'develop networks across institutional boundaries', 'understand your work in context' and 'see your work through other people's eyes'. The final theme, 'Act', calls upon readers to create changes, arguing that even 'small groups of people' can cumulatively make change (Heritage Decisions, 2020b). The 'Connect' theme is particularly relevant here, as it is summarised:

'It's very easy to get into a 'them' and 'us' mentality. If you are outside, the boundaries of institutions and organisations are never easy to breach. It can feel like an anonymous 'they' make decisions on your behalf and a long way away from you. Indeed, this can also be felt when working

inside organisations and sometimes hierarchy and structure can limit your horizons' (Heritage Decisions, 2020a).

The project, divided into different areas and branches, offers a number of constructive methodologies to facilitate collaborative working, including 'action heritage', described as 'a theoretical framework for co-produced heritage research' (Marwood et al., 2019, p.180). Although the researchers who created this framework primarily worked with the public, including schoolchildren, the action heritage approach could also be applied to research involving practitioners, as it:

'prioritises processes rather than outcomes, and aims to increase social justice by widening participation in research and challenging the inequalities in how we do research' (Johnston & Marwood, 2017, p.817).

This encourages researchers to overlook disciplinary boundaries, and to include a wider variety of people within the activity of research, changing audiences from passive observers to be engaged into co-producers, creating 'increased parity in the roles and status of the participants' (Marwood et al., 2019, p.184).

It is particularly notable that the Heritage Decisions project was funded by the AHRC, as it not only seeks to address the power imbalances within heritage decision-making, but also to trace and analyse existing systems of heritage management and the connections between different organisations and communities. This reflects the concern which inspired the AHRC to prioritise shared knowledge within its strategic priority area of heritage and create Collaborative Doctoral Partnerships to encourage connections between research and the wider sector. More positively, it also reflects the willingness to commit effort and resources to addressing this issue, and offers research to help others tackle the same concerns.

Once pioneered, these interconnective systems demonstrate the rewards of such efforts in terms of impact and engagement metrics for the universities involved, so successful models like the Heritage Engagement Network and the various branches of the Heritage Decisions project offer proof of the potential benefits which other universities can use to argue for the adoption of similar schemes.

## 7.2.2 Progress in sharing theory

The unspoken implication of the need to make theoretical discussions 'accessible' is that once others are made aware of new ideas they will immediately adjust their mental landscapes to incorporate them. Although nice to believe, this perhaps overestimates the power of a theorist's conceptual capacity and knowledge base (Witcomb & Buckley, 2013). Critical heritage theory must

be aware of the fact that its success in the long term may be judged not only by its reception among scholars, but by its impact on heritage work (Sontum & Fredriksen, 2018).

Scholarship does, of course, have a role to play in questioning broad social systems and taking an informed but distant perspective on issues that practitioners may not have the time or the objectivity to consider, and there would be little point in stripping critical heritage theory of all its revolutionary open-mindedness. The drive towards 'inclusive' and 'representative' heritage which stemmed from criticisms of exclusive, traditionalist heritage narratives has made impacts on the heritage sector more widely, perhaps most clearly recently in the public and well-publicised debates over statues erected to individuals with associations with colonial atrocities, such as Edward Colston in Bristol or Cecil Rhodes in Oxford, in the context of the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020. The protests have demonstrated, as critical heritage theorists have argued, that heritage is not neutral or necessarily harmless, and that it can have current political and social implications. In the wake of these protests, there will be opportunities for future collaboration as heritage managers face urgent choices about the ethical and social implications of the status quo in their sites or organisations.

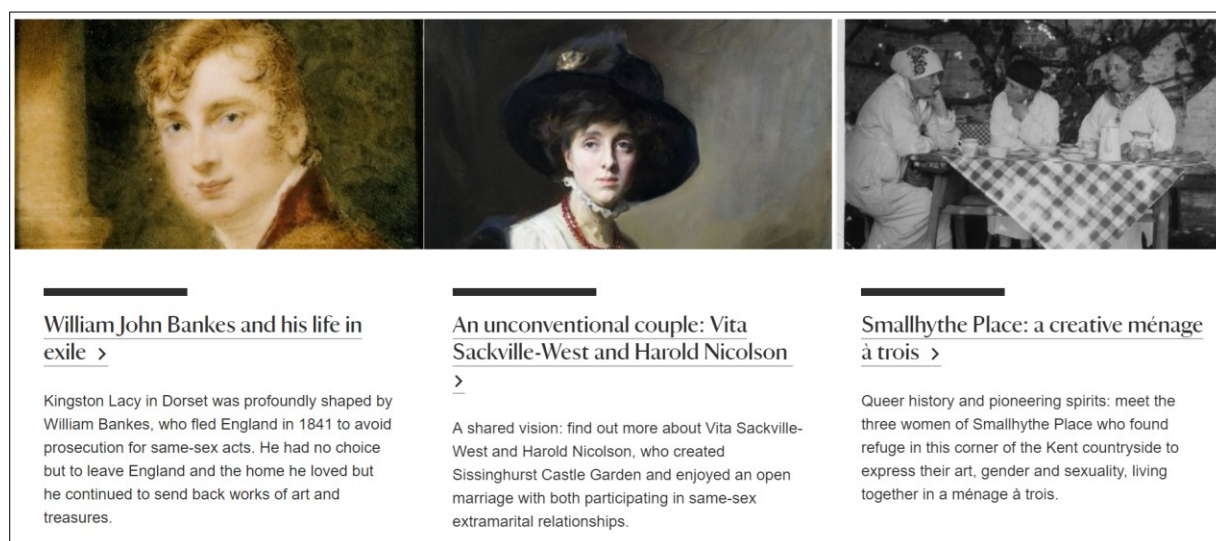
Individual heritage organisations and practitioners are increasingly subscribing to the idea, propounded by critical heritage theorists, that traditional historical narratives are frequently unrepresentative and exclusive; and that involving members of the public in heritage management processes allows them to share some of the authority usually held by professionals over 'whose' past is curated and shared. The strand of heritage theory relating to the Authorised Heritage Discourse and the narratives legitimised by traditional heritage definitions and interpretations has had a particularly clear impact (Interview 6, pp.372-3).

There is evidence for these changes at a national level. The National Trust in England and Wales has made a point of celebrating more diverse histories at its sites, challenging traditional interpretive strategies and perceptions of its architectural portfolio, by theming exhibitions around LGBTQ or women's histories, nominally to mark particular anniversaries but additionally, from a practical perspective, as part of a deliberate strategy to broaden its appeal beyond its usual audiences and increase popular support and revenue (see Figure 7.1).

It is now widely believed within the heritage sector that increasing the visibility of minority or excluded groups within mainstream heritage narratives will lead to a heightened public awareness of their history, which will then counteract public hostility or prejudice by challenging the perception that such groups are new to a country, area, or culture (Kiddey, 2017; Loulanski,

2006). The same approach has been taken in a number of community museums in the UK and internationally, which aim to celebrate the culture or legacy of a particular group and thereby increase their social capital or counteract negative popular perceptions: for example, the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in New York tells the stories of generations of immigrants who contributed to the creation of the modern city. Within archaeology, the specialism of public archaeology ‘takes archaeology beyond the narrow concern of a few diehard intellectuals into a contemporary world of real people’, by focusing not just on material artefacts but on the ways the public can access and engage with physical legacies of the past, while community archaeology is a well-established practice that involves non-experts in the activities of archaeology and the production of archaeological knowledge and skills (Carman, 2017, p.5; Smith, 2017; Sayer, 2014; Crooke, 2010; Perkin, 2010; Simpson & Williams, 2008).

Figure 7.1: A screenshot from the National Trust website, highlighting some of the stories told in their ‘Prejudice and Pride’ LGBT-themed exhibitions (National Trust, 2017).



However, as Fredheim has discussed, many of these collaborative mechanisms operate within the systems of traditional top-down cultural heritage management, and are less revolutionary because they are seeking to prolong and popularise current management practices by adding what can appear to be tokenistic attempts to broaden the Authorised Heritage Discourse (2018; Parkinson et al., 2016). In many ways, this reflects popular criticisms of organisations with unethical practices which use celebrations of diversity such as LGBTQ Pride Month to create a veneer of social responsibility and ethical business practice; marginalised identities should not be an advertising strategy (Abad-Santos, 2018; Blum, 2017). However, in the spirit of incremental moves away from a traditionalist exclusive model of the sector, these small changes are arguably not an unreasonable way for heritage practitioners and organisations to

react to criticisms. In seeking to change the socio-political ramifications of established heritage discourses, critical heritage theorists must remember that the new attitudes espoused are attempting to change the philosophy of a whole sector, not only a few specific management practices; this cannot be achieved rapidly or in the absence of collaborative efforts.

Furthermore, the ways an interviewee working in Wales was able to leverage the requirements of Well-being of Future Generations Act (2015) to build inclusive community engagement into their archaeological outreach demonstrates that wider culture changes offer opportunities for innovative and creative heritage work (Interview 9, pp.466-468). Such changes are not led by critical heritage work specifically, but are part of the wider social shifts which inform and are reflected in the ideas critical theory propounds. It is also interesting to note (in the context of the Well-being Act and a nationalist interest in the Welsh language and more intangible forms of Welsh heritage) a high proportion of survey respondents from Wales gave an intangible definition of heritage. This suggests that heritage work in Wales is more closely aligned with the ideas of critical theory than in many areas of England, perhaps due to a combination of cultural factors and the socio-political changes since devolution. Although contextual changes like these are the result of broader policy aims, there is the potential to use them to implement new ways of working, as shown in Interview 9. Practitioners in changing circumstances may well benefit from access to theory which offers heritage-specific ways to approach and utilise such opportunities, although their own experience and expertise in such areas should not be undervalued.

Though theorists have an expert view of heritage from a critical theoretical perspective, those who work in heritage management are also experts, as discussed above, particularly with regards to the careful balancing act required when treading the borderline of public benefit, ethical responsibility and economic sustainability (Smith, 2017, p.13; Orloff, 2017; Harrison, 2010b). Their input into theoretical discussions about the future of heritage would be of significant benefit as it would allow debates to target the most pressing issues and therefore potentially see direct implications of theoretical work. To benefit the heritage management side, more collaboration between theorists and practitioners would highlight the areas which have perhaps been overlooked within theoretical debates but which nevertheless affect the impact heritage organisations have on the people around them.

### 7.3 Theory to policy

There are limits on the extent to which theoretical concepts regarding cultural heritage can be incorporated into legislation and policy, which are (as discussed already) the result of a balancing act between a variety of interests and which must be both specific enough to direct

actions and vague enough to be applicable to a variety of relevant situations. However, international documents like the Council of Europe's Faro Convention and policies like Historic England's *Conservation Principles* demonstrate how emerging ideas about the socially constructed and politically relevant nature of heritage can affect the way heritage is defined and managed on an 'official' level (Gentry & Smith, 2019; Wolferstan, 2014; Waterton, 2010). How, therefore, do ideas pass from a theoretical level into these formalised discourses, and vice versa?

The way various texts within official national or international heritage management structures have been developed and new ideas incorporated reinforces the importance of individuals and their networks of association within the heritage sector; the archaeologists Graham Fairclough and Geoffrey Wainwright in particular were named as driving forces who pushed new ideas about sustainability and protection for the historic environment into effect, while Kate Clark was an influential figure in the incorporation of values, as articulated in the Burra Charter, into the policies of Historic England and the NHLF (Interview 3, p.272; Interview 1, p.198; Interview 2, p.244; Clark, 2019, 2014). Such pivotal figures are aware of contemporary debates within the heritage sector through their own professional activities and contacts, and as such act as a conduit for ideas to pass from the sector to the mechanisms of the state. However, a reliance on individuals in positions of influence with particular academic interests is not a predictable or reliable system. There are, however, already mechanisms in place by which individuals and organisations who are not in a position to be influential on the development of national policy documents can input ideas.

The simplest is through public consultation measures, which are a part of the development of policies, from Local Plans created by councils to new national instruments of regulation, as well as new intended policies of operations for semi-state organisations like Historic England (Cabinet Office, 2018; Bache & Flinders, 2004). The consultation process is an important part of the transparency and accountability of branches of government. Currently, it is rare for academics to respond to such public consultations, but several interviewees argued that it would be an effective way for members of universities to become involved in the direction of the wider sector:

'I think universities are understood to have some body of intellectual capital and authority ... we don't say things lightly, do we, as academics? ... We're aware, very very over-aware, sometimes, that other people will criticise what we said ... Unless we're absolutely sure about our evidence and the ground of making a statement. So I think that universities probably do have an interesting role to play, now that local authorities are so under-resourced' (Interview 3, p.275).

The benefits of becoming involved in public consultations are at least three-fold: firstly, it would demonstrate to the wider sector that academics are interested and engaged with heritage

practice – which was suggested by the results of the textual analysis in Chapter 5, but is not widely perceived by practitioners, who frequently described theorists as out of touch with the realities of practice. Secondly, it would demand an awareness of issues within policy and practice and encourage the production of sufficient evidence-based research addressing those issues that, as Interviewee 3 commented, the consultation response can live up to the high standards of academic work. This evidence-based research would be of huge value to the wider sector, as Interviewee 7 said of their advocacy role:

‘the really valuable stuff for me is the stuff that equips me with really good anecdotal stuff or information or other evidence for why heritage is worthy of other people’s time. That’s my particular perspective. So the things that are most valuable to me are those things that support policy development’ (p.423).

Furthermore, the skills needed to respond to public consultations – the requisite standard of evidence, the clarity of argument, and a knowledge of existing frameworks and how the proposed changes would interact with them – could then be passed on to students of the university, who would then join practice not only with a knowledge of theory, but also with added confidence to contribute to future public discussions. Finally, and perhaps most obviously, universities and academic departments which respond to consultations on policy matters would potentially influence the direction of the heritage sector in a way which might be beneficial for its future. Moreover, as Evans points out, in some cases heritage theory may be the only platform with the objectivity and knowledge base to challenge uncritical mainstream narratives, which can prioritise economic rewards or superficial transformation over sustainable heritage practices (Evans, 2005, p.7).

The major concern with this as a potential route by which theorists can become more involved in the wider sector is that, as discussed above, the approach taken by critical heritage theorists may at times directly contradict the beliefs of heritage practitioners. The difficulties created by contradictory evidence mean that new policy directions related to heritage may be hard to achieve (Interview 1, p.216); it may also do the opposite of engendering good feeling among the sector. For this reason, collaborative working and engagement with practitioners to some extent would assist theorists to strike a tone within policy responses which expand on responses from other heritage organisations and practitioners rather than taking an isolated stance. Such direct engagement with the policy formation process comes with the responsibility to have a sufficiently broad pool of knowledge and experience to be certain that the stance taken by theorists would be of benefit to practitioners and the public.

Another way in which theoretical ideas can be incorporated within policy development is for theorists to engage with pre-existing organisations within the sector, such as the amenity



societies and major charities. As discussed in the previous chapter, organisational structures allow sections of the sector to filter and clarify the issues of most importance to them and pursue opportunities for improvement wherever they arise – but for organisations to be representative, they must have input from the wider sector. Again, this is often an area in which theorists are underrepresented:

‘the people missing at those different models of how you build a policy, both inter-organisational and constituencies to their leaders and policy leaders, is the ones who aren't part of those sector organisations. ... So your academics, your policy thinkers’ (Interview 6, pp.380-1).

There are a number of reasons for this, including the financial cost of membership of organisations and the time pressures on academic sector workers which tend to require a focus on only the most relevant areas for both study and engagement. However, where possible, theoreticians have much to offer organisations (which are themselves often financially pressured) in terms of resources, cultural capital and capacity:

‘engag[e] with the conversations, they're out there. So, the discussions going on on climate change and physical repair and maintenance, there's conversations around there on how heritage and wellbeing interact, for academics to be thinking about, what have they got out there that can be part of that wider conversation, what can they do to help add to that? ... [I]t's about support for my members and helping my organisation to continue into the future’ (Interview 7, pp.426-7).

It could be argued that the sharing of research done within the environments of universities is an ethical imperative; the resources available to academic workers are not equally available across the heritage sector, but its products are invaluable for its development and protection (Sontum & Fredriksen, 2018; Fischer, 2009).

The other side of this coin is the impact that developed policy and related documents, such as international charters, can have on theory. As discussed above, the incorporation of ideas about the social construction of heritage, in the form of the terminology of values and significance, was included in Historic England's Conservation Principles and the guiding philosophy of the NLHF primarily through the influence of James Semple Kerr's work on the Burra Charter, with related inspiration coming via the Nara Document and Faro Convention (Clark, 2019, 2014; Drury, 2012). All of these documents pre-dated the coalescence of a distinct field of critical heritage studies, and were clearly not driven by academic theory and debate. Thus, while critical heritage theory may in recent years have outpaced the development of international agreements and national policy, the original themes and dilemmas with which it grappled were not born simply of critical thinking, but were already present within practice, as represented by official bodies. This lack of originality does not represent a criticism of the theoretical field, but rather a reminder that heritage theory, practice and policy can never be entirely separated, and therefore that communication between the three is key.

## 7.4 Practice to theory

The role of organisations is again important in the final aspect of communication within the heritage sector to be closely examined in this chapter: the ways practitioners can have input into theory and help to refine and implement theoretical concepts following trials of their application in practical contexts. This is an important part the dissemination of any theoretical work which seeks to affect practice in its field, and there have been repeated calls for heritage theory to ‘consider the ramifications of their work and critiques’ (Adams, 2005, p.435); be aware of ‘the need for greater professional reflexivity and accountability to the cultural communities, groups and individuals with whom we are fortunate to work’ (Stefano, 2016, p.586); ‘to actually think back to communities and be better representatives of communities and traditional holders’ (Lixinski, 2013, p.421); and to challenge ‘the continuation of critical heritage thinking as predominantly the prerogative and occupation of an academic intellectual elite’ (Sontum & Fredriksen, 2018, p.416). Tunbridge, Ashworth and Graham notably disagreed with this in their ‘Decennial Reflections on *A Geography of Heritage* (2000)’, arguing that:

‘the yawning gap between academic theorising and practical applications can best be bridged, not by academics being more aware of the pragmatic difficulties of the world of heritage practice, but by more, better thought out theory. Simply, academia can most effectively offer assistance to practice by clarifying what we are actually doing, and the consequences of doing it, meanwhile grounding such thoughts in unequivocal theory’ (Tunbridge et al., 2013, p.371).

The need they identified was for clarity and relevance in theoretical production, and, as argued above, this will be of benefit to the wider heritage sector. Yet however vital this production is, the need for pathways through which non-theorists can offer feedback on suggested theoretically-based future actions remains. These would, firstly, create more relevant and accountable theory, and secondly, would have the potential to improve the anti-academic bias among the wider sector by demonstrating accountability and a willingness to learn from other forms of expertise. In order to permit such accountability, producers of theory will need to commit to some of the communication methods discussed above, which allow for a more equal communicative footing for theorists and practitioners by moving outside traditional academic dissemination methods.

It is also important to be mindful of the concerns raised by practitioners in interviews, who highlighted that the skills and knowledge taught in universities are often most appropriate for academic career pathways, and do not always represent a good working understanding of the requirements of practice, as discussed in the previous chapter. One solution to this problem was proposed by a number of interviewees, who suggested independently that practitioners be used within universities to teach occasionally, pass on a different set of skills, and ensure that students are prepared for a variety of career pathways and understand the real world of practice (Interview

2, p.236; Interview 7, p.410-1; Interview 8, p.441). In part, this is down to a natural wish to prioritise one's own knowledge and subject specialism in the learning of others. There are also a number of concerns to be raised with regards to the current precarity of work and lack of employment prospects within the higher education sector in the UK; there are ethical implications to recruiting new teaching staff from outside university environments when there are already too few opportunities for existing staff. Not all practitioners, of course, will be inherently capable of teaching at the level required. However, there are also clear potential benefits to a strategy of using some external specialists to teach some classes in universities, for both sides. Firstly, universities would be able to draw on a pool of specialists to ensure their students are taught the most up-to-date and relevant information, which would then potentially increase their future employment statistics. In competitive sectors where jobs can be hard to find for the newly graduated, commercial awareness can be a major bonus for students. Secondly, for the practitioners who are teaching within universities, even on an occasional basis, there is potential to use that connection to permit access to the vast library of physical and online resources which are currently financially inaccessible to those outside the institution, and the cultural capital of a university position may benefit their careers. And finally, it would provide a point of interpersonal connection – the creation of those threads of network which link and develop over time to create community and collaboration.

One way that students can gain professional knowledge independently of the university environment is through placements and internships, and many universities encourage students to do these alongside their usual studies. However, these are often unpaid, and to spend time on voluntary work is not a universally viable proposition, and the unfair advantage such opportunities offer students who are able to take on voluntary rather than paid roles (in addition to any potential commuting costs) have been criticised for penalising lower-income students' career prospects (Tsuruda, 2018). There has been a backlash against the impact of these unequal opportunities in recent years:

'One of the biggest barriers to social mobility in the workplace is that of internships. In many sectors it is now simply assumed that young people early in their career must 'pay their dues' by working in a series of unpaid internships and placements. The experiences and contacts gained in these internships can be invaluable to the development of a fledgling career. However, very few can afford the luxury of being able to work unpaid' (Cullinane & Montacute, 2018, p.2).

The Sutton Trust reports that unpaid internships are a particular problem and have recently seen a dramatic rise within arts and media sectors, which tallies with studies suggesting that heritage volunteering – and, thereby, the experience needed for heritage employment – is the domain of the more well-off (Historic England, 2019; Montacute, 2018). Although heritage volunteering is recreational for many and is fundamental to the sector's current economic model, Fredheim

argues that unpaid skilled labour is both exploitative and devalues the work of professionals, whose jobs are effectively filled by a succession of interns (2018). There is pressure on organisations to begin paying interns if economically viable, but it is also worth considering the possibility of integrating workplace experience within academic courses where possible, incorporating such experience within usual term times so that it does not detract from other income sources, as in the case of excavation modules on archaeology courses and of practical experience requirements in vocational courses such as medical-related fields or engineering. For example, a branch of the Heritage Decisions project based at the University of Sheffield offered their students the opportunity for ‘engaged learning’, a term used ‘for education that involves engaging with external communities and organisations’ and allowed students to ‘share their academic knowledge, learn useful skills through ‘real-world’ experience and make an impact in the places where they live’ (Marwood et al., 2019, pp.179–180). The project reported that:

‘This form of education is not the easy option. However, the hard work, risks and challenges bring rewards. Students presented overwhelmingly positive reflections. They highlighted the value of working with diverse groups of people ‘outside the bubble’ of the university, feeling like research can make a difference, seeing heritage from a different perspective and learning from the places and people where they live’ (Marwood et al., 2019, p.180)

Unlike the ‘year in industry’ model or an internship, such outward-looking coursework need not occupy a period of time during which living costs must be met from other sources. There are, naturally, ethical considerations in committing students to contribute without pay, but arguably this would be outweighed by ensuring that all students gain skills from their experiences and by narrowing the privilege gap between those who can and cannot afford to commit unpaid hours. It is a step away from the traditional role of a university as classroom-based education provider, but in the current environment of high university fees new measures may be required to convince students of the value of a university course (Morrish, 2019).

Another way in which academic researchers can be more aware of the views and needs of practitioners is through collaborative working – on an equitable footing, not the “guinea pig” model. An indication of the problems with current approaches comes from Hølleland & Skrede’s model of ‘studying up’ and ‘studying down’; while they are correct that critical heritage theory needs to focus more attention on overarching structures of power and authority, and has provided valuable insights by working with community groups and those outside existing formalised heritage structure, to do so has involved looking down from the lofty heights of academia to examine the public, without resigning the privileged seat higher up the ladder of power. Within this hierarchy, the community groups studied are test subjects or anthropological curiosities, not equal partners in the creation of new knowledge (Lynch, 2017). Perhaps ‘studying out’ would be a better perspective; looking outside the bubbles created by disciplinary and communal

understandings to reach out to new areas of knowledge and different understandings and potentially create new connections.

This is, of course, a generalisation. There have been some excellent research projects wherein non-theorists were encouraged to cooperate and feel a sense of ownership over the results produced: for example, Saul and Waterton's work in Nepal is intended to enable and support 'practices of care, compassion and communitism' following the devastating earthquake of 2015 – heritage work facilitating community recovery, rather than being an end in itself (2017, p.145). In post-colonial contexts, collaborative work with communities is facilitating increased awareness of and respect for Indigenous forms of tangible and intangible heritage (e.g. McCracken, 2015; Mire, 2007; Byrne, 2003). This, as discussed in Chapter 2, reflects a wider concern within academic research to demonstrate positive social impact and an engagement with political and cultural issues.

Heritage practice is also, as discussed in Chapter 5, increasingly concerned with community participation, resulting from a need to demonstrate the wider socio-economic benefits of heritage projects, in part due to the pressures of funding organisations such as the NLHF (Jones, 2017; Maeer, 2017). There are many parallels which could be drawn between the need to demonstrate the social value of heritage projects and the wider impact of academic organisations – both have been hailed as positive moves for wider participation, and both have been criticised for only reaching pre-existing or limited audiences and acting as an addition to pre-existing norms rather than challenging them. The extent of community engagement with heritage practice is a complex issue and one beyond the scope of this study, but the potential for collaborations between heritage researchers, practitioners and communities to put the principles of critical heritage theory into practical use is exciting.

Critically here, where there are no researchers working collaboratively with practitioners and communities, engagement projects which embrace critical heritage theory's concepts of the social construction of heritage values and the contingent nature of significance often rely upon heritage professionals with a specified role in outreach or community engagement and a knowledge of heritage theory. This returns us to the issues of communication with practitioners discussed above. More researchers using their platform to investigate and amplify the realities of heritage practice would not only encourage socially engaged projects, but would also ensure through collaboration that researchers incorporate the views and needs of practitioners and the wider public into their current and future work.

While collaborative working is the ideal, it will not be practicable for all research projects – and cannot be retroactively added into theoretical work already produced. However, there are other methods of encouraging practitioners to offer feedback to theorists. The first is for theorists to attend conferences where financially viable; particularly, as interviews highlighted that conferences are becoming increasingly stratified between theory and practice, to attend the conferences most popular with practitioners to share ideas in a sphere which permits and even encourages audience interrogation of the topic at hand (Interview 8, p.442; Interview 2, p.239). Many academics must choose such forms of engagement selectively, due to limitations of both time and financial resources, but it is important when aiming to develop relationships outside theoretical discussions to avoid systematically prioritising academic forms of engagement, such as theory-focused conferences, where alternative methods of impact are also available; both are positive, but must be balanced to avoid the creation of isolated academic silos.

The second key recommendation for theorists wishing to have a closer working relationship with practitioners repeats earlier recommendations; organisations which mingle theorists, professionals and amateurs are an existing resource which offer a range of perspectives from their membership. Local branches of heritage organisations or community groups frequently hold meetings or small conferences, and often also have online fora for discussion and debate which would be a valuable resource for creating personal networks and gaining familiarity with non-theoretical perspectives on heritage.

It is natural that some researchers may be reluctant to open their work up to criticism from a wider audience, particularly one which from an academic viewpoint may not always understand the rationale for or complexities of more obscure areas of research – and, as demonstrated in the last chapter, theoretical work can be met with a ‘kneejerk’ backlash from practitioners based on their negative perceptions or former experiences. However, a wider understanding of the work of theoreticians among practitioners may go some way towards counteracting both the differences in understanding and the bias held against academics.

## 7.4 Conclusions

The results shown in the previous two chapters have indicated that there are problems with the communication of ideas from theoretical discussions into the wider sphere; currently, this is largely dependent on individual enthusiasms and personal connections, which depend upon members of the heritage sector working outside academic contexts to maintain an interest in and engagement with the development of theory. There have been clear impacts made by some elements of critical heritage theory – in particular, the idea that heritage is socially constructed

and fluid, and that traditional heritage discourses can be exclusive and unrepresentative. The cultural and political tensions around historic legacies of racism, slavery and oppression which have been at the forefront of debates in 2020 have highlighted the theme of 'power and political heritage' which has been, as shown in Chapter 2, a fundamental part of critical heritage debates. This context has created opportunities for critical theorists to publicise and make accessible their work which seeks to address these legacies.

However, ideas which are shared between theory and practice have not always been communicated directly from one to another. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, heritage research often reacts to external trends and events, rather than being the originator of discussions. Just as heritage practitioners must grapple with issues of political, contested and intangible heritage in their work with communities, heritage theorists are reacting to the debates which result from political contexts. The policy documents and charters which result from international debate over best heritage practice then lead and inspire both practitioners and theorists. As Lennox puts it, critical theory has been 'widely paralleled in both public and political responses to heritage, albeit at varying speeds and in various ways' – paralleled, not adopted, but moving separately in the same direction (Lennox, 2016, p.80). Critical heritage theory cannot then claim to be responsible for the wider awareness and discussion of its key issues; but it can nevertheless add perspectives from those whose have focused their efforts on how to address and deal with these issues. Theory can help to prepare the heritage sector for difficult decision-making and can offer new ways of thinking about and assessing heritage as the culture within which it sits changes. Indeed, the public mood which has reflected the arguments of critical heritage theory back towards the sector indicates that theorists have made some accurate assessments of the issues in current heritage management.

However, wider use of critical analyses of heritage are not yet sufficiently widely accessible to permit broad use of its ideas among the wider sector. Despite efforts by academic and professional organisations to develop more methods for communicating ideas with the wider sector, there are still a number of barriers to wider engagement with theoretical debates, including the financial and linguistic inaccessibility of theoretical publications and the time pressures facing both academic workers and practitioners within the heritage sector.

The divisions these systematic barriers have created are contributing towards a sense of mistrust and frustration directed towards heritage theorists and critical theory, which is perceived as irrelevant or inapplicable. Work is urgently required to address this issue and prevent further deterioration of the relationships between different areas of the heritage sector, which might

inhibit future collaboration and constructive cooperation. This chapter has argued that better communication between theoreticians and the wider sector could produce research that is targeted towards the concerns raised by practitioners, help to develop ways to test theories and get feedback from those in a position to implement ideas and recommendations, and will facilitate the communication of ideas from theory into the intended impact areas in practice.

The results of the study also demonstrated that representation within an organisation, such as a professional body, conservation charity, or university department lends weight to opinions expressed during the policy formation process and allows the sector to lobby effectively; these organisations are well placed to represent the sector, but require input from members to develop their aims and priorities. Within these organisations, there are a limited number of individuals with the knowledge and authority to develop policy goals and provide advice to government in a professional capacity; these individuals then become a part of a number of overlapping committees which, from an external perspective, appear as an influential and exclusive clique. To challenge this appearance, it may be necessary for organisations to be more open about their work, goals, and to actively solicit input from members in order to demonstrate their function as representatives of the wider sector. This will allow these organisations to continue to act as a conduit between policy, practice and theory, developing a network among their members which permits them to represent practice at a national level, but also to make accessible developments in national policy and in research to ensure that their members are not isolated from the progress of the wider sector.

The final chapter will summarise these findings and use them to suggest future pathways to develop structures within the heritage sector which help position organisations to be conduits for new information to their specialised areas, as well as suggesting ways in which academic organisations and individuals can move into more outward-looking patterns of work. Recommendations within this chapter are intended to be practicable in the short term, although there are longer-term structural issues which should also be addressed to ensure that individuals in theory and practice have the time and resources to engage in creative and informed collaborative projects. Change will no doubt be incremental, but an awareness of the current issues which hinder communication will enable future work to be directed towards the areas which are most in need of positive efforts to prevent further deterioration of communication structures and networks of trust and support within the heritage sector.



## Chapter 8: Conclusions and Reflections

### 8.1 Summary

This research has aimed to provide an overview of the ways critical heritage theory is communicated to practitioners in England and Wales, and how national legislation and policy and the wider heritage sector develops in response to both external pressures and changes to theory. The design and aims of this study are response to a perceived lack of communication between heritage theory and the wider sector; in many ways it has confirmed that some of these concerns are valid, but has also demonstrated some positive trends which can be used to help the heritage sector, including theorists, develop into a more coherent and efficient whole. Improved communication within the sector would not be a utopian ideal; diverging ontologies and priorities are likely to lead to contention and debate. However, without such critical engagement, the ideas and methods developed within research or practice will not benefit from external perspectives which will help to ultimately refine and clarify the aims of the sector and help us better respond to the needs of wider society.

These findings have demonstrated that many practitioners surveyed conceptualise and define heritage in a way which reflects debates within critical heritage theory, which suggests that sharing of ideas has taken place. However, simultaneously and somewhat contradictorily, some practitioners were not only unaware of but openly antipathetic towards the concept of critical heritage theory as a field of study. I suggest that this unwillingness to engage with theoretical debates indicates that critical heritage theory has failed to be consistently accessible, relevant and collaborative, due to a number of systemic issues, although the parallels between discussions within theory and external contextual events demonstrate that critical heritage theory may be offering valuable perspectives on current pressures facing the heritage sector.

When surveyed, practitioners' views reflected the key themes of critical heritage theory; namely, a focus on the socially constructed nature of heritage and an awareness of the political and social inequalities exemplified (and sometimes exacerbated) by the recognition and celebration of certain forms of heritage. However, many are not aware of the existence or defining features of critical theory: this necessarily implies that practitioners have accessed these ideas through an intermediary communication method, or from a different source entirely.

The ideas discussed within this research cannot all claim to originate within critical theory, although they have been collected there within over-arching discussions. Instead, international heritage practice, expressed through policy documents and charters by bodies such as ICOMOS,

first brought debates about the authenticity of heritage, the values which contribute to its significance, and the subjectivity of definitions of heritage to audiences in England and Wales. Critical heritage theory, a relatively new field of study, reacted to and developed these ideas, in some cases decades later. The debt owed to international heritage research and practice, particularly by non-Western participants, must be acknowledged.

Historically, therefore, critical heritage theory has not been at the leading edge, and heritage practice and broader heritage scholarship have provided more innovative ideas. However, in recent decades much new thinking around heritage has been gathered under the critical umbrella, and particularly in an age of global online communications, international theoretical heritage debate has been able to highlight marginalised and poorly understood forms of heritage, debate the broader impacts of current heritage practice, and explore future avenues for collaborative and socially responsible future work. Access to this body of work could provide practitioners with external viewpoints on their work which may help them to deal with different communities of stakeholders, reconsider how to prioritise aspects of their work to achieve the best results, and find examples of related practice as guidance or inspiration.

The communication routes through the heritage sector, as mapped in Figures 3.1 and 3.2, appear to be inadequate to connect practitioners and theorists directly, but exist within the wider sector, albeit often through individual connections rather than systematic mechanisms. This is obviously less than ideal; indirect communication pathways can lead to contextual information or clarity of understanding filtering out as new ideas are conveyed through different messengers on the route.

In Chapter 3 I argued that the state acts as an overarching heritage manager by defining heritage assets and indirectly or directly guiding how such assets are protected, financially supported or developed. Changes in guidance or policy issued by state or semi-state entities such as Historic England or the National Lottery Heritage Fund can introduce new concepts to practitioners in accessible and applicable ways, and therefore represent one of the most apparently effective communication mechanisms in the section of the heritage sector studied here. The balance of probability suggests that due to systemic barriers which prevent many practitioners from engaging consistently with academic research, national organisations in other areas of the heritage sector fill a similar role in keeping their individual members up to date on new thinking and best practice guidance.

The existence of organisations with a wide national reach and a role which crosses the boundaries between research, policy, and practice provides a ready-made pathway for the

dissemination of critical heritage theory. If theorists engage with these organisations and make research available to them in accessible formats, it would facilitate improvements in wider awareness of critical theory and may begin to break down negative stereotypes of research in the short term, while working towards better structural systems for enabling the wider accessibility of academic research in the longer term. Although changes must be incremental and fundamentally require communication from individual to individual, widespread impact will not be seen unless theorists are able to work with collected groups of practitioners who can, in combination, create significant change.

Naturally not all research will be suitable for a general audience; some critical theoretical debate is intended to influence a largely academic audience, and these contributions are valuable but may not be positively received or adopted among other areas of the sector. However, as discussed, much of the research within critical heritage theory demonstrates an awareness of and interest in practice and policy, and may be intended to be useful to and have an impact on a professional audience. It is concerning that the work put into this research may be missing its intended target due to the barriers between academic research and the wider sector; it is to be hoped, therefore, that theorists producing such work will adopt innovative methods to reach their audiences in the wider sector.

There is still much work to be done to develop a better understanding of the current state of heritage practice and the ways in which heritage practitioners and theorists can develop models for co-operative and mutually beneficial work. However, the findings of this research highlight the pathways which can be (re-)established to facilitate communication and collaboration between critical theory and the wider heritage sector.

## **8.2 Implications**

The three main areas of investigation identified as underlying the research questions in Chapter 4 were: which aspects of critical heritage theory have had an impact outside academia; the channels through which these have been communicated; and reasons why theory may not have been adopted in practice. This section will contextualise these issues by identifying major factors for changes within the heritage sector and the ways theory has interacted with external forces, before examining the evidence for open pathways of communication between theory and the wider sector, and the barriers which have been found to prevent such communication. There are a number of specific conclusions which can be drawn from the results of this research: these include thematic trends in research which were clearly demonstrated in the qualitative textual analysis; results from the survey which highlight some of the key influences on heritage

management practice; and themes which emerged consistently within interviews and illustrate formative developments within the heritage sector.

The research has been underpinned by the concept of the state as heritage manager: the idea that national overarching structures of legislation, policy, and governmental priorities and aims affect the way heritage is funded, managed, defined, and conceptualised on a broad scale. The extent of the 'state' within the heritage sector is hard to define, as it blurs into independent practice where state-allocated funding or legislative requirements for certain forms of heritage management meet organisations such as the heritage amenity societies or the NLHF. Overall, state interventions into heritage management and wider governmental policies were demonstrated in Chapter 5 to have perceptible direct and indirect effects on the heritage sector as a whole. This concept, of an interconnected sector which adapts in response to changing socio-economic contexts and strategic goals as well as in response to internal innovation, was borne out by much of the analysis done in this research, as well as by heritage scholarship more broadly (e.g. Pendlebury et al., 2019; Lennox, 2016; Plets, 2016; Laurence, 2010; Loulanski, 2006). Heritage cannot be understood in isolation.

The textual analysis of academic heritage journal abstracts over a twenty-five year period, presented in Chapter 5, was intended to show how critical heritage theory influenced the discussions in other areas of heritage studies and whether its key themes have made a traceable impact. It demonstrated that a number of these key themes – including authenticity, an abstract or socially constructed definition of heritage, and the political nature of heritage recognition and management – all gained in popularity across the time period studied. Often these key themes were developed significantly within the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, which centres its content around critical heritage theory, with a limited increase among other journals. This suggests that the concepts of critical heritage theory are having some influence on other areas of heritage studies, and the use of certain critical theoretical terminology (such as the Authorised Heritage Discourse) in related areas of study suggests that these ideas are being shared through publication. However, a clearer and more consistent finding throughout the textual analysis was the tendency for the academic journals studied to show *reactive* trends in content, rather than *creative* trends: in other words, topics showed peaks in discussion following major external events which pushed attention towards these topics. For example, discussions of the topic of sustainability spiked immediately following the Paris Climate Agreement in 2015, discussions of intangible heritage climbed significantly after the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2003, and publications about the wider socio-economic benefits delivered by heritage increased in four out of the five journals in 2009, as post-crash austerity

politics made it necessary for arts and cultural organisations to justify expenditure on their continued existence.

The data consistently showed academic journal content reacting to such external forces, which leads to two conclusions: firstly, that academic research in heritage is aware of key priorities for heritage practice and is creating outputs based around current issues. This is an argument in favour of the relevance and potential applicability of heritage research, refuting prejudices about the 'out of touch' nature of academic work. Secondly, this reactive work supports the hypothesis that the state has a clear influence on national heritage management practice. Some broader events which had a demonstrable impact on heritage research were international, such as the financial crash of the late 2000s, and the work of multiple states, such as the Paris Climate Agreement, which is to be expected given the international pool of contributors to major online journals – but these international milestones will, of course, have had an impact on the governance of individual states affected, each adjusting their targets and priorities to fit with the changing international context. Chapter 5 demonstrates that these political and socio-economic governmental priorities affect their respective national heritage sectors, which must adapt and respond to demonstrate their continuing relevance and worth to wider communities, and to ensure continuing governmental and public support and interest. This forces discourses around heritage into new paths as defined by these state-wide developments; innovations in heritage theory and practice must be able to co-exist with these necessary practical adaptations if they are to be of use to the wider sector.

The idea that policies can lead and change the sector is reinforced when looking at heritage management in Wales. Some of the changes which appear most radical within the Welsh heritage management system – the legal requirement to catalogue intangible heritage in the form of place names and the need to demonstrate 'well-being' impacts on multiple metrics – have not been direct results of critical theoretical reasoning. Instead, the inclusion of place names in the Historic Environment Act (2016) was connected to a nationalist campaign to maintain the Welsh language and a distinct historic Welsh identity, while the requirement to create inclusive projects which offer benefits for wider communities is part of the wide-ranging Well-being of Future Generations Act (2015). However, the interviews highlighted how changing contexts, running parallel to theoretical discussions, offer opportunities to change practice and build in innovative and theoretically-informed working models. Changes in the heritage sector may be forced by external contexts, but the way the sector responds allows new ideas to be incorporated into policy and practice.

This is not to imply that internal changes in the heritage sector – changing definitions of heritage and new ideas of how best to manage and interpret it – have not also made an impact. Campaigns within the sector have created changes in state heritage management practice, which then lead to significant national impacts on the sector as a whole. For example, archaeologists campaigned for the introduction of Planning Policy Guidance 16 in 1990, which mandated developer-funded archaeological investigation and was transformative for archaeological practice. This advocacy work has visible pathways of influence; the heritage sector and state policy-makers have open and established communication routes, although some interviewees suggested that only an elite section of the sector are heard when they voice opinions on policy matters. The process of developing policy suggestions or responding to consultations requires both certain forms of expertise and a level of cultural capital to give weight to contributions. There are only certain individuals within the heritage sector who fulfil both requirements, and can therefore act as conduits for the communication of ideas from practice into policy. Therefore, it is important for experts employed in such advocacy roles to demonstrate sufficient transparency to earn the trust of the wider sector and prevent a sense of disenfranchisement and alienation among other practitioners; such trust is necessary for advocates to be able to act as representatives of wider groups of heritage practitioners, and to maintain this open and existing route of communication and allow the voices of practitioners to continue to be heard on a national scale. Moreover, ensuring that members are engaged and supportive of national advocacy work will help these organisations to maintain their membership and profile, continuing their role as connective hubs within the wider sector.

There are traceable routes which allow ideas to pass from practice into policy, and vice versa. These parallel communication pathways do not have obvious points where academic research connects to the wider sector. Nevertheless, the data suggest that some communication is occurring, and certain innovative projects which facilitate this have already been proved successful. During the survey of local government conservation officers, almost half gave a definition of heritage which showed that they conceptualise it as a socially constructed and fluid quality, attributed by people to objects and places. This represents a widespread and clear move away from a traditional materialist understanding of heritage, which (as discussed in Chapter 2) is a central feature of critical heritage studies, and therefore survey respondents are perhaps more attuned than they realise to critical theoretical viewpoints, despite the beliefs some expressed that critical theory is out of touch or irrelevant. Such prejudices against academic products are perhaps rooted in structural issues; local authority heritage staff, the main audience for the survey, are a meeting point for heritage practice, with its changing guidance and ideas, and state

mechanisms such as planning legislation, but as the results showed, they often do not have access to academic research and theoretical discussions. The changing conceptualisation of heritage among these practitioners, therefore, represents in part the impact of changing guidance – in particular Historic England’s Conservation Principles.

However, guidance and policy documents represent a distillation and necessary simplification of decades of debate into a useable format, and although they represent an accessible way to share ideas, without context and the option of additional information or discussion there is a risk that the reasoning behind changing terminology will not be fully understood or put into practice. The risks of incomplete communication of ideas when they are not shared directly could also arguably be seen in the survey results; although all local government conservation workers must, professionally, be familiar with the language of significance and value used in the Conservation Principles and the NPPF, not all respondents had clearly understood the underlying theory which defines heritage as socially contingent and fluid, to judge by their own definitions of heritage. This reinforces that changes in vocabulary do not necessarily signify changes in approach, and therefore communication pathways are needed which do not only affect the language used in policy and guidance documents, but which also offer access to the reasoning and thought processes behind such vocabulary shifts.

However, there are also certain pathways which allowed theorists and practitioners to come into contact. These include a continuing interest among practitioners in academic research, with which they remain in touch due to individual effort,s and also accessible communication by theorists outside the traditional academic publication circles, for example by publishing in practitioner-focused journals like *Context* or *The Historic Environment: Policy and Practice*. These specific points of connection point the way to more systemic improvements which can be made to allow critical heritage theory to become more accessible to practitioners, although of course no single communication method will reach across the sector and some individual efforts will still be required to commit time and energy to grasping new ideas as they are shared.

It is hard to track changing ideas precisely. However, the survey and interviews suggested that certain structures facilitate communication within the heritage sector, while others impede it. Key mechanisms which allow theoretical ideas to be passed to practitioners and feedback to be received include conferences with mixed theorist and practitioner attendees, and collaborative research projects which utilise theoretical concepts in practical scenarios. Many other methods of sharing theoretical ideas (such as publication and lecturing) do not have standard routes through which feedback can be received from practitioners – and when the option is available, the social

structuring of such situations may create an intimidating environment in which to become involved in debates. These dissemination methods insulate theorists from receiving constructive criticism, which would have the potential to add nuance and relevance to theoretical discussions. Theoretical debates are often inaccessible for those outside academic institutions, for reasons of cost, time investment required, and the self-referential and complex background of academic writing and citation behind each new work.

How, therefore, should critical heritage theorists wanting to engage a broader audience proceed? It appears that organisations with a broad reach across the heritage sector are key to communicating ideas to large numbers of practitioners. Influential documents such as *Historic England's Conservation Principles* or the *National Planning Policy Framework* are not only checkpoints in the timeline of heritage management in England and Wales, but also represent actual changes in heritage practice. Some survey respondents specifically quoted from these two documents when giving their definitions of heritage; the need to be familiar with the terminology and prescriptions of such documents to be able to use them as needed to defend planning proposals or decisions mean that a wide number of heritage professionals adopt the ideas within guidance.

Other organisations, such as the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists or the Institute of Historic Building Conservation, also offer their members insight into changing ideas through access to journals, conferences, or other members' content such as a magazine. The willingness among these organisations to acknowledge and address a perceived lack of communication to their members from the wider sector is a positive sign that practitioners are willing to invest time in developing their knowledge and staying in touch with heritage debates, and that organisations are willing to use their positions to facilitate this. These groups act as focal points wherein practitioners can access and contribute to discussion over particular kinds of heritage practice, including how to incorporate new theoretical ideas into best practice. The increasing professionalisation of archaeology highlighted by interviewees has led to standardised professional qualifications being offered by CfA – these could potentially represent a route to incorporate wider critical thinking about heritage into some areas of training to help contextualise ideas which archaeologists will come across in their professional lives, and to encourage socio-political awareness of the wider impacts of heritage work, as could the professional qualification system offered by IHBC.

Currently, however, it is usually the responsibility of individuals with a knowledge of critical heritage theory to advocate for its wider use and incorporation within guidance



documents. Certain individuals occupying influential positions within the heritage sector have historically been able to push for specific reforms or future pathways for heritage. However, the inevitable career-ladder lag means that those who occupy such positions of influence may be long out of university and therefore their knowledge of recent theory is often down to whether they as an individual are motivated to invest time, money and energy in keeping up with it. It would be preferable and more efficient for theorists to have closer connections with professional groups, advocacy bodies, and similar heritage sector organisations. These structures already exist to facilitate the sharing and discussion of information with practitioners, and offer a route through which theorists can share ideas, gain feedback, and develop potential partnerships to increase impact and maximise the benefit of research. Such direct communication would limit the risks of misunderstanding or incomplete understanding when concepts are shared through intermediaries, and may build a sense of trust and interest which may begin to counteract some of the negative perceptions expressed by survey respondents towards theory and theorists.

Within academic research, there are positive signs, as research projects are being developed which encourage collaboration and knowledge exchange between researchers, practitioners, and members of the public. Moreover, as some interviewees pointed out, public engagement work is becoming more valued as a skill for researchers, and systems such as the Knowledge Exchange Framework are being created to encourage and reward academic work being made accessible to the public, the combination of historic exclusivity and current pressures on academic staff workloads mean that theory is still not reliably shared in accessible formats for practitioners.

Overall, results have demonstrated that there is some justification for current concerns that heritage theory is becoming isolated from the wider sector (Sontum & Fredriksen, 2018; Winter, 2014b). Inaccessible theory inevitably means a lack of familiarity with its concepts among other areas of the heritage sector, which appears to have contributed to a belief in its impracticality or irrelevance, which, in turn, discourages engagement. The results of the textual analysis of the academic journals demonstrate that heritage studies is far from unaware of the wider sector – instead, it visibly reacts to external events which put new pressures on heritage practice. However, such informed research does not automatically lead to wider engagement, and the potential impacts of such studies may be lost. The surveys and interviews confirmed that the ideas which are central to critical heritage theory have had an impact on the wider heritage sector, and vice versa, but that this impact is not always direct, as communication must be filtered through several mechanisms. One of the most impactful mechanisms for sharing ideas has proven to be through policy and guidance documents aimed at practitioners and produced by

organisations with a wide reach. Therefore, engagement with such organisations is a key potential route for better dissemination of new ideas.

In addition, concerns were raised during the interviews about the nature of current direct collaborations between theorists and practitioners, which can appear to be data-gathering exercises, exploiting practitioners' time and knowledge without offering any clear benefits. Future projects which involve both practitioners and theorists have the potential to develop grounded and practical recommendations based on theoretical viewpoints and increase practitioners' awareness of theory, but must ensure that both sides benefit from participation in these projects in order to challenge these negative impressions.

Overall, it is clear that there is interest within the wider heritage sector in the ideas of critical heritage theory, though many practitioners have been introduced to these ideas from a different source or indirect route. The biases against theory which may prevent some practitioners from engaging with theoretical debates often rest on the belief that theorists are not in touch with the realities of practice, or that their research has nothing useful to contribute. I argue that the potential usefulness of theory and its awareness of the wider sector have been demonstrated in this research, both through analysis which demonstrates that theoretical publications react rapidly to external contexts and through the survey results which suggest that practitioners have a closer perspective to that of theorists than might have been assumed from the literature about the critical / scientific-materialist divide in heritage. These findings suggest that there may be a positive outlook for future collaboration. However, in order to demonstrate its relevance and applicability, critical heritage theory must first make itself accessible both financially and stylistically. This may be a difficult demand within the context of the pressures on high education establishment staff and researchers, but the impact made by such projects on individual participants and, cumulatively, the wider sector will reward such efforts.

### **8.3 Reflections on the methodology**

The methodology used for this study – of desk-based research followed by a survey and interviews to clarify and expand the initial findings – overall proved to be a successful way to build up a nuanced picture of the complex issues under study. The iterative development of the study, adjusting each stage in response to the findings of the previous stages, allowed flexibility to pursue the most relevant and urgent issues which were raised. It can be recommended as a strategy for collaborative projects on topical issues. It is particularly useful for collaborative work with non-academic respondents and participants, as it allows adjustments to be made to include the views

and experiences of those participants, enhancing the collaborative nature of the work and incorporating valuable information from external perspectives.

However, there were some areas that could, with hindsight, have been improved. Firstly, the textual analysis of journal sources proved more time-consuming than initially anticipated, due to the volume of material gathered and the need to collect each abstract individually from a separate webpage on some journal publisher websites, which made the collection of sources a lengthy process. Initially, it was intended to also incorporate abstracts of conference presentations, which would have been a valuable source for discovering which topics were discussed at these meeting places. However, practically that proved impossible within the time constraints of the project.

Overall, the survey had a higher than expected response rate and elicited the desired information. Although it would have been extremely interesting to analyse responses on the basis of gender and ethnicity, these categories were not included for two reasons; firstly, I did not anticipate getting a sufficient number of responses to ensure that such details, combined with age and approximate location, would not make anonymous participation impossible. Secondly, it was unlikely that there would be sufficient numbers of black and ethnic minority respondents to provide a statistically viable sample for comparison, as the heritage sector in England and Wales is still overwhelmingly white (Historic England, 2019). Were local authority heritage staff to be surveyed more thoroughly, such data would offer a valuable reference point for further study.

The interviews demanded more time and interest from participants than the survey, and the response rate of those approached to participate was consequently lower. Due to a 'network effect', wherein interviewees were encouraged to participate by mutual acquaintances, the interview responses were disproportionately biased towards professional archaeologists. Although archaeologists are well represented in many fields in the heritage sector, and this thesis deliberately did not investigate tourism-focused heritage practice, a higher proportion of interviews with conservators, museum staff, and other heritage professionals may have provided other important perspectives.

## **8.4 Future research pathways**

Many of the elements which could not be practically incorporated within this methodology are promising areas for further study. An analysis of conference paper abstracts, in particular looking at the academic or professional roles of those participating, would offer a fascinating new perspective on conferences as a meeting place and knowledge exchange points,

and might also confirm or disprove the claims made by interviewees that conferences have become increasingly segregated between practitioners and theorists.

Within the data already collected, there were a number of themes identified within the textual analysis of journal abstracts which could not be brought into Chapter 5 due to limitations of space and the need to focus on the most relevant trends. The collected content which references themes such as studies of place and place-making, public archaeology, and nationalism offer a rich resource for further in-depth studies of the ways in which academic journals interact with each other and with academic, political and social contexts.

Focusing on communication strategies, a study of higher education courses within the heritage bracket could identify practical elements which improve students' employability and awareness of issues in practice, and identify which courses offer a grounding in critical theoretical perspectives to prepare students for the complex contexts in which they may be working in future. A survey of early career employees would particularly highlight how specialised heritage education has prepared them for the future and how theoretical perspectives can be implemented in practice.

Further surveys targeting different groups of practitioners within the heritage sector – such as heritage tourism staff, museum curators, archivists and HER managers, and specialist consultants – would build up a more complete picture of the opinions and beliefs of practitioners with regard to the nature of heritage and the usefulness of critical perspectives. More interviews, particularly among a wider range of heritage practitioners, would also offer further insights into the ways theory is used and accessed in different areas of the heritage sector. It would be particularly interesting to gather perspectives from practitioners of other nationalities and of different ethnic backgrounds, to discover their opinions of current theory and practice and to see whether their views of heritage are different to their colleagues from British backgrounds.

A broader perspective would also be useful to contextualise the effects of policy changes on the heritage sector. As discussed in Chapter 3, there are already a number of detailed studies which examine national and international heritage legislation and policy, often in comparison to the aims of critical theory. However, there is a clear need for more research into the ways these documents influence practice. A similar study done internationally, examining whether heritage practitioners in different countries take different approaches to heritage which can be connected to national legislation or guidance, would highlight the role the state plays in managing and legitimising heritage, and could provide an evidential basis for updating national policy and guidance where needed.

More generally, there is a clear need for more studies to test ways in which practitioners can be engaged with theory – through collaborative projects, accessible research, or other methods – and to develop best practice guidance for theorists which helps to ensure that communication with others in the sector is clear, open, and engaging. Reports from projects in which practitioners are not only test subjects or respondents but are co-producers and able to benefit from the projects in a clear way would be particularly beneficial, as such projects are a first step towards reducing the mistrust felt towards theorists by demonstrating a new approach to studying and working with heritage practice.

There is also an evident need for the voices of practitioners to be heard more often within heritage research, as their expertise and perspectives can add important nuance and contextualisation to theoretical debates (Graham, 2019). This will also improve the impact and applicability of critical heritage theory to situations in practice, as an awareness of the ways critical theory intersects with current issues in practice will allow research to be focused on areas where it is most needed.

This research was intended as a first step into addressing the need for better communication within the heritage sector to allow resources to be directed into addressing pressing issues in the most efficient and useful ways. Although the results have highlighted some areas of concern and of potential, primarily the intention has been to draw attention to issues which are worthy of far more attention from researchers and direct where future research is most urgently needed. It is to be hoped that the positive trends towards co-produced research, accessible academic dissemination methods, and a focus on the pressures and concerns of heritage practice within critical theory highlighted in this study will continue and develop, thus creating new open communication routes within the sector, providing functional methodological tools with which the heritage sector can address pressing social issues of exclusion and inequality, and, in a small way, helping to address the anti-intellectualism and academic isolation which is of such concern in modern society.

## Notes

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<sup>i</sup> Historic England was formerly known as English Heritage (a shortening of its official title, the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England), and was jointly responsible for its amenity society role advising government bodies and its charitable work of maintaining historic sites and opening them to the public. In April 2015 the organisation was divided into the English Heritage Trust (generally known as English Heritage) and Historic England, which is an independent advisory body to the government and undertakes the amenity society work. For simplicity, the name Historic England is used for all the consultation and guidance work done by the organisation even prior to the change of name.

<sup>ii</sup> The United Kingdom comprises the four countries of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, as well as outlying islands. The central government, based in Westminster in London, England, has oversight and a measure of control over the whole of the United Kingdom, but each of the four countries also has a system of internal government. The term United Kingdom or UK will therefore be used to apply to the four areas collectively, while information which do not apply to all areas will be discussed using individual country names (e.g. England, or England and Wales).

<sup>iii</sup> Known as the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) until 2019.

## **Appendix A: Interview transcriptions (anonymised)**

This appendix contains the transcriptions of each interview, transcribed by the author. In the interests of accuracy, only syllabic fillers (um/er/ah) have been removed, while other speaking patterns have been retained.

Identifying information has been removed as far as possible. Some other extracts have been removed at the request of the interviewees, and are marked by ellipses in brackets.

## Interview 1

5/2/19, York

Respondent 1 studied archaeology at undergraduate and Masters level, then completed a PhD in archaeological science alongside work. They worked for English Heritage and then moved to the Council for British Archaeology.

(2:33) I: (...) from my perspective that means you're sort of partly coming from the academic side of archaeology

R1: Mm

I: .. but you're also, you know, you've been very involved in the kind of policy and things so you, sort of cross over from one side to another

R1: Yeah

I: So -

R1: and I think one of the things about CBA is we do, you know, we do cover the whole discipline

I: Mm

R1: So we, one of the strengths that we can bring to almost anything is I can see what's going on, over there in academia

I: Mm

R1: and over there in commercial practice, over there in the voluntary sector, and kind of make those connections and try and bring some of those things together, and I think that's one of the really valuable functions about CBA, actually.

(3:08) I: So do I, yes (laughs). So, starting on the, kind of, the official trends that I've put down,

R1: Yeah

I: How would you say the heritage sector has kind of changed over the course of your career, the big things that have changed

R1: Well, in some ways, it's transformed beyond recognition, really. If you think back to when I started, I mean, the, the dig I went on, when I was a fourteen year old, there was a *single* professional archaeologist, in the *whole* of the local authority area, (...) he had no staff, no resources, no mandate, really, to go and do any work, other than by persuading developers that it was a good thing, and letting him on the site, and we used – we would only go dig at



weekends, because that's when he had a volunteer workforce to go and do it. And we were digging a huge Iron Age settlement site, basically, which was about thirty miles away from where we actually lived. So we all used to have to go up in a transit van, and do this work at weekends. And obviously, that was pre PPG16 days, and, you know, that was a completely different scenario, and then PPG16 came in, in sort of 1990, and it transformed archaeology, basically. And it meant now, that, in that scenario, you know, there would have been a huge team of archaeologists, with a planning condition, hopefully, and a huge amount of work that, that would have come out of it. And, and so that whole sort of professionalisation of commercial archaeology, which has happened since 1990, it's obviously transformed everything, and then, the, you know, the foundations of ClfA, and the, the moves that we're slowly, gradually making to chartered archaeologist status, that's going to have completely transformed things, hopefully without damaging the voluntary sector, which is one of our worries. But I think that also, then alongside that, there's been a, a real, a kind of professionalisation of the way we all work, and particularly in relation to policy and advocacy. I think we've, we've (pause) originally, it was around individuals, who had particular bees in their bonnets, who had particular connections with an MP, or with a somebody who they knew in authority, and that was their avenue to try and pursue that, that bee in their bonnet. Now, you know, we're thinking ahead, we're planning, we're working with other organisations, we've got connections in Parliament, got the Parliamentary Archaeology Group, so many different elements, that we're, we're, we're now routinely dealing with, that help us to hopefully achieve some of our advocacy objectives.

(5:47) I: Mm. So do you think that the, kind of, the change in policy was one of the things that drove the change in the sector? You know, I mean, got PPG coming in

R1: Mm

I: that was the -

R1: That was, that was kind of (pause) There were, again going back, I mean there were one or two quite strong minded people, who really had a vision for how things should be. And a lot of it comes down to Geoff Wainwright at English Heritage, who was the, the central chief archaeologist person really, who really drove the PPGs - introduction of PPG 16, and it wouldn't happen without having somebody who was quite, sort of, in a sense, was really quite bloody-minded about it, and very sort of determined. So he, he led that. And I'm not sure he really had a vision for what would happen beyond that, in the broader sense, I mean you know, we've always accepted kind of in, particularly in England, that, that the way things are going to be done and it was partly because of the politics of the time, it was in the, sort of, it was in the Thatcher era,

and all of that, that it was around commercial operations and competitive tendering, that was the way it was set out. That may not be the right way to do it, and you know, if it had been set up in a previous era it probably wouldn't have been like that, I mean the CBA right back into the 1940s was pressing for a National Archaeological Service

I: Mm

R1: and that would have been a completely different scenario if that had been accepted at the time, it would have been, we'd have been much more like the sort of French model with IMRAP that is the state government service that does all the work, you know. So it, you know I'm not sure that he had a particular vision, other than, you know, a determination to make sure that archaeology was protected, and where that wasn't possible, investigated. And, some of the things that we've started to push for beyond that, and in sort of policy terms over the last few years, have been sort of, kind of building on that, and I think it gave us confidence that we had a, a perspective that could be valuable, and, and deliver the public benefit which was obviously the basis of it really. But I think if you go back and, I mean, it would be interesting if you've managed to do this, go back and look at some of the publications and documents in that period, in the sort of 1970s 1980s,

I: Mm

(8:00) R1: Whether there was really a sort of big vision for how it should all be done. I'm not sure there was really, there was sort of lots of bits, you know,

I: Yes

R1: And the crux was, was trying to transform the, the rescue movement, into a professionalised system. And yeah. That was successful.

I: Mm. So it was a combination of having the right kind of enthusiasm among the sector and then having the right people in the right places

R1: Mm

I: to say it at the right time.

(8:28) R1: Yeah, yeah, I think so often with these things, it is around serendipitous change, and I don't think -- I think it's quite rare that these things are absolutely planned out, and delivered, you know, as the, as to plan

I: Mm

R1: Often it just comes about because of particular circumstances, you know. And the same with, with PPG, I mean, you know, if we hadn't had the Rose Theatre, if the Rose Theatre hadn't been discovered on that development site, and we wouldn't, and we hadn't had all the publicity that came around by the, the famous actors and, and actresses being involved, would we have got PPG16 at that time? Arguably, you know, maybe not, you know. So, it was, it was a little bit of chance, even, even then. But you know, we've been steadily building up the case, and we had sites like the Queen Street Hotel in York, and, one or two others that were, were, were really, you know, very strong arguments. But, I'm not sure they would have carried the same weight if we hadn't had the Rose Theatre, and all the - all that went with it.

(9:20) I: So the kind of public opinion on that pushed the political side

R1: As is so, so often the way, and if you go back to the, the CBA in 1940s, we, because under the 30 Year Rule, of course, you can now see all the documents, from the Civil Service files

I: Mmhm

R1: about that period and what they thought, and Richard Morris a few years ago did some research which he published in the Society of Antiquaries tercentenary volume I think it was. And, and he said that what basically, you could see from the documents, that when the CBA went and pressed the case for a, sort of, a state service they won the argument and the Civil Servants accepted that that *was* the thing to do, but because the CBA never mustered enough public support to make them do it, and pay for it,

I: Mmhm

R1: And if they had, they probably would have won, because Civil Servants accepted that that *was* probably the right thing to do.

I: Mm

R1: And, and also, the other interesting thing about that, is, and again it's about, shows the importance of personal dynamics in a lot of this, is the other reason it didn't happen, is because the Civil Servants, who were predominantly, I guess inevitably at that period were male, didn't like the person, who happened to be female, Kathleen Kenyon, who came and made the pitch, on the CBA's behalf.

I: Mmhm

R1: They didn't take to her, and there were some, Richard found some amazing documents that had little handwritten notes, about, ooh, what a, you know, this bossy woman, something

I: (laughs)

(10:42) R1: And they just didn't take to the way that she, she put the case across,

I: No, some woman telling me what to do!

R1: And that was as, as important, in some ways, as the, the logic of it, and the, the availability of the funding.

I: Mmhm

R1: So again, it does show, that it's, you know the personal dynamic is, is quite crucial for this

I: Yeah

R1: the chemistry that you have to create, amongst individuals, to make and deliver change, is, is critical, I think.

I: Yeah.

R1: Mm

(11:08) I: And are any other major factors, that you feel have kind of contributed to changes, in the sector, that you've seen, or, experienced

R1: Well, I guess the other, other big thing, which over, over that period, was, in England, the creation of English Heritage in the 1980s. And previously, obviously, this had all been a Civil Servant activity, and therefore it was more constrained by being part of government. And I, I guess, you know, it's interesting looking across the UK, at the different positions of the heritage sector, in relation to government, and in relation to advocacy. And English Heritage obviously is in a, was in a stronger position, and, and I guess Historic England sees itself in a stronger position now, being outside of government, but able to be an, an independent advocate for the historic environment.

I: Mm

(11:58) R1: Whereas the way it has to happen, previously in Scotland and Wales, was, was more sensitive, because they were in government, and then in Northern Ireland where they're still in government, and in a very difficult place because they don't even have a minister, to tell them what to do and to give them a sort of policy direction. So, so that creation of English Heritage, in the, in the mid 1980s, was a, was an important development, because it created a national advocate, as well as an organisation obviously delivered, that looked after the guardianship sites

and did all the presentation, and did all that side of it. But the, the critical bit from our point of view, I guess, was that it created a sort of policy champion, for, for the historic environment and that, that's carried on through to the day. And it just -- and I think it kind of gave the sector a bit more visibility and a bit more independence from that point of view as well, which I think has probably been a good thing, over the period. Mm.

(12:54) I: Yeah. Thank you. And do you think your own ideas about heritage, and sort of, what it is, and how to deal with it, have also changed, with your career?

R1: Oh yeah, completely, completely. And I think, you know, one of the things the CBA's always tried to do is be forward looking, and looking ahead, as to what, what new developments are there, in the, in the discipline and in the way we think and the way we look at things, yeah. So, if you go back to Beatrice's period, when, you know, we did the, the CBA set up the first Industrial Archaeology committee, and nobody had ever thought about industrial archaeology before, and when we did the Defence of Britain project, thinking about twentieth century anti-invasion defences, as archaeology, which was again, quite innovative at the time, now, it's, you know, it's pretty mainstream, nobody would, would sort of, bat an eyelid at that.

I: Yes

R1: but at the time, in the, in the 1980s, it wasn't, really thought of like that. So I think that's changed. I think the whole intangible heritage, as completely different to what-- I mean, we just, you just wouldn't have thought about that when I first got involved, in the sort of 70s. So that's been an important step in the right direction as well. And I think the other thing which I, I think it-- I'm not sure how much influence it's had on the sort of policy side of it, but the whole sort of theoretical framework and how that's developed, particularly in archaeology, because it is an academic discipline. And that is one of the big differences, I think, with the rest of the heritage sector, that archaeology does have that discipline embedded in a university context, whereas building conservation isn't quite the same, from that point of view. So I think the whole development of, of theory, which informs practice, has been really really important too. And, yeah, I went, the first TAG I ever went to was in 1979, and there was a huge stand-up row between Binford and Hodder, in the plenary session

I: (laughs)

R1: And, it was, I mean, it was to me, as a sort of, you know, fresh-faced undergraduate at the time, it was absolutely astonishing, to sort of, see that sort of thing going on

I: Mmhm

R1: I didn't -- can't pretend I really understood it at the time

I: (laughs) Not sure I would either!

R1: and now, since then, I've gone back and thought about it and looked at it and thought, you know, that, that was, that was processual versus non, post-processual, you know, meeting at, at, in the middle of the room, you know! And was, was incredible really. No, so obviously, it has had an enormous impact on, on the discipline of archaeology. But whether that's really translated much into, into policy, I'm (pause) probably less convinced. But yeah, it just shows how much has changed, I guess, in that, in that period.

(15:39) I: But you feel that archaeological practice has been quite closely tied to the way the academic

R1: Yeah

I: sort of discussions have developed

R1: No, I think so. I think that has set the, set the-- you know, just something as, as basic as single context planning, and the way that, you know, most archaeological work now follows that procedure,

I: Mm

R1: That really came out of a theoretical underpinning, and, and discussions about how archaeology should be undertaken as an academic discipline. And so that's, that's been absolutely fundamental to the way that we approach excavation, essentially.

I: Mm. And I guess there are enough, sort of, people in practice who have come through that university system, that, sort of

R1: Mm

I: That, you know, all trained to do, sort of, similar sorts of things,

R1: Yeah

I: and doing what best practice is at the time

R1: Yeah, mmhm,

I: then even if there are people who haven't necessarily done the same amount of academic work, on site they still follow those same kind of modes of practice.

R1: Yeah, yeah, because that's embedded.

I: Yeah

(16:34) R1: And in thinking, really, at that period,

I: Mmhm

R1: I mean I have, yeah, I have been in, in various places at times where you have that, rather sort of clash of old school and new school, and you know. I remember Frances Lynch once had a meeting with, CBA meeting, I don't know how we got onto the topic but we, we just started talking about it, and she basically just went off on a complete rant and said that, you know, it was completely pointless, this theoretical archaeology, and, totally irrelevant to what I do, and you know

I: (laughs)

R1: And there's Francis Pryor, sitting there next to her, just rolling his eyes!

I: (laughs)

R1: Goodness' sake, you know, it's fundamental to what we do, you know. If you don't think about, if you don't operate within a theoretical framework, then, you know,

I: Mm

R1: how on earth can you be thinking about the archaeology that that you're doing.

I: Mm

R1: But, so, but you know, but that's again inevitable that there are people that have been sort of carried along with that, and people that, that haven't to some extent. Yeah.

I: I think that happens, to some undergraduates the first time on field school and they meet some of the diggers there

R1: Oh

I: who go, "Oh, you've been taught to do it this way, this is how I do it, so..."

R1: Yeah, absolutely, and it's that-- I mean, I, I worry that that is one of the things that we're doing, at the moment, very badly, is that we're going back to turning the process of investigation into a, a sort of, kind of archaeology by numbers type approach, and not encouraging those people to think about what they're doing and why they're doing it. And yeah, if you look at the

sort of John Barrow type approach, things like the Terminal 5 excavations at Heathrow where, you know, he got together with Framework Archaeology, which was a sort of collaboration between Oxford and Wessex, and tried to embed in them the idea that they were all thinking archaeologists, and that all of them had an opinion, and he wanted to know their opinion about what the interpretation of what they were doing was at the end of almost every day. Whereas now, you know, we're just encouraging people to follow a, a process of doing things, to get a, a piece of paper, that the developer will pay for, that doesn't really deliver a public benefit.

(18:42) I: Mm

R1: And there's far too much of that going on, which is not healthy at all.

I: Whole other topic isn't it! We could go off on that forever.

R1: That's a slightly different topic, but I-- that's one of my periodic rants

I: Yes

R1: So I won't go any further on that one.

I: Bring it back a bit, so the next thing I've got is, who do you think gets to have a say in the development of heritage policy and legislation, so we've already talked about how that's kind of, you know, a few people

R1: Mm

I: who are, kind of, in the right place to really drive it

R1: Yeah

(19:16) I: Do you think there's a sort of broader input to that?

R1: There should be, and increasingly I think there is. Not, sometimes, in the most tangible of ways, and that, that could be developed further and I hope it will be developed further, in the next few years really. And I think that is one of the CBA's key roles in the next few years. And it kind of hooks in to this whole debate around experts versus non-experts, and that – obviously our Local Heritage Engagement Network project was all about trying to sort of enthuse the public to be advocates on behalf of the discipline and to influence policy, as well as, as practice all over the country. And there's got to be more of that, we are quite a small discipline when it comes down to it, we're not well resourced. We only exist because we deliver a public benefit. So therefore the public have to see that benefit and become an active advocate for it. Otherwise we've probably got a few problems. And, it's interesting when you look at the ways that people



justify policy change, now, it often references 'the public vote', as it were, and you know, a standard methodology now is you go off and do a, you do a classic sort of public survey to get the public's attitude to something

I: Mm

R1: and you use that to justify some policy shift that you want to make, because you've got that public backing for it. And you know, it's amazing how often you see statistics from Heritage Counts, and the equivalents in other parts of the UK, being used to justify a policy change, erm, in the next sort of year or two

I: Mm

(20:56) R1: that we want to see. Whether we achieve that is another matter entirely. And some of these things are very long term objectives, I guess. But I think that, you know some of that is, is, and yeah, I guess one of the interesting ones at the moment, literally in the last few days, the Treasure Act, code of practice consultation which has just come out.

I: Mmhm

R1: I mean, that is going to have quite a – there's going to be quite a degree of difference in the way that people respond to that, whether you're coming at it from a more archaeological perspective or a metal detecting perspective or, you know, a member of the public sort of perspective, may be very different.

I: Mm

R1: It'll be interesting to see how the DCMS and Civil Service kind of deal with that, and the different attitudes that they are going to see come forward. And -- but, there's no doubt they will place probably a lot more weight on the public's view that you ever would have had fifty years ago. You know, when the CBA started the way you – the way the director of the time had the most impact was that they took the civil servant for lunch in the Athaneum!

I: (laughs)

R1: And if you look through some of the CBA stuff you can see where Henry Cleere, you know, that was his modus operandi, you know, he identified a key civil servant, and, you know, they went for lunch in the Athaneum. And, you know, over that lunch, often policy was determined and that was how things were sort of taken forwards. Doesn't quite work like that any more, I've never been to the Athaneum club!

(22:28) I: (Laughs) But you are a, sort of, you know, one of the ... Joint Committee of National Amenity Societies, and being, having that kind of statutory role, you are also part of this process

R1: Mmhm

I: that helps kind of develop ideas and works with

R1: Sure

I: government – I mean, not within, but you have a, the statutory role to inform them. So, what kind of part of that process do you think has been opened up now? Is it more that, you know, government decide what they want to do and then they go out and do the public surveys and, you know, find the figures that back up what's their aims?

R1: Mm

I: Or do you think it's more that they listen to, you know, you and the sort of people in the sector who say 'this is what we need to happen'?

(23:11) R1: Yeah. I think it's kind of a bit of both, I guess. I mean, to look back to what happened with the NPPF, when that came into being, that was, that was a politically driven process, by a Conservative party that had a very clear idea of what they wanted to do with planning, to try and – partly to try and encourage more house building, but partly, they were representatives of the development industry, to a very large extent, and they had huge backing from developers, who wanted a more straightforward path through all this voluminous planning policy that was all over the place when (*inaudible*) legislation. So the way that the NPPF was put together, was initially, effectively as a sort of Green Paper, by a small group of hand picked individuals by the Tory party.

I: Mm

R1: based on a philosophy that they – that came out of Tory party thinking. And whilst it sort of struck a chord with the public, I think, because the public also understood that planning was a bit all over the place and there was too much of it and all the rest of it

I: Mm

(24:14) R1: it was a politically different process. But, then when you – when it sort of got into the wild, as it were, with these ideas, it was heavily influenced then by professional practice, practitioners, who understood how it had to happen in practice.

I: Mm

R1: Because some things were feasible and some things weren't. And we all had an opportunity to, to have an influence at that point, where we hadn't had that opportunity at the early stage to sort of shape the general approach. And I've not met many civil servants that have a strong (pause) sort of zeal themselves to change things, and to, with an idea in their heads of what it should look like. They are very much picking up on what the sector thinks and then trying to put it into operation.

I: Mmhm

(25:05) R1: But of course that – that's when it sometimes meets the, the sort of kind of the irresistible force of politics

I: Yes

R1: of the government of the time, and of course that can change from, you know, overnight, you know, a general election, from one sort of approach to another sort of approach.

I: Yeah, and the White Paper was trying to get through in time

R1: Yeah, and that, that's part of the problem I guess with -- if that's the right word, with our political system, is that because these things to take a long time to gestate and come into being, if the politics of the time is volatile, it can change, and you can go back to square one quite rapidly. If you go back and look at the Heritage White Paper, in the 1990s, a lot of that was, you know, developed under one sort of philosophical approach, and now we're in a different time,

I: Mmhm

R1: So it's very unlikely that'll happen, you know, just look, the idea of more regulation at the moment seems incredibly unlikely. And it's one of the slightly bizarre aspects of the Treasure Act consultation that came out last week is that at the end, they introduce, only in very very sort of summary form, they introduce the idea that there should be complete regulation of all archaeological excavation and a licensing system, like in Northern Ireland. Now you think what - none of us think that that's likely to happen

I: Mm

R1: But you know, very interesting, that government in a White – in a consultation has put that out there for discussion, you know. So that opens up some opportunities for us.

I: Mm. Do you think that's a response to the ClfA campaign, for kind of chartered recognition, and you know, professional standards?

R1: I think it's partly an understanding of an argument that a lot of us have been putting forward for some time, that, in relation to metal detecting, that, ultimately, it is damaging to the archaeological heritage

I: Mm

R1: And it's not delivering a public benefit. And what are your alternatives to stop it?

I: Yeah

R1: And actually, there are very few, other than to effectively license it, or ban it. And, whether that works, you know, is another argument, and, you know, a lot of people in Ireland would say ok, that's the system we've got already but it doesn't work, because it just drives it all underground

I: Yeah

R1: And

I: Stops people wanting to hand in things when they've found them

(27:17) R1: Yeah, so you, you turn it from a sort of volunteering, encouraging type attitude to a – to a, a legal approach, which many people don't take to, and don't follow. But you know, it's arguable that there's pros and cons to both approaches, and that's, kind of, that's the way of it. But I think it still comes down to the fact that-- I mean, when I went to a meeting with (sighs) one of the things about politicians is that they change so frequently

I: (laughs)

R1: Lloyd Grossman did this great thing at the Heritage Alliance AGM in December, basically, when he was standing down, he said "I've been chairing the Heritage Alliance for" I think it was nine years, and he had this slide, all the civil ser- all the Secretaries of State

I: Mm

R1: and Heritage Ministers he'd had to deal with during that time, cos they change so often and about, don't know three or four years maybe it was? We had Sajid Javid as the Secretary of State for Culture,

I: Mmhm

R1: and so I went to one of these breakfast meetings that you have with these people, and they – I mean, it's always breakfast meetings because that's the only time they can fit you in to their busy day

I: (laughs)

(28:21) R1: and he was very good, I thought, in the sense that he was completely honest, and realistic

I: Mm

R1: and he said, you know "I'm not going to be the Secretary of State for Culture for very long", and he said, you know, "we've got a General Election coming up, and you know, other things will change", and he said, you know "so I think the way you should treat me is that I'm in this post for a year, and I'm probably, you know, that's about right", he said "in that year, I've got all these responsibilities, I'm Culture, Media, Sport". He said "For you, as the heritage sector, I can probably do one thing." And he said, "so what I need to know from you is what is the one thing that you'd like me to do for you?"

I: Mmhm

R1: But he said "I'll only do it if *all* of you want it." He said, you know "if you come to me and, you know, you three over there tell me one thing, you three over there tell me one thing, you three over there tell me another thing, you won't – I won't do anything for you."

I: Mmhm

(29:11) R1: Because he says "I won't, you know, I won't know which one to go with," you know. He said "the only way we'll see, is if there's a consensus around one thing," and we all agreed, that the one thing we that thought that he was best placed to do, given where he was and where we were at at the time, was to try and sort out this issue of VAT, and the inequity between repair and maintenance which attract VAT and new build which doesn't. And, of course, he didn't achieve it. But we were, that was, yeah, there was a clear response straight away, that is the one issue, and that, but that is the right approach. So he was in a sense saying to us, "I'm a blank canvas, I've got no policy that I want to put in place for you, you tell me what you want"

I: Mm

R1: "and then I'll try and do it for you".

I: Yeah.

R1: But, over the years, and it probably means you have to go back a bit, but maybe that reflects politicians to some extent, you know, now, if you go back to Michael Heseltine, when he was Environment Secretary, and he created English Heritage, he had a very clear vision as to what he wanted for the heritage sector, that's why he set up English Heritage, and if you go back and look at his speeches, around that time of why he created English Heritage, he had a very clear vision for what he wanted. And he came to the Joint Committee, to their meetings, and told them that, you know. You wouldn't get that now, you know, a) politicians have stopped coming to those meetings, because they don't see them as particularly important any more, and it's interesting when there - there's a meeting on Thursday of the secretaries of the Joint - of the Amenity Societies, with the Heritage Alliance

I: Mmhm

(30:54) R1: And part of the agenda for that meeting is because the - some of the other directors of the Amenity Societies are dis- feel disenfranchised, by the creation of the Heritage Alliance, and the fact that the - kind of the power base for advocacy has moved away from them. And if you - they hark back, to these strange occasions where the, the Minister used to come for lunch with the Secretaries of the Joint Committee, and they always talk about Michael Heseltine, and Nicholas Ridley was the other one they always talk about. He smoked all the way through the lunch

I: (laughs)

R1: and I'm sure you're horrified by. And, but they had that degree of personal interaction with the Minister at that level. And it just doesn't - it doesn't work like that any more, and I'm not sure they've quite moved with the times, really. And you know, now, you get a relatively middle ranking civil servant from DCMS come along to the meetings, and that degree of policy shift just doesn't happen in those places any more, I don't think.

I: Mm

R1: So, it has, again, that's changed a lot, and the politicians, I don't - I think they're not, sort of, they're not career politicians in the same way, they don't come in with a, and they don't stay in the same place for a long period of time and build up an affinity with something and have a, a view as to what should happen. They have to be told what to think, essentially.

I: Mmhm

R1: And I think we got a lot better at that, which is why we're better at doing advocacy than we were before. And I think in the end we – so now, with the new Heritage Minister, Michael Ellis, every six months there's one of these breakfast meetings, with a topic, and there's one coming up in three weeks' time on, inevitably, Brexit

I: (laughs)

R1: and the implications of Brexit, and how we're all doomed, and

I: (laughs) Yes

(32:47) R1: And, yeah, we've got the Heritage Council, which is a, I think a really, potentially a really important development,

I: Mmhm

R1: and yeah, (laughs) if you go back to, again, the 1990s, and the early report of the All Party Parliamentary Archaeology group, that was one of their main recommendations that there should be a cross government committee, or – led by DCMS, but bringing in all those other departments, to help them understand why the heritage and the historic environment component of their brief was an important one and to sort of try and push them a bit harder. And so, you know, that could be a really important development for us I think, time will tell I guess. But I think it's another sign that our – that the way we've played the games has worked. Anyway, another interesting example, I guess, is again about sort of planning reform, where there's been a huge amount of planning reform over the last few years, and mostly archaeologists have managed to fight off the most damaging changes that were being put forward, and have got some quite sensible, modest improvements, to the system in there. And that again is, and we've been told this to our face, um, is because we're very good at working together, coming with a clear position, and being able to argue why it's the right position and what it will deliver in terms of public benefit. And it's been contrasted with the broader sort of built heritage sector, which is all over the place, doesn't speak with one voice, has lots of competing interests who cut across each other,

I: Mm

R1: and are unable, frankly, to explain why it's the right thing to do. And so they haven't got those changes in the same way that archaeology has.

I: Yes

(34:44) R1: And we've got the All Party archaeology group, which has also been influential in helping to back that up in a political way. So, yeah, people don't – in Historic England, and DCMS, always talk about the fact that archaeologists are very good at their advocacy.

I: Mm

R1: Because we've – we've got our act together.

I: Yeah.

R1: In a sense, you know

I: So there's quite a clear link between the, sort of, the practice side and the, you know, the theory and the thinking around that, going through into policy

R1: Mm

I: Through the Amenity Societies

R1: Mm, and that's where, you know, having organisations like CBA and ClfA and ALGAO and FAME working together through the Archaeology Forum, which is a kind of a fig leaf, I mean, it doesn't (pause) it's not particularly effective as a way of bringing groups together. But where it is useful is, it provides a place so we can all talk, and develop a shared approach

I: Mm

R1: and then go off and deal with that through the DCMS or whatever

I: Mmhm

R1: as individual organisations. But kind of speaking with one voice, although doing it in a slightly different way from our different perspectives. You know, so ClfA will argue it on behalf of the sort of, the profession and professional standards and that side of it, we will say this is the sort of public value, while ALGAO will have a slightly different approach. But we're all trying to achieve the same objective

(36:02) I: Mm

R1: And that I think has been really really crucial.

I: So building, heritage conservation and things like that don't really have a shared approach so don't get to put their ideas forward in a way that going to be actually enacted?



R1: No. Yeah, and I don't think they've (pause) they're not as joined up in the way that they approach their dealing with civil servants and politicians and ministers. So you've got lots of disparate activity, which doesn't – which the politicians don't know what to make of it really

I: (laughs)

R1: I think, you know. And yeah, you've got, you know, numerous sort of slightly separate Parliamentary Archaeology – Parliamentary All Party groups, for example there's an industrial heritage one, there's a civic voice one, there's, there's the Arts and Heritage one, and, so there's no, sort of, consistent thread through that

I: Mm

R1: which the politicians really sort of then understand

I: Mmhm

(37:05) R1: whereas they *do* with the archaeology, and it's a -- But I think that is also partly because it is backed up by a discipline

I: Mmhm

R1: and does have those roots in practice, and it's – so it's just, sort of, a philosophical approach,

I: Yeah

R1: and of course, that, that is a problem in itself, because there's not just one philosophical sort of approach in the built heritage,

I: Yes

R1: So you can have, you know, SPAB have, as a very clear manifesto, and a basis, going back to William Morris

I: Mm

R1: for why they believe what they believe. And that's, but at times, that's very different to the approach that Historic England would have now adopt, with Conservation Principles

I: Mm

R1: And so you get – you can have the same application, and they'll be coming at it from two different points of view,

I: Yeah

R1: Well, you know, the developer, or the public, it baffles them, you know, “but you’re heritage people! Why – Surely you should be on the same side?” you know, but actually, they’re against each other.

I: Yeah

R1: on the face of it, you know. Whereas you’d very rarely get that with archaeology, because that isn’t what we’re talking about, you know, we’re just talking about the approach, which is a generally agreed one, to deliver a public benefit, from the investigation, and the – In a sense, enhancing the significance of the asset, where the public don’t – The bit the public don’t understand for our sector, is they don’t understand that you can excavate something and therefore destroy it, but you haven’t lost the significance

I: Mmhm

R1: Because the significance has been transferred into a – a record, in a sense, you know, and knowledge. And they don’t get, the public don’t get that.

I: Mm

R1: We need to work a bit harder to do that. But that’s kind of by the by, really, because that’s another – that’s a different thing

I: So you’re all coming from a, kind of, the same sort of training, you know, and the same type of practice

(39:06) R1: Mm

I: basically, and that’s, you know, different to others in the sector

R1: Mm, and in a sense, the same sort of philosophical underpinning, which I think is the critical thing.

I: Mm

R1: And that’s the issue that the built heritage sector hasn’t quite got to grips with, is how does it, how does it justify, I guess, those different approaches

I: Yes

R1: and then still deliver some sort of public benefit. Which is coherent. Yeah

I: Going back a bit, you were talking about the Heritage Alliance which was something that had sort of come up as a parallel to the Amenity Societies

R1: Mm

I: What kind of gap was that filling?

R1: I think there was a – I'm not sure the Amenity Societies – the other amenity societies – would have agreed with this, really

I: (laughs)

R1: and I'm not sure the CBA did at the time (pause) it was a very clear response to Tessa Jowell, when she was Culture Secretary, who said several times, in public, "there are – the heritage sector is fragmented, there are too many organisations, you're – there's too many voices, I can't hear, you know, what you all want", you know.

I: Mm

R1: So it's too many people. Now, there are still all those voices

I: (laughs)

R1: They haven't gone away,

I: Yes

R1: But the perception is, they're being sort of filtered through a single mechanism, which is the Heritage Alliance

I: Mm

R1: And that was why it was created, to be a, sort of, a way of bringing together those allegedly disparate voices, into one coherent voice to government, and that was it, as simple as that

I: Mm

(40:59) R1: But of course, what was inevitable, and I think this was where the, the tension lies, is that it was – it was inevitable, that (pause) the Alliance was created to be a mechanism, to filter all those voices together, but it's become a voice of its own. And of course that's inevitable, you know

I: Mm

R1: It has to have a website, a logo, a brand, a trustees, you know

I: Mm

R1: It's now in competition for funding with all the rest of us,

I: So it's added to the organisations rather than

R1: It's another voice, now,

I: simplifying, yeah

R1: It's not a way of filtering the voices together, and that's the problem. But it was inevitable, it was, you know, no great surprise. But of course now, the other amenity societies kind of feel marginalised,

I: Mmhm

R1: So their – their gripe, which they're going to try and raise with the Heritage Alliance on Thursday – good luck

I: (Laughs)

R1: You've kind of taken, taken the space away from us, rather than strengthened our voice,

I: Mmhm

R1: Whereas we, I guess don't quite see it like that, although we do see it like that a little bit. But because we're – because we're archaeologists, and that's seen as something slightly different, we still have our own channels to government

I: Mm

R1: And that's not been seen as a problem. So, we can still as archaeologists ride both horses, you know, we can be in the Heritage Alliance, speak up through the Heritage Alliance, get them to speak on our behalf, we do that frequently and that's great, but we can also have our own channel, to government and to politicians, and that's not seen as a problem

I: Yeah

R1: And it's not seen as "there are too many voices because you've got the archaeologists over there and the Heritage Alliance over there", because people (*?are?*) kind of get that archaeology is different.

I: Mm

(42:56) R1: So when it suits us, we can be part of the heritage sector, but when it suits us we can be our own force. But that's still, when (pause) that's not ideal, I don't think. And I still think part

of the problem, in our broad heritage sector, is that they don't understand what archaeology is. It's different, it's a process, it's about understanding, it's not about conservation, in quite the same way. And I think therefore, that, and that's I think partly is why we've always made – tried to be sure, that, for example, the Heritage Alliance always has an archaeologist on its trustee board. And we've been quite vociferous at making – pushing for that, because they don't get it otherwise, and there's a danger they would go off and do something that would sort of damage archaeology, if you like. So you know, originally Mike Heyworth was the trustee, of the Heritage Alliance, and then Pete Hinton took over, of ClfA, and then when he came to the end of his maximum term, we – he and I had a chat, and said well, look, you know, who – is it, does it go back to me, do I do it again, that's not quite what we should do, you know, we should be bigger than that, so we identified somebody, Jack Wills as it were, who was just finishing being ClfA chair, who was a senior archaeologist who would continue to represent us, but was tied in to both our organisations, she'd been a trustee of CBA as well, so currently she's being a trustee of Heritage Alliance, and that – I do think that's important, that they have an archaeologist on their trustee board at that level. And I think it also really helps that Lizzie Glitheroe-West, who's the chief exec, does have an archaeology background herself, so she kind of gets it herself.

(44:37) I: Mm

R1: Which is probably useful. But I think the – the other societies, the other amenity societies, are struggling more, with being, sort of kind of not having the power and the channel to direct it themselves, but I kind of think it's their fault

I: (laughs)

R1: They, they could have had. But I think they've not quite understood how to have influence, within the Alliance and the system that they have. Yeah, and the obvious – what Lizzie's going to say, I can predict it absolutely now

I: (laughs)

R1: what she's going to say to them on Thursday is, "well, if you want to have – if you want your voice to be represented through the Heritage Alliance,

I: mm

R1: you know, we've got all these advocacy groups, why aren't you joining them, and being, you know, having, playing an active part?" And you know, the Heritage Alliance, well, when it comes

down to it, it is a part-time Chief Executive and a part-time Policy and Comms officer who are completely run off their feet, you know, they're desperate for people to play a role

(45:44) I: Mm

R1: and support them and help them. You know, "how often are you doing that, national amenity societies?" and, of course, the answer is very, very rarely. So it's kind of ball's in their court.

I: Mmhm

R1: And so what we try and do, as archaeologists, again, because again we – we're, I think we're a bit better at this, we always try and make sure that one of us is in those meetings, and is putting across the key points that we want, to make sure they're represented further up the food chain when it gets to that place. And that doesn't have to be – you know, we don't – we work very well behind the scenes to make that happen. So, you know, I can, I'll talk quite frequently to Rob Lennox, as the ClfA person, and say "well look, you know, there's this meeting coming up, who's going to go to it, you or me, or are we going to rope somebody else in to do it because they have a particular perspective?" and it doesn't – you know, we don't need to go in mob-handed, you know, we can't afford that, but we need to make sure archaeology is represented at those meetings.

I: Mm

R1: And that works well

(46:42) I: Yeah. So Heritage Alliance kind of pulls together museums and built heritage conservation and archaeology but, you know, if you want to kind of be one of the strands that comes out of it then you need to make sure it gets fed in?

R1: Yeah, exactly, it's the classic sort of sausage machine, if you want your bit to come out in the sausage at the end, you've got to be the bit that goes into the mix in the first place!

I: (laughs)

R1: And I think, as archaeologists, we've got a pretty clear and unified position on what our asks are,

I: Mm

R1: on most of the areas, and that helps too.

I: Mmhm

R1: The sort of, kind of, so we've got this kind of pact, between CBA and ClfA, erm, that we can represent each other, because broadly, we're saying the same thing, most of the time, from a slightly different perspective, and we always need to make sure we do that. So if I go to a meeting representing CBA and ClfA, I have to kind of remember, that I'm also taking about this in relation to standards

I: Yes

(47:37) R1: And professional practice, and not just sort of public benefit, which I think if I was just CBA that's what I'd be doing. But that's fine, you know, we can do that

I: Mmhm

R1: But it means that our – we operate in a slightly smarter way as a consequence.

I: Yeah, so, last point, nice and simple one to finish off with

R1: (laughs)

I: Do you think that the approach to heritage of the people who kind of work in the sector, who work in practice, is different to the approach the theorists would take to it, in the way they're kind of discussing it?

R1: Yeah, completely, I think, in many cases. Partly though, because, as we touched on early on, it's kind of a different (pause) thing, to some extent. But, you know, it's, kind of exemplified a little bit in the debate about Stonehenge, and the A303 tunnel, and the, sort of, some of the thinking around that, and particularly in relation to contemporary heritage. And you know, the notion, for example, that the current A303 is itself a heritage asset, you know, debate, I guess, but, you know, it's a – it's a human impact on the landscape,

I: Mm

R1: and it's just as, some people would argue, I'm not sure I would entirely agree, but, it's just as important, in the sense of the public perspective on that space, as a Bronze Age Barrow. Now, we assign a status to the Bronze Age Barrow, because it is a designated asset, a Scheduled Ancient Monument, and therefore we sort of privilege it, in the sense of the debate. But, for many people, their only interaction with Stonehenge as a monument, is because they can drive up and down the A303 and see it as they drive past, and they all lose that opportunity if the tunnel goes ahead as its currently been suggested it will.

(49:47) I: Mm

R1: And then they'll have to pay, and they'll have to make a conscious effort to stop and park and walk and all the rest of it, you know. Well that, there's been some really interesting discussions around the, the values

I: Mm

R1: in the sort of theoretical debates about it, which I don't think has really translated into policy, because I don't think we've made those arguments in quite that way. And when you look at things like the definition of Outstanding Universal Value, that underpins the World Heritage Site, it would be kind of laughable to suggest that the current A303 contributes to OUV

I: Mm

R1: in the same way as the barrow cemetery does.

I: With age and rarity and things like that, yeah

R1: which is, which it doesn't, you know

I: Mm

R1: in any way. But it – so it's about getting the balance right, between these different values, in the approach to it. But to many people, outside of that, those sort of theoretical discussions, the A303 has no value whatsoever, it's just a complete joke, you know

I: Mmhm

R1: But it (pause) I sort of, I can get, I get the fact that it does have some values, and that it is a, it's a contributor to the discussion, you know. So I think, so I – and also, I do think the whole intangible heritage thing has come out of, sort of, a very postmodern attitude to heritage, and the whole thing about multiple voices and multiple values having equal weight. Do they? You know,

I: Mm

(51:23) R1: Does the Von Dannekin approach have equal weight, because it's not evidence based (pause) I think that's – there's nuances, within that

I: Mmhm

R1: So, but what I think's been really really really important, is the fact that we've moved to a place, and you can see this in things like Enriching the List, the Historic England initiative, is that



we now are much better at understanding that public attitudes to particular sites and landscapes, are important of themselves, and they add to the narrative, of the site. And that, that's a positive thing

I: Mmhm

R1: And the idea that people can upload family photographs of when they went to Stonehenge in 1969 or something, and have a little story around what it meant to them and their family at the time, you know, clearly, that – that is not a major sort of academic knowledge factor, in helping us understand why the monument's there and all the rest of it, but, those monuments have no value if the public don't appreciate them and understand them. And so the fact that that family went there, and had that experience, and interacted with the landscape, it (pause) it is valued in that sense

(52:47) I: Mm

R1: And I think we are, therefore, slowly moving in the direction of incorporating some of that academic thinking and that theoretical sort of framework into professional practice

I: Mmhm

R1: And then, probably ultimately into policy

I: Yeah

R1: And yeah, the, it is, it's telling, that the whole debate now, is about public value and public benefit, and if it doesn't have public benefit, it's worthless. And that's where we, you know, we feel vulnerable, as archaeologists, because billions of pounds of developers' money has been spent on archaeological work, and we feel vulnerable because we can't always justify the public benefit of that work.

(53:33) I: Mm

R1: And, there's a – that's a vulnerability for us, if you like, so we have to get better at justifying why we do it, in terms of public benefit. And that's why, you know, the Southport Group report and all those things were significant because we're still trying to tease that out a little bit

I:Mm

R1: And that's going to lead to some very interesting conversations, already is to some extent, like, what's he called, can't remember. Chris Evans, at the Cambridge Unit in --, arguing well, we don't need to dig another Roman villa, we've dug all these Roman villas, we know broadly what

this Roman villa is going to be like, don't need to dig it. We should spend more time doing things which will lead to new knowledge and new understanding.

I: Mmhm

R1: And other people would completely dispute that, because, you know, for that local community that's their Roman villa, it has – it doesn't matter if they've excavated, you know, all these other villas, because this is their Roman villa and they want to excavate it

I: Yeah, they want the mosaic in their local museum

R1: It has meaning to them, they was their mosaic in their museum, you know. So, those (pause) and those things are, you know, on the fringe of, sort of, public understanding

I: Mmhm

R1: but I think we'll get – there's some definitely some interesting discussions to be had there in the next five, ten years

I: Yeah

R1: As some of that starts to spill out

I: Mmhm

R1: and some of the stuff Neil Redfern's talking about, which, you know, really interesting I think, in terms of, erm, sort of making sure these things have a public benefit and a community significance

(55:06) I: Mm

R1: I think he's spot on. And there's some really, yeah, really good things to be done there, and talking about, you know, the Wolds, and the monuments on the Wolds, and what is the point of having scheduled barrows on the Wolds that are being eroded away and/or being destroyed by natural forces in the next twenty years.

I: Mm

R1: Surely, it would be better to allow the local community to engage with them, and to excavate them, even if it may not be done to the best possible professional standards, because otherwise we're just seeing them destroyed, and they're standing by and letting that happen. So you know getting that public interaction and um the benefits that will come from that are -- it's got to be the way forward

I: And that's something you can kind of envisage moving into policy is sort of looking at things in more terms of, you know, the public value, rather than

R1: Yeah,

I: the inherent value of the sites themselves?

R1: Yeah, yeah, absolutely, yeah. I think (pause) there's still a bit more to be done with that whole values debate, I think. I mean, the HLF kicked it off a long time ago, now, really, and the HLF's been quite pivotal in helping us to think through some of these things, I think. But we've sort of kind of going around, between intrinsic and instrumental values, and there's still a bit more discussion to be had there really, to think about how (pause) because obviously both of them have, value, and it's the balance between them. But I worry that doesn't often filter through into practice, still, as practice is still very intrinsic, and you know, if you look at people like Andrew Selkirk, who, well, sort of, has a rather old-fashioned view of things, and he's horrified by the idea that you might do an archaeological project because its value is to the people taking part.

I: Mmhm

(57:01) R1: You know, like Operation Nightingale type stuff, you know

I: Mm

R1: He just doesn't see that as, as a factor that you should even be thinking about, you know,

I: Mmhm

R1: Whereas now, I think, we're all thinking Health and Wellbeing, that, archaeology's got so much to contribute to that, you know, we should be doing more in that space

I: Mmhm

R1: And justifying interventions, because of the community impact and the sort of personal impact it has on the individuals. And I don't – you know, you get good archaeology at the same time, great, nobody's suggesting that we trash the archaeology because it's great for the community. Nobody's saying that. But it's about, you know, the standards of what you do and accepting that, a balance between those things.

I: Mm

R1: And there's definitely some interesting things to be done there. And hopefully lots of money to do it. (laughs)

I: Yeah. So that kind of ties together what the theory's saying with where the practice can justify itself happening

R1: Yeah

I: So it's sort of got an intersection (*?there really?*) coming through

R1: Yeah, yeah, hope so.

I: Do you think there's an issue with (pause) how academics kind of explain all this theoretical stuff to the public? Because it -

R1: Yeah, yeah, those channels are still not very well developed, I think. And, you know, it is still the case that, it's too easy to dismiss theory because it's difficult to understand and engage with, and there's too many gratuitous long words and all of that. And it tends to be written in a certain sort of way, which is quite difficult for the public to sort of get their heads round. And that, that's a shame, I think. And of course, sometimes you have to have the academic debate in academic language, and that – there's a place for that. But there's also a place for people who can articulate what that means to a general audience. And yeah, it's been really interesting the last few years, how there's a growth in these chairs being appointed in universities which are about public engagement. So you know, Alice Roberts and Carenza Lewis and people like that are now chairs of public engagement, and I think, to my mind, one of the most important things those roles should be about, is to articulate the academic discourse to a public audience. And, it'll be interesting to see if that works, and yeah, and you know, that's where you get fantastic communicators like, you know, Brian Cox, people like that, who are able to make that public connection with a – quite a technical discipline, in a really entertaining and lively way. And of course, some people then accuse him of dumbing down and all the rest of it, which is nonsense. They're just very good communicators.

I: Mm

(59:46) R1: and I think we need more people who see that as academically credible. Because I think that's the problem, is that academics don't get credit for doing that. It's still seen as dumbing down and sort of getting their hands dirty by "ooh gosh, you're on television, you're not a proper academic", you know

I: Mm

R1: While actually that is just as much a skill, to my mind, and they should get just as much academic credit for that, as if they'd written a really good paper in some obscure journal, which probably only ten people will ever read

I: (laughs)

R1: You know, much better that they enthused and engaged hundreds, thousands of young people by being on telly, and explained some quite complicated to a broader audience. And you know, got them enthused by it, you know. What's the problem with that? But unfortunately it's still not quite seen like that, or it – I still think that's one of the problems with archaeologists, I'm sure it's probably not unique, is that we're still a bit too snide, about people who are going out of their way to represent what we do to the public. That's still seen as – it's not valued in the same way. But it should be.

I: Yeah. Is there, anything else we haven't covered?

R1: (laughs)

I: We've gone through a lot

R1: Some of that was pretty broad, anyway. Yeah, no, let me remind myself of your questions in the first place. I think we covered everything.

## Interview 2

19.2.19, Derbyshire

Respondent 2 studied Combined Studies at undergraduate, then worked as a field archaeologist, and then for English Heritage. They then did a Masters in Archaeology and a PhD co-supervised by archaeology and geography departments, and lectured part time at a university. They now work as the director of an independent archaeology and heritage company.

05:26 I: Yeah, so, from my perspective you're kind of ideally placed because I'm looking at how people sort of, you know conceptualise heritage differently depending on you know whether they're working in practice and whether they're doing this very sort of practical-focused stuff and just need to kind of get the job done or whether they're, you know, academic side of things have all these you know big ideas which can't necessarily get put into practise so give that you're kind of bridging that gap between two, that's, I'm really interested in your kind of perspective on how the sort of, the academic ideas function outside the academic sphere.

06:00 R2: Yeah, ok. Well, when you say academic ideas, are you talking sort of specifically like methodology, or are you talking sort of, you know, theoretical, conceptual, I don't know, what are you meaning there, in terms of?

I: Well, what I'm focusing on specifically is the "critical heritage theory", so the stuff that says, you know, all heritage is socially constructed idea, and you know, should it be protected or should it be used

R2: Right

I: and a lot of this stuff is actually quite antithetical to what museums staff or archaeologists might think so that's my -

R2: Hmm, see, yeah, that's quite interesting, because you see, I don't see it antithetical at all

I: Right

06:36 R2: Because to me, you know, in a sense, if you reduce that down to a simplistic argument, you could say well, you know, if what you're saying from that critical theory point of view is, archaeology should be like a fossil inside a piece of amber, so basically it's fossilised at that point in time, never to be touched again, we never learn anything more about it but we can look at it and go wow.

I: Mm

R2: What's the point of that?

I: Yeah.

R2: So I don't think that's good for anybody. I think that's a lose-lose scenario. So I don't see anything antithetical whatsoever in a pursuit of archaeology. Another issue is, the world does not stand still. If you want to clean your teeth with toothpaste, if you want to travel on roads, if you want to travel on rail, if you want to, you know have certain kinds of medicines, if you want to have paint, all physical material that we need, ultimately, has to be dug out of the ground.

I: Mmhm

R2: And you cannot recycle sufficient material to replace that, ok? Take for example the British Aggregates Industry. It is the, has the highest green credentials of any aggregate industry in the world. It recycles virtually 100% of all recyclable material. So you'll see on the roads, when they're resurfacing, you'll see the machines actually take up the tarmac, they remelt it, reuse it, and so on. And it's extremely well organised, they're very good at it. But we still need millions and millions of tons of aggregate per year to build the roads, the hospitals, the schools, and everything else. We also need it for you know limestone and, you know, minerals like that, you need potash, you need, you know, fertilisers, you need, and the list just goes on and on and on. Point being is, we cannot live or survive without digging holes in the ground.

08:35 I: Mmhm

R2: Ergo, we have to impact on archaeological features, if you want to live.

I: Yeah.

R2: So, there's kind of, to me, there's no antithetical thing at all going on. To me, the issue then becomes, how you do it. So, you know, how do you deal with that? And you can do nothing, which is what a lot of countries in the world do, you can have a kind of state run system, where you selectively target certain developments, certain sites, where you'd say, you know, there is only so much money in the pot, so we will divert resources to this site, because we value it the most, or to that site, or to several sites, whatever. And that's the system that of course we used to have in Britain. And the problem with that system is several, but most importantly is, a very finite pot of money, so you can only rescue or examine so many sites, and there's thousands and thousands being impacted on all the time.

09:35 I: Mm

R2: And also, who decides what's most important? So you've got a lot of issues there with that. What was brought in in 1990, obviously, under Thatcher, was the principle that the developer pays. And that has been, in the round, incredibly successful, because it has injected huge amounts of new money into archaeology, it is being paid directly by the people who are making the impact, and the people who therefore will benefit from that, so it's putting the cost into the right place. But also, it's injected as I say huge amount more, much more money for the archaeology, which now means that because the planning system is so tight in Britain, and archaeology has over the last twenty-nine years since 1990, has become elevated within the planning system, so it is now a full material consideration, on equal parity to any other requirement. That now means that any impact on any archaeology should be accounted for, whether it be you know resulting in preservation in situ, full excavation in advance of destruction, removal, partial preservation and some impact, you know, so you can have all sorts of combinations. So we now have a mechanism which, like all things, is not perfect, and you know the planning, and again a lot of people don't understand this, and particularly within academic disciplines like archaeology, ecology and so on,

I: Mm

11:19 R2: they don't often have a good understanding of planning, and therefore don't realise that most of these development are exercises in compromise. And that is what planning is, you cannot give everyone everything you want, it's impossible. And archaeologists have to understand that. So, you know, there is a certain amount of loss, but there's also a certain amount you benefit. And of course, you all know that in archaeology, some of the knowledge we have now has been transformed since 1990 because we've been able to not only excavate huge areas and access incredible datasets as a consequence of this, that has meant our understanding of the past has skyrocketed and expanded massively. There's more could be done with that, in terms of synthesising data, but it still has achieved that. And in addition, I would say the other sort of big benefit of that is that it has created - again, it's not perfect, but a sustainable industry. And, we now - so what it means is, rather than having this huge problem that we had in the past, where you'd only need one or two people to retire or die, and you'd lose such a quantity of knowledge, skill, experience, that you could never replace. And now, we've got a sustainable pipeline of career archaeologists, who are going through the system, who can pass skills on to the next generation, and so on. So, we're getting, you know, improvements in methodology, we're getting much greater cascade of knowledge, again, it's not perfect, and there's more work can be done. But there's increasingly, particularly I would say over the last 15 years, there's been



a massive increase as well in sort of community archaeology, and opportunities for members of the public, schools etc

13:13 I: Mmhm

R2: to get involved in archaeological work. Both, kind of community heritage lottery funded project, but also, big community jobs.

(...)

13:36 R2: Ok, yeah, so, so all I'm saying is overall I think that with this whole concept of this critical theory thing is to me, I don't think there's any antithetical thing at all. For me, they're mutually supportive, and should be so. The question is, is ensuring that that is the case most of the time. And it's balancers, and at risk of going on and droning on too long, with us, we're very clear about our approach to archaeology, and it's up there

I: Mmhm

14:11 R2: So you can see our mission, which is basically investigating archaeological remains, and this is the critical bit, to create value, inspiration and historical knowledge, for clients and society. So, the key thing there is that there's - it's not just identifying what we're about and what we're trying to do, but also about who the stakeholders are. So for us, the clients are one stakeholder group, and there's many stakeholders that then sit around the clients. So you've got shareholders in some cases, you might have you know the employees of that company, you've got their families, you've got a whole series of stakeholders around there. You've then got society. Again, that breaks down. You've got local communities who may be feeling the impact of developments. You've got wider society, you've got, so say, local schools, you might have people in that region, people in that county, people in that country, and so on. So that just expands out and out and out as well. Another important stakeholder group, which is also part of our vision mission culture, and the archaeologists I think sometimes either overlook or forget, is actually themselves, and in our case it's our company. So [Company] is our kind of third key stakeholder. So in other words we have to create value, inspire, and all the rest of it, for our own people, who work here. They need to be motivated, they need to believe in what they do, they need to you know, be focused on, you know, furthering themselves, so that they can do the best they can within the role that they're undertaking, and so on. You know, they need to be passionate about what they do, in order to inspire and so on and so forth. They need to have a stable work-life balance, and so on and so on.

15:59 I: Mm

R2: So the bottom line, as we see it, is this golden triangle of stakeholders. So there's our own employees, the company, there is our clients, and there is society, around which are many other satellite stakeholders, but they're key, and we call it the Golden Triangle. And for me, if we as archaeologists are delivering against those stakeholders, then this shouldn't be any --, and I suppose the other stakeholder in a sense is archaeology itself.

I: Mmhm

16:31 R2: It's, you know, the physical remains of the past. And if we're delivering against all of those, then, to me, there shouldn't be any conflict with theoretical approaches that might you know elevate physical remains of the past above all other needs and necessities.

I: Mm

R2: To me, if you privilege physical remains of the past, that is to me that's very naive and morally probably wrong, because there's also people in the present, and they have to be looked after, and it's the old thing. If you say to someone, "Right, you've got, you know, a billion pounds of you know tax money, how much goes to the NHS, how much goes to education, how much goes to the armed forces, and how much goes into archaeology?"

I: Mm

17:22 R2: There's your priorities. Why should the physical remains of the past be elevated? There's other very, very deserving and morally - arguably morally much more important things for resource and protection to be bestowed on than archaeology. That said, like anything, and this is coming back to what I said about planning: so what it comes down to, for me, is a question of balance and it's about balancing and compromise, and, you know, as I say, that planning system is not perfect, but it's one of the most developed planning systems in the world. Many people argue it's over regulated, and it probably is, but, you know, in terms of the levels of protection archaeology has in the UK, it's - there's probably no other country on planet earth that has really the same level of protection currently, so.

18:13 I: Mm. So,

R2: Sorry, I've droned on a bit there for you.

I: (laugh) That's great, it's all very relevant, so

R2: Was that, was that relevant to what you're aiming for there

I: Yeah, yeah, so, um. Part of what I'm looking at is kind of the impact that different sort of academic idea have had on practice, so you mentioned that, you know, community archaeology's got more popular, and apart from you know the kind of - PPG - 15? 16?

R2: 16, yeah.

18:42 I: the polluter pays, yeah, yeah, what would you say are the kind of, the other ways that you've seen the sector really change over the course of your career?

R2: Well, I first started digging in '89, so that was just before PPG15, 16, so that was if you like when it was effectively the public purse paid and it was a very small purse and, you know, very fragmented and very patchy. So, the introduction of PPG 16, primarily,

I: Mm

19:10 R2: But 15 for buildings was pivotal. And that has been probably the biggest game changer, and overall, you know, a very, very positive development. Obviously that's then gone through different iterations in time up to the present, so it became an Advice Note and then and progressed, and so on, I think, you know, and then variously became the NPPF which is, you know, where it's situated now. So it's gone through iterations but it gets better and better all the time, the protection basically gets stronger, and, the purpose of it and everything else better articulated.

I: Mm

19:51 R2: Whether that's coming from academia, I really don't think so

I: Yeah

R2: I think that's absolutely practical planning and politics, where that's come from, you know, and you know, probably the biggest agent for change in that regard, is Historic England, which is of course another Thatcher thing, because it used to be the Ministry of Works, and then she (pause) well, it was situated within the Ministry of Works and of course that all got changed and it became- and she named it as Historic - as English Heritage. And that's where it came from. But Historic England, arms-length government quango, has probably been the biggest agent for the (pause) evolution of PPG 16 into what is now the - you know, into its current form, situated within the NPPF. That said, a lot of, you know, it was all out for consultation, a lot of people across the archaeology sector contributed, so you know, the professional sector people like myself, the regulators so your local planning authority archaeologists, Historic England themselves, and then of course some people in academia. If anything, the problem I would say

there is that academia tends not to involve itself very much in these kind of things. It's open to them just as it's open to everyone else. And I think that's partly because that generally speaking there isn't a particularly developed understanding within academia, and academia, tragically, sits within a bit of a bubble, and I think archaeology, as with many subject areas, has become more isolated from its wider industry that it was particularly when I went to university, which is a very sad state of affairs. So I think that could be one reason. Ok, that's the planning side. You mentioned community archaeology. Again, very interesting that, there's always been a huge thirst for archaeology, in, certainly in Britain, and again, world leader in this, and you only need to look at all our learned societies. You know, there's all those which are regional, there's the national ones, you know, you take, for instance, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, that's over 250 years old, the Society of Antiquaries of London is getting on for 300 years old. You know, the Derbyshire one, here, is over 100 years old. The Yorkshire one, is, a bit younger I think, that's actually about 90, or might be getting on for 100. But you know, the usually, many of these learned organisations are, you know, 100 or 100s of years old. And that just shows a continuity of knowledge, of interest, and the commitment to publishing. So, you know, British archaeology has a lot to shout about, about what it's done, over the years. So there's always been this thirst, and of course, with television, that has massively increased as well, I think there's many factors that go into this. The appalling state of affairs at the moment, and has been the case for over 25 years, you know, probably more like 30 years, of the teaching of history in the English curriculum, has meant that many many people grow up with a (pause) well, very limited knowledge of their own history, a very fragmented knowledge, and often a false knowledge, because so much of the teaching is politicised as well. That, there's a real kind of - it leaves this vacuum in people. And what I tend to find is there's so many people, you know, up to the ages of about 40, 45, and of course older people are interested in the past, very much, because they've got more time on their hands and they want to know where they're going, in the end.

I: (laughs)

23:54 R2: So, but children ask exactly the same questions, so there's always an interest, at both ends of the spectrum, and in the middle people work have kids have families and they've got other things to think about. But the thing is what I find generationally is that because of this kind of very very poor state of affairs in the teaching of history, people go to television primarily to quench that thirst, for who they are and where do they come from and what's interesting and mysterious about the world, these wonderful stories that archaeologists have got to tell, and debates to engage people in, and so on. And, so there's this incredible thirst out there, and

we've seen the explosion in television for archaeology, history, and all the rest of it, which is, you know fantastic. Obviously, that comes with very variable quality, and everything else. But alongside that has then grown this realisation with a lot of people that they can actually join in and participate. When the Heritage Lottery Fund originally came along, they originally wouldn't fund archaeological work at all, so originally, they'd funded things like, you know, new museums, museum displays, this kind of things.

25:06 I: Why was that? Is it because they didn't think archaeology was kind of outreach in the same way, or?

R: No, what it was, their view was, English Heritage exists, they should fund that kind of thing.

I: Right, yeah.

25:15 R: But the trouble was, that is not - Historic England, what used to be English heritage, has no statutory requirement or responsibility to fund that kind of thing, and so there was a misunderstanding at the root of that, which was they thought oh, they see this English heritage flag waving on properties everywhere, and they thought, well that's what English Heritage does, and it's got a budget. But English Heritage's budget for commissioned work is absolutely miniscule, and they don't fund volunteer work, they never have, it's not their statutory responsibility at all. Their responsibility is very specifically for designated monuments. So, I banged on the door very hard with the Heritage Lottery Fund, and so, basically, secured the first ever lottery funded archaeological community dig, which was the excavations at Howick. And they took place - the original fieldwork I did there was in 1999, but the lottery funded the big element of that project took place in 2003, and that was when it opened - started to open the floodgates. So following that, bit by bit, the doors were prised open. And then, you know - the other problem the Heritage Lottery Fund had was, at that point that was funded through the north-east regional segment of the heritage lottery fund, and at the time, you know, if you went down to Yorkshire, or the East Midlands, no, we're not funding it, we're not touching it with a bargepole. So it took a bit of time for different regions to bring in a more consistent approach. And it probably took about - at least 5 years, at least. And then they adopted a national policy and they said yes, we will fund community archaeology, because they realised how successful it was. And Howick was seen as an absolute sort of, you know, poster project of Heritage Lottery Fund's fame. Because the value they got in terms of community interest, participation, education, dissemination, all the big kind of objectives that the Heritage Lottery Fund is looking for were met, and some, by that project. So, it was a great advert for archaeology, great advert for the Lottery Fund, what it can deliver. And then that, ultimately, it changed the game. And,

and as I say, within about 5 years, they'd adopted a national policy, and then every region started funding community archaeology projects. And now they are funded everywhere, they're ubiquitous, and there's lots and lots of them. And that's been a massive success for Britain. Again, there's nowhere else in the world where this kind of circumstance exists, where there is, effectively, a national pot, distributed at a regional scale, that funds, you know, bottom-up, grass-roots, archaeology, with the purpose not always of simply you know, discovering new things, and that kind of thing, but rather with enthusing, inspiring new generations of people, bringing communities together, and archaeology's a wonderful vehicle to do this with. So, to me, that's been another kind of big revolution, change, in British archaeology, because, you know, there's always been this very very strong groundswell of community, if you like, interest and support in archaeology, that goes back 100s of years, but the scale at which that is now operating, and if you like the entry points, are vastly better than they ever were. When I was a child there was no opportunity whatsoever to do archaeology, I didn't really know people even did it in Britain. And now, you know, there's a myriad of clubs, societies, any which way, just about anyone, anywhere in Britain, can get involved in archaeological fieldwork

29:12 I: Mmhm

R2: And you know, going to lectures and listening and finding out about things, and so on. So the opportunities now are just, it's - you just can't compare it to where it was before. So again, massive, massive improvement there. There's still more can be done. And I think one - for me, one of the areas - I mean, I, some point, I can go on, if you like the future, or my ideas of where things could go, but to me that's been a big success story. But again, one tragedy there is the extent to which the universities have involved themselves in that. And as third sector organisations, they're ideally positioned to be in receipt of Lottery Fund, lottery funding money, and to deliver those kind of projects, and yet there's so few universities that actually do participate. You can count on one hand. And there's a massive trick being missed there. They're missing a funding stream, and they're missing one of the duties of most universities, which is to deliver benefits to their regional stakeholders, you know, to the regional economy, to the regional populace. Nearly all, most universities have that written into their you know, constitutions, what they're about and their purpose. And they're not doing it with the archaeology, by and large. Again, that's a problem that, with universities, why aren't they doing that.

30:42 I: Next thing is whether you feel that your own ideas about kind of what heritage is and how it should be managed have changed, because obviously, you know, you've always been very

involved with archaeology but whether things have kind of changed around you that have affected your ideas or whether you feel that you're kind of more driving some of those changes yourself?

31:03 R2: Yeah, I mean, well both, we have driven change, we do innovate a lot here, but I've certainly evolved as the industry's evolved. One thing that I always remember, though, I remember when I came out of university that I came out having done the degree, and I can't put my finger on any one event, or any one thing that was said to me, but with a very clear idea that developers are bad and archaeology is good. And therefore as an archaeologist I was a protector of the archaeology, and preservation of it, and you know, back in those days, this sense that, you know, minimal excavation, sort of keyhole excavation, was what you should do, and that was in some way good. developers were bad, on many levels, you know, they were destroying the archaeology, they were dirty capitalists, and all this kind of stuff.

I: (laughs)

31:58 R2: And that was very much the narrative that was kind of drilled into people at university. And as I say, I can't put my finger on one event or one statement that was made or anything, but it was so strong, it wasn't just a kind of subliminal thing

I: Yeah

R2: This was absolutely in your face and, (pause) so everybody came out almost to a man, you know, to a woman, with that kind of mindset. Whether they believed it is another kettle of fish, but that mindset was definitely there. And I interview a lot of people, so you know, I deal with the if you like what universities spit out, right up to the very present day, and you know I probably interview 100 people a year, so I see a lot

I: Yeah

32:46 R2: From all the universities across Britain that do archaeology. And I've got to say that that same narrative does not seem to have changed in the last 40 years, whatever it is, 30 years. Which I find very worrying, because it's false, it's fundamentally false, and, you know, it's basically a sort of political engineering, and I don't think that a lot of lecturers are necessarily intending to do that, but I just think that the zeitgeist within most higher educational establishments, and the lack of understanding by lecturers of what really happens in the real world outside of universities, what actually really happens? And they don't know. And I think the problem is most lecturers - I mean, some, you know, the occasional one, the occasional one has, but the vast vast majority of the people teaching in higher education in archaeology have not

worked, as it were, in industry, so they don't really understand at all what happens. So they've got this kind of completely theoretical or conceptual view of development and what happens, and they've got it down to a kind of theoretical debate, that developing and impacting on archaeology is somehow wrong, and archaeology is good. And, and this simplistic kind of underlying dichotomy to me is self-perpetuating, it's fundamentally false, and it's so damaging to the archaeological journey of people doing a degree, and, and ultimately what this translates to, then, is the way that young professional archaeologists, and often it carries with them later in life, relate to all those constituencies that they're trying to serve

I: Mm

34:53 R2: or should be serving.

I: Because they've put the archaeology first and everything else second

R2: Yeah, and, well, the trouble is, they're approaching it with this false approach, that we are morally right and you are morally wrong. That's never a good way to treat a customer. It's, you know, and then of course what happens, archaeologists then wonder why, or some archaeologists then wonder why they have a bad reputation with some developers

I: Mmhm

(35:15) R2: And it's not surprising really, because if you're going to say to someone "I'm going to charge you, I want to take some money off you, and by the way, I think you're morally inferior and wrong"

I: "Everything you are doing...." yeah

R2: "and I am morally superior, but give me your money". How arrogant. And you know, I think this is where, for me what, you know, higher education really, really, needs to wake up. And it's not just in archaeology, it's in many things. So for me I look back, and I keep putting this idea out at the moment, to various universities, and I have done this on occasions for various universities, but there's so much more that can be done and it needs scaling up big time, is that: as somebody who has worked across pretty much the entirety of archaeology in Britain, from higher education, the regulation side, the consultancy side, the commercial fieldwork contracting side, you know, having published you know, the kind of whole publication dissemination, working with television, there's all - you know, I've worked with just about every angle, with English Heritage and so on, the Monument Protection Programme, scheduling ... I've seen it from all angles, and there's people like me who are very happy, and who are on record as



saying so, we'd love to go back into universities, we'd happily do lectures, particularly if it was part of a balanced programme, where say people being brought in from different parts of the professional world in archaeology to talk to students, to give them much more accurate insights into the reality of how it works, what goes on, the fantastic opportunities that's out there, and all the positives, as well as some of the negatives of the worlds that we inhabit and that we have to work in as professional archaeologists, so that basically universities don't have to struggle on their own, where you've got people who've got no experience of that outer world, rather than them effectively making it up and just rattling off stuff according to their misconceived conceptions about it, actually get in the real people, to tell of their real experiences.

I: Mmhm

(37:36) R2: and there's plenty of people who'll do this. So I, you know, I just feel that universities have missed a trick. And what I get met with, and I've had this many times, is universities will say "we are research institutions and our purpose is to give people a rounded education, it is not to provide a vocational training for a career".

I: I mean, if you're going to teach people archaeology that's a vocational training, isn't it, essentially?

(38:02) R2: Well, debate!

I: Yes

R2: So that is a typical response from universities because what, what it is is a deceit, and what it is is trying to get themselves off the hook, and of course, avoid being accountable. I was never in favour of tuition fees, I think it's an absolute disaster, and that's the other reason why I left higher education,

I: Right

38:23 R2: because I refused to participate in that system. It was a massive disaster that you know (pause) and Blair lied about that, he said in his election manifesto that he wouldn't bring in tuition fees, and he went and did exactly that. So the writing was on the wall and to get to where we've got to today, and I still am against tuition fees. But the one benefit that they have brought, and I think it is a good benefit in many ways, is that it has helped create a degree - not enough, but a degree, of accountability within universities

I: Mmhm

38:51 R2: where departments, and on occasions individuals, have to justify and be accountable for what they each, and if students realise that courses do not have good employment statistics at the end of them and so on, ultimately, some will go by the wayside, which is not a bad thing. And there's some departments of archaeology in Britain that need ripping out. There's over capacity in that at the moment, there's some shocking degrees being taught, we see this as employers and people who come through and people that we interview, but equally, there's some absolutely excellent courses and still very good high quality departments, they are not all equal by any, any chalk, and that's a reality again that the university sector has to face, and so, you know, dare I say it, but you know, the market actually requires some kind of influence over what universities do. And because universities themselves have become commercial organisations - which I don't agree with, but they have, then, at least pick up the good side of it, which is, be accountable to your stakeholders, which is your paying students who are getting in disastrous levels of debt for what are on many occasions very poor quality degree programmes. And they quite legitimately have a reason to expect that yes they should get a broad universal, as in universities, education, that will equip them to research and have depth and breadth of knowledge about their particular subject area, but at the same time, equip them with the options to take if they so wish to prepare themselves for employment in that area.

I: Mhm

40:40 R2: And to me, again, I don't see that as a mutually exclusive situation, I see that as a virtuous compatibility, and those universities that are switched on to that are offering those better courses

I: Yep

40:54 R2: with those options so there's, for me, just coming back to your original point, you said about you know what had been the big changes

I: Yes

R2: You know, mentioned community archaeology. The other one, for me, is that, I would say there's been an increasing divergence, and isolation of academic archaeology from the rest of the archaeological world, which is a bad thing, in my view, and that needs to be brought back in. And I'm not quite sure of the answers, I can give suggestions, but for me, that's been another development of the last 30 years, that there has been a much greater divergence, so what people are doing in universities, and the kind of topics, I mean, you only need to look at the PhD

topics, and how irrelevant so many PhDs are to what is really happening outside of the higher educational sector.

I: Mmhm

R2: And it's really interesting, if you go to the different conferences, you know you can go to a sort of academic conference on a particular topic and then you can go to one, say, a kind of professional archaeology type conference, the atmosphere, the topics, the level of intellectual debate and everything, is completely different, and it saddens me to say that some of the best research happening in the UK in archaeology at the moment is not happening in higher education. There's still some good stuff happening in higher education, it usually tends to be very specialist stuff and often science based, but a lot of the big research in archaeology is not happening in universities. (pause) And the trouble is universities then don't engage beyond themselves to become part of that wider research, which they very well could, because they can definitely bring a lot to the table, and add value, but again, there's many impediments, and part of that is attitude, part of it is still a bit of lingering sort of arrogance. A lot of students, we find, when we interview, them, they still have this notion in their head that the kind of, the absolute pinnacle of an archaeological career is to stay in academia and to become a lecturer, something like that. And I would say, as someone who has been a lecturer, I would say it's absolutely not now. I think it may have been a long time ago when there just simply weren't other options, it was the only - you know, there was very few other options you could go down. Now, there's many other much more influential much more dynamic exciting and including research-based roles you can have in other parts of the wider archaeological industry. So I think that divergence has been another one of the key changes over the last 30 years.

43:26 I: Yeah. Right, thank you. And to kind of go back to something you mentioned before, you said that when the NPPF was being developed, you felt like a lot of archaeological practitioners got involved in that and kind of responded to the consultation and helped develop that. And one of the things I'm trying to look at is sort of who gets to really feed into the sort of development of new policy or legislation or whatever, obviously legislation is a much slower process

43:51 R2: Oh, that is a very interesting question, because I can actually tell you exactly who it is because it's the same old faces, and there's a problem with this, because again the kind of the over (pause) what's the word, the overly influential opinions of certain key individuals. So, Chartered Institute for Archaeologists, they're a key player in that (...) Then the CBA likes to involve itself in this kind of thing, latterly. I'm not sure that it's necessarily (pause) one of the strengths of what they should be doing as a charity, as a national charity, but they've gone into

overdrive, again, the last sort of 15 years or so, with, sort of, representation and (pause) contributing to this (...) You've then of course obviously got Historic England, who is a statutory adviser, and it's usually their Heads of Planning, (...). Then, you've got one or two of the big societies, so Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle will often respond, and the Royal Archaeological Institute, (pause) and effectively that'll be, you know, from their chair or the secretary of the of council. You've then got ALGAO, the Association of Local Government Archaeologists, and they've become increasingly militant over the years, very uncompromising (...). And, over and above that, you've then got FAME, the Federation of Archaeological Managers, and that represents people like me. It doesn't have a particularly loud voice, it could do an awful lot more. The problem that we have in my sort of area is a lot of people just don't have the time, and people just cannot commit it. So, that's a problem. And FAME could and should do an awful lot more. And then over and above that, you've then got one or two academics, may contribute on their, you know, as themselves, or usually they will - or they will embed themselves in one of those other organisations, so they will support a contribution from the Society of Antiquaries, or something like that. And then that's normally the way a lot of academics would make representation, other than if they did it as an individual person

I: Mmhm

47:06 R2: which anyone can do, of course, with these, you know, with the NPPF, anybody in the country could respond to that consultation. But those people, and those named people, are the same faces, the same people, and they are involved in writing the text, I mean, ultimately it was (pause) you know, what was then DCLG, that produced the NPPF, but, so obviously you've got the civil servants who ultimately author and finalise the text, but an awful lot of that text was, you know, ghostwritten if you like, and tweaked by [representatives of CiFA and the CBA], and people like that. These are the people who are doing it. The accountability for that in British archaeology is not really known.

47:55 I: Does sound like a very opaque process to me

R2: And it is a little bit opaque, you know. (...) And it's quite clear that ALGAO as a collective has a very extreme position on [certain forms of development], very uncompromising, CiFA, it's more, a bit more moderate, but ultimately uncompromising, to the point that now Historic England will be issuing the guidance document themselves because they can't get them to agree it. So what it's effectively done, their kind of militancy has ended up splitting the archaeology world. That's also a big, significant new change that's coming, because in the past archaeologists have always kind of clubbed together, even when they might have known people been a bit out

of order, and so on. But finally, people are realising they've had enough. And this, in this sense to me, is how the years and years of (pause) kind of misplaced understanding that people get shot out of university with, where it's finally ended up, that it's finally now splitting the archaeology world, because people who deal with it and practice with it day to day and talk to business, talk to other stakeholders, who are absolutely legitimate stake holders in the process

I: Mmhm

50:06 R2: Not only often just because they're paying for it, but because they own the assets, they own the heritage assets themselves, and they also care for them. And there's no, you know, god-given way that archaeologists have that what they say about an archaeological asset and how it should be dealt with, is necessarily better than, say, a person who owns it, and a person who might be developing that site. They care for it and often have an interest in it but from a slightly different perspective. It doesn't make it wrong. And people who deal with that on a day-to-day basis, and then deal with this kind of intellectually-based, what I was say is a kind of false narrative, of the you know primacy of archaeological importance, you know, at all costs, at all times, in relation to everything else,

I: Mm

50:50 R2: just shows that kind of mismatch between that kind of conceptual understanding, and then reality, and the need for balance and compromise, you know, with all the different interests in life, you know, of which archaeology is one component. You've got ecological concerns, you've got social concerns, educational needs, health needs, there's a myriad of things, and archaeology needs to understand it's just part of a wider set of interests that everybody on a daily basis deals with, you know?

(...)

51:49 R2: But as I say, that to me is a weathervane for how cracks are appearing now within the broader archaeological industry, because people are realising that, hang on, some people are going too far, and we just need some balance, so that's going to get interesting.

I: Is there a, there a kind of people who are prioritising the potential future research use of archaeological site, over the way that they can be managed in the present to bring wider benefits?

R2: What's the question there, what,

52:26 I: So, these kind of, these very militant archaeologists who are pushing the archaeology first in their sort of approach to things,

R2: Or think they are

I: Yeah, the universities who are kind of producing those people see, you know, see the archaeology and they see the potential it has for future research when there's new scientific techniques and new ways that that could be sort of understood, so they want to preserve that in case someone comes back and says "ah, I can use that for research in future"

R2: But that would be doing it all over again then, wouldn't it

I: Yeah, exactly

52:58 R2: because then you're faced with the same argument at that point. So it (pause) you know, the argument there it's like having the spaceship, isn't it? So it's like, you don't know what it is, but it's shiny, so you just go up and polish it,

I: (laughs) yeah,

53:11 R2: It's like, what's the point of that, you don't understand it, you don't know why you're polishing it, and all the rest of it. You know, if we are going to preserve archaeology, it has to be valued, and how can we possibly value it if we don't have any sense of understanding it

I: Mm

53:24 R2: You know, the only way you could justify that is on purely aesthetic grounds, and say "this is mysterious and attractive, and we just want to keep it. We know nothing about it, but we just want to keep it".

I: Yeah

53:35 R2: Polish the spaceship. You know, but the thing is, people's thirst is much greater than that and the human need is much greater than that, and so there's an equally kind of if you like intellectually moral argument you can make I think, which is, we should continually search to understand. And we should continually search to understand ourselves, who we are, where we come from, and our place in the world. It's an ever, never-ending, everlasting part of the human condition. And I don't think there's anything wrong with that. Should we needlessly destroy archaeology? No. Should we needlessly (pause) do huge levels of interventions for purely research purposes? Well (pause) you know, the kind of generic answer would be probably not, but there's going to be those circumstances where in certain cases, justification can be made for

that. One of the problems with the old approach, because research used to be a dirty word at English Heritage. If you ever put the word 'research' into a funding application for English Heritage back in the 90s, it would be instantly dismissed. You got to the 2000s, if you didn't put research in, it would be dismissed.

I: Yes

54:54 R2: Again, and that all came down to ultimately the kind of (pause) approach of one man, that was Geoff Wainwright, who used to run English Heritage in the archaeology section, and that was his particular kind of approach. It was also I think partly to do with justifying government resourcing, because that as well was a bit of a dirty word in government at that time, it was like, you know, your statutory responsibility is to protect, not research, so you know, hence why get the word out. So it was kind of like an undercover thing. Everyone knew you were doing research, but I was not you just weren't allowed to use the R-word.

I: Mm

55:30 R2: When people grew up and realised actually, research is good, because we need that to inform not just knowledge, but you need that to inform appropriate management of archaeology going forward, then suddenly it was research is back in, and you could call it by its true name. So there's been a bit of growing up, and this is partly because archaeology is an immature profession, and we're still a relatively young profession, finding our feet. So, on that kind of research level, I think it's more open now and transparent. Should we be leaving it all for future generations? Well, it's obviously important to leave some, it's obviously important that we do preserve archaeology and examples of good types of archaeology, of good clusters, of ones which have particularly intact setting, ones that you know have the ability to shed a lot of light on that particular monument type or that period or whatever it is, and so forth, and of course these are ultimately the criteria for scheduling, that English Heritage works to.

I: Mmhm

R2: So we have that in place, and you know, they schedule monuments, and they continue to schedule monuments, so there is very large numbers of sites being statutorily protected. And that protection is extremely high level, you know, the strongest protection anything has in archaeology is through scheduling. You know, it's stronger than listing, it is an Act of Parliament. And (pause) so, it's a very, very strong level of protection. And you know, we have an effective system with that. The question over and above that, though, is then other kind of remains, which are still important, you know of varying degrees, of how much of that can be lost. And

again, we have a very robust planning system, it's open to scrutiny, and ultimately, the people who decide planning applications are not people in darkened rooms, it's actually the planning committee, and they are councillors, and they are elected, so if people don't like planning decisions, don't vote for that councillor again, you know?

I: Mmhm

57:55 R2: That's what democracy is about. So we, you know, our planning system and the decisions made on impact to archaeology are ultimately linked to our democracy. That's a good thing in my view. So, I think yes, in order to build our schools and hospitals and houses and everything else that we need as a society to function, we will have to destroy archaeological sites, there's no questions about that. The questions then becomes having a system that is transparent, democratic, and tries to inject the best that it can balance into the system, so that developments can be modified in some cases, so that archaeology is protected and preserved, and in other cases there's no choices, because there's other interest and constraints, which means it just has to be destroyed, in which cases full excavation or strip map and sample or whatever the appropriate recording technique is, and so forth. And what the NPPF says, which is a welcome improvement on what went before, is that there has to be delivery of public knowledge

I: Mmhm

59:16 R2: and the word 'enjoyment' as well is in there at last. And this is something I've often banged on about which is that we shouldn't be afraid of saying that people should get enjoyment from the past. That is legitimate and it is reasonable. And so I would say the (pause) so we have this system, that as I say isn't perfect, no system ever will be perfect, but in the round it does generally speaking work quite well. And it can be improved, of course it can. What would I say are the big improvements that could be made with it? I (pause) think we do need a bit more resource in local planning authorities for planning archaeologists to get them more competent and able and knowledge able so they understand their area better and they can make better decisions. They needs to be cultural change with local planning authority archaeologists to be much more engaging and having an attitude more of negotiation rather than trying to impose their own personal approaches, and there needs to be much greater consistency across local planning authorities. I mean, you know, we still even now today, encounter these absurd situations where, for instance, there was a quarry down in Bedfordshire, where it straddles two planning authorities,



I: Mmhm

1:00:39 R2: One's Bedfordshire Borough, one's Bedfordshire County. And it's all the same archaeology, the same fields on the same terraces, with the same soil, everything the same, but the quarry unites a parcel of land that straddles the authority boundary. And on one side we have one archaeological condition for mitigation, and on one side we have a different one.

I: Right.

R2: And we asked for consistency, we know exactly what we wanted, we went in with a game plan, we are probably the leading archaeological unit with relation to quarrying in the UK. We're very well-informed, we've been doing it for years and years and years, we know exactly what we're doing. And on one side, we found good agreement with the planning authority, they're very happy with it, and it's much more - you know, it's a very robust piece of mitigation. No, on the other, we disagree, and that just shows how absurd it is, and how we don't get consistency. So there's a big issue over consistency. Another way it can be improved is by, and this is across the entire archaeological sector, is that archaeologists in general, whether it's university archaeologists, whether it's you know, commercial archaeologists like ourselves, whether it's the planning authority archaeologists or Historic England even, we all need to get a lot better at having absolute clarity on what we will deliver to the public, in all its various forms and its various sub-stakeholder groups, with every archaeological project that we do, because the legitimacy of our roles as archaeologists rest on us delivering value and benefit to society.

I: Mm

1:02:36 R2: And if we do not do that effectively, a) we are failing ourselves and letting society down, and b) other people will fill that gap, and archaeologists are very quick to criticise people who simplify things, and people who do popular television and write popular books, and you know, kind of, your mystery writers, the kind of Graham Hancocks of this world, and all that. And you know, it's very easy to kind of throw stones at these kind of people, but the thing is, they're actually writing what the public wants. They're writing about subjects the public wants to hear about. They're tackling big topics, they're not just talking about arcane specialist interests, they're actually trying to tackle the big questions of humanity, quite often. They've got the courage to do so. And other archaeologists need that courage, and they've got to get over their sense of ultra-critique, which abounds in archaeology, so people are too scared to actually publish and say things because they're terrified of being shot down in flames, you know, by particular academic interest groups, or whoever. Because otherwise the vacuum will be filled by

the popular writers, who often, some of them are very good, but some of them, you know, their fact-checking is (pause) leaves something to be desired and they make a lot of clangers, but the trouble is the average reader will not know that, so they get away with a lot of things, and they end up writing pretty spurious history and archaeology. But then that said, there's a lot of that goes on in academic archaeology as well, which is worse in a sense because that's often deliberate. So you know, but all I'm saying is, is there's no point archaeologists complaining about what is given to the public until they get off their own arses and start providing, you know, popular accessible narratives about big questions that people can understand, nice and clearly, and that, you know, will force them to synthesise, and therefore put their views out there and put their heads above the battlements. So I still think we've got a lot of work to do, as an entire industry, to do that, to better engage with the public, and whether that's through, because these days there are so many ways, whether it's through the written word, you know, social media, television, audio stuff, you know, radio's a fantastic medium for delivering on archaeology, completely underused. There's so many things, and we just need to get better all round. And also, central to all of this, good on the work of (pause) I'm just trying to remember his name, the chap who used to be at the CBA, was their education officer, Don Henson, he did a lot of work campaigning to get the national history curriculum amended,

I: Mm

1:05:19 R2: In the national curriculum, and of course, the big win that we got was when Stone Age to Iron Age was included in Key Stage 2. But the trouble is, Key Stage 2, they're still too young. So it's all stuff that goes over their head. And history is still not taught in chronological order. Again, there's all sorts of intellectual acrobatics deployed by the (pause) you know, sort of intellectual academic pedagogy about how that should be done, that to justify this kind of mismatched thematic learning. It's absolute rubbish. You know, I've been in education and in academia for years, but particularly as people are growing up, they need that chronological ordering to get a framework for the past. And once they've got a framework, then they can fit into that thematic studies, discussion of ideas through time, and so on and so forth, and you can slice it and dice it whichever way you want. But you cannot do that until people have a full sequential understanding of the chronological sequence of history, and that is still fundamentally missing. So for me, one of the big things that got to happen, is we still need at a fundamental level, is an overhaul of the teaching of history in British schools, so that it becomes much more clear, and so forth. And starting with the earliest humanity, so you can start with, you know DNA studies and how that revolutionised our understanding of homosapien, sapien, neanderthal, denisovans and all the rest, how we've come to be who we are, all the way through to Britain

becoming an island, and we've become separated from Europe, and the first kind of peri-glacial hunters and all the rest of it coming back into Britain, all the way through to the modern era. And then around that, you can then hang, you know, studies of Nazism, studies of Communism, and all the great evils of the 20th century, and so on. So, that would be one, engaging with the public another, we need the universities to come back from this divergence and get involved, you know, come back, we like you!

I: (laughs) Mostly

1:07:30 R2: Yeah, be friends with us. But basically, but that's the whole point, just stop being something different, you know. And you know, we do a lot of work with universities.

I: Mm

1:07:42 R2: [Company], we do a huge amount of work. We're, I mean just currently, I mean, we helped deliver the training for [University A] students last year, at our expense, we have got 2 PhDs that we're supporting at the moment, and very different subject areas, and they're in practical applications, you know, but within a commercial environment

I: Mmhm

1:08:10 R2: So exactly those kind of partnerships that really need to be worked on. But one of those interestingly is through a geography department, you know, why not archaeology? And we are doing collaborative research projects, we're doing one with an international team of universities, looking at agricultural terraces, so we're very very involved with universities, there's another one, [University B] PhD, oh yeah that's another one, I've forgotten about that

I: (laughs)

1:08:37 R2: that's Neolithic pottery, so you know, we're very engaged, and we want to be, and you know, we can add value to what they're doing, because we often have the chance to get at big datasets, that universities could never dream of, you know, open up areas of land, you know, I mean, we're going to do one site this year that's going to be about 20 hectares of land

I: Mm

R2: So imagine 40 football pitches

I: Yeah

R2: That's just one site

I: Yeah, and that's

1:08:59 R2: You know, but equally, universities have access to highly developed, quite often analytical techniques, and also people who have got time, and that's their things that we don't have.

I: Mmhm

R2: So there's a such an opportunity to add value to all this, to get mutual synergies out of it and to get mutual benefit, aimed at delivering for all the necessary stakeholders, which is a range of people. It's, you know, the public, the organisations themselves, if it involves commercial data, the client, the people who basically paid for it, the landowner, they've got to benefit. It's the people who are involved themselves, so, you know, career development, training for students and postgrads and so on, developing the profession, the list goes on and on. But what we find is, so often, universities are so blinkered they only think in terms of self-benefit. And usually what that amounts to is having their name on published papers,

I: Mm

1:10:12 R2: and then they forget to involve other people, and all the other people who contributed. We had a project by a postdoc from one university, who wrote a paper on looking at residues on ceramic carinated bowl pottery, and the agreement always was at the beginning, you know, we'll let you look at our assemblage, that we dug out of the ground, that we radiocarbon-dated and we documented

I: Yeah

1:10:34 R2: and analysed, and that's why I can even tell you it's carinated bowl and everything else,

I: Mmhm

1:10:38 R2: But obviously, when you do your nice little lipids, you know, that's everyone gets on it, and plus I want to read it and check it as well. Never got to check it, got published, our name never featured, university win win win, only thought about themselves, it's just beyond belief, this is like children in the playpen, they just don't understand, you need to play nicely, which is if you want stuff from other people, it's called sharing. and you know, academics, and archaeology in particular is not good at this. And this again is part, just understand the rules of the game, that if the universities want to engage beyond themselves, they have to understand that it's a shared process, and that the benefits is not all just about them. You know, because that creates a win-

lose environment. They win, everyone else gets nothing. We're in the business, and this is one of the things that we as commercial archaeologists can bring to the table, we're in the business of creating win-wins, because if we don't we'd be out of business, you know. When we do business we have to make sure the client wins and we win. If we don't win, we'll go out of business. If the client doesn't win, we'll never get work with them again.

I: Yeah

1:11:48 R2: And our reputation's shot. So, good business, good deals, good academia, good everything, it's about making sure everybody wins. So as I say, we go larger than that, because we've got, as I say, our particular golden triangle, because it also includes society. And you know we hear a lot of lip service from archaeologists talking about public good and public benefit, and yet, and worse still wagging their finger at people like ourselves, saying what we should be doing, and these people don't do it themselves. And also, they've got no idea what we do. And it's staggering, you know, the hypocrisy is just mind-bending. and all it tends to do is alienate higher education even more from this wider archaeological constituency. And I'm not saying this is ubiquitous, and I'm not saying it's all the time. there's a lot of very good people in higher education who see beyond all that and who do try. But I think institutionally there's problems. From the outside, what it appears to me is, you know, there's not much incentive for lecturers and for higher education members of staff to actually engage beyond their institution. And I think that's a big problem.

I: And a lot of the ways of getting academic impact, you know, in kind of in journals and in books and stuff, they're not accessible for a lot of people outside academia, you know

R2: No

I: They're really expensive, they're really dense, they're very, yeah

1:13:10 R2: They are expensive, and I think one of the problems is, because so much has gone digital, you know, the like, if we want to say, subscribe to Journal of Archaeological Science,

I: Mmhm

R2: that is a lot of money.

I: Yeah

1:13:21 R2: You know, it's a lot of money to do that.

I: And you have to have the time to sit down and read it and digest it as well

R2: Well, no, we can read, you know, we're fully capable of reading and all the rest of it

I: Oh yeah, but it's not necessarily top of your list of things to do

R2: No, we, right. (gestures to pile of papers) You know, academic papers, you know, we can read

I: Oh yeah yeah yeah, it's the

R2: We're very good at reading. We're very good at reading quickly, and, you know, getting data that we need. We read. It's the accessibility to it.

I: Right

R2: So, you know, again, what will it cost for universities to turn round to archaeological units and say "Right, we'll give you and your staff access to our library. In return, we would like X Y and Z, you know, come in and give us 5 lectures a year on this"

I: Yeah

1:14:02 R2: everybody wins, you know. It's so easy to do all this if people want to do it. So, to me, it's (pause) you know, but I think there's institutional barriers, because as I say, there's usually not many incentives for higher education people to get involved beyond what they see as their "safe little world". They're worried because I often find that because they'll be out of their depth, they're dealing with a world they don't know, so, and they're used to usually being in a very dominant position, you know as a lecturer you control all the shots in your little world. If you step out of it you no long control all the shots, and, you know, yes, you own a certain angle, or you can contribute a certain angle, but there's a much bigger picture out there, of which you will just be a novice

I: Mm

1:14:54 R2: And a lot of academics find that too much to stomach, so therefore they just don't bother engaging. So, I think there might be a need for people like myself and people in our game to be more friendly and reassuring so that academics don't feel threatened or at a disadvantage or anything like that, so that they can engage in a trusting relationship with people like us, but that works both ways. I mean, that absolutely works both ways. (pause) I think as well (pause) you know, there's a cultural issue, that within higher education, I mean, this is across the piece in higher education, the culture within it needs positive change, and to understand that there's other just as legitimate voices out their as their own, and that it's good to talk. The, you know, building bridges from the institutions into communities, and when I say that, I don't just mean

social communities, but again, across the board, so building bridges into industry, into schools, into you know particular social networks, into charities, you know, into a whole range of other kind of like groupings. That should be written into the DNA of every single lecturer, because otherwise, it's what's the point of what you're doing? If you're not relevant, other than to your tiny little world of you know, micro-specialists in a particular subject area, who meet up every few years from around the world, what is the point of what you're doing? You know, for me, and that's not belittling it, I see the value in that, and still support it, but what I'm saying is they also need to understand that they've got to make linkages, and they've got a responsibility to get out there and make themselves relevant to the wider world. And that is a cultural problem within higher education in the Western world, across the board, so for me I think, you know, there's got to be a cultural shift

I: Mm

1:17:14 R2: You know, within higher education to do that. But equally there's got to be a willingness as well on the parties that they could, you know (pause) generate relationships with, they've got to be willing partners in the game as well.

I: Yeah

1:17:29 R2: But I think generally speaking people are quite open to that, usually. (pause) You know, but again there's, the other barrier of course is time, because so many academics are absolutely strangled by administration and the checkers checking the checkers checking the checkers checking the checkers who are checking them and so on and so on. And also, just feeling under the watchful eye of Big Brother that anything they say, do, relationships they make, could backfire on them because somebody's going to have a pop at them, because it's not in line with, you know, whatever the particular issue of the day is.

I: Mm

1:18:11 R2: You know, whether it's you know (pause) colonialism or whatever, they just (pause) you know, people are scared of, you know, where maybe some relationships could, or how they could be perceived. And that is a tragedy.

I: Mm

1:18:27 R2: Tragic. And I - so, yeah, I think there's got to be some sort of a cultural shift as well.

I: Thank you, yes.

R2: What - is it worth me saying, one other thing I would just say is, I don't know about what you see as the way archaeology is divided up, because see I think archaeology falls into kind of five broad areas, or five plus 1. And (pause) we're very clear about that here, that you've, the main areas are, you've got higher education, which kind of speaks for itself, it's pretty straightforward. You've then got what we call the commercial sector

I: Mmhm

1:19:00 R2: which is everything driven by planning, you know, all the archaeology that we're - or some of the archaeology that we're involved in. Then you've got what we'd call the regulators, so, you know, your Historic Englands, local authority archaeologists, etc. Then you've got what we'd call the kind of commissioned sector, which is just a broad church that we use for what we just basically call any kind of other public or third-sector funded work

I: Mm

1:19:25 R2: so, you know, your National Trusts of this world, sort of CBA charity stuff, Heritage Lottery Funded projects, all that kind of world. And then the fifth area, you know, something along the lines of kind of interpretation and outreach. So the entire public digestion of the past, so, you know, whether that's the Internet, whether it's television, books, museums,

I: Right

1:19:50 R2: That whole world, it's the public digestion of the past. And then kind of the bolt-on, the plus one, which you could argue is a kind of subset of that, but equally, and increasingly you could almost say it's a sixth area, is what I would call the heritage tourists industry, so, you know, whether that's going to, you know, going on a cruise up the Nile and going on a tour around Egypt, whether it's, you know, going on a trip to the Orkneys and going on coach tours all round everything, you know, for a week, or whatever.

I: Yeah

1:20:23 R2: But that kind of whole sort of archaeotourism type thing, which, you know, again that's real, that's very real, and it's growing. I would say that's how the entirety of what I would call the archaeological industry, you know, that sort of ecosystem is the entire industry that we all operate in. And the other things I would say then, is that, as that world has evolved over the last 30 years, clearly the biggest sector in that is the commercial archaeology, like by a country mile. I mean I say that, higher education's big, but if you actually looked at it, if you added up all the money that's paid to lecturers and stuff, I mean, that's probably not dissimilar, but, in terms



of the bulk of the work, you know, they reckon 90% of the fieldwork and that kind of thing, is done in that commercial environment. The big challenge that we face, as an industry, as a whole ecosystem, is that, as they've evolved, each and every one of those, has absolutely evolved in its own silo. And what archaeology in Britain - and this isn't just a British problem, it's all across the Western world - but what we need in Britain is a way of joining that all back up together, and for me that is the big challenge in terms of where the archaeology industry goes next, it's how do we rejoin the component parts, and create the true synergies. And if I look back over my career so far, the (pause) all the really big impacts, the big serious projects that we've done, and we've done quite a lot of ground-breaking things, have always been the ones where we've very deliberately, and it's always been us that's forced it as well, it's, because no-one else we've come across is doing it, but we took it upon ourselves to join the dots, and to integrate those different bits. So just as an example, if you took say that Hawick project that I mentioned 20 years ago. Ok, so we brought in the Lottery Fund. The project was centered in [University C], although I was running it and I was by that time I was running my own private practice and I wasn't a lecturer or anything. So (pause) there was a, a symbiosis between me as a commercial operator and the university. We brought in, I think there's probably 3 other universities got involved in that, various aspects, we brought in museums, we brought in television, we brought in (pause) let me see, a huge amount of community impact, I mean, you know, hundreds of people involved, hundreds of school kids, we used it for student training. There was (pause) I mean, there was so many elements I can't remember them all now, it's quite a long time ago but that's an example of where, I mean, we absolutely joined the dots across the piste, and we got a big result. A more recent example would be the project we did at [site], where I think it was 5 universities, full commercial unit driving it, which was ourselves, a big charity, the Wildlife Trust, there was (pause) we also got some funding in from the private sector UK Coal, and they put money in that helped us draw down a big Lottery Grant, that we helped the Wildlife Trust to get, because we're not eligible because we're commercial

I: Mm

1:23:47 R2: but we can certainly help make that happen. And that's a important role.

I: Mmhm

R2: That's, there's still a problem with the Lottery Fund about that, because everyone knows that the commercial units actually have to help write the bids because (pause) the bar is so high, to access those grants, that community groups simply can't do it.

I: Mm

R2: So they know the professional unit's having to do it for them, but they have to pretend they're not involved. Well, it's silly. You're better off just having that just transparent and open. Anyway, that's a discussion I've had with Lottery, and continue to have. They have relaxed that a little bit, but (pause) they need to go a lot further with that, because that would, it would actually help everyone, it would be a good move. But, but back to that project, so it involved them, again, massive community involvement, schools, public, whatever, BBC, Channel 4, History Channel, ITV, you know, whatever, loads of stuff. There was, yeah, all the various universities, there was charities, there was commercial, museums, there was several museums involved as well, and again there'll be more, if I put my mind to it, there's more than that. but my point being again, that that is how those silos were joined up, and it

I: Mmhm

R2: delivered the big one. And, you know, to me, if we want to grab those you know, the really big prizes out there in archaeology, we need more of this joined up working, and it means spreading the benefits, no one person, no one organisation within those kind of projects is the winner

I: Yeah

1:25:33 R2: it's all of them win. They've got to, otherwise it's, your project's not actually working properly.

I: Mm

R2: So, inculcating that sense of collegiate working, collaboration, you know, true collaboration, not just using words, but the real, everyone's got to be seen to get something out of it, true collaboration. And the willingness to collaborate and share, getting that cultural change across the piste in archaeology, to me is, as I say, the big challenge that we've got. And if we can do that, I just think, that in itself would begin to dissolve a lot of the problems that the various areas within archaeology face.

I: Yeah

1:26:14 R2: because, it will build up trust, people will realise how important it is to work with other people, you know, and so on and so forth. And I think it, that in itself would start to dissolve a lot of the barriers and some of the problems that we face. So it that helpful?

I: Yeah, absolutely, yeah. What I'm trying to do here is try to sort of highlight where those gaps in communication lie, and say "look, this is where we need the bridge", because, you know, a lot of people are talking about this and they're sort of saying, "oh, you know, we're completely detached from what's going on in other areas,"

R2: Yes

I: "And, you know, we don't know, it's very hard to access," but, it's almost like until you present the evidence, and people saying this, and, you know, say "here is the problem, this is where we need to fix it", it's very hard to tackle, I think, or even persuade people that it's there. We know it's there, but once you've, you know, got the (inaudible) that says look, it's there, it's right there, do something, that kind of makes it easier, because someone's already done the evidential stuff.

1:27:14 R2: Well, I mean, just a quick, a couple of quickfire points I'll mention

I: Mmhm

R2: on that then, for me, on the specifics of higher education I would say much greater involvement accessibility of people who are not in the university environment to be brought into it,

I: Yeah

1:27:30 R2: And the opportunity to contribute within degree programmes. (pause) The, I think, you know, an opening up the eyes of student to that big, much much bigger archaeological industry that's out there, and the only way I think that can be done is to get people in, because there just isn't the range of people within universities teaching who have got that experience

I: Mm

R2: And that's not a good or a bad thing, it's just simply, just the way it is.

I: Mm

1:28:01 R2: Another one, for me, is, you know, as I've mentioned about, you know, building synergistic relationships to deliver that, whether it be, for example, say, giving library access in return for lecturing contributions, I mean, that's just one idea. But I think that would be good because that, that's something universities have got to offer and that will cost them nothing, because they've already paid their subscriptions

I: Yeah

R2: So, all you're doing is simply giving access, so it's cost neutral for universities, but it's giving something to other symbiotic stakeholders, that is of real value to them.

I: Yeah

1:28:39 R2: Equally, they can give something of real value to the universities, which is their knowledge experience and everything else. (pause) it also helps develop the bridges to allow relationships developed for people getting employment, which is a good thing. You know, look at how lots of more established industries work, how, you know, your big engineering companies, they come into universities all the time, you know, and have student placements and all this kind of thing, and then they end up with a job in Siemens, or, you know, whatever. That's kind of right and proper, that's how it should be. Well, we do work placements, we do exactly the same, but not enough of it

I: Mm

R2: Because there's not that many universities want to do it, and they don't push it very hard with the students

I: Yeah

R2: But we're very very open to that, we've had some great success stories. There's a chap here, well, I mean, there's several, but one of them, [A], he did a BA and MA at [University A], and we employed him from the day he finished, he'd come and done work placements prior to that, and it was always arranged, the day you finish, you're starting here. He's now a project officer, his career is flying,

I: Mm

1:29:46 R2: you know, he's got a lot out of it, the university's got a great success story there, and that department, and so have we.

I: Yeah

R2: Everybody wins. That's how it should be, for me. The, another idea might be looking at how, depending on what skills a particular department's got, how they could assist with a, and this would be a postgraduate or even postdoc or both levels, with research in development, you know, within archaeological companies, in terms of looking at how, you know, certain methodologies and techniques could be developed to become more productive, more effective, and so forth, and whether new techniques could be applied to deliver a new kind of service, all these kind of things. So I think there's an R&D area that could - but with potential commercial

application, so that would potentially be explored much more robustly. Then (pause) you know, I think there's any amount of research, the only limit on that is imagination,

I: Mm

1:31:06 R2: that could be done, you know, collaboratively, whether it's through - because as I say, universities, by and large, have manpower and time. You know, they've got lots of students, lots of graduates, you know, units don't have that, but what they do have is data, and big jobs

I: Mmhm

1:31:22 R2: so, there's a natural marry-up there

I: Mmhm

R2: That's another one. And (pause) and I think then conferences, what I find too often is that a lot of conferences, you know, the vast majority of conferences are academic-led, in archaeology

I: Yeah

1:31:42 R2: the vast majority, because they've got the time, and also it's their business, you know, that's their way of measuring their own value, you know, I gave so many lectures last year, or they'd probably say papers, effectively it becomes, you know, a value measure. So there's an intrinsic incentive to have conferences and be seen, and to go there and strut your stuff. That doesn't exist in our world, there's no incentive for that reason, the incentive is different, the incentive is purely about, exchange of ideas, dissemination of knowledge. There's no other incentive. (pause) Now, so there's fewer of them. What we need are, I think, is there needs to be much better connectivity, and efforts made by universities, to attract non-higher education audience and participants to their conferences, to broaden out who is speaking and who is in the audience. They have the lecture theatres, you know, they're doing all the organisation, so if you have 50 people there or 100 it doesn't really matter, you know, so for me, that's a big thing that really could start to be addressed very quickly and relatively easily. And equally, people in commercial world need to do the same for the fewer conferences that they have, and to get people from academia. Too often still I think in archaeology, there's a kind of club thing goes on. You know, you have certain conferences and sessions, it's the same old faces, same old people, and basically what you're looking at is a particular friendship group who, you know, dominate proceedings, and it's quite rare these days to find big ticket conferences tackling big issues, where they've genuinely gone out to get a balance of lecturers, or balance of speakers, should I say, representing different - coming from different angles, different kind of

area of the profession, but also potentially slightly different views, and whatever else. And it could still be talking about very knowledge based subjects, like say Neolithic Britain or whatever, that's fine. But it equally could be methodological it could be, more, where's the industry going, where should we be going

I: Mm

1:34:13 R2: and all the rest of it. Doesn't matter. But there shouldn't be this assumption that just because it's about the Neolithic or it's a knowledge-based one, that everyone outside the universities won't have much to offer,

I: Yeah

1:34:23 R2: because it couldn't be further from the truth. And one of the best lectures, well, conferences I went to, I'm very choosy about the conferences I now go to, very choosy, because again there's too many and it's diluted it, but one of the best ones I've been to is one that the Royal Archaeological Institute organised, and, their plan at the moment is to organise their annual conference around a big topic, so they did one on Roman settlement, Roman rural settlement in Britain the other year, I think the year before they did one on castles, last year it was on the Neolithic in Britain, or Neolithic in northern Britain, and I participated in that as well. And it was good because there was people from academia, there was people like myself from the commercial world, there was people from museums, there was people from (pause) Historic England, and then like an independent researcher, like sort of consultant, and (pause) so it was a very wide mix of people, and so I would say the academics were probably only 3 or 4 out of about say 10 or 12 speakers

I: Mm

1:35:39 R2: But what a conference! The debate was lively, the perspectives were broad and different, the styles were different, and so the level of conversation and output was just far better than your typical kind of very academic type conference. It was a rammed packed audience, because it was an interesting big topic, and everybody got involved in the questions and the discussions and everything, and it took a society to do that, and, you know. And I went to another good one actually, just thinking about it, recently, that was more recent, just a few months ago, which was in the Society of Antiquaries of London, and it was the Society of Antiquaries that organised this one, and it was on the Paleolithic. And, (pause) but that I'd say there was about an even distribution between people working in commercial archaeology and academics, and it was fascinating, and fascinating to hear the different perspectives. And

because people in commercial, they are dealing with it, they're prospecting for Paleolithic sites, and it started off by an old hand academic saying "you can never find these things, it's just luck, blah blah blah", and of course it's not, and it was a ludicrous thing to say, because of course what he was really saying was, he didn't want to attribute basically, the respect of commercial people who have developed ways of finding this bloody stuff. And (pause) but what it did is, it exposed that kind of attitude, which is not a bad thing, because that's what conferences should do, they should break down barriers, and that kind of thing. But the thing was, but it was a very (pause) you know, useful day, there was very very different perspectives exchanged, very useful, and brand new information came out, some stunning stuff. Massive wake-up to lots of different people what's really going on out there and these new techniques that are being advanced and developed, and how the whole thing can be linked together. And again there was a wide range, all the way through, there was even some community stuff in there too. To me that was an excellent conference. Again, organised by a society. And to me what that's showing is, is maybe one of the ways to get this broader involvement is to leverage the learned societies more, because they can be an integrator.

I: Mm

1:38:02 R2: Because their memberships are broad

I: Mmhm

R2: Whereas you know if it was a university trying to organise that, you would, you know, I know from experience they just can't help themselves, like, it becomes so kind of inward-looking and so university-centric, and they're not very good at the moment. I mean, they could get good, if the will was there to do it, but they're not very good at getting organised with these much kind of bigger, broader conferences that bring in these kind of wider audiences.

I: Mm

1:38:35 R2: The other one that's often brings in a wide audience, and again it's more the kind of thing I would gravitate to, because they're just better quality conferences all round, is ones that the British Museum holds, and again because, you know, the people are interested in the British Museum, and the kind of people who would have, you know, interactions with them, includes academics, people in commercial, it's across the piste again. So, maybe that's, that could provide the template from trying to improve that dialogue at that intellectual level.

I: Mm

1:39:10 R2: I don't know. So a couple of ideas there, anyway

I: Gets people out that kind of echo chamber that they talk about with social media, where everyone talks to people who think the same things that they do, and then you never get any new ideas

R2: Mm

I: Yeah, no, that's great, thank you.



## Interview 3

19.04.19, York

Respondent 3 studied archaeology at undergraduate, took courses in Museum Studies and Building Conservation, then did a PhD in Cultural Heritage. They have worked for a museum, as a local government archaeologist, for English Heritage and the Council for British Archaeology, as a heritage consultant, and are now a course director in Building Conservation at a university.

02:42 I: So first, kind of, general question, would be how you feel the heritage sector has changed during your career?

R3: Ok. My career started in 1975, when I joined a museum, and that was really a place where you could go if you wanted to work in heritage and you didn't want to be an excavator

I: Yes

R3: Basically. And, I did in fact end up running excavations for the museum because there was no other body at that point, this was in Merseyside, there was no other body at that point because it was a new Metropolitan authority in the 70s - to enact archaeology in the face of a massive redevelopment of Liverpool city centre. So, I think what I've seen is the professionalisation over those forty-five years, the professionalisation of heritage work and the professionalisation of archaeology, which was the field I came into, and the emergence of heritage studies, heritage practice, the whole notion of heritage (pause) becoming a thing in its own right, in that period

I: Mmhm

R3: and now of course becoming the subject of critical reflection about its meaning, and its boundaries, and its value for society

I: Mmhm

R3: so I think it's gone from, I think probably those forty-five years, probably longer, but say fifty years, have seen that whole kind of evolutionary cycle if you like?

I: Mmhm

R3: When did Robert Hewison write the Heritage Industries book?

I: (pause) eighty six?

R3: Yeah, well, that was 10 years into my career, and I remember being very struck by it, because it was the first time that I'd seen anybody look critically at the notion of heritage and how it had just simply assumed a form

I: Mmhm

R3: Without anyone looking at it and questioning whether it was legitimate, and democratic, economically driven and socially acceptable, and all of those things

I: Yeah

04:50 R3: So that, that happened quite quickly really, and that, that is a good thing about heritage studies, that it is critical and it's self-reflective, and it does constantly revise and renew its ideas about what it thinks heritage is

I: Mmhm

R3: I've given it this kind of persona as though it were a

I: (laughs) Yes

R3: An agent in its own right! And obviously it has some agency as a concept, um, but, yeah, I think - so that's what I would say has been the biggest change really

I: Mmhm

R3: the emergence of that body of thinking.

I: Yeah. And can you pin any, sort of, major factors that drove that sort of, the development and change?

R3: Mm. (pause) I think the European Year of Architectural Heritage, and the Charter, were - that was the first, in my reading of heritage history, that's the first statement, or that contains the first statement, of the idea that people should have a view about what their heritage is, and should have ways of being able to look after it. So that, that seemed to me to have had a huge impact, and I'm struggling now to remember what year that was. Can you remember?

I: Not off the top of my head, but I know

R3: It was about the time I started work, anyway, and so rather ironically - I said this recently at a conference where I gave a paper in the Netherlands - when I joined the heritage sector, when I started work, it was, that was current, and I thought that was what everybody else thought about heritage

I: Mm

R3: and I had no idea it was actually just the leading edge of what was going to become normative in heritage practice over the next thirty years. So, I think, that was a very canonical and significant moment in thinking, (pause) and at about the same time the Burra Charter, again, remember being hugely impressed by that in the late 70s

I: Mm

R3: When somebody, at an international conference, showed - well, shared that, spoke about that, and thought "wow, this is just extraordinary"

I: Mm

07:07 R3: but of course it took nearly 20 years for that thinking to actually reach the UK

I: Yes

R3: Interestingly

I: Mm

R3: And I, I still believe profoundly that that international network of thinking around value-based citizen-centred approaches, to thinking about heritage, are really fundamental to us.

I: So

R3: and that doesn't have a framework anywhere in our legislation.

I: No. But it came externally, and then sort of

R3: My reading of it is that it came in through Europe, and then through the international protocols and charters and Conventions and thinking at, you know, UNESCO and ICOMOS level.

I: And at that stage I guess that was before a sort of formalised heritage academic strand so it was largely through

R3: Yeah

I: through kind of practitioners at that level to be at conferences, and you know, reading the protocols

R3: Yes. I guess that came through, (pause) to me, through my participation in academic conferences, and I was working for [University F] at that point, so I was kind of switched - plugged into an academic network, but later became more of a practitioner in local authorities,

and English Heritage (pause) If I, if I was going to look for a political champion for heritage, ironically I would probably say Michael Heseltine

I: Right

R3: whose (laughs) whose politics I don't particularly feel warm to, but who was in the late seventies early eighties, a great champion of a lot of what happened around heritage, really

I: Yeah

R3: - led regeneration, it wasn't really called that then

I: Yes

R3: But the kind of garden festivals idea, the idea of creating green spaces around heritage assets, cultural foci, I guess he was more interested in cultural heritage than

I: Mm

R3: than historic environment, if you see what I mean.

I: Mmhm

R3: So that was quite an important shift in, in Conservative policy, in the late - well, when did they come in, 79?

I: Yes

R3: So, and then through the early eighties

I: Mm

R3: To embrace cultural heritage. And then of course the historic environment comes a bit later.

I: Yeah. So your career's kind of run in parallel to a lot of the development in the thinking

R3: Yes, it's very interesting to look back on it now actually, so thank you for giving me this opportunity to put it all in context!

I: (laughing)

R3: I actually did a paper for a conference (...) 2 years ago, when they were celebrating 40 years since they founded this local archaeological group, which went on to become a prime mover in Liverpool's heritage campaigning. And it was very interesting to, to map the rise and fall and rise of that particular group in relation to national policies for heritage

I: Yeah

R3: And, the greater or lesser political and policy-led infrastructure for supporting locally-led heritage practice. Which was very much there in the seventies and early eighties, and then really drops away as professionalisation of the heritage sector moves in

I: Ok

R3: and then you see this kind of really low period during the 1990s, and then - Heritage Lottery Fund

I: Yes

R3: And, Conservation Principles, and Force for our Future, all around the millennium, were really important forces for change. And then you see the resurgence of the more locally led, socially relevant kind of heritage practice coming back in again

11:16 I: Mm

R3: So it's this kind of little graph you could do

I: Yeah, that's really interesting, because, archaeologists I've interviewed have said, you know, they felt that what really kind of drove change in the heritage sector was all the kind of 1990 Polluter Pays Principle, and that's when heritage, you know, started being funded and started taking off, and you know, it's developed since then, but it sounds like that was actually almost a kind of move away from the kind of heritage we advocate now, you know, where people get to make decisions about their local heritage.

11:44 R3: Very much so. And maybe it was a necessary period of professionalisation of technical practice, and indeed of the planning system, that would then allow the possibility of a range of participants

I: Yeah

R3: and a much more democratic kind of experience of interactions, yes.

I: Yeah. And how do you think your own kind of ideas about heritage have changed? Because you know, you came in with this new idea about sort of citizen led heritage into the sector, so

R3: Yes, yes. Yes, that's right, the - I'll have to look it up in a minute, what year was the European Year of Architectural Heritage

I: (laughing) I'll do it

R3: I came with the idea that architectural heritage, and people who were local where I was working at the time, were really passionate about their buildings heritage, and their docks

I: And with the World Heritage listing

R3: The World Heritage listing came much later, of course. And it was the sort of period when you know, the Albert Dock, and the kind of core of what's now the World Heritage Site had almost been cleared away, for redevelopment

I: Mm

R3: So that whole amazing kind of international waterfront, that world city infrastructure, was, you know, very close in the 70s, to being completely demolished to create a container port.

13:09 R3: So, I guess, my own (pause) what was the question?

I: How your own ideas about heritage have changed, before I distracted you with World Heritage

R3: Yes, that was it. So, yes, my own ideas about how heritage can be best (pause) enabled in society came out of that thinking, really.

I: Mmhm

R3: That it's about what's special about a place, and how local people feel about it, and working to get the best economic and social outcome from that that you can.

I: Mm

R3: Which might mean, sometimes things go, and that's perfectly ok. But it's not about keeping everything, obviously. And I've (pause) I don't think I've ever thought that. So I would say, yeah, that experience really of being in what I now know is a world class city but what at the time was regarded as a deeply kind of impoverished post-industrial disaster area

I: Mm

14:01 R3: And the creation of the Metropolitans, of course, in the 70s, was the - the Metropolitan authorities which effectively kind of disbanded (inaudible) Unitaries. That was designed to help some of these big industrial, post-industrial kind of problems in places like Manchester and Merseyside and - where were the other ones? West Midlands, Midlands, yeah. So I guess my, yeah, that's where my kind of sense of what heritage is about has come from, being in that situation where it was seen as part of a driver for social and economic change

I: Mm

R3: Then, as my career progressed, I think it's true to say that I, I moved away from that, because we were all in that professional - we need to be professional, kind of mode.

I: Mmhm

R3: and we were discovering, still discovering what that actually meant, so I did do a period as Vice-Chair of the IFA in the 90s. (...) as part of (pause) being involved in that process of trying to get good commonality of thinking and good standards of practice in the sector seemed to be a really important thing to be working towards, yeah.

I: And do you think that everyone, kind of, working in heritage at the time was as influenced by the sort of Year of European Architectural Heritage or was that sort of a new idea coming in?

R3: I think that was probably a new idea, it's just at the time it seemed to me to be self-evidently such a, a good model for thinking, that I didn't really question it. I think it was when I went to work for English Heritage, after the Greater London Council, which was the last great Labour Metropolitan Authority

I: Yeah

R3: of course, where there was huge investment in archaeology and public heritage, in the mid 80s, and then I went to work for English Heritage.

I: Mm

R3: Which was a very different kind of organisation, and I say this -

I: (both laugh)

R3: Where the public interface was the interpretation of the site for the visitor, really.

I: Right

R3: And there was a very, a very different way of thinking about heritage. So at that time I got very much more involved in the technical side of conservation

16:42 I: Right

R3: That's really where I moved into conservation practice, at that point. In the 80s, and working with English Heritage. So, my, my kind of public heritage experience in that period really took a back seat while I was working there. Ironically.

I: (laughs)

R3: And then, and then I came back to it as a consultant in the 90s. Yeah. (pause) I mean, but not, that's just my story, that doesn't really

I: Yes

R3: And does that give you any insights into the question you asked me? Is there more that I could say about that?

I: I think, yeah I think, obviously everyone has their own individual perspectives

R3: Mm

I: so part of what I'm trying to do build up is a sort of picture of whether ideas do change gradually as new generations come in with new ideas and new thinking

R3: Mm

I: and, you know, developing in different contexts, or whether the sector really, kind of, shifts almost decade by decade in response to context and

17:58 R3: Mm

I: kind of policy imperatives.

R3: Mm, yeah (pause) Well, certainly in my experience of public facing heritage practice, in the 80s and mid 70s, was very different to my experience professionally during the 90s

I: Mm

18:23 R3: which became, for me, that was the period when I got very (?involved?) much more professionally.

I: Mm

R3: And as I say, it was an era of trying to establish norms for professional practice

I: Yes, yes

R3: In what was a very young discipline, which had kind of, really, been a victim of its own success, with the polluter pays kind of principle

I: Mm



R3: I mean we, when we established the Greater London Archaeology Service in 1983 in London, (...) the income generated from developer funding was already a million and a half pounds. People couldn't believe it.

I: Mm

R3: You know, that that much money would be being spent on archaeology in, just in London. And it was exceptional.

I: Mm

19:04 R3: But it subsequently, well, it kind of politicised archaeology, because it became, a kind of, it had a seat at the high table, suddenly

I: Mm

R3: In terms of big ticket development. But I think it also, it also demanded that as a profession we had to really get our act together. If we were going to be at the same table, with architects and engineers and planners, who had institutional chartered status, and years and years of institutional good practice, and codes of practice that reflected their ethical positions and so on, that if we were going to be at the table with those kinds of professionals, that we had to get into that place too.

19:54 I: Yeah

R3: And it's taken, well, we've just got chartered status, haven't we

I: Yes

R3: In ClfA, and it's taken a long time, so I think that period in the, in the late 80s, 90s, was all about that getting up to speed with other construction industry professionals

I: Yes. Getting to the point where you're

R3: And what's that got to do with heritage?

I: You could hold up in a planning court of appeal

20:14 R3: What's that got to do with heritage? Very little. It's got to do with being at the same table with the construction industry, frankly. So, then it was necessary to, I think, to kind of unpick some of that

I: Mmhm

R3: and stand back and I guess the Southport meeting, and that kind of statement of intentions to recover the public value of archaeological heritage work was -

I: Mm

20:41 R3: that was quite a milestone. When was that? I don't have this kind of, timetable pegged out

I: (laughs)

R3: I know it was quite late on, it was probably around about 2005 was it? 2003?

I: I don't have a timeline written out here, but -

R3: That millennial shift. There is quite a clear millennial shift, I will say.

21:01 I: Yeah.

R3: Southport came quite late.

I: And the trend towards, talk about public value of heritage, does seem, as far as I can tell, to be linked towards the sort of Conservative Big Society (pause) rhetoric, where you can say it's worth investing in this, because it then plays a part in sort of health and wellbeing and community development and

R3: Mm

I: so on.

R3: Well, it's well before that, though. Well before that.

I: Mm

R3: I think the Conservatives simply hijacked an agenda that was already out there. And if you look at, around the time of that changeover in 2010, 11, if you look at the response of some of the national amenity societies and civic groups to the Big Society agenda, then they're just shrugging their shoulders and saying, "We, that's what we're doing for the last forty years -

I: Yeah

R3: what are you talking about?" and very glad to be able to step onto that moving train, as it were, because that was, it was taking them in the direction they wanted to go, but I think there was very much a feeling that that agenda was hijacked. And my own sense, of the genesis of much of that thinking, goes back to the Brundtland Commission

22:14 I: Right

R3: And notions about sustainable societies and social value being a critical pillar, with the economic and environmental. And Local Agenda 21 came in, whenever that was. You're going to have to put dates to some of these!

I: (laughing) I know!

R3: Local Agenda 21 was a thing that came out of the Rio World Summit, which basically said to governments, and to local authorities, and to local people, if you want sustainable development it has to start at grassroots, therefore

I: Mmhm

R3: So what are you, how are you developing sustainable ways of thinking, working, doing things.

22:54 I: Yeah

R3: And that was promoted very strongly at the time through English Heritage, as it was

I: Yes

R3: And the team that worked with Graham Fairclough

I: Yes

R3: (...) And the writing that Graham did about that time, around Agenda 21 and sustainability policies and what that meant for heritage, were, was really significant, and that is the point at which the historic environment as a concept starts to - it may have been coined before that, I think David Baker could probably be rightly attributed the first person to go into print with that, that little book he produced. 1990s?

I: Probably earlier if it was before Graham Fairclough? Not sure

R3: Yeah (pause) So, that, seeing where, I think the discourse analysis is really interesting, and the only people who seem to have done any work on this are Emma Waterton and Laurajane Smith. But I think the emergence of certain terms, the language of the heritage sector, is quite interesting, because that seems to me to, to come into play from quite a different route than academic discourse about critical heritage studies. And one of the barriers, frankly, to permeation of one by the other, I believe is language. That if you talk critical heritage discourse to a conference about community archaeology (pause)

24:31 R3: I once heard Laurajane Smith give a keynote at a conference in the early 2000s (...)

I: Mm

R3: To, you know, a room full of a hundred community archaeologists, or

I: Yeah

R3: people who worked in that field. And at the end, they had, people were coming out saying "I didn't understand a word of what she was saying, it was so -" and in that - she is on one end of the spectrum, in writing

24:59 I: Mm

R3: about heritage, but the language that people use. So the, the point in the timeline when certain concepts are framed in a particular way, is I think quite telling. So I think historic environment is one of those,

I: Yeah

25:16 R3: Is one of those phrases, one when that emerges and becomes a thing, a part of public policy, that people write about, was quite a key moment. I believe you can link that to international sustainability policies and how they filtered through government

I: Mm

R3: to grassroots, yeah.

I: Ok, so, nice simple question next: who do you, in your experience, gets to have a say in the development of heritage policy and legislation?

(Pause)

26:03 R3: I think that's a difficult question to answer, and that's not because I'm dodging it, it's because who gets to have a say is open to interpretation. There's who's offered an opportunity to have a say, who has the agency to be able to participate, and who wants to. So, one, I think that there is only a tiny group of people who care enough to want to have a say in policy

I: Yes

26:35 R3: And know enough about the way it all works. I'm not saying that in a patronising sort of way, but, who understand the significance about the way policy formation work, to know what a difference it would make if they did have a say.

I: Mm

R3: And a couple of, the number of responses that government get to policy consultations is puny (laughs) in proportion to the UK population. It's tiny, infinitesimal, and statistically, completely unrepresentative, or,

I: Mmhm

R3: you know, at all significant. So, when English Heritage, now Historic England, consults on a policy, if they get 50 responses that's pretty amazing. So you can imagine that five or six of those written very, in a well evidenced rather than an opinionated, in a well evidenced and well framed way could have a lot of influence, and I have known, the most recent instance being the consultation on Conservation Principles,

27:42 I: Mmhm

R3: that, that the response on that has put it firmly back on the shelf for a while, because there was clearly a misunderstanding, which continues to be the case, in Historic England about the, the basis for understanding significance, I think.

I: Mm

R3: And that's exemplified in the paper that's currently out for consultation, that you've probably seen on heritage statements in the planning system? It's - so it's the case that anyone can get to have a say, but the number of people who know enough and are motivated enough to have a say is tiny. And it tends to be the usual suspects. And is that -

28:31 I: Mm. The amenity society representatives, and -

R3: Yeah, amenity society groups, and people who are quite, people who are possibly retired professionals who now have a lead role in their local group, might be sufficiently - I'm thinking of the Ron Cookes of this world, and the Jane Grenvilles of this world, who might be sufficiently motivated to respond on behalf of their constituency. And then it will be the national amenity societies, some of the bigger players like the Society of Antiquaries sometimes will have a say, if they think it's significant for them, and a diminishing number of local authorities, because they simply don't have (pause)

29:17 I: Time, resources?

R3: capacity. So it's quite interesting to think about the role that universities might play, academic institutions might play, in articulating an alternate view to that orthodoxy of the, sort of, of the institutions in government.

I: Which isn't something that happens very often at the moment?

R3: No. We made a very strong response on the Conservation Principles

I: Mmhm

R3: consultation, and I'm told that that made a difference.

I: Right.

29:54 R3: It was listened to. Because I think universities are understood to have some body of intellectual capital and authority (laughs) that lends, that means they wouldn't say something - we don't say things lightly, do we, as academics?

I: Mm

R3: We're aware, very very over-aware, sometimes, that other people will criticise what we said

I: Yes

R3: Unless we're absolutely sure about our evidence and the ground of making a statement. So I think that universities probably do have an interesting role to play, now that local authorities are so under-resourced.

I: Mm. And going back to kind of the pre-consultation stage, would most kind of national policy documents be developed in a combination with Historic England and DCMS, or would it be a -

R3: Whose policy documents are you thinking of?

30:49 I: I mean, I was thinking about things like new planning policies, for example, reworks of the NPPF.

R3: Ah, ok

I: I mean, it's difficult because heritage comes into so many different things, so there are so many ways in which it can be affected by different specialist organisations.

R3: So the question is - sorry, repeat the question for me please?

I: So it's looking at the development of heritage legislation and policy and partly who gets to implement it, but also kind of where the ideas are generated from, primarily.

R3: Ok. (pause) Well in terms of planning, the development industry and property owning interests have a profound interest on policy formation.

31:49 I: Mm.

R3: It's unseen, very largely, but it's undoubtedly true, and it happens through all kinds of channels that we don't really, as members of the public we're not going to be aware of, but (pause) I think the ability of local people to influence national planning policy is vanishingly small. I think where they could leverage some influence would certainly be at the level of local plan, but not beyond that, for sure.

I: Mmhm

32:25 R3: And where local authorities are open about their local plan process, and particularly with neighbourhood planning, works quite well. Again you've got to have an informed and well motivated kind of a public.

I: Mm

R3: Leadership that will make that happen. Now, it's interesting to think about leadership, actually, because that's probably the single most needed ingredient in effective campaigning and lobbying for a cause.

I: Mm

32:58 R3: In terms of representing, you know, a body of public opinion. And how we cultivate leadership in the third sector is very weak, I think.

I: Yeah

R3: It happens by virtue of certain individuals making it their business to do it, but it means a certain kind of leader always emerges

I: Mm

R3: And cultivating the opportunities for leadership from other kinds of places in society would be, you know, very (pause) would be quite transformational, I think.

I: Mmhm

33:36 R3: The Heritage Lottery Fund and under the guise of its new name, in my view has been one of the most profound influences in the twenty-first century on heritage policy because it has had a lot of money at its disposal, it hasn't had to work in government policy frameworks, or at

least its strategic Five Year Plans are endorsed by government, and certainly, knowing trustees as I do, I know how politically sensitive they are, the trustees, in the Strategic Plan formation cycle. But they are their own people, and there are some great thinkers and powerful representatives in amongst the - the National Heritage Memorial Fund, and I know the trustees who shape that policy. That, I mean, that's a piece of research in it's own right, I think

I: Yes

R3: Looking at the impact of the HLF, not on, not so much in terms of what it's done on the ground, the amount of investment it's leveraged, I think they've done that work for themselves (laughs) very well!

I: Yeah

34:50 R3: They commission, Gareth Mears has commissioned some great bits of policy research that, which formed the platform for what they do. But just looking at it more broadly, in terms of how it's shaped the way that the heritage sector acts and works and the ways that it thinks, the kind of language that it's introduced

I: Mmhm

R3: and it's been a really interesting counter-balance to government policy. And it's also stepped in, and scaffolded government policy as well, enabled our, what I regard as very weak legislation and policy to continue far longer than it should have done, because it's been propped up by this extremely robust and very thoughtfully framed constantly renewed strategic direction

I: Mm

35:44 R3: from the HLF over the last 30 years? Must be coming up for 30 years.

I: Yeah. So in a sense kind of that gap that was left by not having the community-led aspect in legislation

R3: Mm

I: has been filled in by the HLF focusing on

R3: Well they've moved in to enable all of that

I: Yeah

36:03 R3: To mobilise local people in ways that were not possible without the financial capability that they use to do things.



I: Mm

R3: But it also of course introduced completely new ways of - well, it didn't introduce completely new ways but it was certainly very influential in shaping the value-based approach to thinking about conservation practice.

I: Mm

36:27 R3: And the same international thinking that informed Conservation Principles in 2008 informed HLF thinking in the late 90s and early 2000s and rolls forward through that (pause) those seminal documents that were produced by English Heritage on behalf of the sector in the, around the millennium, Force for our Future,

I: Power of Place

R3: Power of Place and Force for our Future, yeah

37:03 I: And, I guess, a lot of heritage professionals will have worked with HLF at various points and within that framework

R3: Yeah

I: so it's self-perpetuating as a discourse.

R3: Mm, yeah.

I: Ok, moving on to the next part, is, and we've kind of touched on this already, but it's whether you think the approach to heritage of those who work in the sector differs to that of heritage theorists in academic contexts.

R3: I was looking at that question earlier on, just before you came, and thinking (pause) your question is how, or whether it does differ?

I: Whether it does differ.

37:52 R3: Oh, it does differ, I would say, without doubt. (pause) there's a crossover area where heritage theorists, heritage practitioners in the academic world, get involved.

I: Mmhm

R3: And there they do have to take responsibility for what they're thinking and doing, and, experience empirically the outcomes of some heritage theoretical position. (pause) But yes, I think they are, I think they are very different ways of enacting heritage. Where (pause) where heritage practitioners, by which I mean people who lead heritage projects or groups, are coming

closest to thinking about heritage more critically and theoretically seems to be in the area of evaluating impact, because that's something we both have to do

I: Mmhm

39:07 R3: Both academics and heritage practitioners. The Heritage Lottery Fund is responsible for having introduced the concept of impact assessment into that professional world of heritage, because it's, you know, a sine qua non, it's absolutely fundamental, you have to have it, of all heritage projects, that you evaluate them as you go along and at the end

I: Mm

R3: I think it's a deeply flawed approach (laughs) and it results in massive amounts of data that have very little meaning, but where we're getting more longitudinal studies now, I think it's beginning to have more meaning, and I think also that heritage practitioners are beginning to realise that that kind of knee jerk evaluation - was this a good project, yes or no?

I: Mm

39:53 R3: Is - is just not good enough, and if you actually want to be progressive, and move forward, you have to understand why the experience was a good one, what could have been better about it, and how has it changed the person who took part in it, and in what ways, and how will that be sustained? Or not? And what does it take, to continue that beneficial shift in behaviour, attitude

I: Yeah

R3: And who says it's beneficial, you or them? You know, so there's a whole lot of theoretical questions around evaluation of impact, that I think professionals at - there's a session at ClfA

I: Right

40:31 R3: (...) next week, and I'm really pleased that the profession is actually starting to take this seriously now, because we've been doing it for 30 years

(both laugh)

R3: And has - how much has changed, you know?

I: Mm

R3: About our impact assessment and what we do with our work? Not a lot. So I think that's where the two are beginning to intersect, interestingly, and where more and more people like

yourself, (...) their intellectual work in their PhDs is actually in practice and lived experience, looking at the lived experience of being in heritage projects and what that means for people who are involved and who have that impacts on outcomes. So I think the emergence of social science methods is part of a toolkit for heritage practitioners, and I guess Laurajane Smith should take some credit for that maybe, and Emma Waterton (...). The emergence of social sciences methods, equally foregrounded by the HLF, it has to be said, is kind of bringing more of a rapport, more of a conversation between practitioners and academics, I would say, and that we're starting to talk more of a common language

I: Mm

41:55 R3: And evaluating the effect of what we do, what we research, what we enact in the heritage, begin to see it as kind of both their - different activities, but I think we need to be able to look at the effects of both of them for people who are involved and for society, and so don't we have a lot of common cause? I think we do.

I: Yeah.

R3: Yeah?

I: Yeah, yeah. Yeah, I -

R3: It's very interesting the way that's come together in the last (pause), well, I can see it in my students, actually

I: Yeah

R3: (...) How that's become a really interesting and very dominant strand

I: Mm

R3: You could say that's my having brought those forward, of course, that's part of it. But I think it genuinely, I see it across the board, talking to people like Hana Morel at UCL, and colleagues in these other places, like Helen Graham.

I: Yeah

R; Saying that, it's becoming quite a dominant strand.

I: Mm. Yeah, it's certainly been quite common at kind of conferences and things like that, but, when I've been interacting with practitioners and people at sort of various levels who don't have

a lot of kind of contact with, you know, sort of university based heritage, there's quite a sort of knee jerk negative reaction

R3: Right

43:15 I: to the idea of critical heritage studies, you know, and it seems to be a, you know, "you don't have any of the challenges but you sit there and criticise us", so, you know, it's reasonable for them to feel that they

R3: Which bit of that, um, phrase do they not like?

I: I think it's a combination of the "critical" bit, obviously, you know

R3: I think it's - I don't know about the words that you use when you're communicating with people, because you talk to - I have to explain this to my students, that we, we want you to cultivate your criticality does not mean we want you to be horrible about people

43:52 I: Yes

R3: It means we want you to think questioningly about everything you are told, and read, and see.

I: Mm

R3: Don't accept anything at face value, look underneath, see what's under the bonnet. That's what we mean by criticality. We don't mean just, you know, give people a really hard time

I: yes

R3: for something that you don't think is right (laughs).

I: Mm

44:13 R3: But I think for most people on the street, being critical is - that's what it means,

I: yeah, yeah

R3: giving somebody a hard time, so I just think even calling it critical heritage studies gets you off on a really bad footing

I: Yes

R3: with people

I: And also, I mean, the idea that there's a heritage studies,

R3: Mm

I: that is separate from heritage practice I think

R3: yeah

I: You know, for people who've developed these incredible kind of professional skills, the idea that someone who's never used those skills, or would understand

R3: Mm

I: their kind of day to day work can tell them they're, you know, they're not doing it right and we know better, seems to be a -

R3: I would see myself still, though I'm in the university now, as a heritage practitioner. I'm not a heritage theorist.

44:52 I: Mmhm

R3: I use heritage theory sometimes,

I: Yeah

R3: But I wouldn't see myself as that. So I can quite see why there would be that, you know, disjuncture between people who are doing and people who are thinking about the ideas behind heritage, and yeah. So say that, I think the language is an issue, and I think that it's coming closest together where we're working together

I: Mmhm

45:18 R3: in practice, and thinking about impact and assessment, and what matters and why.

I: Do you think there's more kind of potential for working together in sort of developing collaborations in future?

R3: Well if there is, it'll have to come from the academic sector, because we need heritage practice, they don't need heritage theorists

(both laugh)

R3: So, I think, for critical heritage studies to remain alive, and meaningful, it has to engage with heritage practice. And it probably needs to - it's probably about time it evolved into something else as well. David Lowenthal has a lot to answer for.

(both laugh)

R3: Is it time we moved on?

I: Mm

R3: Maybe? And I think people like (pause) I love the way that [A] thinks, critically, about his work in conjunction with heritage (?groups?), and how even the fact that he's working with the heritage (?groups?) mean they're changed in the way they work.

46:29 I: Mm

R3: So, you - there is no interaction without change. So we should interact, and we should change each other, and there should be more - it would be lovely to think of more convergence

I: Mm

R3: but it's always going to be the case that people working in critical heritage studies and theorists in heritage in universities who have the capacity and the time to think about it, will (pause) we're driven by entirely different economic and personal agendas than people who are working on a heritage project, who have a single outcome in mind, and a particular local or specialist agenda.

I: Mm

47:24 R3: and that's always going to be the most important thing for the civic trust, or the local industrial archaeology society, or a family history group, that's always going to be more important to them than how they, where they sit in critical heritage studies

I: Mm

R3: and whether what they do is - I think there's a real sense I have from talking to (pause) local - I got this sense in Liverpool when I went back for a conference two years ago and I was doing interviews with some of the colleagues that I worked with 40 years before that they regard themselves as a bit like laboratory specimens

I: (laughs)

48:05 R3: They felt like they were being examined and looked at and - and objectified in some way

I: Mm

R3: and that, we were interested, just interested, there was a sense we were just interested for what we could get out of looking at what they were doing, not interested in what they were doing.

I: Mmhm. Yeah.

48:30 R3: Yeah. So it's a kind of sense of being a little bit exploited, I think

I: Yes, yeah

R3: Maybe the heritage groups, particularly the voluntary ones, I think, feel a little bit exploited, about being used as "good material", in quotes

I: And probably that the academics are getting more out of it than

R3: Than they are

I: Subjects are, yeah

48:50 R3: Mm, interesting. (pause) (...)

51:10 R3: Was that your last question?

I: Yes it was, I was just going to ask whether there was any thing we hadn't covered, that you thought -

R3: Mm, no. It's been really interesting to reflect on that kind of *longue durée* (laughs)

I: (laughs) yeah

R3: of the 40-odd years and how things have moved on in that time, I think really significantly. I suppose my question to you would be, from where you are now, (...)

51:46 R3: Whether you've, you know, you identified, very early on, this disjunction between this academic discourse, critical heritage studies, and the discourse of heritage practice

I: Mm

R3: And, I'm just wondering where you're beginning to see the possibilities for a really productive collaboration between those two, and ways of integrating them?

52:23 I: I mean - I think there are certain ways of thinking which you've already mentioned emerging within practice which are much closer to the way that heritage theorists conceive things, so, you know, kind of the public value discourse, and the idea of significance, and things like that, and that's very, that's kind of a way in which they can meet and they can kind of have

that contact. (pause) what seems to recur for me is that, you know, theorists have various ways of putting their ideas out, and it's through conferences and it's through, you know, journals, and through educating people and then sending them into practice, but, there aren't many obvious ways in which practitioners who don't kind of actively get involved in the academic side of things get to articulate responses to the theory, so a lot of theory is produced and put out without any kind of - you know, what a scientist would refer to as experimentation, testing, sort of "does this actually work in practice?" So in some ways I think developing a stronger voice for, you know, for archaeologists, or for conservation work- buildings conservators, and things like that, within practice, because - sorry, within heritage studies,

53:45 R3: Mm

I: because one of the things I've been doing is actually looking at language trends within different journals

R3: Yeah, may be

I: which is really interesting because things like sustainability, you know, looking at where they trend, and then placing that against sort of different publications

R3: Yeah

I: and against different pieces of legislation, there's a big upswing in people talking about intangible heritage after the World Heritage Intangible Heritage Convention.

R3: Yeah

54:14 I: So, it's really kind of noticeable to see the big events that impacted things. But also, all these different disciplines, have completely different voices,

R3: Mm

I: and there is so little transfer from one to another, you know

R3: Mm

I: Each journal will have its trends and its common topics, and they just don't

R3: Mm

I: They don't move from one to another, really.

R3: That's interesting



I: Yeah

54:40 R3: that we're constructing these sort of silos

I: Mm

R3: for ourselves and in the way that we communicate

I: Yeah

R3: Which is the most fundamental blockage you can have, really

I: Yes

R3: that if you are talking a different language, you're not going to ever find - well, you're going to find it so much more difficult to have common cause in any particular

I: And if you combine that with, you know, austerity cuts, and with, you know, the time needed to get on board with academic discourse and to find places where you can vocalise things, you know, the experience and confidence to go and talk at conferences, or

R3: Yeah

I: and even those, people have been saying conferences are getting increasingly stratified between the ones that have practitioners there and the ones that have academics there and

R3: Yeah

I: So, it's a

R3: Is that about CifA, really, because you hear practitioner voices, which we do need

I: Mm

R3: We do need.

I: Yeah, I went to CifA last year and did this sort of

R3: I'm just going to look for some dates, while you're talking

I: Yeah, of course

R3: and you thought?

I: I, well, I said, I just gave a talk on, like, you know, this is critical heritage theory, I'm not saying, it's how you should think, but I'm saying this is how, you know, academics think and this is the

sort of basic principles, and I got a couple of people coming up to me afterwards and just saying, you know, if we wanted to find out about it what should we read first?

R3: Yes, yeah, great!

I: No idea, you know, it's not something that they would have come across naturally, or necessarily used, but it was interesting when it was put out accessibly.

56:11 R3: Yes, yeah, I mean the - the breadth and the scope of academic literature, I mean, we find it daunting and we've

I: Yeah

R3: we've got all these finding aids that we can use,

I: And paid access

R3: Paid access to it

I: And a whole library

R3: absolutely, and and, and you kind of - you develop a knowledge of which journals are the ones you need to go for particular kinds of discussion, and it's kind of self-reinforcing in a way, but that must be unimaginable to navigate from outside, when you

I: Mm

56:45 R3: are completely new to it all. So Hewison was 87, so was a bit later in the 80s than I remember, and this was 83, so that - the Historic Environment, living in the past, 83, David Baker, and I think that really sort of marks and I don't suppose David was absolutely the first to coin that concept, but I think that marks a kind of the threshold

I: Mm

R3: In the thinking. And Brundtland was what date? Brundtland Commission - I'm going to have to look it up. I think 83 but - and then the other thing I wanted to double check was - 87, Brundtland Commission. Ok, so yeah, so David's, so Robert, same year, and David is was ahead of the curve

I: Yeah

57:45 R3: Really interesting.

I: Yeah yeah yeah.

R3: And then European Year of Architectural Heritage, that was the other thing I was just going to figure out

I: Yeah

R3: I think of it as 1975 because that's the year that I

I: yeah

R3: joined the profession, as it were and, it was, foremost in my thinking there

I: So

R3: 75, it was!

I: 75, so I don't actually because I started my timeline in 79, right.

R3: Yeah, 1975, European Year of Architectural Heritage, yeah. And it was the Charter, which I sort of diligently read thinking "oh, this is what you need to know about if you want to look after heritage"

I: yeah

R3: It was, yeah, it had some really great things in it. I went back to look at it again recently thinking "did I just imagine", you know, how you sometimes post-rationalise, imagine things that aren't there, and it's absolutely explicit, it's brilliant

I: Mm

58:46 R3: about the importance of local people and valuing the heritage and being able to have the opportunity to look after it

I: So that was before the Burra Charter and that's interesting

R3: Yeah, absolutely

## Interview 4

19.09.2019, York

Respondent 4 began working in media before studying history at undergraduate level and a Masters in Cultural Heritage Management. They now work for the Civil Service, most recently on the Restoration and Renewal of Parliament Bill.

I: Ok, so, first question, which, it's sort of aimed at the people who've been in the heritage sector a long time so I don't know whether you kind of want me to rephrase it a bit

R4: Yeah

02:45 I: but whether you feel like the heritage sector has sort of changed while you've been working with it, around it, sort of studying it.

R4: Yeah. Can I answer that one? I can only answer it I suppose as a person who visits heritage, I suppose

I: Mm

R4: and then goes to do a Masters course, I think heritage has become more accessible, but I think it's become quite - I don't know if it's the right word, but populist. And I think heritage has become - there's lots of things. I'm doing lots of my stuff on Essex.

I: Mmm

03:17 R4: I think heritage now has that ability to, for example like York, to make a place

I: Yeah

R4: and then to destroy a place.

I: Right

R4: And I don't think if you don't harness that heritage, then you sort of, you've missed out a little bit. So I think it's become very nationalistic, I think it's become entwined with how we think of ourselves, and I think in terms of when you have companies, organisations, I think they do, they tread a fine line of whether they tap into that or they don't. So I think heritage from when I was a kid has changed from just being "oh we'll just go visit a castle", to it being a lot more sort of professional

I: Ok

03:47 R4: It's probably the best way I can describe it

I: Right

R4: in terms of my actual personal - working in it, I can't comment

I: Yeah

R4: I'm just going to say that.

03:55 I: So do you think it's sort of become more kind of fashionable to -

R4: Yeah, I think fashionable is a good word for it, I think, and there's pros and cons to how it's gone. I mean, we're all here because it's become a massive industry

I: Mm

R4: Whereas I think I grew up just liking it because, you know, you could pretend that you're in some, I don't know, Agincourt or something like that, and now I don't - I mean, I presume you've worked in cultural heritage management, did you do cultural heritage management, was it, yeah?

I: Yeah

04:21 R4: And you go, and you do that course, and you think oh this is really great, but actually sometimes I have a little bit of a, a reservation about how much we then, you know, we create heritage too much for people, do you know what I mean? Where I don't think we allow people to just use their imaginations. I think the branding of heritage itself could be a bit problematic.

I: Yeah, that's really interesting.

R4: Yeah

I: Yeah. And do you think there's been anything particular that's sort of driven that change? Is there a reason that people are using heritage as that kind of branding much more?

04:56 R4: Well I think it's always been used. And I supposed I'm biased because I've just done a whole course on it, haven't I, right?

I: (laughs)

R4: But you know, politics has used it forever

I: Mm

R4: We certainly used it, not used it on the Bill, but used it as a way of getting concessions through, get to (inaudible) and they will tell you, you can use heritage for your own values, or own uses. What was the original question again?

05:20 I: It's whether you think, what you think the major factors have been that have pushed that sort of change from -

R4: Oh yeah yeah yeah, that's right

I: traditional to this more populist

R4: Yeah, this, this modern thing

I: Mm

05:27 R4: There's nostalgia, I suppose, people wanting to look back. I think there's definitely, there's a, there's that ability for us to, we've got more time on our hands maybe? I think society's become more affluent. And whether you agree with like, in terms of people are in poverty, but actually we're able to think about other things a bit more now.

I: Mm

R4: You could argue whether government's changes to make things into charities is sort of propped, or sort of said to organisation we'd better actually do stuff about this

I: Right

R4: And I think maybe sometimes they've been a little bit, you know, a bit lacklustre in throwing things up because the government paid them to do it?

I: Right

06:07 R4: And I'm not saying whether that's a good thing or a bad thing, that they've become charities, but it means they're a bit more in tune about actually trying to get people to come to them.

I: Ok. So you're talking about like, English Heritage becoming its own independent charity rather than

R4: Yeah,

I: An organisation that's part of

R4: I think they've been driven to actually have to find new ways to do it

06:20 I: Ok.

R4: It's interesting, isn't it, how we've become as a country this - it is an obsession with heritage

I: Mm

R4: I think it is, yeah, and then that tackles that thing about well, what heritage is ours and what isn't

I: Yeah

R4: That's really, like, sort of deep questions from my CHM, right?

I: Yeah

R4: Sorry

(both laugh)

I: I know, but it's one of those things where once someone throws it up you suddenly go "oh, can't answer that"

R4: Yeah yeah yeah, exactly, right?

I: So

06:43 R4: I think my, my, if you look at the Bill, my latest experience, and what people think heritage is, especially the older generation, and then you're trying to change the Bill (*?wording?*), and then you get people saying - people just have different opinions of heritage, and I think that is driven by how we now think about heritage, I think, we have a ridiculous nostalgia to the past, about not changing stuff

I: Mmhm

07:07 R4: I don't know. The more we go on from maybe not having mass wars, and we become a bit more airy fairy about what the past is. Maybe that has something to do with it as well.

I: Mmhm

R4: There's lots. I don't know.

(both laugh)

I: Lots of options! Yeah. So do you find that you have a kind of different perspective on heritage to people who've been working in it for a while, and have sort of seen a lot of stuff come and go?

07:28 R4: Yeah, I think so. I think yeah, I think if you're fresh to it or you're not in it, I think you - I think a lot more people can be a little bit more, what's the word I'm looking for? I've met a lot of heritage practitioners become a little bit, you know, when they've become a little bit like "oh, god, this is not working out properly",

I: A bit jaded, or

R4: Yeah, a little bit about it, don't they. I know what you mean, like "oh god, don't get paid enough, don't get this and don't get that".

I: Mm

07:57 R4: I think that people go into it fresh, I think that Joe Public, you get lots of opinions, all across the way from wherever your background's from. Me personally, I went into in in sort of the Bill for example, knowing all this knowledge and all this theory, super excited, and then hit against the same, well I'd say old school views about what heritage is.

I: Right

08:23 R4: You hit old school, you know, members of Parliament, and especially Lords, you just think "oh god, this is just, you know, Brexit, this is why we Brexited".

(both laugh)

I: It's the Lords.

R4: Yeah, they follow those old sort of nostalgic ideas of you don't touch heritage, and I'm just like, well that's not what heritage is. And I think, you know, I think we're in a bit of period of time where we're like heads banging up against brick walls in lots of different areas, and

I: Mm

08:48 R4: I think heritage forms a lot of those opinions about why we are where we are

I: Right

R4: I think that, heritage for example, I think is pretty much the driving factor why Brexit happened anyway

I: Mmhm



R4: You know, this notion that empire is, Britain is still great, and we still have these thing as a massive giant factor why that happens

I: Mmhm

09:07 R4: and heritage is an underlying factor about that.

I: Mmhm

R4: Yeah. I mean I suppose if you look at heritage, English Heritage stuff, church (*?or local?*) somebody's thinking, you know, Blitz Spirit stuff, you know?

I: Yeah

09:18 R4: You know? And is that helpful or not? I don't know.

I: Mm. Like, whether that's giving people kind of a false impression of their own

R4: Yeah I think so. I think it does. And I think it's pretty helpful at times.

I: mm

R4: But, I don't know whether, and you can go back to that original question which was how has heritage changed, there's a lot more of an onus upon actually saying, well this historical place is (*?strikingly poor?*) for this particular example, I know Dover Castle last time I went, they actually started talking about Henry, was it, Henry the Fourth? Not Henry the Eighth, which was good

I: Yeah

09:49 R4: Because the castle was more synonymous with the changes that that king put in place, rather than Tudor history

I: Yeah.

R4: So maybe we're being a little bit more accurate, I don't know.

I: Right

R4: yeah

I: Trying to branch out a little bit from the

R4: yeah

I: primary school topics

R4: Yeah, yeah, I mean if we stopped having, if I got into the Department of Education then I would probably put a stop on Tudor history being taught because it's so boring

I: (laughs)

10:07 R4: it's really not that important, is it? I know you're obviously, it's important for the fact of the Reformation and stuff, but

I: Mm

R4: In terms of lots of other stuff, we had a Civil War that no-one seems to want to talk about

I: Yeah.

R4: You know? So

I: But there are lots of women getting their heads chopped off, you know

R4: Yeah yeah yeah

I: Who doesn't love that in their history, right?

R4: It's true. Well I suppose, yeah, that's a good point, when you talk about women in heritage, I suppose that's the way we think about the past and who wrote it and stuff is probably being challenged more.

I: Mm

10:30 R4: Those points that are really important. Whether the hashtag MeToo is actually doing the right thing, but it's driving, you know, how we should then think about different genders.

I: Mm

R4: And then there's racism, stuff like that. So there's those points about it, which I suppose is healthy

I: Yeah.

R4: Or is healthy, not suppose, is healthy.

I: (laughs) Yeah, go for it. So, this is going to be the kind of big question for you, I think, which is who do you think gets to have a say in the development of things like heritage policy and legislation?

11:00 R4: Yeah, ok. Well, that's interesting I suppose. So, from a Civil Service perspective, I think, it's a really (*?intriguing?*) question actually. Normal people work in the Civil Service, right?

I: Mmhm

R4: A lot of people who work in policy have absolutely no understanding about what goes on. And I think that's a good thing as well, so you can go across and work in heritage policy in DCMS, or you can go and work where I work in the Cabinet Office on different stuff, so I think it's important to remember that you don't have to be - understand about the heritage or anything like that, which you do policy

I: Mm

11:36 R4: And the majority of people who drive that policy are people who have absolutely no idea. I mean I went for a job interview at DCMS and didn't get it, to be a heritage adviser, I mean, that was probably driven by the fact that I, not because I didn't know anything about heritage, it was probably because I wasn't as clued up about Civil Service as they probably wanted

I: Ok

11:55 R4: So, I think from a policy perspective, it's obviously driven by ministers, but the people who enact it, who normally advise them, are just sort of lay people who like - it depends on what government you have in. So Conservative government are going to be a lot more nationalistic and push an agenda as we can see, like a Brexit type agenda, so it depends who you're talking to on that level, whereas Labour don't seem to give a crap about heritage, and I don't think the Left really does, they don't really understand how to harness it, I don't think. From my experiences on the Bill, it's driven by old men who are, are thought to have the responsibility and the knowledge about it. So for example the Lords, when we got the Bill to the Lords, Lord Cormack is a historian, and he led the way on putting heritage in the bill

I: Mmhm

12:51 R4: which we purposely didn't put in on purpose

I: Right

R4: which is why I suppose from the email, so it's whether you put this in or not, you might have to run it past people when I put it in, but we didn't put it in the Bill because we needed a concession, so, for Amendments in Bills, you obviously have the politics behind it, which is like,

we know heritage is going to be pushed, but we know we want this other particular amendment put in

I: Ok

13:12 R4: So we waited for that and then we had Lord Cormack stand up, outraged, because heritage wasn't put in the Bill, so we put it in. But in terms of, when we got back to why, who runs it, it's predominantly old people who shout loud enough who might have a bigger CV to be able to say "I can do this".

I: Ok

R4: So I think the majority of it, is probably not expert led at times. I think it's expert led by a certain group of people, in where I work.

I: Mmhm

13:40 R4: Does that answer the question? Am I right in understanding the question correctly?

I: Yeah yeah, absolutely. So would you say that it responds more to the policy kind of directives of the department or the government in charge than it does sort of things like academic thinking about heritage?

13:55 R4: So, let's have a think. So, for example, Historic England obviously sent their evidence down for the Bill

I: Mm

R4: And this is quite a good question. You might have to show me what you write on this first but

I: Yep.

R4: Certainly, that's not taken into account, really. Purpose of it is - there's lots of different facets for why it wasn't taken into account.

I: Mmhm

14:18 R4: First of all the fact that local authorities are the ones that enact heritage, you know, all the policies around that

I: Yeah

R4: So you know, planning and stuff. Our perspective on that was that, you know, you have Westminster County Council who we had to do that. Historic England sent us stuff about, oh, we need to do this, we will need to do this, and we were probably more like, we'll just carry on doing what we're doing, we don't need to know stuff about that

I: Yeah

R4: And I think the difference as well is the Bill is creating an infrastructure for that program to happen, and so we then pushed Historic England to go and speak to the delivery authority who are then going to do that work.

I: Ok

14:52 R4: In terms of where we think about, like, academic work coming into it, does that influ -? No. It didn't come into any of our thinking.

I: Right.

R4: No-one once thought about "oh, do you know what, let's think about that", because, I think most of it is legislation that you just need to get past government anyway

I: Mmhm

R4: and you let the bods do it.

I: Yeah.

15:09 R4: I think from my experience of working with like delivery authority and the sponsor body, sponsor body literally has no-one of heritage on it, until you get to the delivery authority where you have like the chief architect, and the curator, who will have some responsibility for that

I: Mm

R4: but that's really, I think that's a really important point, which I've been thinking about since you sent me this, which is where, there's absolutely no link for us driving this Bill, which is basically to put government structure in, fine, but I don't think I ever heard anyone talk about how heritage works

I: Mmhm

15:40 R4: And where theory comes into play and, yeah, I was quite interested in that aspect, because I thought I was going to go onto the Bill and thought "oh, there's going to be loads of heritage involved", and there wasn't any, really.

I: Yeah. Because there's so many practical things you've got to deal with?

R4: There's that as well, and there's also heritage is a bit of a pain in the arse.

I: Yep.

R4: I think that's how it's viewed.

I: Probably, yeah

15:57 R4: Which comes back to your point, which is that if you think about how academic thought is, academics are actually trying to make it easier to enact heritage change, or to look at where you can implement the historic environment, and change the - the historic environment in a better way?

I: Yeah

R4: How you can work together on it? I thought that was quite sad, that no-one actually really thought that was a point.

I: Mm

16:16 R4: UNESCO World Heritage status for Westminster was seen as a pain in the arse, really

I: Yeah

R4: to getting the work done, so we didn't, we have nothing in the Bill that talks about UNESCO.

I: Right.

(...)

16:28 R4: But that never comes into fruition. So what can I say that might help? I think the governance of the Bill, you know, there's a lot there isn't needed to even discuss heritage, but actually when it comes to it, the people who put the heritage stuff in the Bill, were old people, who have a particular way about thinking about heritage.

I: Yeah

16:55 R4: Who then the government listen to.

I: Yes. Because they've been doing their jobs a long time so they know what they're talking about

R4: Yeah yeah yeah. He's very passionate, Lord Cormack, he's very good, and then on the Commons side is a guy called Tim Laughton, who is chief archaeologist bloke for the Commons, the House of Parliament.

I: Right

17:10 R4: So very passionate about what they speak about, and a lot of them, for example Members and stuff, will defer, and say "look, we need better advice for this"

I: Yeah

R4: But I think when it comes into legislation, when it actually, when you actually, when us lot are doing it, you then don't normally take that into account

I: Ok

17:26 R4: Sorry. Been talking too long. (laughs)

I: No! Yeah, it seems a lot of, in terms of the kind of planning policy, if you want to currently kind of implement that sort of, that new kind of heritage thinking where you go "heritage for everyone, it's not static, it's not a fixed asset", it has to be a sort of work around

R4: Yeah

I: agreement between you know, conservation officers, or like local authority archaeologists

R4: Mm

I: and you know, whoever's putting this plan forward to in some ways almost try to sort of work against the legislation?

R4: Yeah. Yeah.

I: Which, I guess, is probably a reflection of the fact that the legislation hasn't been updated since 1990.

R4: Yeah

I; but that fact that they're kind of trying to find work arounds for it, rather than working with it, seems, just, there's sort of a limit to how far you can implement it.

18:22 R4: Yeah I think so, I think what one of the really interesting things is about how much the public sphere actually understand how - how we - how people think about heritage and how, for

example, Historic England might advise you can work with it and how much you can change, so I think people think you've got an old building, you can't ever do anything with it, right?

I: Yeah

18:38 R4: So for example, academics will write lots of stuff about, not just like you know you've got culture, and Laurajane Smith for example, and how we should think about that, but in terms of buildings archaeology and how we can change those buildings archaeologies and the theory around that has moved on a long way from saying you just can't touch something, and I think that's, that has not filtered down to the public, and it hasn't filtered down to lots of people in Parliament, on this particular experience of it, so much so that it's novelty for people in Parliament to start talking about public engagement about heritage, and how you should go about doing it

I: Right

19:13 R4: and it's like, well it's not a new thing, like, you know, you engage people with the heritage, and then you do that, and you have to, you know, have real people in Parliament push it, which is quite interesting I suppose from that perspective. But there's a lot of, there is, there's definitely a disengagement between - but I suppose that's the same in all the, all fields, I suppose, isn't it?

I: Mm

R4: I mean, I don't know what it's like in science, do the, do the changes that happen in science then get infiltrated through to -? Medicine, medicine I suppose saves people's lives, they're probably more in tune to think about it

I: Yeah

R4: I don't know whether that's a point that you've found out with this research.

I: Yeah, well a lot of the - if you want to look at sort of, you know, communication between academics and the public, a lot of the stuff that has been studied is about things like medicine and you know, how do you convince people that vaccines are safe

R4: Mm

19:59 I: when you're talking about things that are completely kind of, out of a normal person's understanding

R4: yeah



I: You know, how do you understand that biology or, you know, how do you explain nuclear power

R4: Yeah

I: To someone who's only got their GCSE in physics

R4: Yeah yeah yeah, exactly

I: That kind of thing. So, in some ways there's a lot more around that than there is around things like "but how can we do public engagement on, like tourism and heritage" and stuff, so

R4: Yeah yeah yeah, it's true. I mean I think actually, so to flip back to the original question and go back and forth [the CBA have a] Health and Wellbeing policy document, on the benefits of health and wellbeing

I: Ok

20:35 R4: to send out to archaeological digs. I think that shows even in archaeological terms, people working in it, that if they've got to have the document sent from the CBA about the health and wellbeing benefits,

I: Mmhm

R4: which the government have written massive documents about, academics have written about, and it's not filtering down to people, is it

I: Yeah

20:49 R4: It's just literally not. And there's also a worry I have that it ends up becoming too expensive to do anything, because companies will start harnessing that, and then start charging you

I: Right

R4: for that sort of stuff

I: So if there's enough benefits around it then you can, like, increase the competition for wanting to do it?

21:11 R4: Yeah, and charge more for it, in the long run.

I: Yeah

R4: It's, yeah, it's an interesting thing, I suppose. I suppose doing the CHM stuff, and then going back into the real world, I definitely when I first got to Parliament, I was like "oh wow, I can't wait, I'm working on this Bill, this is so good, get to know heritage". I was astounded at the fact that none of it was actually talked about (laughs) how miniscule it was?

I: Mm

R4: (...) but no, no-one really wanted to know all my heritage theory stuff.

I: Right

21:57 R4: Anyway, sorry, I'll shut up.

I: No, no, this is an interview intended to get people to ramble, so this is the whole point

R4: (laughs) Well I can talk and talk and talk.

I: So, I mean I guess we've sort of already touched on this, but the last question is about whether you think that kind of people who work in heritage, and sort of do the practical side of things, have a different approach to the people who studied the sort of critical heritage theory and the kind of stuff that you were looking at during the CHM course.

22:30 R4: I think so. I for example the National Trust, and - CBA's a bit more about theory stuff, isn't it, so it's a bit different at the CBA, they probably do think about that a lot more, but National Trust when I [did an internship] there I was sort of gobsmacked by they don't really take - well, it's National Trust as well, isn't it, a lot of people have an opinion about the National Trust - but they have a particular way of doing stuff, and I don't think they actually follow anything that academics are telling them to do unless it makes them money, which is fine, it's an organisation that has to make money, but in terms - I've forgotten the question again, go on.

I: (laughs) How is their kind of approach different when you're in theory versus practice.

R4: That's it, that's right. Yeah, I think it is different, the fact that, I just don't think it - I don't think it comes on people's radar, really! (laughs) I think anything to do with heritage and history is looked at by lots of people, go "ooh, I can't read that, it's way too dense", or, I don't know if you had that when you finished your degrees, some people are "ooh, you did history", or "ooh, you did cultural heritage management", and whenever I tell it to where I worked they had to ask me like five times, what that meant

I: Yeah

23:34 R4: I think there's a little bit of a disjointedness between working in heritage and then saying this is beneficial for you because do you write in an easy way to understand it?

I: Yeah. So there's this sort of perception that it's unapproachable even when it isn't.

R4: Yeah, I think so. But I think also academics do the same thing, as well.

I: Mm

R4: I think they like to be, I've always got a big issue about how heritage is, is interacted with, because I think you have competition with the fact that the public wants to see more of heritage, you have issue with the fact that that thing is going to be destroyed if you let them, yeah?

I: Mm

R4: But at the same time, for example, in Canterbury they've got the Black Prince's sort of hereditary, heraldry stuff, and that stuff's just kept, kept under lock and key

I: Right

24:16 R4: So I have an issue about sometimes you have the bigheads of the academic world who say "well only I get to see that". So I think that creates that as well.

I: Mmhm

R4: And when you read certain - I'm reading, someone's doing research into the actual Houses of Parliament, on the ventilation system. Really interesting, by the way, because it's, like - have you read about the Houses of Parliament?

I: Yeah, there's that - there's that sound project, wasn't it

R4: Yeah, they did the sound project, yeah

I: Studying who could hear what was said

R4: And now they've done a whole project about the ventilation systems, and when [B] put this in the (*?inaudible?*) he and our architect had this big argument, but the ventilation system is basically just holes around the roof, so it's a big fire hazard, because fire will just spread through it.

I: Yep.

24:50 R4: So some guy's written an academic paper about how you change it and I was reading it today and and I was like "oh my god, this goes on and on and on and I just want to know how to fix the thing", you know?

I: (laughs)

R4: So I think that breeds -

I: Mm

R4: a real bit of inability to understand between academics and non-academics, if you get what I mean.

I: And then you've got the conventionally academic world where unless you write something that sounds sufficiently impressive

R4: Yeah

I: you don't get the, kind of funding or the publication or,

25:19 R4: (...) I mean, Historic England do it in their documents, don't they, when they pass it across

I: Mm

25:38 R4: but sometimes I'm just like "what are you talking about", you know? And quite frankly I wouldn't have passed any of that stuff on to people in government, because I would like "no-one's going to understand that, and no-one's going to read it"

I: Yeah

R4: Yeah, it's difficult, I suppose, how you pass that across.

I: Mm

R4: Because people want to read something quite easily, but also, you've got to have the facts, and heritage is quite a complicated thing.

I: Yeah. Yeah, and one of the things I've been trying to look at is look at you know when certain kind of buzzwords go across? You know, 'significance', and 'values', and stuff like that.

R4: Oh, yeah yeah yeah.

I: And if people are using those, does that mean that they're using them in the same way that heritage theorists would think that they're using them

R4: Yeah

I: Or have they just picked these up because they're in Conservation Principles and

26:17 R4: I think that's a really good point, and to go back to the Bill again, Tim Loughton introduced in the Commons, the heritage amendment, and basically it was - the word significance was there

I: Mmhm

R4: and it was clear, obviously he's read the Historic England documents, you know, so the Palace of Westminster is a significant place for the archaeological or architectural and whatever it is significance. So he wrote the amendment that literally had those words in?

I: Yeah

26:39 R4: and I remember reading it going "this is like being back at, you know, reading Historic England documents", so I think that literally happens. People don't understand why they've written it, and I remember saying to the lawyers, I was like, they were obviously trying to think of a word to put into the amendment, and I was like "why don't you use the word significant?" I said, like, "Historic England loves it, everyone loves it. Because significance is everywhere, they'll think you know what you're talking about". So yeah

I: Yeah

R4: that's really really important, and, and I supposed I've used that within my job, is to use some buzz words to get around stuff. And there's, if you start - this sounds really bad, but if I said to them, or someone said to them. But if you just drop in that you're a Historic England staff and you do this sort of stuff, you're immediately given a little bit of, um, kudos?

I: Mm

27:22 R4: That you know what you're talking about? So if you ever go back to Hansard, you'll be able to read it, about how Baroness Evans, they quoted Historic England, and the way they talk about heritage is, I wrote that, because I was predominantly meant to write like, they were academics themselves,

I: Mm

R4: and they knew what they're talking about.

I: yeah

27:42 R4: So you know when we were talking about that, you're, like, writing in an academic way, sound like an academic, you can probably get anything done.

I: Yeah. Which is kind of concerning in its own way.

R4: I don't know if there's any relation to what you were doing.

I: Yeah, yeah. Well, yeah, it's that, that kind of gap in communication isn't it, where, if we use the same words, we assume we mean the same thing.

R4: Yeah, yeah, exactly, that's pretty much it

I: and if we don't, how can we tell?

R4: Yeah, that's right.

I: So, it's

28:11 R4: Because remember, we did end up keeping significant in, because we'd already used it for something else? So we used a different word for it, I think, special or something like that, but, um

I: Special interest?

R4: Yeah, something like that, I can't remember the amendment, what it says now. (...)

28:47 R4: You have to - heritage theory is good, I think it's really good for having a better outlook. Laurajane Smith, for example, changes your outlook on how you should think about stuff

I: Mm

R4: And it's good to go into a perception of heritage going no, actually, we have to have a more, inclusive, open idea about how we treat it. But I think how do you put that into practice? I just don't, I don't know whether people are actually writing that properly.

I: Mm

R4: They probably are, but obviously it's not getting across.

I: Yeah.

R4: yeah.

29:12 I: And if you're working with a system where, you know, buildings are listed for their architectural, historic, evidential value, then, you know, what do you do with a building that doesn't have any of those but has community value?

R4: yeah yeah that's right, that's really important.

I: Yeah

R4: Yeah, I mean, I suppose that comes back to like, a lot of people were, I mean when we had people asking about the building, oh, continually had this, where I'd be like "oh, what you working on, restoration of Parliament", "oh, you're working on that, but you won't renovate something like this", you know, you're going to spend 9 billion pound on this, but you won't renovate that, so they, it definitely, there's a - I think that's one thing that came up with the Bill, is lots of Members and Lords, lots of certain people, certain ages, all different areas, have a misconception about what heritage is.

I: Mmhm

29:51 R4: and how people value that.

I: Right

R4: and where the value is that people will think - Parliament is more - not more important, but that's heritage. Whereas if you go down the road that little building is - they don't understand that cultural heritage is just as important for that person, as it is for Parliament.

I: Mmhm

30:06 R4: Definitely that is extremely pervasive across Westminster

I: Mmhm

R4: for how they think about heritage. And it's quite a problem actually.

I: Which is kind of a cliché in a way, you know, the sort of elite of the country valuing the most elite heritage you can get, pretty much.

R4: Yeah, yeah, that's true

I: Apart from Buckingham Palace, I guess

R4: Yeah, it was weird working on a project where you're like, the country needs to put in 9 billion pounds ploughed into other stuff, and then working to work on a project that's going to plough 9 billion pounds into a building which quite easily could catch fire like Notre Dame.

Which obviously needs to be done, but in terms of how we view other stuff - I mean also there's that question about, I don't even know what DCMS do, I don't know what heritage policy people do? I went for a job there, I don't know what they do. Do you know what they do?

I: No

30:53 R4: I don't know what they do either. They pump out documents, I don't know what DCMS do with their area, I have no idea. They - and I don't know whether this helps, but they had absolutely nothing to do with the Bill.

I: yeah

R4: So they had no impact in terms of talking to people. You know, you'd think they probably would considering that Historic England talk to them?

I: Yeah

R4: They had nothing to do with that, we didn't speak to them, which I thought was a bit weird.

I: Mmhm

31:12 R4: Whether - they'll come into more of it, I suppose, on the Delivery Authority side of things. But yeah, I thought it was weird from the perspective that you have people writing this legislation, who enact stuff, is politics itself, who don't actually have any understanding about how that works.

I: Yeah

R4: Two people probably had more influence over that Bill, about heritage, than the whole rest of the Houses of Parliament and Lords, if I sum it up.

I: Yeah

R4: Yeah.

31:38 I: And, you know, like you were saying the Department of Education have control of the history curriculum, which then influences loads about how people sort of see heritage and what they're interested in

R4: yeah

I: and you think if they were changing that, would that get any input from the sort of heritage policy side of things or would that just be a Department of Education thing?



31:52 R4: Yeah, that's what it's kind of a government, who interacts with what stuff, people are very precious about who does what. So, from working on - I worked on a Suffragette programme (...)

I: Mmhm

R4: We, our sort of company who created the Suffragette project, and I remember someone speaking to DCMS about what - and Department for Education for example, when you say what is the impact into it? Or work into it

I: Mmhm

R4: They didn't really want anything to do with it. So from that perspective I was quite surprised. So there's a lot of disjointedness in government

I: Right

32:26 R4: and who works on what, and why do they work on it.

I: Yeah

R4: Yeah, it's a lot of people have fingers in a few different pies, and it's just like, didn't get anything. Working at the Cabinet Office, I have a bit more clout to tell people to go and do it, but, it's whether they want to do it or not.

I: Mm

R4: But it never normally crosses over, that sort of stuff

I: Right

32:43 R4: Which is a bit sad really. But in terms of education, I would change a lot of stuff about our education of history. I think most people would, wouldn't they?

I: Yeah, once you've done a history degree, you have a lot of opinions on stuff like that

R4: Yeah you don't you?

I: yeah, great, ok. Was there anything else you kind of wanted to talk about, or bring up, or

R4: No no no, like, if you want to - if I, if you need to have another chat that's fine, but hopefully I've offered you information.

I: Yeah, it's the kind of thing that's actually surprisingly hard to sort of get an insight on if you haven't been there and worked on it?

R4: Yeah yeah yeah

I: I mean, things like civic amenity societies and stuff, people can just go "what do they do?"

R4: Yeah yeah, yeah

I: How do they get input into the policy, or into the practice, and

33:32 R4: yeah, input into policies is interesting though. I mean, like, from a policy adviser role, is surprising, you think lots of those people who work in heritage policy, which I've had, I don't think they have a degree in heritage, but I think that's across the board in Civil Service

I: Right

R4: you don't have to have a degree in something that you're working on, which is my argument a lot of the time. There's a lot of indifferent people in the Civil Service, like, how can you possibly do that if you don't know what you're talking about?

I: So do you think there's a certain amount of reliance on sort of expert advisers, or is it more that you just work to your own targets?

34:02 R4: Yeah, well, no, so it's, that's a note that advisers don't do what people think they do. So SPADS are just literally there to advise on political matters. So if I - if I'm introducing a new policy, I probably would then, yeah, I'd speak to Historic England, or ask them to go round a table, but you're always hemmed in by the political aspect about that.

I: Mmhm

34:26 R4: For example, when I worked at Democrat Engagement, which doesn't really have much to do with this, but a politician wasn't going to sign up to Democratic Engagement, you had charities that were actually actively engaged in trying to bring down the government

I: Mmhm

R4: So, they will pick and choose, you're hamstrung. I could have the best knowledge in the world, but ultimately the ministers are never going to do what you want them to do. because that's not what you're there to do.

I: Right

34:45 R4: I find obviously all this sounds extremely frustrating.

I: Mm

R4: I think lots of people do in the end, because you don't get to enact a lot of stuff that you think you're going to enact. And they're the people who are setting the agenda for heritage, which is quite problematic.

I: Right

R4: Yeah. It's quite worrying actually.

I: Because it's a whole different set of priorities?

35:03 R4: Yeah yeah yeah, definitely, when you put the political stuff, and yeah, I love the way they just didn't put heritage in the Bill, because it's like "oh, well, we will use that as a concession for something else that will be more important, that we don't need". And we always knew we were going to put heritage in the Bill. We always knew they weren't going to put UNESCO in because UNESCO does cause - that was the only time we went and actually sought advice from a historical lawyer, sort of working in that area, who said, "we don't want to put UNESCO in" and I said "let's probably not put that in because that's going to cause lots of other issues", because local authority are not going to have the ability to do what they want. And that again goes to the disjointedness about people in Parliament not actually understanding at all how heritage works, because actually UNESCO don't really have that much - that putting UNESCO in the Bill would have made no difference to how you actually, local authority can work on it. So there's a total disjoint to that.

I: Mm

35:49 R4: I never thought I would raise that in a meeting with a Minister, or the Baroness, because they weren't listening anyway.

I: Mm

R4: So yeah, you're - yeah, it's a bit worrying at times. I wouldn't say it's total, we're in massive, like, issues, like they will listen and go with what you say and stuff, but it's like, yeah. And it's definitely with the Palace of Westminster, with Conservatives you're always going to get that Bill through

I: Right

R4: but Labour it would probably be a bit more tricky. A) because they wanted to take the Bill on

I: Right

R4: And renovate or restore a new Palace, or whatever they wouldn't say, there's all this political stuff.

I: Ok

R4: Which I suppose is interesting about roles I do

I: Mm

36:32 R4: Because you have to fight against that

I: Yeah

R4: But with heritage I don't think you can usually have, you should have that fight. Because, well in an ideal world you wouldn't need it. Trouble is heritage is always, you know, overtaken by a particular political faction about their own means, aren't they

I: Mm

R4: But here in the real world we would look at heritage being a heritage for everyone and just try and safeguard and look after stuff

I: Yeah

R4: That doesn't really happen in politics.

I: Yeah

R4: Yeah. That's me, sorry!

I: Ok, great, thank you.

## Interview 5

20.09.2019, York

Respondent 5 studied geography and archaeology at undergraduate, followed by an MPhil in archaeological heritage management and museums. They then worked in archaeology and as a site manager and interpreter, before working for the Council for British Archaeology and then Historic England as an Inspector for Ancient Monuments

On the MPhil:

R5: (...)in hindsight now, it was brilliant. At the time, it was a bunch - it was entirely hot air.

I: Right.

R5: Nonsense. So what is really fascinating is, when I then finished that, and I went out to try and get a job, it was entirely worthless for the next five years.

I: Ok. But it sort of shaped the way you thought about things

R5: It was, well, so I don't know if it shaped the way I thought, because I always had a lot of these thoughts beforehand, I think it made me understand where my thoughts were, but at that time, at the minute I just felt completely and utterly lost, because nobody wanted any theoretical thinking. That's what I understand now, nobody wanted theory, they just wanted experience, have you dug, have you dug, have you dug. Mmhm?

I: Yeah

R5: That's basically this mantra that came back. And I didn't really want to do it, I just loved a big conversation. And partly, the way I articulate it to people now is, I think it's partly because I'm part Irish,

I: Right

R5: And I - so I would actually argue I have a strong Celtic element to the way I perceive place

I: Mmhm

R5: and I - I do feel Celtic people relate to place very differently than Anglo-Saxons, in the sense that place is very much about alive, you know, very much part of them, and you know, how do you express that?

I: Mm

R5: And so I always loved this sort of narrative about place

I: Yeah

(...)

R5: and so what was really interesting was that, so, to finish off that, what my MPhil did for me, is, when I finally got the courage to ask the guy who employed me into English Heritage, as it was then, why he employed me, he said it was because of my theoretical background.

I: Mm

R5: Which is really interesting in this context

I: Mmhm

R5: For the context that you're interested in

I: Yes

R5: Because actually I slightly feel we've created our own little mini university of thinking.

05:39 I: Yes, yeah

R5: Yeah?

I: And it's partly a reflection of who you work with and the environment you work in

R5: Yeah, and so, I'm very lucky in my, the organisation allows us to do that, or more pertinently, I've crafted time and shape to make that thinking happen, and my (team), I'm trying to instil that. So, all of them have either taught on the heritage course at [D] university or have directly attended the training courses

I: Right

06:12 R5: so the MA courses

I: Yeah

R5: now, they - so, unfortunately, I think that gives you a bit of an inkling about where I come from on your topic

I: Yes. Well, no, because that's, I mean, one of the things I'm trying to look at is where academics sit, and then where people who work in practice sit,

R5: Yeah

I: and where the kind of links come into place

R5: Yes

I: so obviously in your case, you've got a lot of interpersonal links, and professional links.

R5: And professional links

I: Yeah

06:36 R5: and, you know, there definitely are, I mean, you know, (...) we are close at hand, and I suppose, so I knew people in the department, not directly, just because there are a lot of other connections, but then obviously through [C], because basically I became a full time inspector because [C] was given time to finish his PhD, and I covered for him

I: Yeah

R5: So, and that just that conversation went of from there, (...)

07:20 R5: but it's also really interesting, absolutely, if you don't have an open mind to that conversation, you don't hear it

I: Right

R5: You don't partake.

I: Mm

R5: And that is the biggest challenge. There are people who absolutely don't want to hear and don't want to know it, because they believe power in heritage lies elsewhere

I: Yeah, yeah. Ok, so, first of the kind of prompt questions

R5: (...) where we might get to is you'll understand why I think all that what I've talked about is really important, actually, to how you work and how you practice.

08:04 I: Yeah. The first of my questions, which is a bit of a sort of, informing my sort of background studies, is how the feel the heritage sector as a whole has changed during your career.

08:20 R5: (pause) A lot more opportunity.

I: Mmhm

R5: but also in some senses it's a lot more closed

I: Ok

R5: Ok, so that's, there's just so much, there's no one answer to this sort of

I: I know, I know, I'm sorry, it's a horribly open ended question, but

R5: Right, ok. So, on one hand I can try and, so just to let you know, I am dyslexic, so I think orally, so I'm thinking while I'm talking

I: Right, yeah yeah

R5: So don't, (?inaudible?) where I go with this. On the one hand, what I see happen is it has become a discipline for white middle class females.

I: Ok

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: Because that's what's happened with salaries, and it's very similar to what happened with the museums sector

I: Mmhm

09:16 R5: that there is a type who can sit in that, you know, because of all that nature, and I know that's horrid, and it's horribly sexist and it's just awful and why should I actually be saying it? Well, unfortunately it's what's happening, yeah? Because, because, we've driven down salaries. It's not, it's not because they're the only people who want to do it, and it's actually nothing to do with their capabilities, right?

I: Mm

R5: Actually, quite frankly

I: (laughs)

R5: Most of my team are female and they do a better job than us because they have one outstanding contribute better than males which is empathy. Yeah? And I think a lot of successful heritage management is about empathy.

I: Right

R5: which is not the same as sympathy

I: Mmhm



R5: it's really different, it's about being able to listen to people, allow people to have their opinion but not necessarily to agree with them

10:07 I: Yeah

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: and it's a really important thing, it's about making people feel included, but not necessarily dominating, right?

I: Yeah

R5: And that's a, it's really, so I find their skills are really really important, but I just feel we've dumbed them down into this little cheap processing role

I: Right

R5: Yeah? And that actually, so there is, you know, it's no surprise in our organisation, up until two years ago and government started publishing these things, all our managers, all our senior managers were men!

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: And they're men, and, ok I'll give you one example to actually frame this. So I really believe in this open way of doing heritage and this quite dynamic one, so I did the presentation at our last staff conference, where I talked about my Lego theory and that's that Lego should be about creative and what we've done is we have created a system through preservation in situ, an finite unrenewable resource, and a neat (?clerical?) heritage lists, we've created a straitjacket, this product that is frankly going nowhere.

I: Right.

R5: Right? Going nowhere. And so I was telling them about all this whole thing. I went into this, I had everyone from the Chief Executive down in the audience, and when everyone walked out it was really interesting what the response was. Lots of people absolutely loved it, absolutely loved it, ok?

I: Ok

R5: 6 people disagreed. So they explicitly came up and said "really enjoyable, thank you very much, but I disagree". They were all men, they were all white, they were all between the ages of 50 and 60 in senior positions.

11:40 I: Mmhm

R5: Because of course what they actually liked is a system that allowed them to show that their expertise was correct.

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: But what I'm opening up is actually wanting a scenario where the debate and the discussion is the most important thing, and ultimately there is no right answer.

I: Mmhm

11:56 R5: Now, how have I got there? I've got there through all the conversations I have, in places like university and talking differently and seeing how people want to relate to heritage differently. So I find there's a real problem in this.

I: Right

R5: At this year's ClfA conference I did a session, and, where we were asking what makes the ideal archaeologist

I: Right

R5: Right?

I: Yep

R5: And, we, I, asked lots of people if they'd stand up and say something. What was really interesting is they were all female.

I: Ok

R5: who agreed to stay

I: Mmhm

R5: And 90% of the audience was female

I: Mm

R5: Where were all the men? They were in the next door session, doing geophysics.

12:34 I: Right. Because they know who the ideal archaeologist is already, or?

R5: I don't know. So, because I don't know because I'm challenging, so what I was talking about were those soft skills, it's about creativity

I: Mm

R5: it's about curiosity, and it's about this stuff, it's not about - it's about whether you want to have the right, if whether you feel you want to have the right answer or whether you want to have a whole load more questions.

I: Yeah

12:58 R5: So I find it, it's so - so what I find really interesting is, I, my mind is in this world, that's far more diverse

I: Right

R5: and far more engaging and eclectic and all those sort of theory. But I work in this place that is just so bound by rigidness

I: Mm

R5: this need to be right, yeah?

I: yeah

R5: And I, so I have to (?write?), you know, "are you right?" and I'm like, "well, how the hell do I know if I'm right?"

I: (laughs)

R5: because, like everything changes as soon as you say something. So I get, a lot of my colleagues get really grumpy, because I say the greatest driver of change is to designate a heritage asset. And they look at you and say "well, what do you mean? It's all about preservation" and I say "no, you just changed the perception of it."

I: Mm

13:42 R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: And, and they just look at you completely blank. And I just generally think, it's, you know, and I just sometimes wonder how far away from thinking are they. And so there other things, such as, when I first joined [C] and I would have these conversations, and he said it takes about, what, 20, 30 years for the ideas you learnt at university to actually go into practice

14:03 I: Mmhm

R5: Because that's, you, it takes that long to get into positions where you can actually do that influencing and do that.

I: Yeah

R5: And my scary thing is that's where I'm getting to now.

I: (laughs) So, you're getting to the influencing position now?

R5: I hope I am.

I: Mm

14:18 R5: but at the same time, there's one other thing that's happening in the heritage industry

I: Mmhm

R5: So whilst it's grown, there's lots more opportunities, and I think that's absolutely fantastic, we are also contracting, yeah? So as an organisation all we've done is got smaller and smaller and smaller, so you have less and less resources.

I: Mm

14:34 R5: The less and less resource you have, the less and less thinking time you have.

I: Yeah. Makes sense.

R5: Ok? The less thinking time you have, in this discipline, in this subject, (?beware/ be aware?) of this, the less effective you become. What you become, is you become risk averse, and you become defensive, so you effectively, your decision making becomes about showing that you haven't done anything wrong.

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

15:01 R5: And again, it's this right/wrong answer, there are no rights, there are no wrongs, so actually that, so that's really really bad. So I have, so all these sort of weird things are actually happening in the, in the discipline, I find that I sit in an organisation that's been very male dominated, it has this whole mantra about, our advice has to be right, and I, yet I have now this, there is this other thing that's over there that actually makes for the sector at a younger age are all female

I: Mmhm

R5: Yeah? Those things, these things aren't hitting, they don't match. The young people, they feel they need to be like the older people, and that's like "no, you've got to be brave, and go with what you're thinking about", because I had to do all that. So I find it all really interesting. I hadn't intended to slightly divert onto - onto sexism or anything like that, but this is just my feeling about why some of these things go on, is, is when, as a government, we were, you know, it became so important that as civil servants we get it right

15:58 I: Yes

R5: Where actually what we should be learning, and what critical heritage theory, shows you is, there is no right.

I: Mm

R5: There's ways of perceiving this, which I think is really more, are far more dynamic and exciting.

I: So it's just a kind of austerity thing that you're contracting, that the organisation is being less well funded so you feel that people have to kind of prove that they

R5: Yes, yes, because

I: are earning their jobs?

16:26 R5: So sometimes you can understand that because people's jobs are more at risk. Yes?

I: Yeah

R5: You - Organisations can't tolerate people who are doing things differently.

I: Mmhm

R5: Yeah? And, any criticism that you're doing something differently is disproportionately - has more impact. So, and what is so weird in all scenarios, right?

I: Mmhm

R5: Is we've got this whole conversation about us wanting to be more engaging

I: Yeah

R5: And what's the first thing we do? We tell people in my team doing my job, (?development?) advice, we don't want you commenting on Grade II buildings any more.

I: Right

R5: Right?

I: Yeah

17:01 R5: Right, so how much, what percentage of the population lives in a Grade I building? And how much of the population lives in a Grade II?

I: Mm

R5: So on the one hand we want to be more engaging, but we're actually not talking to the people who live in most of the heritage assets (laughs)

I: Yes

R5: (Inaudible) or what? It's just lunacy.

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah?

I: It's balancing efficiency with

R5: Yes

I: Outreach

R5: And, and who says that most of the applications we get for Grade I are, are important? The applications anyway, "I'm going to move my statue", well, fine, it's your statue

(Both laugh)

R5: Bloody well move it. "No, you can't move it, says in the list description it's here, you can't do that." It's just like - it's irrelevant. Yeah? Whereas, how you repurpose a high street - so what was fascinating is there was a Heritage Calling Twitter debate yesterday

I: Yep

R5: On high streets

I: Mmhm

17:47 R5: Not one person, in this entire Twitter debate, said, "do you not think we should actually be asking what's the purpose of a high street? What is a high street?"

I: Mm

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: "Who made up the term high street? High streets were very different 200 years ago."

I: Mmhm

R5: Mm, the current model of high street's only existed for about a hundred years. So why are we so scared about it?

I: Mm

R5: Yeah?

I: And then you could go off and talk about fast fashion and whether we need the consumerist model of the high street

R5: Oh, you could talk about repopulating high streets.

I: Mmhm

R5: Why don't we live in them again? Yeah? Why don't we turn them all into sheltered accommodation, you know? And it's about the - yeah, so I find it really really interesting. So we think we're doing a good heritage job because we're putting 96 million pounds into high streets. Well what - all we'll do is we'll just tart up some shop frontages that don't actually work as shops any more!

I: Mm

18:36 R5: And, actually, probably never will in our lifetimes. So I find it really interesting, is that's the point about what happens when you can (inaudible), you become less adventurous, I suppose, and less open to challenging the way things should be done.

I: Focus more on specific -

R5: Well, just

I: things that you know are your role

R5: Or being able to demonstrate that you've made a difference

I: Yes

19:01 R5: and you've made a change. Now, is it the right difference?

I: Mmhm

R5: Ok? And I can give you one example when I first joined the organisation. When I first joined my job was to go and look at Scheduled Monuments in the field and see if their condition was all right.

I: Mmhm

R5: And I was told trees are really bad. And trees were naughty for Scheduled Monuments because their roots damaged the archaeology.

I: Mmhm

R5: We've got to cut them all down. Yeah? Ok. So I went to all these sites where 7 years before all the trees had been cut down. Of course what no-one had done in the meantime is actually realise that trees like to grow back again

I: (laughs)

R5: And if you don't have a tree on a site something else might want to grown there, like bracken

I: Mm

R5: brambles, and if there's lots of humps and bumps kids on motorbikes might just cycle all over these things.

I: Yes.



R5: Right?

I: Yeah

19:42 R5: And so what was really fascinating is, whilst in that person they did that job, and they did a good job, yeah?

I: Mm

R5: Got a few trees cut down and they could say I've improved the condition of the monument, for their next - the rest of their working life, which is another 5 years.

I: Mm

R5: When I joined, that actually was then being the exact opposite, the work we'd done was actually damaging the monument.

I: Mm. So -

R5: But, you know, but, because actually what we're really bad at doing is, my job doesn't last 200 years, so why should I care about the long-term management of a place? So I find it really really interesting that organisations can channel you to think in really limited ways

I: Mmhm

R5: And again this is about, so why, why is this really important? Because actually, having the ability to think outside some of these problems

I: Mm

20:28 R5: Think differently, understand how value and all that lot is ascribed, and played around with, allows you to stop getting het up about these, these tiny little bits

I: Mm

R5: of detail that I think quite frankly in the long run just don't matter. So I love a tree on a monument

I: (laughs)

20:46 R5: because a tree can live for 200 years. That's quite a stable management regime.

I: (laughs)

R5: Yeah?

I: At least you know it's there and it's going to stay there.

R5: Absolutely! Exactly. People might fall out of it and have fun, and you know, do things differently with it, and so it's really, it's a, it becomes a whole environment (inaudible)

I: Mmhm. Right, where have we got to? I guess we covered this a bit in the first section, but the next question I've got down is how you think your own ideas about heritage have changed. So you were saying that you feel like you've sort of always had your own ideas and then you've channelled them through theory when you came across it?

R5: No, well, in some sense my ideas have always changed. Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: I'm always having new ideas. Nothing ever has - that's what's brilliant about it, nothing sort of stays the same. There's a, I love to say there's a feeling that runs through, which is about humanity, and humaneness and people, and about who we are. I think as I've got older, I can apply people's theory back to it better.

I: Mmhm

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

21:48 R5: I didn't know the theory when I was doing it, so I can't say the theory has made me behave like that.

I: Mmhm

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: I just think maybe I'm more open to those ideas. And so actually I do things and then I realise, "Oh, people have been writing theories about it". So, the idea that places belong to people, and people make places

I: Mm

R5: I would argue has actually always been there.

I: Yeah

22:19 R5: I didn't necessarily always realise it. Yeah, I think I would have defined it as that, I wouldn't define it in fancy, you know, ways now. But I suppose in terms of where my thinking goes, is, I just have new ways of expressing that, new ways of talking about that, new ways of relating to it.

I: Mmhm

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: Which I think's the nice bit that's actually changed.

I: Mm. (pause) Do you think that kind of applies, sorry I'm trying to frame this in my head. Do you think heritage theorists are sort of responding to that sense in practice that maybe there are other ways to do it and there are sort of broader ways to think about it? So are other people like you saying "hey maybe this is about people", and social context and things

23:19 R5: Well, I think it's a bit chicken and egg really, isn't it?

I: Yeah

R5: Does practice happen and then people try and come up with a theory for how it works

I: Mm

R5: or does theory come first? So, the biggest thing I've learned

I: Mmhm

R5: And I, ok. So the biggest thing I've learned is I don't - I don't care about theory or methodology. Right?

I: (laughs) Yes

R5: Ok, because you can have any theory, any methodology, and apply them in any way you like. It doesn't matter. We should try as many as we can, we should be doing it, done, done, I mean I know one (inaudible), I'm just saying I don't think one makes something right or makes something wrong.

I: Yeah

23:57 R5: What I've actually learned, the most important thing I've got to work out in my head about how I do it is, what is my philosophy?

I: Right

R5: Ok?

I: Yeah

R5: And I absolutely believe this subject is more about philosophy, and actually how you want to apply it and how you want to apply your thinking and what you're thinking and who you actually might - key. And so this is the big area where I'm short of learning, so, for example, I'm going to be on the expert panel at the CHAT conference in November, which is all looking at methodology, and my gut feeling is I'm going to tell them "well, methodology is rubbish".

I: (laughs) I'm sure that will go down great.

24:31 R5: It's not, that's not the point, you're missing the point. What you've got to actually understand is the philosophy that you want to talk about.

I: Yeah

R5: So, my baseline philosophy is inclusiveness.

I: Mm

R5: And partly because it's not my heritage, it's mostly other people's heritage, and so I just want to go and, so, what are my key things in that scenario? I've learnt now that I love this idea of curiosity, inquisitiveness, and creativity.

I: Yes

24:54 R5: And it's a philosophical approach. Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: And actually I might use a bit of theory to demonstrate that, I might use a little bit of methodology to actually do that, I'm not wedded to any of them.

I: Yeah

R5: I'm probably more wedded to my principles through my philosophy.

I: Yeah

25:14 R5: And so that answers the question. So I have this sort of idea, because it's really weird, because I have this sort of philosophical approach, but when you say it, something, it does end up sounding like someone could say, "but that's a theory, [R5]."

I: (laughs)

R5: "That's a methodology". So, I have this thing in my brain that 1 equals 25.

I: Right.

R5: ok?

I: Yeah

R5: So, say archaeologists say they deliver answers. I say rubbish, you deliver questions. So you dig something up, you have a question, that question turns into 5 questions. Those 5 questions turn into?

I: 5 more questions each.

R5: 25 questions! So wow, 1 to 25, brilliant. That is the power of what we do, because, to me, the ability to engage around 25 questions is massive.

I: Yeah

25:55 R5: So actually, we don't want to find answers, we want to find questions. Yeah?

I: Mmhm. And you can do more by delivering 25 questions

R5: Yes

I: than you can by trying to deliver 1 answer?

R5: Yes.

I: Yes

R5: Ok? So our, really, so actually what I keep trying to say is, that that's archaeology, is not to find answers, it's to find the next set of questions.

I: Mmhm

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah.

26:14 R5: So it's a really - and I think that's a philosophical approach.

I: Mm

R5: So I get, I do a lot of talking, and I've been into units where I talk about, you know, (?engagement?) and they just stare blankly, it's like rabbits in headlights!

I: (laughs)

R5: Yeah? And they say "how do you do that?" And I just say "get up tomorrow and think differently".

I: Mmhm. Which maybe comes more naturally to some people than others, but

R5: Yes

I: Yes

R5: Yes, but, then, that's because I'm exposed to thinking.

I: Mmhm

R5: You can expose yourself to thinking, you can - you can, like some people, hide yourself away and say "No, I've done my degree so I've done my thinking, I'm the expert now, boom, I don't need to be told". Or you can say well, actually, I'm never going to be an expert.

I: Yeah

R5: I'm never going to be a expert, until the day I die, yeah?

I: Mm

R5: Because I don't want to stop learning.

I: Mmhm

R5: I don't want to stop experiencing new things

I: Yeah

R5: and asking new questions.

I: Mm

R5: So if you're saying to me, an expert is somebody who never learns any more, well you can keep it.

27:11 I: (laughs) (pause) Sorry. Trying to segue on to the question, but no, it's going to be completely -

R5: Go ahead

I: So, I mean, this feels like quite an obvious question after what we've been talking about, but do you think the approach to heritage of those who work in the sector, in kind of every day practice, is different to the approach that theorists would take?

27:45 R5: Yes. And there are justifiable reasons, ok?

I: Mmhm

R5: So I love all the theory and I love all that, yeah? But actually I've got to give pragmatic answers

I: Yes

R5: So actually one of the most important attributes is to be a pragmatist

I: Mmhm

R5: I can't - you can't, there is no way of getting absolutely right. The theory might want you to do everything in a certain way and get a certain answer.

I: Yep

28:04 R5: Right, ok, the real world exists,

I: Yeah

R5: so I can't actually do that. So

I: Mmhm

R5: So, but what theory does for you is help you think around problems.

I: Mm

R5: And think of ways that you can actually explore them differently or, work your way around them so you, or you, you can definitely take the approach of you're just going to bulldoze through it or you can take the approach of I'm going sort of to work around it. So, so, in some senses, people who just operate in a world where they just think of theory and might be at a university, well they've got a set of parameters they're working towards.

I: Mmhm

R5: Yeah? Well, come out at have a go at life in the real world, well, I don't want to call it the real world, but in a different set of context, you don't, they don't always work

I: Yeah

28:47 R5: that doesn't make the theory invalid

I: Right

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: It, it, you've just got to take which bits sort of work. So I do think they are different. And, ugh. So I do, you know, theory can, can be very pure and not necessarily so adaptable to circumstance

I: Yeah

R5: But that doesn't invalidate it.

I: Mmhm. It just means that it's not applicable in the circumstances you're working in?

R5: Or you won't know it's not applicable until you try doing it

I: Mm

29:22 R5: And just because it becomes inapplicable doesn't mean it's wrong. That's not the point. That's, it doesn't mean it's wrong

I: Yeah

R5: It might just not have given another, better, set of questions. Yeah?

I: Mmhm

R5: So, theory only becomes wrong if you want it to give you a right answer.

I: Mm

R5: But I might want theory to help me approach a problem. Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: not necessarily solve it my problem - and again, so it goes to that approach, and it's that difference with, say, a philosophy, which doesn't necessarily

I: Yeah

R5: Want to give you an answer, it wants to give you a way of thinking about the problem!



I: Yeah

29:52 R5: That's something I'm really interested in exploring further in my own mind and I don't know whether I'm talking rubbish about that but it seems to be, you know, somewhere where I feel my, sort of, thinking has gone, so, but being exposed to people who think purely about theory is nice

I: Mmhm

R5: I don't get it sometimes.

I: Yeah

R5: That's my problem is, because when they think about it in a refined scenario and I'm in the real world, I can't sometimes apply it.

I: Mm

30:23 R5: And sometimes, you, I, I think I apply more of it retrospectively than I do live, because I actually by experience. So it's just the way I am made up, it's, I have to do something first, and then find, oh yeah, that might have helped me and then how do you use it later.

I: Ok, so by applying it retrospectively you mean think back on situations

R5: Yes

I: where it might have helped

R5: Yes, so how theory might have helped me.

I: Yeah

30:47 R5: So, you see, but then it's bizarre what you might want to call a theory,

I:Mm

R5: Right? I'd call it not a theory but a set of questions. I do think there is an approach to heritage, or to heritage problems, that, that is one that I take, which is about asking a set of questions in a logical sort of way.

I: Mmhm

R5: Right? Which is what do I understand about a place? Why do I think this place is significant? What are the issues affecting this place? You know?

I: Yes

R5: Or this thing or whatever it is, and then what does that mean.

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah? Right. So, I would say you cannot be consistent in the answers you give in the historic environment, you can only be consistent in your approach.

I: Mmhm

R5: Right? So there's a four-stage approach. Understanding, significance, issues, impact. Right? Or is that a methodology?

I: Yeah. I mean, if you apply it as a method in different situations, is it a methodology, or, yeah

R5: Yes. But, I don't, I would say it's a set of questions. So, a methodology would then require you to write it down and set it out in that order.

I: Mm

R5: I don't. Ok? So what I would say is, I might find - so I've done all this sort of stuff and I might find the end answer to the issues is it's about someone's life and death, is more important than all the other ones.

I: Mm

32:02 R5: So what tend to happen in the heritage world is we want to say "it's a lovely methodology and we want to write it like that, so here's my twenty pages of understanding, here's my twenty pages of significance, here's my twenty pages of issues", and then the most important thing, that the person going to die at the end, is written in one paragraph at the end

I: Mmhm

R5: Where actually what you should have done is taken that and put that in the front

I: Yeah

R5: "Right, this person will die, so here's all" - everything's clouded by that.

I: Yeah

R5: And that's a very brutal way of actually sort of saying it. But that's my frustration with it, that you treat it as a methodology, you then have to keep -

I: Yeah

32:30 R5: Yeah. It's a set of questions.

I: Yeah

R5: Which sounds scarily like a methodology, I know

I: (laughs)

R5: but I'm trying to - people, again, this is my point about pragmatism

I: Mmhm

R5: I'm in a business where people want me to justify the decisions I take.

I: Yes

R5: If I can't justify my decisions by being an expert and being right all the time, I can only justify my decisions by consistency of the approach I take. Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: Which for me is always trying to ask the same questions, because then you can show how they lead to the conclusions that you draw.

33:06 I: Yeah. But you're, I mean, you're in this sort of position, where you have connections at universities and with people who are sort of employed in thinking, essentially

R5: Yeah

I: And then you're also going out and just talking to the people who are, you know, I mean, so not "real world", but they're living with things and they're working with them

R5: yes

I: and they're having to find very practical solutions.

R5: Yes

I: So in a way you are one of these kind of points of contact

R5: yes

I: where the different sides meet each other.

R5: Yes. And so, for example, tomorrow I'm going to talk at the [local archaeology group]

I: Mmhm

33:38 R5: I'm up first, and I'm doing my idea of anyone can cook

(both laugh)

R5: So, using my Ratatouille philosophy

I: (laughs) Yes

R5: And, one of the things I'll be arguing in that, is that you don't have to be an archaeologist to do this, that's wrong, archaeology is a process, it's not, you know, not a thing, yeah? And, that, if we allow others into this conversation, that if we allow them to add other ingredients, maybe our recipe becomes better. If our recipe becomes better, maybe what we end up cooking is more exciting and better. Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: So. And the examples I'm going to use are those groups who have had a powerful powerful impact on me. So whether it's the group who just through talking and arguing sustained the memory of [a] munitions factory to the degree that I ended up hearing about it, and I ended up making sure it got scheduled. Yeah?

I: Yeah

34:39 R5: Right? (?Well?) I didn't learn about the story, I heard about it, my inquisitiveness drew me to it, yeah? And ultimately I recognised it, and, yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: It's scheduled, which isn't my success, it's actually their success, which is fantastic, and I wouldn't have known about it if they hadn't been doing all the stuff they've been doing about it. There was no professional involved in that

I: Mm

R5: They were the ones who sustained the value.

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah, which I think's fantastic. Right up the stuff I'm doing with, I've come across this group at Thixendale who are digging at Hanging Grimston

I: Mm

R5: And then some of them weren't diggers but they loved what was being produced, they loved the conversations, so they did an artwork project

I: Yeah

R5: and, it's just extraordinary. Right, and they just did another exhibition this year, and the artwork got even better! And I'm just like - (?drawn in?). Ok? They, in year 1 they dug up, they dug up a dovecote.

I: Mmhm

R5: Lovely. And they did all this stuff with the dovecote. And then, when they were backfilling the trench, being backfilled, they noticed all the roof tiles were just being thrown back in. So they asked, could they take these beautiful stone roof tiles

I: Mm

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: And they painted them. They've used them as basically canvases.

I: Mm

R5: And so as part of this exhibition they got a big board, and they nailed them all on, and they put in the fireplace, decorated the fireplace, and you had this extraordinary, just extraordinary piece of artwork, made out of art done on this fourteenth century, fifteenth century, roof tiles.

I: yeah

R5: Right? And I just, to me that is amazing. And anyway, you ask them why they're doing it, it's because they have feelings about the archaeology and they wanted to express it. This is one way of expressing it, and it's that point about archaeologists, you know, we all have feelings. Why don't we express our feelings? You know, this stuff is not neutral.

I: Mm

36:25 R5: The way they were powerful, yeah? So it becomes amazing, about how actually, if you break those shackles of convention that you are the expert, actually you learn more.

I: Yeah

R5: Your, your, the work you do, it's more rounded, more fuller, more rewarding, more meaningful. Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: And that is the really, really important thing. So if you asked me, what I see coming out of universities and heritage management, are people who are more willing to accept the a wider concept of heritage and the historic environment and the ways of talking about it.

I: Yeah

37:06 R5: Which I think, that's so important. But then also at the same time I also see there is exactly that same thing that we were talking about our work, is as university courses got pressured, they became more formulaic, and they become more about creating someone who can get a job.

I: Yes

R5: and they become less about thinking, and I think that's very very dangerous.

I: Mm

R5: So, what's really bizarre, in all my hindsight, actually, going to [University E] to do my MPhil was a really really good idea

I: (laughs)

R5: because it didn't close down my thinking, it did the exact opposite. It opened it up. (...)

I: Right

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

37:46 R5: So it's like, you know, - but we're not taught to realise this, that's what I find really interesting, is we're not taught to realise how these things can be applied, whereas actually when you're taught philosophy you're taught about these things are applied

I: Mmhm

R5: Which I think's really interesting.

I: Yeah

R5: That's my - well, I suppose that's my sort of current thinking, where my brain's going at the moment

I: Mm

R5: Which is this idea, is that I sometimes feel like a sponge. Yeah?

I: You just absorb what's around you?

R5: yeah. The quirky I like. Yeah.

38:21 I: I wonder how many people get to the sort of, that stage in their career, and still go, you know, "open to all the new ideas that come my way" rather than feeling that they know their direction and they're going to sort of stick with it.

R5: Yeah, I don't know if it's starting to whether I'm getting any jobs further up. (laughs) I think restriction is starting to impact on my ability to think and that's the scariest thing, because I don't like that. So yeah, no, it's (pause) some people don't want to. Some people - yeah, no definitely, I'd, you know, all these things are a power relationship, aren't they

I: Mm

39:02 R5: People go into organisations who just want to get higher.

I: Yeah

R5: Whether it's so they can get paid more money or they want, it's really interesting, I've got a few members of my team who are retiring, what they all choose to do when they go off and retire becomes interesting.

I: Mm

R5: Yeah. So I think they - there are other people who do carry on thinking. But they - what I find is they take it into strange places, yeah? So they'll do something totally unrelated to work since they're not allowed to think in their work scenarios any more.

I: Mm

39:39 R5: And I think that's, I think that's sad. I also think the greatest challenge to things like conservation officers is being lone workers.

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah, I'm really lucky. I've got [C] in my team. Yeah?

I: Mmhm

R5: I've got [D], who lectures on [a building conservation course].

I: Yeah

R5: And I've got [E], who's done her MA in the last two years.

I: Mm

R5: The whole point is, you know, we've said, think think think think think think think

I: Yeah

R5: And, you know, think things through. So, that, on that basis it's brilliant.

I: Yeah. But they don't have that kind of network that they can just tap into to sort of share ideas or get advice or much really.

R5: Well, we've - I suppose we've sort of created our own.

I: Yeah

R5: But, when you're alone as a conservation officer, no you don't. Unless you go out and make it

I: Yeah

40:32 R5: And I - and, I don't find, I don't find places I - ClfA necessarily do it now, or the Institute for Historic Buildings, whatever they are, IHBC, because they're trying to make people adhere to standards

I: Mmhm

R5: So again, what was really interesting at ClfA and the recent discussion about chartership

I: Right

R5: and how people were horrified by it because they just thought it was another rung, you know, a rung that you had to try and get to

I: Mmhm

R5: Whereas I actually argued the opposite, this is the one time we can introduce a set of scenarios that were all about thinking and applying

I: Yeah, yeah



R5: Yeah

I: And having that sort of incentive to

R5: Yeah, absolutely, to say

I: to build in time for that

R5: To understand how you have impact. Because, so, the most junior member of an archaeological unit who's digging outside of a trench, who has a chat with a dog walker, can have more impact than the end report

I: Yeah

R5: Because they might convince that person to bring their child back one day, who then decides to become an archaeologist, you've changed someone's life

I: Mm

R5: With one 5 minute conversation. Why

I: Talks about it with a group of their friends, and

41:38 R5: And do we empower that conversation? No we don't! We close that conversation down by saying "you're young and you're junior and you don't know what you're talking about, don't talk to anyone".

I: Mm, yeah

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah. In case you're not right

R5: Because they might say "ooh, I've found some Roman gold", and then it's all over, oh, you know, it's just rubbish. I just find it really - I hate this sort of element of sometimes secrecy. Now, you do get that in academic contexts as well, so, when I was doing research strategy for [an area] and we got the academics, and one of the academics sat there and said "I know this is going on but I can't tell you about it because it's secret at the moment"

I: Mm

42:14 R5: And it's just like, well what the hell's that? You know?

I: Yeah

R5: How can our past be secret? I mean, that's a really bizarre thing.

I: Yeah

R5: But you think the past happened in a certain way and you're going to find out about it, of course you can be secret about it, but I don't believe in that, because I think it's far more - in a sense polemic than that. Yeah, it's far more (inaudible).

I: Yeah. But again when your job relies on finding out things like this before someone else finds it out, then

R5: Oh, absolutely

I: Yeah, how do you do it

R5: Or, trying to say why you're right, and how, and the difference between right and wrong. And then I do get that, and that's why sometimes you do, actually, have to be pragmatic in these conversations. But I think partly, we have to fundamentally reconsider what we think about archaeology or what archaeology is, what heritage management is. What the historic environment is, what heritage is. See, I don't think they're the same things. We use them just willy-nilly and we think we're being clever and the same thing, yeah? So to me, the historic environment is the built fabric. It has no value whatsoever. Right?

I: In and of itself?

43:16 R5: In itself. Until humans value it. And that's heritage.

I: Mmhm

R5: That process of how we value is heritage, and it's a really dynamic thing.

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah? So rather like archaeology. Nothing in this world is archaeology. Nothing. Until someone comes along and says "It's archaeology".

I: Yeah

R5: (laughs) We make it!

I: It's old enough and interesting enough

R5: And as soon as we say - yes. We say it's archaeology, we fundamentally change it, because it's no longer rubbish. It's already been thrown away, and - but it's again, it's really interesting

because people just don't seem to like to talk about it like that, they get really challenged, "oh my god, we can't be archaeologists if you don't say it's all archaeology" and I just say "Oh, give over." But what it does, is, to me, why do I go on and on and on about this? Because I just think it stifles our creativity.

I: Mmhm

44:02 R5: It stifles us, to try and pigeonhole things into these brackets. And we shouldn't go there. We should, you know, we should, look at all these things - so I suppose the first time I came across a theory was probably rubbish theory, actually, was that I actually, was the one that I loved, because it explained this idea.

I: Mm

R5: yeah? So you basically have a pot and it has a value, pot breaks, it drops down in value, archaeologist digs, it up, "ooh it's a Roman pot, oh it's a beautiful Roman pot, it's the only one of this type of Roman pot, it's got someone's signature on it", it goes back up again.

I: Yeah

R5: but it's no longer valued for its functional use as a plate, it's valued as an art and to tell you about who this Roman person was.

I: Mmhm. And then you take it right back to "it was once clay".

R5: Yes.

I: With no value at all. So

R5: So, right, so that's really - I love that. So, actually, you know, I don't believe in intrinsic values, they're absolutely rubbish. Ok? Er, so take an analogy of clay and of brick, right? A brick has no value without a human, and it took a human to understand the properties of clay to make it into a brick.

I: Mmhm

45:09 R5: So actually in the baseline, clay has properties. Until a human being recognises those properties, they are valueless.

I: Yes.

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah.

R5: So my feeling is as soon as you go back to that, and you can work your way back through everything else, nothing else matters. So, the idea is, so that's what, that goes back to this idea, nothing - so it's all about humans, it's all about how we ascribe value and so it's all about how we inspire and change value in people's minds

I: Yeah

45:38 R5: Which comes back to this whole thing about it, about it being us. But then I suppose the other thing that you've actually got to get across is, because, because we wanted to justify why we were here we came up with all these bloody ridiculous concepts like preservation in situ and authenticity. Everything has authenticity in, and it's just like, right, well, rubbish

I: (laughs)

R5: What is, you know, you unpack what is authenticity and you understand it's an entire pile of rubbish.

I: Mm

R5: You know, nothing is authentic. And, with preservation nothing will be preserved, we will all die, so actually, our ideas die, and so you've got to renew ideas, you've got to redo them. And what I find fascinating at the moment is, this is an entirely a language about the climate crisis and recycling.

I: Mm

R5: Why isn't heritage involved in this conversation?

I: Mm

R5: Stop worrying about knocking a building down, worry about us not reusing the materials in it.

I: Yes.

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

46:31 R5: I mean, worry about that. And worry about how we throw so much away, and yet, 1000 years ago we didn't throw anything away

I: Because we can't find any of it now, so yeah

R5: Yes, so we know that, so why can't we talk about how to reuse stuff?

I: Yeah

R5: I love looking at old black and white photos and there's never any rubbish in them! There's never any rubbish there!

I: Yeah

R5: Why? Why? Because they reused their, if you threw something away, you know.

I: Mm

R5: So I find that we could have a really meaningful conversation and the best place this is happening at the moment, I don't know if you've seen it, is this Lego Lost at Sea project on Twitter.

I: Yes, yeah, saw that.

47:08 R5: which I think is fascinating and I'm completely smitten by it. Because, on the face of it, it's about finding Lego lost, off a container. Yeah?

I: Mm

R5: So it's "oh hello, there are five million pieces of Lego, god, we all love Lego, and we all remember playing with it".

I: Yeah

R5: But actually what it is, is really about, getting people to clean beaches.

I: Mm

R5: It's really clever, that, isn't it?

I: Yeah

R5: You're making people into environmental warriors, without actually telling them, we're making you into environmental warriors.

I: Yeah

R5: but then, you're using all these amazing techniques in the middle, like typology, and stuff like that, I mean, my favourite one is when they had three submarines, yeah? And they said these are from Kellogg's Cornflakes packets, and we can tell how old they are by the colour.

I: Yeah

47:52 R5: It's typology, and so now they're using archaeological techniques!

I: There were are a load of rubber ducks as well, weren't there?

R55: oh, they've done, rubber ducks, they've done, you know, soldiers up on horses, and it's brilliant and it just keeps going, and the way they spend so much time and they lay them out, in these lovely, and they have all this colour (? links in?) and various things. Awesome. And I don't know what it is, but the beaches I go on don't have any Lego! I really don't

I: (laughs) Maybe they've been cleaned already?

48:22 R5: No, no, they've I keep going back and they've never - but it must be something about the tide around here

I: Yeah

R5: I think there are tides in the world, yeah, it's like Sargasso Sea in the middle of the Atlantic isn't it

I: Yeah

R5: where everything gets - and there's one in the Pacific isn't it where all the plastic gathers, and just goes round in a big circle

I: Yeah, this big -

R5: Yeah, big rubbish dump. But I just think it's really really brilliant, that way of thinking, and I just think heritage has to get there.

I: Mmhm

R5: We have to do much more about us as a way of thinking. So, I'm happy to identify myself as an archaeologist, but all that does for me is give me a way of thinking about places, give me a way of thinking about the world I walk through.

I; Mm

49:04 R5: And, I wouldn't say it suddenly makes me an expert with a trowel, and (?what inaudible?), it's something else.

I: Mm. Ok, last question is, because I'm looking at the sort of framework created by legislation and policy around heritage, erm, and how obviously it's there to kind of give protection and

guidance, but it can also limit the ways in which people can, you know people who are employed to work with heritage

R5: Yeah

49:51 I: the ways they can talk about it and the ways they can justify their work.

R5: yeah

I: So who do feel gets to have a say in the development of that kind of legislation and policy?

R5: Ok. Right. First of all, we present it as delivering preservation,

I: Mmhm

R5: But that's something you can't actually deliver.

(both laugh)

R5: Which is a whole different question

I: Mmhm

50:21 R5: The really sad answer to your question is it's people at the end of their careers create legislation. And I think that is when they are at their least creative

I: Which other people would call the peak of their careers, which is where they've achieved that highest point

R5: Yes, but I think it's at the time when they're looking back at their careers with an element of sentimentality, and so they are trying to protect how they did their work, not to project it forward.

I: Right

R5: Ok? So I have tried this once in a presentation. And I used Shakespeare's seven ages of man

I: Right

R5: Ok?

I: Yes

R5: So you start off as a baby and then you go through a school child, and then you go to a lover and then you go to an officer and then you go to a judge,

I: Mmhm

51:12 R5: and then you end up as a slippered pantaloon, right. And then when you read the descriptions of course, you're getting slightly more decrepit. I sort of came up with this thinking when I - two years ago - no, it was in the last year when I was watching the armistice day celebrations, and how press interviewers make old soldiers become very sentimental in their interviews.

I: Mm

51:38 R5: They want them to cry, they want them to feel sad

I: Mm

R5: Going back to this golden time. And when people get to a certain stage in their careers they talk about "how I used to" I was bad, I keep telling my daughter "I used to do this at school, I used to"

I: (laughs)

R5: Oh, god, right? Ok? And so what I tried to do is, I tried to took this and I put it into my stage of life and I put it into my stage of the career.

I: Mmhm

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: And they're the same

I: Mmhm

52:04 R5: They're the same, so, actually, I said, you know, the lovers stage is where you're creative, that's your creative stage

I: Mmhm

R5: Right?

I: Yeah

R5: So maybe it's the creative people we need to be writing policy for the next generation, not the people, quite naturally, who've got to a stage in their career where there's more, their life is going to be, there's more time gone in their life than there is looking forward in their life. You can't get away with it, that's the nature of life, isn't it? That's the nature of the way we do things



and the way we look back. And, you know, it's about nostalgia. So there's this phase of nostalgia and then there's this phase of sentimentality. And the people who write policy are in the nostalgia phase.

I: And there's that, sort of, the twenty thirty years delay

R5: Yeah, again, for other

I: for thinking coming through, yeah

52:49 R5: So, so now that you see that in all those discussions about heritage reform, who is it who's saying it? Right?

I: Mm

R5: And I just want to stand up and say "will you ever use it? No! So stop talking about it!"

I: Mmhm

R5: Stop talking about what you want, and start asking the question, what does your child want, or what does the university graduate want.

I: Mm

R5: What do they need?

I: Yeah

R5: To really succeed moving forward into the future. And let's write the policy for that lot.

I: Yeah

R5: See what happens.

I: Yeah.

R5: Yeah. How about that? How about that as an answer?

I: (laughs)

R5: So that's my biggest worry about who writes legislation and policy.

I: Mm. That it's not necessarily reflective of things happening at the time?

53:36 R5: Yeah.

I: Yeah. Ok.

R5: Yeah, and which I find really interesting, because in a sense the rewriting of Conservation Principles shows that.

I: Mm.

R5: And there was another reason about why, I was absolutely convinced they wanted a document that showed us why we were right on decisions we make in planning contexts.

I: Mmhm

R5: They kept on saying "we need a document that shows us how we work out what we're doing in planning"

I: So you can justify it if you're challenged?

R5: Yes. So I would say to them, "well, write that document. Write that document, it's not conservation principles, which is doing something else!"

I: Mmhm

54:09 R5: Which is, so, I've got you an example, ok?

I: (laughs) Right

R5: So this is an (inaudible) - when we get to it. So we, Network Rail is doing at upgrade of the Transpennine Route

I: Mmhm

R5: Ok? And, um, they paid for Historic England to assess all the structures, as to whether they need listing or not.

I: Right.

R5: Ok, fine. So, set criteria, do we list them, yes or no.

I: Mmhm

R5: Simple. Alright? They came to us and said "right, we've done this, so that's fine, we've dealt with the heritage", and we said "No".

I: That's not how it works any more

54:42 R5: You've not dealt with the heritage, you know, how have you told me how significant this station is in terms of the context of where it sits, and ooh look, the Leeds to Selby line is the third oldest railway line in the world

I: Mm

R5: Ok, so, are you telling me the 8 bridges are the 8 oldest bridges left in the world? Because the others on the other lines have all been demolished.

I: Mm

R5: "Oh, I don't know, we couldn't tell you that." Why doesn't this document tell - oh, because it was only asking if it met the criteria, it actually hasn't asked any of the questions.

I: Yeah

55:06 R5: So we asked Network Rail and (inaudible) to do a route-wide statement of significance.

I: Mmhm

R5: Right? And what's brilliant is they've done research. But one of the things is we've had a day's workshop where we did it, and whilst everyone was talking about it, I stood up in a corner and using the Historic England Conservation Principles for heritage values, just started writing down what everyone was talking about.

I: Yeah

55:36 R5: So evidential, historical, aesthetic, communal, and what it actually all meant

I: All colour-coded yeah

R5: Yeah, colour coded. So this is the line, where we actually thought what was really fascinating is they brought this out, and this statement of significance, so it goes through all the technical stuff and the development, and it does designations and all the stuff, and then it tells us, so historical value, which is fantastic, and then this on communal value!

I: There's a section on communal value! Yeah

56:08 R5: Right? And thy had articulated the line, as to whether it was formerly a port to port experience

I: Mmhm

R5: As in, whether you were emigrating, whether it's a holiday routes, yeah?

I: Mm

R5: Whether it's a commuter route, and where there was holiday in the past, or holiday today, because of course holiday in the past you always get (inaudible)

I: Yeah

R5: And so what we actually we're saying is, we actually made this a conversation about people!

I: Mm

56:29 R5: And actually about how they used it. Which is, so I'm really, I'm really pleased

I: Yeah

R5: about in a sense how this, how this comes out, where obviously in the new Conservation Principles, that'll be done away with, because it needs to align with the

I: Legislation?

R5: And interests

I: Yeah

R5: And I find that really sad.

I: Do you think that communal value would have happened, would have gone in there, if you and your kind of, the team you were working with hadn't stood up and said

R5: No

I: we want this

R5: No

I: So with a different

R5: Yeah, I do

I: adviser, yeah, it would have been a different document

57:06 R5: Yeah. Yeah. Yeah. It's more like all the stuff I've done round [site], so

I: Mm

R5: [F] wants me to come and do a lecture on management and I'm going to set them a task on finding out what is [site]

I: Yeah

R5: Fact, fiction or fairytale?

I: (laughs)

R5: And then we're going to talk about management of it, and they're going to have to produce that, thought diagram of the heritage values in [site].

I: Mm, yeah

R5: Because that is more important than telling me whether the damn building's listed or not.

I: Because you can just google that

R5: Yes.

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah. And I suppose that's the biggest thing that I've actually learnt. Yeah?

I: Mmhm

57:46 R5: And that's why being able to have this context, or, you know, just talking to you, having you coming into our office is just invaluable

I: Mm

R5: Because it gets you thinking!

I: (laughs) Yeah. Ok, was there anything else you wanted to mention before we wrap up, I know you've got -

R5: (laughs) I think that I'm done! But that's - I don't know, I just. Yeah. It's, yeah. So, I suppose looking back in my nostalgic frames, I've been very fortunate about actually I've worked in [place], and I've had the connections that have actually got me into thinking differently.

I: Mmhm

R5: It doesn't always work. Ok? I'll give you one example where I've not agreed with something. So there was a really nice lecturer who wanted to write around the Authorised Heritage Discourse.

I: Mmhm

R5: Really good stuff and I really do believe it. Yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: And, for their evidence gathering, they went to Harewood

I: Yeah

R5: And they interviewed lots of people.

I: Mmhm

R5: Ok? And they interviewed and they were predominantly white, and they were predominantly middle class, and they were coming because it was a white middle class thing

I: Mm

58:53 R5: And then I asked them "well, did you interview the mothers who are standing over there with their children?"

I: Mm

R5: who are playing on that playground? "No." "Um, why not?" "I didn't want to disturb them whilst they were with their families."

I: Mm

R5: The one thing at Harewood that makes the most money is the climbing frame.

I: Really?

R5: Yes.

I: That's great! Yeah

R5: Because it's the only safe space for children to play in North Leeds, because Leeds doesn't close any of its parks at night, so they're normally festooned with drug apparel, so young families would buy a Harewood season ticket and use their playground while Mum and Dad have a cup of coffee

I: Mm

59:34 R5: So yes, Authorised Heritage Discourse, I do agree with it and I do believe in it

I: Mm

R5: But it is heavily tainted by who you decide to actually ask

I: Yes!

R5: in these sorts of questions! Yeah?

I: Yes, yeah

R5: Where all the diversity was on the climbing frame.

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah. Doing, officially not heritage things, so

R5: Having fun?

I: How dare they!

R5: Enjoying it? But doing the thing they'll probably remember for most of their lives, about being there.

I: Yeah

R5: What's - ok, the point is, Harewood is a house, yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: Ok, so I can remember when I first started working for Historic England going there, there was a huge argument that the current Lord Harewood, who was then -

I: Heir?

R5: Lord Lascelles.

I: Mm

R5: Yeah? The eldest son.

I: Yeah

1:00:16 R5: Always said they'd never move into the house. And that's because in the main hallway there are these statue niches. Right? And his dad, who was really big in the arts, really big in the arts, right? Wanted to put statues in them.

I: Mmhm

R5: Right? We said no, we said no, Historic England said no, because we could never be certain whether Robert Adam intended them to have statues in them.

I: And who was Robert Adam building the house for?

R5: Well he was building it for the Harewoods, wasn't he?

I: Yes!

R5: Who were bloody rich and liked stupid statues, right?

I: (laughs) Still do apparently.

1:00:50 R5: Who are the Harewoods? You know, so, and so that made the next generation decide they didn't want to live in this house. So that building would no longer be a house!

I: Mm

R5: What - after what our concept of heritage was something retaining its original use as its best use (laughs)

I: Yes

R5: We first stopped it being a house.

I: Yeah

R5: Mad! Utterly mad.

I: Mmhm

R5: Yeah? Those places only got built frankly because their owners were slightly bonkers and they wanted to do it

I: (laughs)

R5: Yes, they had the money to do it, and that's another matter. But the point is, there was an element of creativity that went in and, actually - so my other when where I think this, this becomes really really important now

I: Mm

1:01:30 R5: with somewhere like, is it Royal Vauxhall Tavern? You know the pub we've listed in London because of it's association with the gay and lesbian community. (...) So what's absolutely fascinating is they decorated that place because the (?overall?) way of life they wanted to think about is really dynamic.

I: Mm



1:01:57 R5: Are we now saying they're not allowed to repaint the interior because it's listed?

I: Mm

R5: Right?

I: Yeah

R5: Well that is daft, because the entire significance was about it being repainted and being redone.

I: Mm

R5: Yeah?

I: And being a lived in place

R5: Yes. Or, are we actually going to say, right, anyone who wants to do casework on that has to directly associate with that community?

I: Yeah

R5: Because how can I understand their values?

I: Mmhm

R5: yeah?

I: Yeah

1:02:22 R5: I mean, I find their colours garish. Well they are more- what does that actually mean? Actually, the building

I: Freedom to express?

R5: The building for them, wasn't about the building, it was about going into a space they felt safe in

I: Yep

R5: Well, they don't feel probably safe in there now because it's listed and they're watched. So they'll probably go somewhere else

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah?

I: And they're not allowed to do what they want to do with it, so

R5: Yes!

I: Yeah

R5: And again it's that, you know, the other really brilliant one at the moment, is we're wanting to look at intangible heritage in the organisation, and we want to see if we can, we're trying to work out if we should make a list of intangible heritage. And we're sitting there going "well, the whole point is as soon you make a list of it it's no longer intangible"

I: Yeah

1:03:01 R5: Just might - no, it doesn't work

I: Already been through all that with the World Heritage one, haven't they?

R5: Yes

I: Where the World Heritage Listing has to, you know, you have to record it and then you have to do it exactly the same every time

R5: yes

I: It's not how it goes!

R5: It's not, it's not, it is the (?inaudible?) you're missing the point. So we had this conversation, and people got very exercised about it

I: Mmhm

R5: About this need we've got to officially record it, and it's just like no. No.

I: Yeah

1:03:24 R5: We don't need a list, we don't need anything, we just need to talk about it better

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah? And that's it, and, and so again, I find a lot of the time when I'm going to talk about these tiles, that just me talking about it helps, and mentally this group are fascinating. You know, it's like when I showed the (pause) the quilted aerial photo at ClfA, a whole room of archaeologists gasped.

I: Mm

R5: Right?

I: Yeah

R5: "Wow!", right? (gasps) And I was just sitting there thinking, right, no-one, none of you have ever gasped when you've shown any of your boring damn slides of mud, right?

I: Mmhm

R5: Right? You've all just gasped at a non-archaeologist's fancy piece of needlework

I: (laughs)

R5: Would you go and learn something from that, please? I went back and I told them, I took a - your tweet, I think? Were you there? Someone tweeted, "audience just gasped".

I: Wasn't me. Sorry.

R5: No. Well, I don't know. Anyway, I took a screenshot of it and I sent it to them, and told them "this is what you're doing".

I: Mm

R5: Which is good

I: Yeah

1:04:34 R5: So, I think that's the most important thing.

I: Mm

R5: Whether, - (pause) How, so my question for you

I: Mmhm

R5: How does critical heritage theory help people have a framework or philosophy for thinking about stuff in front of them?

I: Mm

R5: not giving them the answers, but giving the ideas, the tools, the - well I call that a philosophical framework, yeah?

I: Yeah

R5: For helping them navigate through some of these complex things that are going on.

I: Yeah

1:05:07 R5: That's what I, that's - you get an idea, if you work out well, I don't know if it's about working out. It's about that philosophical framework.

I: Mm, yeah. Rather than a set set of methods.

R5: Yes

I: Yeah. Which is probably, part of the problem. Because people come to it expecting a set set of methods,

R5: Yes

1:05:27 I: find things that they can't immediately put into practice

R5: Yes

I: because they're supposed to be thought about rather than done

R5: Yes

I: But -

R5: That's it.

I: Yeah

R5: So, some of our mind mapping stuff's been written up into a document about visualising the impacts of applications on setting

I: Mm

R5: Which again, that's exactly what we were wanting them to write about. It's not, you don't have to do it like this

I: Yeah

R5: it's a way of helping you think.

I: Yeah

R5: That's what it is

I: Yeah

R5: Yeah?

I: Yeah.

R5: So there you go. That could, I would suggest, well, you know, yeah. So, where all this has got me is it helps me having a philosophical framework.

I: Mm.

R5: Which is what I'm going to try and tell CHAT, in five minutes.

I: (laughs)

R5: That methodology doesn't work in isolation.

I: Mm

R5: You've actually got to have that framework for how you want to apply stuff.

I: Yeah

1:06:20 R5: Oh, that's - I quite like that

## Interview 6

26.11.19, York

Respondent 6 studied political science at undergraduate, before working in heritage tourism and doing a Masters in Cultural Heritage Management. They recently completed a PhD in heritage and politics, worked for the Council for British Archaeology, and now work for the Chartered Institute for Archaeology

03:36 I: Ok so, first question is how do you feel heritage sector has changed during career or during your experiences of it? Which I realise, because you're earlier in your career, it may be partly be you know, if you can tell that it's changed from before you started in it

R6: Yeah, well, I mean, as you say, like , from direct experience in only two organisations and over only five years, I'm probably not going to have too many first-hand experiences in how things have changed over that time, but, my research for my PhD was specifically about how the sector's changed, so that's kind of useful background to have a really good sense, though it might have changed in the longer term. In what sense in particular are you thinking about? Like, its relationships to outside influences, its structures, tell me what kind of thing are you, are you aiming for?

I: So it's partly, obviously we have been going through a period of austerity, so do you, do you feel that relating to that there have been sort of changes in staffing, or do you feel that the sector has changed in, kind of, in focus in terms of, you know, the things that they prioritise in their public outreach, as it were?

04:50 R6: Ok, so, in short, the answer is yes, the heritage sector has changed, it has changed massively, it will always change massively and how it changes will change, depending on how it (inaudible). So, you mentioned austerity there, there is an interesting swing in, well, any sector, but heritage one of them, responds to the wider events, governmental pressures of the day (pause due to interruption)

05:37 I: Sorry, so, pressures of the day

R6: So a big changing point, and it was about the time when my PhD was beginning, so I suppose my career was beginning, a new government, the end of the New Labour era, which survived since I was 10, or 11

I: yeah

R6: So all I'd really known was that kind of Blairite approach to public spending and public administration, and actually had, whether people in the heritage sector really realised it at the time, was a bit of a halcyon day for investment in cultural heritage, Department for Culture Museums Media and Sport, it's, you know, a lot of progress was made over that 10 year period in terms of pushing for changes in understanding of what heritage was, was that kind of achievement of, of the - the way I put it was that over that period was when the wider world, including government, internalised the fact that heritage wasn't just about old posh things, it was actually about everybody in places that they live

I: Mmhm

06:51 R6: and actually it should have a role in the planning system, and in understanding communities, and in those kinds of things. And the change in 2010, into austerity politics, really broke that down, so you went from having a brand new Planning Policy Statement 5, which, which puts that idea of significance into the planning system for the first time, and as just recently failed, at the start of the financial crash, Heritage Bill, which would have done other things to help advance the sector

I: Mmhm

R6: into a period of austerity, when all of a sudden everyone is panicked about the future of their quango, and the funding that they're going to receive, and so, from a period of relative forward looking thought about what heritage should be, into a real defensive position, how do we protect the funding that we've got, how do we appeal to a different ideological idea about what heritage is, and so you're talking about what changes happened over that, one of the examples that I used was, how Heritage Counts, has changed its topics from New Labour to the austerity period. Maybe we're coming out of the back of that now? But the heritage sector picks the topic for Heritage Counts, though HEF

I: Mmhm

08:21 R6: and it started self-censoring topics of progressive thought, essentially.

I: Right, ok

R6: So it started saying "well, this year Heritage Counts is going to be on the economic benefit of heritage, this year it's going to be on localism", which was, you know, the election policy of the government of the time. Good idea, as in the heritage sector's response to austerity. Yeah, and so, yeah, I mean, so you look down the list, and the way I describe it is something like 6 out of 7

'public value' topics before 2010, heritage and well-being, heritage and social care, and all those kinds of things, to 5 out of 6 economic focused ones after 2010.

I: Right

09:09 R6: So this is a change in there, a change in the outlooks I would have said of English Heritage, and then the split obviously into Historic England, to be very very focused on their statutory duties

I: Yeah

09:20 R6: Narrowly, which potentially is challenging in an era where other people think heritage is changing, so yeah. (pause) I don't think those are permanent changes, but I do think they go deeper

I: Mmhm

R6: than the strategic mindsettactical consideration, of deciding that we they can't say this at the moment because government won't listen

I: Right

R6: It really beds into what people think about the profession. And it's, I think it's interesting to compare the outlook of somebody coming out from a university course like CHM in York

I: Yeah

10:03 R6: and what they think heritage is, having been taught about it, versus what your average HE boy thinks.

I: Yes, which is one of my later questions, so, yeah, I've got one of the questions here that asks whether the approach of those who kind of work in theory or who are educated in university environments different to that of kind of professionals in working environments.

R6: Mmm. So, do you want to go to that question now?

I: Yeah, might as well since we've got there.

10:35 R6: I should just, you'd asked about funding as well, so I'd just like to talk about funding.

I: Mmhm

R6: Different organisations will be in different positions relating to how affected their funding is likely to be by things like a changing government, so, to just run through the main ones, National



Trust I suspect is relatively unaffected, their membership is going up and up and up and up, and they're still a healthy wealthy organisation.

I: Mmhm

R6: HE has obviously got a massive change in their funding outlook

I: Yeah

11:10 R6: In that they are very very shortly due to in theory be self-, self-funded, or sorry EH are

I: Yeah

R6: and the grants to HE has I guess been declining on average 10% a year, over the last (?30?) 10 years, and they are very stretched

I: Yeah

R6: and not in a good position. Interestingly, I should just talk about the organisation that I work in, which is ClfA, which has seen an increase in membership, professional archaeologists, largely commercial archaeologists but also widely across the sector

I: Mmhm

11:43 R6: including volunteer archaeologists, those in smaller number, and we've seen an increase in membership every year throughout austerity

I: Mm

R6: And, which is interesting. Even through the financial crash when there were fewer jobs in archaeology. Archaeology is currently booming, due to another tangential effect, I suppose, of Tory led government, which is a huge focus on infrastructure spending and house building.

I: Yeah

R6: So building more houses and building more infrastructure, more roads, and archaeologists have got that work. So that part of the heritage sector, not entirely healthy, but there is money there.

I: Mm. Do you think the increasing kind of take up of ClfA membership - obviously it's partly down to the fact that there are a lot of jobs in archaeology - but do you think it's also down to, an awareness of the possible precarity

R6: Absolutely

I: of work in the heritage sector as well?

12:44 R6: Definitely, yes. So, yes, was bad of me to leave that out. Certainly, the reason why I think more people were joining ClfA during the banking crisis, when the property market was slowing down, was that they thought it would help them keep or get a job. And, in an era when, whether they needed to make themselves stand out, so, ClfA itself, I don't think we consider it necessarily benefiting us because, it's about the profession and not about the bank balance

I: Yes

13:24 R6: But it's interesting that an organisation like that can float, the professional can float,

I: Mmhm

R6: Against adverse pressures as well as, you know, positive ones. But yes. And then, you know, you can take any other organisation and they'll give their own individual positions.

I: Yeah

R6: various finances one way and the other, Society of Antiquaries are in a terrible state, potentially about to lose their Westminster building, which marks them as a learned society

I: Mm

14:05 R6: CBA's funding problems are different, because they rely government funding which is higher competition

I: Yeah

R6: Perhaps lots some of organisations like that are maybe not struggling to adapt to new financial circumstances or not delivering the kind of value that people want from them, in this day and age?

I: Mm

14:20 R6: We're helping to change expectations about how they prove (?results?) to funders, where there's always money is freely available

I: Yeah

R6: Sure But you can find a different example from every single organisation, hard to draw generalisations

I: yeah

R6: Sorry, what was the next question?

I: Yeah, so just quickly before we move on, do you think those kind of changes were pushed more by the fact that there is less money available, or is it more to do with the Conservative government's kind of priorities and focuses? So do you think the sector is shifting to adapt to the politics or the economics, or both?

14:57 R6: Mmm, yeah, we didn't get, we (?didn't get into?) the politics of it too much. I don't, my suspicion would be as a political scientist that those two things are not unrelated.

I: Yeah

R6: I, Conservative government says we have no money to spend, therefore we're going to spend less money, and attitudes change towards how much money there is

I: Yeah

15:20 R6: Actually, economics is usually much more (?variable?), complex and just because we have no less money doesn't mean that there's no money available we can't spend more money. Not in a kind of, just a

I: (laughs) Yeah

R6: so we (?won't go into?), it is, it is, one way or the other, it is intimately tied with the principles of our MPs. Whether that is, an ideological effect or an actual effect,

I: Mmhm

R6: Who knows?

I: Ok, so, moving on, do you think that the approach to heritage of people who work in the sector is different to that of theorists?

R6: (pause) Approach, I don't know, really, quite what you're intending by that word, but there are certainly, if you work in a job in an organisation, in, let's say the professional sector, and you are an academic working in a different environment, potentially that's constraining what you have to do day to day in terms of your own research-based

I: Mm

16:29 R6: You are going to think differently about things and the biggest, the biggest thing

I: Mmhm

R6: is not about politics, it's about what you are paid to do 37 or 40 hours a week

I: Mm

R6: and you have to do task after task after task, you don't have as much free thinking time as an academic researcher.

I: Yeah

16:53 R6: And I, and I know that that's being unfair to academic staff because they're being asked to (inaudible), but that's a slightly different pressure.

I: Yeah, yeah.

R6: It is understandable to me, that, and indeed has been my experience, that people, senior managers in places like Historic England, they are less aware of the kind of theoretical issues that your average MA student on a CHM course in York is aware of, because that's what they spend their time thinking of

I: Yeah

17:27 R6: The CHM student doesn't think about how they have to match the language in their, in their statement on X with the language in, in government's policy statement on Y. They're not constrained by the fact that, you know, they've got to do four weeks reviews for 80 members of their line management staff, so they're not reading those journal articles

I: Yeah

17:49 R6: They're not engaging with the academic community. If they're going to the conference, they're probably just dropping in for the, their one session,

I: Yeah

R6: if not their one talk, so then run off again.

I: Yeah

17:59 R6: So, so they absolutely have less space to engage with it. It is hard.

I: Yeah

R6: Yeah. Maybe you're going to ask me in a minute about how there are ways to change things, and I think there are. I think, so, I think there are good examples of where you are able to bring

in experiences from outside perspectives or from wider perspectives and use them in policy formation, (inaudible) for what

I: Yeah

18:47 R6: And (?it can be good?) sometimes

I: Mmhm

R6: and I'm not saying, you know, that there are not people in the sector who do have a very good grasp of, of theory and things like that

I: Yeah

R6: But it's also always a lot to work through, it's

I: Yeah, yeah, yeah. And I think that works both ways, so

R6: Yes, 100%, yeah. And I suppose if you're, I have come across, for instance, people who work in a job, in the profession, not always people that I terribly respect for their kind of intellectual qualities, shall we say, who have a negative perception of academics who stick their oar in with professional practice

I: Yes

19:45 R6: and say "things should be like this".

I: Mm

R6: And the attitude there has been, "well they don't know because they don't do the job"

I: Yeah

R6: Which, it is arguably fair and there are a lot of maybe academics who fall into that trap. But again, that does not mean that there is not value in working together and learning from one another.

I: Mm

R6: which is, yeah. As you say, it goes both ways.

20:15 I: Yeah. And do you feel that, so obviously the kind of, the pressures of jobs will drive people into kind of different working patterns in terms of how they, how much time they have to sort of study heritage and engage with academic literature, but do you feel that in your experience people who work in the sector have a different idea of what heritage is?

20:43 R6: I think that's too difficult to generalise on.

I: Ok, that's fair.

R6: So, I mean, so there are, there are good things

I: Mmhm

R6: For example, ClfA has a co-owning stake in the Historic Environment journal of Policy and Practice

I: Ok

21:09 R6: Don't know whether you were aware of that connection

I: No

R6: And it is a, it is a you know top ranking journal

I: Mm

R6: for heritage practice issues. And it is delivered at a reduced cost to members. So an large number of ClfA members get this journal every quarter

I: Mmhm

R6: and it is probably the primary journal for policy practice theory issues, in the sector.

I: Mm

R6: So, there are a lot of managers walking around quite well informed about those kinds of issues. So that (?means?) a good way of getting information into the economy sector.

I: Yeah

21:52 R6: You, what was your question? You said,

I: oh, I was talking about kind of the conceptualisation of what heritage is

R6: Oh yeah, that's right. Yeah, so there are a lot of (?links?) there, because of connections like that, because of general interest or connection from the subjects. They are very well aware of, sort of what heritage is, and of sharing (inaudible) with, you know, many academics

I: Yeah

R6: I think maybe there's a sense where academia, theory, should always have an element of the leading edge?

I: Mmhm

R6: Where, you know, the likes of 15 or 10 years ago, Laurajane Smith's research into the Authorised Heritage Discourse

I: Mmhm

R6: And, that is now part of mainstream understandings, I think

22:46 I: Right

R6: Very clearly now can see heritage organisations trying to avoid that authorised discourse, and broaden narratives, you know, explore heritage from different angles, so, so you do see that, that similarity now, but there is also a lead in time for new ideas

I: Yeah

R6: So that's not surprising.

I: Mmhm

23:09 R6: I suspect, however, that there is always a long tail of people in the heritage sector for whom those ideas do not penetrate. If you're a strategic lead at Historic England now I would expect you to know what the Authorised Heritage Discourse is – even if they've never actually read Laurajane Smith. I would expect you to have a good idea about what significance is and how you acquire it.

I: Yeah

R6: If you are a, you know, lower to middle ranking member of administrative staff in Historic England, and you've got some practical area of, of interest in heritage decisions, maybe you're writing statements of heritage significance, or maybe you are involved in planning decisions and actually some of those people will surprise you with how they view heritage

I: Mmhm

24:07 R6: And some of those ideas, even some of them most established (?eighties?) ideas like significance

I: Yeah

R6: just have not penetrated, or are not well understood

I: Yes

R6: And again, it's challenging, sometimes they don't have the ability to go for training courses, and sometimes those training courses aren't very good. But, kind of getting everybody in line is sort of unreasonable though isn't it?

I: Yeah

24:37 R6: But it still comes as a bit of a surprise. And then there are kind of, the levels of the very very fine detailed understanding of things like, again, significance is in a sense a very simple concept

I: Mmhm

R6: Every CHM graduate comes out with a very very good understanding of how, what significance is.

I: Mm

R6: It's also quite difficult to apply, it's quite broad

I: Yeah

24:58 R6: quite wide-ranging. Probably, very few of those CHM students will understand how specifically to apply significance with a view to specific planning decisions, case law, planning policy

I: Yeah

R6: And, there are probably a couple of, a couple of handfuls of people in the heritage sector who are most brilliantly up to date with theory, and most brilliantly up to date about applying it in a policy context

I: Yes

25:32 R6: and it is therefore probably not terribly surprising that when producing guidance documents on significance Historic England don't have 100% record of finding somebody who understands both the theory and the concept

I: yeah

R6: and the practice.

I: Mmhm

R6: But it's still frustrating



(both laugh)

R6: So we've been having kind of various kinds of arguments, quite recently actually

I: Right

R6: But I won't go into them

26:01 I: Ok. How do you feel I mean, they may not have done, but how do you feel your own ideas about heritage have changed as you've kind of moved through your career?

R6: As you say, you know, I think my ideas about heritage are , - I don't have a, you know, a generation's worth of experience to,

I: Yeah

R6: to show how my, my views have changed. And, it would probably be arrogant for me to think my views are anything much more than a product of my place in time

I: yeah

26:39 R6: And, so my kind of central feelings about heritage and public value, kind of, all places have significance, landscape value and all those kinds of careers and interests of mine, very much tied in with the current thinking.

I: Mmhm

27:05 R6: And I, and I hope those views do change and update, as thinking changes and develops and so on. But I can't really say that my own experience of management have changed them. Maybe a little bit more awareness of that challenge, about abstract thinking versus practicality.

I: Mm

R6: to be diplomatic, applying one's ideologies about a subject

I: Yeah

R6: So, that

I: Yeah, yeah, so thinking back to when you were, working in heritage before you came to study it, would you have, I mean obviously wouldn't have had the same kind of theoretical background, and the academic experience to back it up, but would you say you had a kind of different approach to heritage then, or would you

28:09 R6: Yes, and I mean, for certain, because, you know, understanding from the, the MA onwards, it really just sort of, blew wide open my ideas and my thinking about these sort of things. So I wouldn't probably have had too much of a context about Authorised Heritage Discourse, certainly wouldn't have been locating my thinking about some of the challenges that were evident in some of the kind of wider cultural situ and potential economic contexts that really now I do like talking about, like the ideas of privilege or MeToo and heritage, and

I: Yeah

28:52 R6: so all those things which are sort of current and which in the academic context (?allows as?) inspirational, I was just looking at heritage as a person with an English accent and a complicated identity background working in a Welsh castle, dealing with Welsh people with cultural expectations about the site that was built by an invading English king, and rebuilt by a wealthy Scottish aristocrat

I: Mm

29:27 R6: and thinking about those complex identity questions and cultural issues

I: Yeah

R6: and presentational issues about how you, so I was conscious of a lot of the things now that I understand (?without a?) a theoretical background, at the time

I: Yeah

R6: but there are also things that I probably, hastily overlooked or, I could be, it's hard not to feel sort of personally attacked when you've got certain angry old ladies shouting at you because you're flying a Union Flag on the Queen's birthday on a Welsh castle, and things like that

I: (laughs) Yes

30:05 R6: But, but now I look back on that and think how interesting those kinds of encounters were

I: Yes

R6: and have definitely formed part of my outlook.

I: Mm

R6: So, yeah, I'm afraid I can't say really with huge clarity how my approach to heritage might have changed over my career, but it's certainly connected

I: Yeah, no, because I had the same thing, I was working in heritage tourism before I came to do the MA, and again I can look back and kind of see things and I'm like, yeah that, it made me uncomfortable at the time but I couldn't articulate what it was that made me uncomfortable, but I'm also aware that actually, that's a lot of people working in heritage are at that, kind of, I guess entry-level rank,

R6: Mm

I: as we would think of it, even though it's actually quite hard to move up from, so for a lot of people a it's long-term rank in visitor services and kind of the tourism experience

R6: Mmhm

I: So yeah, I guess, in terms of heritage practice, that's actually a whole cohort there, yeah

31:11 R6: And, of course, you know, there are different (pause) I don't necessarily think it's terribly, it's helpful to think of that as a, an entry level post because that is kind of, that is, that's kind of heritage on the ground

I: Yeah, exactly, yeah

31:36 R6: And those people who are working as visitor sort of assistants are (inaudible)

I: Mm

R6: And, I mean, I'm happy to take that (?shift?) of course, how their understandings have changed, might be great if they did

I: Yeah

R6: What kind of heritage understandings would, is it worth you thinking about trying to sort of give to those individuals? Because really, what they experience is, is heritage, really more than those sort of dislocated academics

I: Yeah

32:10 R6: Interesting.

I: Gone off on a bit of a tangent there, sorry. So, this is going to be the one that kind of really draws on your area of expertise, and again, it's a very broad question, so if you want more clarification on it, so it's who in your experience get to kind of have a say and gets to input their opinions into the development of heritage policy?

32:49 R6: So, ok. It's a complicated question. So there is, so we've talked a bit about, like, national level, when you dig into national level influences into policy environment, but let's stick with national because it's most straightforward

I: Yeah

33:13 R6: Government has agendas, agendas create opportunities for policy reform, or new policy

I: Mmhm

R6: In a heritage sense there is myriad sectors that exist within that bracket. Just had party manifestos released, and people like me are looking for hooks in them for where we might advance particular policy ideas

I: Mmhm

33:38 R6: We'll look out for threats, and then, so you have those government agendas, you can seek to influence them, there

I: Yeah

R6: You have then a suite of organisations within the heritage sector, who are interested in those changes and have their own kind of ideas. And so I suppose the most important kind of network in there is how those organisations work independently or together

I: Yep

34:08 R6: to put those ideas across, so within each one of those organisations you would probably have a small number of individuals who are tasked with administering those organisations' thinking,

I: Mmhm

R6: and there may be different ways of informing those organisations, they might be very democratic and draw ideas from the membership, and be led by a board of trustees or a board from the membership. Or they could be public, National Trust, for instance, asks policy questions to their AGMs

I: Yeah

34:43 R6: and any member can go along to them. I'm not sure how strictly bound they are by all the decisions, and how easy it is to force a particular outcome, you know, (inaudible)

I: Mm

R6: but, essentially, you've got professionals within each organisation building policies, and then you've got this suite of organisations working together to debate those policies in various forms, and various different ways of advocating for those policies to government

I: Mmhm

35:11 R6: So, I suppose in a sense there can be radically different (?influences?) on how heritage policies are formed, and, um, put forward. What else would you like to know beyond that? What of any of that do you want to focus down on?

I: So obviously, yeah, it's different organisation by organisation so there's that way of sort of filtering it down, which does allow a certain amount of kind of public input, in terms of people who are members of those organisations who then feed back up. If you (pause) I guess, do you feel that what a heritage policy ends up with as a kind of final product, if you were going to talk about something like the planning policy, for example, is there a reliance on expert guidance from the sector, or would you say it's more driven by the policy priorities of the government in charge?

36:29 R6: That depends very much on government, government culture.

I: Yep

R6: So, New Labour had a reputation of being extremely consultative, and they would consult on everything, to a very deep level, and it was, I suspect, you know, halcyon days for the likes of your non-governmental organisations, who knew that they had a seat at the table, they knew that their advice was at least part of the process of, of what, you know, what would (?inaudible?). Think tanks popping up left right and centre

I: Yeah

37:02 R6: to provide expert guidance on individual policy areas and issues. Interestingly, 2010 government really just shattered that, and consulted on nothing, and cared not a shit what anybody told them

I: Mmhm

R6: and it was extremely difficult to get anything listened to, to the point where the only viable way of lobbying in the heritage sector was to take cover under the coat-tails of the biggest organisations

I: Mmhm

37:34 R6: particularly the National Trust, who took unusual decisions like saying we are going to campaign publicly against the government on the National Planning Policy Framework to try and get changes. So, they are a powerful organisation, they've got (?loads?) money to throw about, they've got millions of voters

I: Mm

37:49 R6: Something like, 10 times as many members of the National Trust as of the Conservative party is the stat, I think, maybe more than that

I: Yeah

R6: and so, you know, government policy and their culture has a very strong influence. But it's, it's winding back down again. So let's just assume there are inroads for formal and informal lobbying.

I: Yeah

38:16 R6: Who controls that process? Depends on the policy issue, depends on the organisation

I: Mmhm

R6: So for example, let's say an organisation like Historic Houses, they've got an interest in VAT, on repairs to historic buildings, so who creates that policy? Well, the organisation is very very small, so probably 2 people in that organisation write the policy

I: Yeah

R6: for, you know, what they're going to lobby to government for, but that is informed by their members

I: Yeah

R6: So they're working for a constituency, and I don't know how that process works, but I charitably assume that they are taking the views of that constituency, and turning that into a valid policy idea and putting that forward in the lobbying process

I: Yeah

R6: Chartered Institute for Archaeologists, who I work for, the idea is the membership is where we draw our expertise from, so if we have a policy position, that is in theory drawn from the membership's advice

I: Yes

39:22 R6: in practice sometimes that breaks down , because: (...) the experts are busy with their day jobs,

I: Yeah

R6: And finding that expert evidence to create our policy is sometimes not wholly easy

I: Yeah

R6: So, at worst, at worst, what can happen is someone like me is writing a consultation response on an important issue, and is not supported as fully as probably we think would be wise to make that (?submission?). So there's a, there's a weakness. I don't want to oversell it, because I think we do a pretty reasonable job, but there is a potential weakness there, not enough information from the constituents, to the policy, to the advocates.

I: Yeah

40:26 R6: To those people who are going in for those meetings and writing those consultation responses.

I: Yeah

R6: So there's a potential weakness there. And then there is a potential weakness which I think I'm hinting at, in inter-organisational discussions on policy,

I: Mmhm

40:49 R6: are done in a broad range of committees and forums and groupings, and things, umbrella bodies like the Heritage Alliance, and sector, things which official (?boards?) in the sector like the Heritage Council or the Historic Environment Forum, but also sort of more less formal things with these organisations, archaeology bodies talk to each other, (?policy?) related bodies might talk to each other, and in those meetings you are talking about the chief executives or the policy officers, who have a lot of power to prioritise things, and to define specific approaches, so I think probably what you're hinting at here is that those places where government works the wider sort of (pause) expert advice gets lost. So, the people missing at those different models of how you build a policy, both inter-organisational and constituencies to their leaders and policy leaders, is the ones who aren't part of those sector organisations

I: Yes

42:14 R6: So your academics, your policy thinkers

I: Mmhm

R6: Which is what you're interested in. Best practice examples, for example, Our Place In Time, Scottish Heritage Strategy, has working groups, and is set to deliver its aims. Those working groups are constituted on the basis that they are aiming at 50/50 representation from sector organisations and external voices

I: Right

42:49 R6: Those could be from other sectors, um, NGOs, could be from government, civil servants, could be academics. Other good examples include, the Heritage 2020 in England, I'm sat on one of their working groups, which is, actually, ours is mostly sector representatives, but ours is an advocacy focused body

I: Mm

43:14 R6: But they do incorporate external voices as well.

I: Mmhm

R6: And we're just about to reorganise, or propose a reorganisation of the Historic Environment Forum, with different structures for working groups which very much does the same kind of thing

I: Yes

R6: One of the elements of making sure that it is democratic and you are getting the right voices in is to make sure that it's not just those usual suspects, those policy geeks.

I: Mmhm

43:42 R6: So yeah, that's, that is, that's the ideal, I recognise that, I don't think I'm alone in recognising that. And certainly I haven't found resistance when we, through this Heritage 2020 working group, have been pushing for that change.

I: Yeah

R6: We got it, albeit that we were a small group of usual suspects around the usual table in the National Trust headquarters in London

I: Yeah



44:07 R6: And, so, yeah. What then is missing? Well, does your average academic who's on the leading edge of thinking about digital engagement in heritage or how representation and interpretation, do they have the levers and the access points in the sector, for influencing that policy?

I: Mm

44:37 R6: And that's difficult to know.

I: Mmhm

R6: Please stop me at any point because I've been talking for a long time now, but I'm just kind of rolling and seeing where I go

I: Yeah, that's the point of this, really (laughs)

R6: So there's an potential lack of connectivity between those academic audiences and sector audiences. One of my interesting observations from finishing the PhD of doing researchfish, is that I have, have only ever spoken to one other person, who's an academic at Edinburgh Napier university, who focuses most of their researchfish outputs in the impact sections, the professional policy impact sections (pause) which makes my mind boggle, because when I was filling my researchfish in, I would say my research has directly informed my opinions, and my ability to contribute in my job in the sector, I am now sitting on this forum, this forum, this forum, this forum ,

I: Mm

45:41 R6: and putting those views forward. That's impact.

I: Yeah

R6: But the majority of my colleagues, probably wouldn't even have recognised that as an impact, and certainly weren't targeting those kind of debatesways of putting their research into practice.

I: Yeah

R6: And they were thinking, oh well I'll give a poster presentation to another academic conference (?or fair?)

I: Mmhm

R6: And actually, whilst those things are completely valuable, they are not making the links with the policy formation

I: Yeah

R6: Which, if that's what you're interested in, it's sort of an oversight

I: Yes

46:16 R6: And then the other, the other interesting thing was something that I'm pushing for at the moment, is the, for the formation of a Heritage Observatory

I: Mmhm

R6: Which, in my mind, is in a sense a repository for sort of academic research, you know

I: Mmhm

R6: But more than that, it's an intermediary kind of match-making body for people like me, who are in those policy discussions, and saying government has a, a really, a current expanding agenda in placemaking, or well-being

I: Yeah

47:00 R6: and we are lacking as a sector, as policy advisers, information to help us make the case for heritage and well-being or heritage and placemaking

I: Yeah

47:14 R6: How do we link to people who are thinking about this? Because we know that they're there

I: Yeah

R6: and the Heritage Observatory in my mind, is going to, or would be a place where you could get those people who are savvy about the politics and the agendas of the day

I: Mmhm

R6: Who are connected to the research funding pots, connected to the sector power houses, like Historic Environment Forum, and can make those connections

I: Yeah

47:44 R6: And which can act as a beacon for, you know, you as an academic to say "where's my research going to be relevant? Well, I need to take it to the Heritage Observatory"

I: Yeah

R6: Read what they're publishing on an annual basis, maybe adjust my, my research accordingly, to meet the priorities that are identified by the people of the day

I: Yeah

R6: And altogether try to fix that problem, of matching up those thinkers to those, for lack of a better sense, doers

I: Yeah, yeah

R6: In the academic environment

I: Yeah. That sounds really valuable

48:16 R6: Yeah.

I: Yeah

R6: Hasn't happened yet. I don't think everybody who's involved with this has the same idea

I: Ok

48:26 R6: But, yeah. I think you've got a very interesting (inaudible) for you to be discussing.

I: Yeah, yes. Yeah, it's not something I'd actually come across yet.

R6: No, you won't, you probably wouldn't have done yet

I: Yeah

R6: It's not, where it's at, at the moment is that, through the Heritage 2020 working group I'm on, we've made, we've put in a proposal for funding from Historic England, to fund the reorganisation and expansion of the Historic Environment Forum

I: Mmhm

48:59 R6: Because that's, probably the most central talking shop for heritage organisations.

I: Mmhm

R6: And, that's going to change how the working group structure work, make them more democratic. And then the second stage funding will be for this Heritage Observatory, and I'm

actually having a meeting about it on Thursday, to, yeah, to discuss ideas about where we take that.

49:29 I: Mm. Yeah, yeah, I guess, it's a sort of part of where that question is coming from, is that, I mean this is not necessarily my view, but a lot of the criticisms I've had, actually particularly from practitioners, is that that kind of policy formation body and advisory body is, like, as you've described it, the usual suspects, you know? So it's as much about kind of interpersonal connections and, kind of, committees that very strongly overlap with the committee for another body

R6: yes

I: And that from externally, if you're not kind of, one of the members of those committees, it can be quite an opaque process to try and feed into, you know? Because you're not, you don't have that hook to get into, so that's partly why I'm trying to kind of just clarify the process, but also trying to see the points where it is feasible for people to feed in, and to

50:36 R6: Yes, absolutely. And I mean, so I think, there is a, there is potential for me to get a mite defensive about why that kind of happens

I: Yes, of course

R6: Because, you know, I think we're already speaking about, there are reasons why that (?can happen?). It's, it's perennially frustrating for those people in the room, you know, actually. It is uncommon for a meeting to pass by without some wry reference to the fact that we spend too much time together, or, you know, all those kinds of things

I: Yep, yeah

R6: But the reason for that is often that we're, we're existing in a very reactive environment, you know, where who do we need to get together to discuss the fact that the government has just put out a Green Paper that proposes the scrapping of this protection

I: Mm

51:24 R6: or that policy regulation, and we need to fight that, now, because consultation closes in a week's time. And, well, of course we're going to, we're going to ring, you know, Ingrid Samuel, and we're going to ring Ben Cowell, and, we might invite an archaeologist in, get Rob Lennox to come as well but, that, that's how those kind of things happen. So they, they exist in a reactive sphere where it's a, it's a wonkish policy issue, and you need policy wonks to solve it.

I: Yeah, yeah

52:03 R6: So that, so really, where your, where those people who are thinking I don't have access to this, really would have that benefit is one stage back from that

I: Yes

R6: Setting those proactive agendas, and helping us to, to draw the data together that we might need to have at our fingertips when there is a reactive problem.

I: Yeah

52:29 R6: And I think that that's what's missing. So, it's, again it's not uncommon to sort of, kind of, get, catch things on Twitter

I: Mm

R6: from, from people who are involved in the sector but who aren't attending those kinds of meetings to, you know, cast aspersions about people in ivory towers, or, well not ivory towers, it's an academic metaphor, but

I: But the equivalent for a policy position, yeah

R6: They're, you know, we're these shadowy figures, all middle class white men, tucked away in locked rooms, you know, deciding everything for everybody

I: Mm

R6: And yeah, that is valid criticism!

I: (laughs) yeah

R6: but I don't think it is the result of, you know, anything nefarious

I: Yeah

53:21 R6: ever, because as I say, you know, it is commonly acknowledged in those rooms, and so the question is about where is the right place to go about (?opening?). And what I suggest is not the right thing to do is just to say, "oh well, those meetings become open."

I: Yeah

R6: Or indeed, you know, those meetings are publicly minuted. Because they're not relevant, most of the time, and if anything were publicly minuted we wouldn't be able to do the things that people want.

I: Mmhm

R6: because we have to say, listen, your organisation's got a position, my organisation's got a position, let's find a compromise. You can't minute those kinds of things.

I: Yeah

53:59 R6: (inaudible) we could make those publicly accessible, but I think if we did, they'd mostly be boring.

I: Yeah

R6: So the questions is then where do you, so you (?reform?) organisations, where do you better open that out to find out what you're missing?

I: Yeah

54:18 R6: And that's the challenging thing is, it's easy to find out what you're missing from people you know

I: Yeah

R6: It's not easy to find out what you're missing from people that you don't.

I: Yeah

R6: So you need something else that does that for you. Which is why the Heritage Observatory is (?necessary?).

I: Mmhm

R6: And we're just starting to do that. And then, also, look at it from the other position, if you're someone going "where are these rooms and how do I get the key?"

I: Mm

R6: maybe there's something about that person's outlook on their work and how they do it, that also should be changing.

I: Yeah

R6: So, it, so, these are ships passing in the night

I: Yeah

54:52 R6: both ships need navigational courses to adjust to (pause) and I, yeah, I don't know if that's the case for either audience, to be honest

I: Yeah, yeah. I think there's kind of two interesting things that have come out of that, which is firstly that

(section cut due to interruption)

55:19 I: So the first thing is that, the kind of the people sitting around the table are actually representing wider professional bodies, so just by being a member of that body

R6: Yep

I: You are, that does, do have your sort of democratic voice in that process, so it's not just individuals making decisions

R6: Yeah

I: And the other thing that, the kind of, the closed circle discussions are as much a reflection of the way policy is created as anything else, you know, you've got a limited time and you've got to have a position which you can say represents a reasonable number of people in the field, and it's got to be couched in the right sort of language, I guess, to be heard.

56:12 R6: Yes. So, I mean, all of those things are absolutely right. So, how do you go about (inaudible)

I: Mmhm

R6: while you can work from an organisational level on the academic side

I: Mm

R6: I only know one or two individuals representing academic institutions that really (?walk that barrier?). Now how does a university department decide what they're going to invest in PhD studentships for example

I: Yeah

R6: Are they thinking about relevance to sector challenges? Well, maybe, sometimes.

I: Mm

R6: But many are not. And even if they are, they're not plugged into the networks to be, you know, conscious that that is where the decisions being led by, and seen to be doing that.

I: Mmhm

56:50 R6: So very recently, we had an academic from Oxford join one of the Heritage 2020 working groups, and we're sort of starting to, to churn wheels on thinking about, well, ok, right, well maybe there are other opportunities for academic (?groups?) and us to be thinking about where we want our research focuses to be as the department

I: Yeah

R6: Coming out of what I'm learning from this policy-centred sector grouping.

I: Yep

R6: Again, you know, that twisting the understanding of where impact lies, has been very beneficial for those who have done it, and yet, York has almost no, as far as I can see, people engaged in policy discussions. Academics like Sara Perry have had discussions with people like me in campaigns like this, to say "How do I get involved with that?" and that's really interesting

I: Yeah

57:48 R6: because her research is massively relevant

I: Yes

R6: And is, you know, she's doing really well, I think, at making those connections, and she's just taken the decision, an interesting decision, to sidestep from a senior academic's post, doing relevant research, into a sector organisation where she can put that research into practice, and continue doing similar research, because that organisation, MOLA, is also recognising that it has a research deficit

I: Yes

58:19 R6: so it's decided to do that by bringing a proper academic in house. (...)

R6: Um, and so, you know, organisations have got to make those kinds of decisions.

I: Mmhm

R6: Yeah, archaeology sector is interesting case study for this as well, because you have a bit of a disconnect, big disconnect in slightly different contexts, between local government archaeology advisers, that are the most important in the planning system about directing development control work, deciding what development applications need archaeological investigation done or



conservation work done. Those things are done for research purposes and are done according to a research framework produced by Historic England, you know, very sort of (?set goals?).

I: Mmhm

59:17 R6: How do you make sure that those research frameworks are relevant? How do you make sure that those local authority archaeologists are engaged with them properly?

I: Yeah

R6: And how do you make sure that the contracting organisations, the commercial archaeology bodies and the historic buildings consultants, are also plugged into that and all working in the same direction?

I: Mm

59:38 R6: Well, you need to have a much clearer research focus in those commercial organisations. That's really difficult to have because they are for-profit organisations, you know?

I: Yeah

R6: They are doing what their client wants, they are doing what they need to do, because their, what their contractor, what they've been told to do by those local authority archaeologists

I: Yeah

R6: You really need to fix that system, where everyone is pulling in the interests of the research which is valid and relevant

I: Mm

1:00:11 R6: and there are a number of ways you could do that, and these are again things that are being discussed in the sector. But if you were going to characterise it as a problem at the moment, you would say, commercial organisations are pulled in different directions, by client focuses, by profit margins, local authority archaeologists are dislocated and pressured because of policy and because of funding, and because of, you know, all sorts of stuff. And so, there is no research, or there is not enough research focus in most organisations, there is not enough focus on the outputs of research from the policy interpretations

I: Yeah

1:00:56 R6: and there is not enough kind of awareness of all those different strands from the local authority archaeologist, who's pressured.

I: Yeah

R6: and the client doesn't care, because they just want their development

1:01:06 I: Yeah

R6: And that's a caricature, it's not always right and there's great counter-examples

I: Mm

R6: But it's a, another different situation where this same thing is happening.

I: Yeah. (pause) Sorry, trying to, kind of, hold everything in my head at once. Yeah, that was great. Is there, is there kind of anything else which you feel is relevant which I haven't touched on so far?

R6: No, I think I've probably garbled out most of the things that I wanted to garble out.

I: (laughs) Ok.

1:02:02 R6: I think it's a really interesting discussion, and I think I would, I would hope that if you (inaudible) then you (inaudible) is not so much as the understanding of why things are.

I: Yeah

R6: I don't think there is any blame there -

I: Yes

1:02:14 R6: Or I don't think there's much blame to apportion round to many people. Because I get why academics do what they do.

I: Yeah

R6: I get why policy wonks do what they do

I: Yeah

R6: you know, but there is, there is opportunity for culture change from both sides

I: Yes

R6: Make sure that the sector forums and bodies for drawing together organisations, or drawing on constituencies

I: Yeah

R6: have the right structures to bring in external ideas and external voices. That might involve the creation of something which is a signposting body where both sides of this morass know that they can go to this thing to get work done. And changes on the other side which say, well, how do you direct the research?

I: Mmhm

1:03:11 R6: Maybe something that could change an archaeology department, is that rather than academics saying, which is the, where's the big site that I want to work on, that I'm going to find myself, in the historical and archaeological lecturing (inaudible), Nicky Milner as a (...) her career, is you find the site, Star Carr, you write about it for a career.

I: Yeah

R6: completely change our ideas about the Mesolithic, through this one site, and related sites.

I: Yeah

1:04:07 R6: and then she'll have one of a site like that in her career. Gosh wouldn't it be an interesting change though, for rather than academics to rather than just be seeking that, that's the Holy Grail

I: Yeah

R6: and, to be saying, well actually there are hundreds of, tens of thousands of investigations a year, archaeological investigations done through the planning system

I: yeah

R6: Currently the research outputs of those investigations are minimal

I: Mmhm

1:04:35 R6: and really boring. Go into archive, maybe they'll inform a museum panel, maybe that archive will go into a box which will be investigated by a PhD student at some point in the future.

I: Yeah

R6: We're seeing a small number of big synthesis projects

I: Yeah

R6: working from that data. But essentially, the planning system, those private kind of commercial companies and those local authority public servants are controlling this vast research potential

I: Mm

1:05:08 R6: and getting very little out of it. You know, they are getting stuff out of it and I know that they all get frustrated when you say that they're not getting stuff out of it

I: Yeah

R6: but to just somehow leave that to the academic community, and change expectations for those people in academic archaeology to say, well how to we tap in to this resource?

I: Mmhm

1:05:31 R6: use it, for the greater public benefit. That would be incredible!

I: Yeah

R6: It would be a huge change to what is currently an arguably wasted resource

I: Yeah

R6: But it requires a mindset change for young academics to say "what I need, is not the next Star Carr," though I'm sure that some people will find it

I:Yeah

1:05:55 R6: but what I need is, like a huge synthesis project that looks at this, this different set of data that we get.

I: Yeah

R6: Which is currently lying in boxes.

I: Yeah

R6: So, yeah. I know that's not really your level, your sort of specific interest is archaeology, but

I: Well, it's always

R6: I think it's a relevant counter example to, you know the same problem, of how do we link up different knowledge bases, for, for (?other people?)

I: Yes, yeah. Because I think the, sometimes the issue is that people appear to be aiming for different things, so there's, you know, there can be a perception among local archaeology groups or professional companies, that if academics come in, they'll kind of get what they want for their research

R6: Mm

1:06:48 I: and not deliver any benefit for the people they're researching, or the work they're researching on, but, you know, you've got all these archaeology companies with this massive backlog of grey literature they're not doing anything with, but they'd love to have put out there and kind of engage people with, and then there's

R6: Yeah

I: Yeah, there's, there's a really logical conclusion there, but yeah.

R6: Absolutely. And yes, they all do get stuff out there, and yeah ok, your academic has an eye on their career and that is completely understandable

I: Yeah

1:07:19 R6: but they do do good things with community work and they do do occasionally good things with grey literature, and, it's just about expectations and it's just about structures which, you know, change things a bit. What the Research Council's been doing differently to encourage academics into this, thing. Do they really understand the issues, is that something that organisations like mine and people like me need to be trying to make bigger by advocating to research organisations to (?help with these things?)?

I: Mm

1:07:59 R6: We are trying to make a big, bigger deal to government at the moment about this commercial work

I: Mmhm

R6: And excel that and continue to push that. But yeah, interesting stuff. But hopefully what I've said gives you a little bit of hope that people recognise these issues

I: Yeah

R6: And there are certain things which are attempting to address them

I: Mmhm

1:08:07 R6: Although I have problems (inaudible), I am definitely not arrogant enough to think that I am the first person to um be involved with all the things which are trying to change these things

I: Yes

R6: and therefore those other people have failed, in a very high probability

(both laugh)

I: Well, you don't know how much worse it would be without them

R6: Well, a very good point, yes.

I: Ok, you happy to wrap up there?

R6: Yes, yeah yeah yeah, it's good.

I: Great.

## Interview 7

03.12.2019, by phone

Respondent 7 studied Archaeology and Anthropology at undergraduate, Art History at a Masters level, and then worked for the Civil Service and Historic England. They are now working for the Heritage Alliance.

R7: Ok, and how, can I just ask this before we kick off, how are we defining practice, and how are you defining those who work in theory? Because obviously the Heritage Alliance is the umbrella body for the heritage sector

I: Yeah

R7: I wouldn't call myself a practitioner, you know, I'm more of a kind of policy person, so, I mean, which groups are you looking at for this, and what do you mean by practice though, do you mean like architects on the ground or do you mean, you know, those who are sort of accrediting archaeologists, or, I suppose what's your field of inquiry and who are your groupings here?

I: Yeah, so, obviously it's not a it's not a very neat clear-cut division. Primarily, in terms of theory, I'm looking at people who work in kind of producing critical heritage theory, so those who are primarily based in universities but others who publish in academic journals or academic literature.

R7: Yeah

I: Which could be people based in universities, or it could be people in amenity societies may also be theorists as a kind of alongside their usual work. In practice, I mean it's a very broad term, so I would say that covers people who work in archaeology in terms of kind of digging and analysis of finds, people who work in museums, I'm also looking at particularly local government conservation officers as people who are kind of working within the framework of government policy, so to a certain extent that defines the way they approach things

R7: Yeah, and what's your definition of heritage that you're working with as well? Because obviously our definition would be broader than Historic England's.

I: Yeah. So I, I mean I'm taking the kind of the academic approach and saying that heritage is a fluid construct and it is socially constructed and based up of kind of values that people maintain in present day. But I am aware that that is, that's not the way everyone sees it.

R7: Yeah. And obviously the Heritage Lottery would see it as very different to Historic England, who would see it as different to government, who would see it as different to, you know, those who would talk about culture in the broadest sense as well.

I: Yeah

R7: So you know our definition for our membership we don't really do intangible, but then you can't really separate it, but would be a lot broader than say Historic England approach to the historic environment.

03:07 I: Yes, absolutely. So in some ways I think that's the root of the confusion, is that a lot of people are using the same word to talk about different things.

R7: Yeah, I don't think there's much confusion in the people I work with, we just have different boundaries in terms of who sits on particular groups or who's working on particular things

I: Yeah

(...)

R7: And before we kick off with some of your questions as well, I mean, obviously most of what we're about is not conferences,

I: Yeah, of course

R7: And we have the Heritage Update, which is a newsletter that goes out every two weeks

I: I'm a big fan of Heritage Update

R7: Yeah?

I: Yeah

R7: So you'll see that a lot of what we do is freely available, you know and is available to all of those people, and a lot of our policy papers you know will be freely available. And a lot of those people should be plugged in to broader networks, so for instance ALGAO would be one of our members

I: Yeah

R7: So, you know, they would be a member of a member, in that sense. So, you know, there are routes through. For some of them it's about how well they're connecting themselves as well

I: Yeah, absolutely



06:01 R7: It's not always expensive and it's not always time consuming, and it's whether they are doing the research and knowing what's out there really. And I think that would also be my reflection on academia. So we have a number of very active academic members, I'm afraid that York is not one of them, and that might colour your

I: Oh, that's a shame

R7: Well, you know, it might colour the research that, that you're receiving actually back, and what you're able to see from your institution

I: Mhm

R7: So there are some, some incredibly savvy academic institutions who completely get that academia and research needs to have a, a sort of tangible output, it needs to feed policy, it needs to feed advocacy, and that in tandem with that, the understanding the needs of practitioners and policy people that's important to the shaping of what their research will be in the future. And they're the sort of academic institutions who would be within our membership and they're massively involved with what we do, they come along to our groups, you know some of it's reliant very much on personalities and it's those who really get this, and you know therefore there is that question about when they move on, are the institutions as good at doing that into the future, has something become part of institutional thinking within these universities, but I would say there's some really good practice out there actually in a two-way sort of two-way street, from the perspective of what I see here in the Alliance.

I: Yeah

07:24 R7: Unfortunately, I have asked York to join us and you know I have had some conversations, but they're not one of those institutions that are sort of buying in to this and doing that.

I: No

R7: So I mean, that is you know an interesting reflection in that there are established routes through for academic institutions to be demonstrating impact and to be feeding through their thinking and doing it in a sort of two way conversation, but it very much depends of the institution and whether there are leaders within in that sort of get that

I: Yeah

R: So I think what you're hearing back from practitioners is definitely a reflection of what I hear from our members that, you know, there are those who are very involved, but often academia

seems to kind of be a bit self-perpetuating, operating in a vacuum or in ways that it wants to engage. And hasn't necessarily kind of thought about what's out there already that it needs to engage in and with. So I definitely hear that, absolutely, from our members, to the extent that about three years ago we had a debate which you might want to listen to, it'll be online, on our website, about how academia and advocacy can be working better together

I: Yeah

R7: And we had 3 different speakers, you know, there would be a practitioner, there would have been an academic, and then I'm trying to think who else, possibly someone who works sort of on the frontline of policy, and you know, thinking through some of these challenges. And as a result, we've been growing our academic membership, and we have an advocacy group which very specifically brings together those who are working in academia with those who are practitioners and those who have an educational offer on the ground. So that's all kind of going on already, as well.

I: Mmhm. So membership of kind of organisations that do work as umbrellas and do work with practitioners and academics

R7: Absolutely

I: you'd say is a really good way to get this across

R7: Absolutely, and we are the umbrella organisation for the heritage sector, and I would say this, wouldn't I, but you know, people should be joining us if they're wanting to be doing this, because the mechanisms are already there. But obviously depending on which field you're in, etc, there will be others, you know, members of members or whatever, other groupings that are already established and trying to do this in different ways. So, you know, on the museums side we do reflect museums and we do represent museums, but there will be those who are, (inaudible) on museum learning or you know there'll be conservation groups who you know are already out there

I: Yeah

R7: So I think absolutely, not trying in an academic way, you're reinventing all this, but using what's already out there and plugging in through known and tested mechanisms is an obvious recommendation for those in academia, I would say.

I: Yeah, yeah. Yeah, I think part of the problem is to a certain extent what gets recognised in academia is in terms of very academic outputs and, you know, the REF wants you to do a lot of academic publications

R7: Yeah

I: And quite often those aren't actually the ones that

R7: are useful

I: are most useful, yeah

R7: (laughs) Yeah. The REF needs looking at, really, doesn't it. But it's also, I guess it depends you know what your institution values as well.

I: Mmhm

R7: Obviously you could be doing some of that stuff and I am not an academic, I do write academic papers, you know, separately, in my own time, but I, I think there is something, isn't there, about universities recognising that there are different ways of demonstrating worth in research

I: Yeah

11:03 and some of that is through collaboration and, you know, a two-way exchange. But it is very much down to inspiring individuals in institutions who get it, and, you know, who push that and kind of facilitate it and make it happen.

I: Yeah, yeah, and I think, that's kind of a reflection of something that other people I've interviewed have said which is quite often that, if they engage in academia or in academic products, it's quite often down to them as an individual to have enthusiasm and to get involved and to make personal connections

11:38 R7: Yeah

I: Allows them to kind of keep up to date with what's happening. So, it does, it does seem to be very much down to personal interests as to how individuals and how the kind of organisations around them develop alongside kind of other partnerships.

R7: That's how policy and advocacy works as well, you know, there's a joke it's about who you know, and it, it doesn't mean that in a boys club sense

I: Yeah

12:00 R7: but it's, you know you have to, so for me as someone who's involved in advocacy

I: Yeah

R7: I have to make heritage relevant to other people's agendas, you know, so that they can understand why it's relevant to them as either as politicians or as policy people etc and academia needs to be doing the same

I: Yeah

R7: You know, that this isn't just about doing something for its own sake, it's about finding the right way of, of advocating for what it is that you're working on or communicating that. And you know, I think quite a lot of this for academic institutions is about communication, and you know being accessible and being open and you know thinking about what, what's the end point and what's the point in this stuff, actually (laughs)

I: Yeah

12:36 R7: rather than it being kind of self-perpetuating and for its own sake. Now I'm all for learning for its own sake

I: Mm

R7: But actually when you're thinking about you know heritage sector, I think it is for academics to be thinking about, why, what, why are we doing this? What is the point, what is the outcome? Who is the end user and why will it help them? And you know, using that to get back into the process of developing what they're doing as well.

I: Yeah, absolutely. I think in that way heritage is almost in a unique position, when you compare it to something like English or History studies, where obviously you know members of the public are interested in it, and it is good to share that, but to a certain extent it is more learning for learning's sake than kind of heritage because the point is that heritage is an academic study of work that is done in practice and is kind of continually being done.

13:25 R7: Well, I would see heritage as more broad,

I: Yeah

R7: I think, you know, the twitterstorians and all those people who are out there

I: Yeah

R7: They're not just doing academia for it's own sake either, you know, they have kind of educational outcomes that they're looking to, you know, there'll be crossing over with our stuff, you know, likewise, because we have everything from heritage science, so that's, you know, real kind of academic rigour stuff within our membership

I: Yeah

R7: You know, that's kind of on one end of the spectrum, you know, we'll have construction, we'll have sort of heritage engineering, through to the kind of softer stuff at the other end, perhaps art history or, or whatever it is. So I don't see heritage as a kind of discipline, in its kind of own academic sense

I: Yeah

14:11 R7: People who work in it come from a whole host of different academic backgrounds

I: Yeah

R7: Or, or practical backgrounds as well.

I: Yeah

R7: I would say. So I read Arch and Anth first, I did an Art History masters next but actually a lot of my background has been in policy and sort of government stuff

I: Mhm

R7: you know, someone else next to me might have come from a completely different background, and that does kind of colour how you think about things.

I: Yeah

R7: But I think, you know, the danger is we kind of think about the edges of it too much, in a sense of, you know, is it unique really? But I think every academic background has to, you know, science, science has to be able to advocate for itself as well.

I: Yeah, yeah, absolutely, and there's a lot of really interesting communication studies in science about how to kind of put complex ideas across in a really accessible way

14:55 R7: Exactly.

I: Yeah

R7: Yeah, yeah that's the same for us, and we can learn from other sectors as well.

I: Definitely. Ok, I'm aware I don't want to take up too much of your time so

R7: Oh no that's fine, go ahead

I: Move on to the first question, and I'm aware it's really broad because I've been talking to people in a lot of different fields, so the questions are deliberately so that people can kind of relate it to their own experience

R7: Yeah

15:17 I: But, are there particular ways that you feel that heritage as a, as a sector, as an area, has changed during your career?

R7: Well, I suppose my career's a little bit odd in that I, so I spent most of my career in the Civil Service, so I worked on part of the Heritage Protection White Paper,

I: Oh right

R7: Kind of 10-and-a-bit years ago in government, you know, I've been in and out of Historic England, I ran the National Museum Director's Council for a bit, so I've kind of hopped in and out of kind of being in the heart of government and being in the heart of the sector in different ways.

I: Yeah

15:51 R7: I think what my reflection would be is that you know obviously politics has changed over that time, so you kind of look back, I've given presentations on this,

I: Mmhm

R7: but, you know, from the kind of Blairite years, and the kind of lack of interest in heritage, and moving through into Power of Place and the origin of the, the Heritage Alliance came from the need to back, kind of in, 20, 2003 I think it was, something like that? You know, for heritage to speak as one voice because government really weren't caring about it back then. And you know, going back to that kind of jeopardy cycle with the idea of knocking down all of the, you know, the old terraces and, you know, sort of artificial kind of moving people to new areas and growth towns and all of those, those sort of Labour policies, so the sector very much came together around that time and that's where the Alliance came from, but I think you know since then, obviously the, the Heritage Protection Bill didn't make it, dying embers of the Labour government, but I think heritage has got better and better at working together actually and

articulating its case, and doing that in a united way and I think part of that is down to an existence of organisations like the Heritage Alliance,

I: Mmhm

17:00 R7: but we're also doing a lot more about how heritage can be benefiting other people's agendas, you know we've persuaded government to have a heritage council where its, you know, it's thinking about heritage as, as important across government, you know, bringing those things together, so I think heritage has definitely got a lot better at engaging with policy and politics over that time. The trouble is it depends what the political zeitgeist is and it depends where, you know, the attention is. So, you know, at the moment, where there is absolutely no Parliamentary time, well, it's going to be for the next 10 years, is all going to be clogged up with either Brexit or the NHS or whatever else, that is very important that we're able to articulate heritage in, in terms of solving problems for others. So we're doing work on how heritage underpins the creative economy, how heritage supports soft power, how heritage benefits well being, we're not going to get a bill just for its own sake. So I think we're, we've definitely got better at that as a sector over this time. And I think in some ways, you know, that means that you know if we're thinking about this in public policy terms and we're thinking about it in terms of kind of wider themes, there is a danger that academia becomes more and more divorced from that?

18:17 I: Yeah

R7: It's thinking about it in its kind of purest sense, I would say. It doesn't have to, but there is a danger that that is the case.

I: Yes.

R7: So, that's my feeling on it, but you know, it depends on individual politicians how much they care, how much you can influence them and how much you can, you know as I say, be articulating your case in a way that solves their problems. You know, you'll get a minister who really gets it, you know Michael Gove actually did get it, that culture is part of the natural landscape and you know was, was very important when you're thinking about the environment. Robert Jenrick's been really interesting recently on, you know, on housing and the planning system and the importance of listing and a heritage protection system that works. You get some other politicians who really are not very interested. So it's, you take each individual as they come, I think, and it's an ongoing conversations, we've not, not won this battle at all yet, so

I: Yeah

19:19 R7: But I think the sector's got much better at co-ordinating itself, and also talking to other sectors, we're, we've still got some way to go, I would say, but it's an upward trajectory in the policy sense, I would say.

I: Yeah. So really positive moves.

R7: Well, I, from the angle, from the sort of perspective of policy and advocacy angle, it's increasingly challenging because there's huge things like Brexit going on, and we're, you know, our sector is in jeopardy,

I: Yeah

R7: through the future of visa regimes and things like that. What I would say though is that we do not have the jeopardy that the natural environment have right now, and I think there's something about having jeopardy on your side that can help you make the case. And you know we'll see that in the last bit of the twentieth century, with interest in historic houses going up or down over the time, and we go yes we can engage with the climate change argument, but we didn't have, the sort of jeopardy of coming out of Europe or the jeopardy of sort of melting ice caps that certainly the natural lobby will have, as an example

I: Yeah

20:24 R7: and I think you know that, that does affect you know how we're able to have conversations.

I: Yeah, I guess there's a lot of pressure to, for politicians at the moment to act on a lot of things quite quickly and heritage and, isn't necessarily the

R7: No, I mean

I: The top of their list so

R7: Yeah. I mean, you're seeing from, I don't know if you've seen it, but from the analysis of the manifestos that we've done, heritage is not front and centre of any of these, you could find what's in there that relates to heritage, you have to be quite nuanced and clever about it and think about the language that you're being presented with, and then meet people where, where they're at with the agendas that you have, so, you know it's worth looking at if you haven't already, the stuff we've been putting out on you know preparing for general election.



I: Yeah, yes, saw some of that, yeah. So, yeah. I think, I mean, obviously I guess we're in a situation where things all might change again quite quickly after the election depending on who you're going to be talking to

R7: Yeah

21:27 I: coming back to kind of individual connections. You might just have a new set of government ministers.

R7: You've got to be talking to someone. You know, you've got to be talking to whoever is there. We, we're apolitical in the sense that we're not pushing for any particular outcome, we're just preparing for whichever eventuality and then you, you know, you think about the language, you think about what's going to be taken forward and where the priority's going to be and then you look at where you sit within it.

I: Mmhm

R7: and that's, you know, that's what we try and do here.

I: Yeah, yeah.

R7: That goes on to your second question really, about the major factors driving this change, well, you know, there's kind of, I suppose there's the macro stuff, there's, you know, sort of economics and you know the approach of the Treasury to things over time, there's, I suppose the context in which, for example, because it's such a broad question isn't it, major driving factors, but

I: Yeah

22:22 R7: For instance, on the archaeology side you've got kind of moves to professionalisation of the sector but you've also got a lot of voluntary effort, you've got huge, huge infrastructure projects coming through

I: Yeah

R7: you know, that will be obviously affecting the future of that

I: Mmhm

R7: and you know, you've got huge, I mean, even if you're thinking about major factors during this time, at the moment, you know it's all about climate change at the moment, it's all about house building and the context of kind of heritage around Brexit, so I think you know there've

been a lot of political up and downs over that period, and I think, you know, I take a particular perspective because I work in policy and advocacy so that a lot, a lot of the way we articulate things, it may be the same things we're asking for? So, an example would be, we've been arguing for a very long time for parity between the VAT that's charged on new build versus repair

I: Yeah

23:23 R7: New build you pay 0%, and there's loopholes around demolishing something and rebuilding it for 0% VAT, whereas if you're wanting to repair something you'd normally charge 20%. This has been going on a long time but how we talk about that, for instance, has changed. So it might have been that we were talking about, actually this is about historic sites, it's about preserving them for the nation etc

I: Mmm

23:44 R7: Now we're also talking about it in climate change terms, so you know the, we may be asking for similar things, we may have been asking for the same stuff for ten years but it's how we talk about it that changes.

I: Yeah. Yeah, that's something that's definitely come out in my PhD, is the fact that heritage kind of adapts to policy priorities and to changing language kind of, I mean, decade by decade but almost year by year as well.

24:12 R7: We have to. Oh, for me month by month.

I: Yeah, well, you're definitely kind of

R7: Absolutely

I: at the coalface

R7: You know, got to be really fleet of foot with this stuff. So, Brexit's been a challenge, for, three years?

I: Yeah

R7: and huge amount of our work, thinking about the future of the Environment Bill, the future of agriculture, the future movement of people, materials, you know, what's in jeopardy in terms of the future environmental legislation, so all of those things, but then sort of month by month you'll get particular challenges, so I do, you'll have seen the sorts of announcements that were coming out kind of almost every day from the Ministry of Housing and Local Government

I: Mm

24:51 R7: in the last month, because there's particular politicians wanting to make their mark or, you know, push things forward for political reasons.

I: Yeah

R7: So, you know, there's changes to the planning system, you know, there's been a lot in the last ten years

I: Yeah

R7: and often it's about avoiding inadvertent damage to heritage? Which is what the heritage council is about as well, and you know that proposal came from the Heritage Alliance, that you know there is this danger, often people do not have heritage in mind. Sometimes they do, and it's wonderful if they do, as long as you know it's not worsening it (laughs)

I: Yeah

25:24 R7: But often, the, the things that affect the heritage sector are not intended to affect the heritage sector, but they do, through inadvertent means

I: Yeah

R7: so changes to the tax system or changes to the planning system will, you know, will affect heritage, although that isn't the intention or it may not have even been thought about by those who are proposing those changes. So part of what we do is about highlighting those things as well as the positive role that heritage can play.

I: Yeah, yeah. So it's kind of (pause) because heritage is such a broad field there are just so many different areas that affect it, I guess

25:59 R7: And, yes. Yeah. Yeah absolutely. And yeah, we do mapping of this all the time, from military sites and underwater archaeology, through to skills, education, coal burning (laughs) for steam trains, you know, it's just the things people don't necessarily think of. You know, we had something last year on changes to the import and export of ivory

I: Yeah

R7: Now, you wouldn't necessarily think this was an issue for us, but it is, musical instruments, you know, kind of collections, so, literally every month there is new challenges, and we may be

articulating and making a case for the same stuff, but it's you know how you handle those particular threats and opportunities, and whether you're harnessing them.

I: Yeah, yeah.

26:49 R7: And what I would say, is academia can often be very very slow, and you know the sort of research times and you know they can tick on very very slowly

I: Yes!

R7: There's a danger that by the time you've thought about a question (laughs) you know, it's been answered and moved on to the next one

I: Got around to getting things peer reviewed, yeah

R7: Yeah, well, yeah, absolutely

I: Yeah, so I guess you're, the Heritage Alliance is kind of pulling in contributions from all its different members all the time

R7: Yeah

27:17 I: about what they feel is likely to affect their area

R7: Yeah, absolutely in different ways. So we have advocacy groups

I: Mmhm

R7: who will be focusing on five different areas, we have working groups who are, so for instance, you know, we have a marine working group, and that was set up specifically because there was a fisheries bill. So it's kind of looking at what's coming through, what's coming at us and what do we need to do about it. And also, the Alliance, where are we uniquely placed and what can we do to take these areas further? So we can't do everything, we've got to think about where we're adding greatest value to the sector, where we're able to plug the gaps that others are not necessarily thinking about

I: Yeah

27:54 R7: And, you know, not everything is, is for us to be pondering but we definitely have the horizon scanning role, which seems to be some of the stuff you're interested in here, really, which is, you know, how is heritage and how it articulates itself changing

I: Yeah

R7: and how does it need to change, you know, in the wider context and how therefore does the sort of academic fit within that?

I: Mm. Yeah. Yeah, and I mean, one of the things I am aware of is that in the absence of any parliamentary time, obviously heritage as articulated in legislation is still as it's done in the 1990 and 1979 acts, which doesn't leave

R7: Yeah

I: a huge amount of flexibility for you know things like intangible heritage and kind of community values and stuff outside Historic England's Conservation Principles.

28:42 R7: Yeah. I mean, I think, I mean there's, there's also kind of thinking about what needs to be done through legislation and what doesn't, so we have groups looking at this stuff, you know, what can you achieve through secondary legislation, what can you achieve just through reform and collaboration and which things actually require primary legislation?

I: Yeah

29:02 R7: And there's also going, not necessarily going we should have a heritage bill, we should have a heritage bill, of course we should, but we're not going to have time for that

I: Mmhm

R7: So when other pieces of legislation come forward, what are the opportunities for achieving some of those things as part of that legislation as well

I: Yeah

R7: which we, you know, we will spend some time on as well

29:18 I: Yeah. So, moving on to the third question, do you feel like your own ideas about heritage have changed? Because you did mention you started in art history, which sounds like a change

R7: Archaeology and anthropology and then art history.

I: Ok, yeah

R7: To be honest, not really? (laughs) Maybe that's why I'm in what I'm in, but, you know I've always thought about, I've always been a bigger picture person and I've always enjoyed the sort of strategy and making a case for something, and I think obviously when you're at university and you're studying arch and anth or whatever, you're, depending on the way that your course is

designed, you'll be studying all that stuff in a very academic sense, I suppose? And you know, I went to university (...) which was very theoretical, and I went a bit more down the art history route, yes we did excavate, but you know we have a particular, particular choices about particular things, and I suppose when, back then, you're learning it all aren't you, and I wish, and I've said this to them, and all courses need to take notes of this, that, that actually there's a bit of a lack of you know almost the professors of policy? The people who actually get this stuff, the people who've worked in it, the people who actually understand that political and policy context, that, you know, you might touch on section 106 or you might touch on this that or the other, but actually, it's very much you know an academic perspective I think, when people are doing undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, or theoretical as you're looking at. Really, there is, I think there is a lack of understanding about how does this play out in the real world.

I: Yeah

30:58 R7: And so in terms of how my ideas have changed over time, I don't, since I've been in the working world, I would say, and you know, I worked in DCMS, I came in through the policy perspective, but I've always thought about how heritage fits within all of that, I suppose, because that's been my job to do that, wherever I've been sat. But I think there's, there's definitely, you know there is a bit of a dearth at the university level of really understanding the real, real context

I: Mm

31:24 R7: and the real wider political context for, for where people are working or might end up working.

I: Yeah

R7: Does that make sense?

I: Yeah, yeah, so it's less that

(...)

R7: The trouble is they're led by people who do it, you know? Or haven't done that stuff themselves

I: Yeah, well, I guess the people that are doing are, generally have their hands full, is part of the problem

32:07 R7: No, no, yeah absolutely they do, but maybe there's something around a bit more of an exchange here, you know, sort of expertise in these spaces, how can, how creatively can universities be harnessing the expertise of those who are on the coalface. It doesn't mean they need to go and be professors

I: Yeah

R7: But, you know, it is through back to the idea of membership of organisations like ours, where that stuff gets fed through, you know, it's part of everyday thinking?

I: Yes, yeah. Yeah, so, so just to summarise, it's less that your kind of your approach has changed, it's more that you've found an area in which your approach can be most useful.

32:46 R7: I don't know, I mean, you learn every day as you go through

I: Yeah

R7: I'm not saying I had all the answers to start with, I think I've always just believed that heritage has, you know it's not just there for, as you were saying, it's there as, I think possibly because when I was growing up I had a hugely inspirational experience with parents who, you know, took me to this stuff

I: Mm

R7: so my approach to heritage has always been, it's about learning, it's about quality of life (laughs) really

I: Yeah

33:14 R7: That was part of my own, my own experience really, so I think it's just full circle really, in that sense, so I think you learn all the time about the different ways that heritage can benefit society, you learn, you know, there's so much, as you say, it's so important, there's so much to this stuff, you know, that's it's never a dull moment, I'm steam trains one minute and archaeology the next, so there's a lot to get a grip of, but I think I've just always believed that heritage has a broader good, and is absolutely integral to people's lives, so I think that's what I mean by my approach in that sense hasn't changed

I: Yeah

33:49 R7: I think our approaches to how we articulate it change all the time

I: Yeah, yeah

R7: depending on the context. Yeah.

I: Yeah, absolutely, yeah. Ok, so moving on to question 4, we've already touched on how organisations and individuals that are members of the Heritage Alliance can kind of use that as a platform for putting forward their ideas that they think are particularly urgent, but also, having worked on the Heritage White Paper I'd be really interested to hear how you feel those, those kind of different ideas around Heritage are sort of fitted together into a piece of legislation or policy.

34:31 R7: I mean, you know, that, that is a huge question

(both laugh)

I: I know

R7: but I think I might be, the bottom line on this is would be, I was a (?professional?) civil servant so that was my background

I: Mmhm

R7: I didn't start off as a heritage practitioner, I moved myself round into an area I was interested, and sometimes that happens, but more often than not civil servants working on policy are not experts in the area they are placed. They will be there for a certain amount of time and their job is to be objective. So, I think the recognition that the civil service, and often the politicians who may spend even less of a time, you know, we've had, I think, I can't remember, even at the last count we've had something like 11 heritage ministers in not as many years

I: Yeah

35:19 R7: You know these people are not experts. And so I would say the best form of advocacy is not the flag flying stuff, stomping your feet, you know saying what's wrong, I think the best approach to advocacy is through making yourself invaluable to the people who are doing this thinking, and giving them tangible stuff that they can use, so we absolutely in the Alliance take the approach that we work very closely with policy makers, we help them to understand, we give them evidence and ideas that could potentially really work, and if they take them forward then they take them forward, so it's about informed policy making

I: Mm

36:01 R7: that, you know we, we are absolutely there to draw in the informed view of the heritage sector, the independent heritage sector, and in collaboration and in relationship with



those who are doing this policy thinking helping them to make good policy. So, I think, it's interesting because for me, because I come from this perspective this is just really natural, but for a lot of organisations they think that sort of letter-writing and petitioning is the way to go, and actually

I: Yeah

36:29 R7: it's not, it's doing the work for the hard pushed civil servants who are very small teams of people expected to deliver lots of stuff. And I also think it's about helping them to make their stuff relevant to wider policy agendas, the stuff that I've spoken about already.

I: Yeah

36:43 R7: So, I think it's, you know, they are not the enemy in any way, or some kind of mysterious kind of group

(both laugh)

R7: You know, this, it's, it's fairly simple really, it's making your stuff relevant and attractive to those who are making decisions on this stuff. And being aware that you know your stuff isn't always going to be top of people's lists, so, it's being able to articulate it in sophisticated ways depending on, all that those people are looking at, biding your time, also picking your battles. And you know, likewise with Parliament, you know, when you're thinking about Parliamentarians, they're interested in their own local constituency and how things play out there and whether they're going to get elected, they're interested in their party as well as what their party stands for, and they're interested in making their own name in Parliament. So, it's about understanding the motivations of those who are thinking about this stuff and you know finding where you can potential ambassadors to be making the case for you. But also say, it's really powerful if other sectors are making the case for our stuff on our behalf. So for instance, you'll have seen in the news this week probably there's a big coalition out there saying cut the VAT

I: Yes

37:54 R7: which is all about kind of repair and maintenance, particularly in climate change terms

I: Mm

R7: and you know for us it's really powerful and the construction industry are asking for the same things as us. It's really powerful if the creative industries, who are a really growing area of sort of economic benefit to the UK are talking about how heritage is the basis of what they do.

I: Yeah

38:17 R7: So, you know, you'll see that we put out a report this year, if you haven't looked at it I suggest you do, because that's quite an innovative way of bringing a lot of case studies about what we do really well, and it's not rocket science, you know, to say that heritage underpins film and tv and gaming, and you know literature, but people may not necessarily articulate it in that way?

I: Yeah

R7: Or think about it in that way? So it's, it's demonstrating that our stuff is essential and worthy of other people making the case for us and with us as well.

I: Yeah

38:49 R7: So I think that's pretty, pretty crucial as well.

I: Mm

R7: So I think, I think universities, in terms of having a say, they can do it in different ways, can't they, of course, you know, some sectors I would say, you know, (inaudible) and other areas, I would say, academics are very involved in the policy-making process. Not necessarily the case in heritage, so I think, you know, the way through absolutely needs to be through what I've been talking about, those who are already on the front line. So, so our academic members are represented with government through us.

I: Yeah

39:23 R7: You know, they are there at the table, they can provide data, they can provide information and thinking

I: Mm

R7: because we're sat at the table.

I: Yeah

R7: That's, you know, therefore they are part of that policy-making process.

I: And as kind of, you know, individuals, if you have an opinion you don't necessarily have, have the awareness of wider policy or the language in which to frame it to make it useful, like you were saying, you know

39:50 R7: Not everything, not everyone has to do everything, I think that's the thing

I: Yeah

R7: You know, we are not the experts on the detail of conservation of particular buildings

I: Mm

R7: But we need those experts to tell us what's wrong, what's working, you know, what might need to change to facilitate what they're doing at the coal face, so to speak. You know, so we, we work with academics in lots of different areas, so doing interesting stuff on creative industries and how academia can work with you know developers, app developers, and work with the heritage sector to produce new and interesting stuff, you know, stuff at that end of the spectrum, at the other end of the spectrum you've got academics telling us why the visa system is going to be problematic for them in the future, in the advent of Brexit

I: Yeah

40:36 R7: And sort of everything in between.

I: Yeah

R7: So at one end, it's the policy stuff that's really going to affect them and at the other end it's the kind of creative stuff, and, I suppose some of your stuff sits in between all of that. But that stuff directly feeds through.

I: Yeah

R7: to those who have those routes through. So I think it is really important for academic institutions to you know have those, I don't know if you know Oli Cox in Oxford, or Anna Whitelock in Royal Holloway?

I: Mm

R7: Those universities have someone who's been appointed to sit in between academia and um and practice and policy

I: Yeah

41:14 R7: And I think when those universities have those sort of critical placements,

I: Mm

R7: it makes everything easier? Because there's someone whose job it is and gets it

I: Yeah

R7: to be able to do this. An example with Oxford is, you know, really interesting, so Oli Cox that particular person, you know, alongside him he has a team that's kind of developing, really, that's really thinking in this space, out of that has come partnerships with the National Trust and the sort of National Trust and Oxford partnership office, you've got people working on creative industries, but they've also used it as a way of advocating across the university for why heritage and history matters as well. So as a result of working with us, for instance, they've now got a network across the whole university of over 100 people who are part of this sort of university heritage network

I: Mm

42:02 R7: and that provides routes through for so many people to be able to kind of see what's going on and feed through in their own way

I: Yeah

R7: It might, computing is working with museum people is working with archaeologists, in new and interesting ways, through engagement.

I: Yeah, yeah. That's really interesting, I mean, I'm

R7: Especially talk to him, actually, if you need an academic from a different institution

I: Yeah, just thinking that

R7: Yeah

42:31 I: Yeah, I think, a part of what I'm really impressed with there is that the university has the kind of foresight to fund a position where someone's actually looking externally to build those kind of partnerships, because

R7: Yeah. They do, but it's about the individual who is sat in the institution seeing that there's a need for it, making a case for it

I: Yeah

R7: getting that funding, and then because it's now demonstrating benefit the university gets in and pushes it more.

I: Yeah

R7: So I think often it really is down to people, and relationships who get this stuff.

I: Yeah

43:01 R7: You'd hope, hope by kind of in a way showcasing where this is working, so Cambridge for instance now have a kind of heritage research centre, and centre is in our membership. Just like Royal Holloway have a centre for Public History?

I: Yes

R7: and you know it's those that almost have that, that outward looking ethos that it's easier for them to get it, I suppose.

I: Yeah

R7: but, you know, there's some interesting stuff going on, in those who do.

I: Yeah

R7: And it's worth, I mean, have a look at our academic members, because those who are our academic members tend to be the ones who have got this, enough to be pioneers

I: Yes

43:40 R7: in this space, so Confucius Institute at Herriot Watt, is interesting in that sense, Royal Holloway is interesting, part of the University of Southampton have joined us

I: Right

R7: through its part of their Creative Industries and Archaeology project

I: Yeah

R7: where the two work together, it's through that that they've come in, because we're doing some interesting work in that, therefore there's an obvious you know benefit for their case studies etc. But often I would say, it's very much down to the individuals who get it and push it in their own institutions and kind of advocate for it

I: Yeah

44:14 R7: get others to understand that

I: Yeah, yeah, so

R7: But I'd really encourage it, more of it, absolutely. It's, it's really valuable for policy when we have access to this thinking, and vice versa.

I: Yeah, yeah, absolutely. And obviously it gives, I know this is partly what people were talking about in terms of the possibility of the Heritage Observatory

R7: Yeah

I: but I think the Heritage Alliance already is giving people who work in academia the chance to kind of talk with others, out there, who are saying actually this is kind of urgently the research that we need

R7: Yeah

I: and the support that we need.

(...)

44:57 R7: I mean, we also run the Heritage 2020 programme,

I: Mmhm

R7: as an Alliance it's a project that we run, and you know that discussion is a part of that

I: Yeah

R7: but, you know, I think that is obviously a bit bigger than you know a very small organisation, really. And you know, we have particular mechanisms, but an observatory that brings in sort of Historic England or the Lottery, or you know, all those who are kind of collecting data and thinking about how it's used

I: Yeah

45:28 R7: is quite exciting prospect. It may come a bit late for your research, I don't know

(both laugh)

R7: when you're, when you're kind of finalising some of this stuff

I: Mm, yeah

R7: But you know, watching that, and you know the thinking about that will be, will be really interesting, because it's all the kind of stuff we've been talking about, you know, academia does need to increasingly demonstrate its impact, but also the sector needs academia, because you know, you have a lot of the people, the thinking, the resources, a lot of our organisations are very very small.

46:00 I: Yeah. So in a way, I mean, it's kind of really gratifying to see that there is this broad awareness of this as a problem, because hopefully then at least the data I'm producing will be useful.

R7: I think it, it's a problem to an extent but it's also a massive opportunity where it's working

I: Yeah

R7: So, you know as I say, do speak to Oli Cox in Oxford if you can

I: Mmhm

R7: because, you know, he'll be able to talk about, you know, they've been with us for a couple of years?

I: Right

46:25 R7: and, you know, they've got huge impact out of it. And vice versa, it's been really valuable for us to have that insight, and as I say, another interesting one to look at is, have a look in our creative industries, it's called Inspiring Creativity Report

I: Yeah

R7: that, that has an interesting case study, the Southampton one, how you know archaeology is inspiring contemporary craft and making stuff

I: Yeah

R7: so very practical stuff but run by an academic institution.

I: Mm

46:59 R7: So that's kind of right down to the practitioner on the ground level, actually

I: Yeah

R7: and that's different again. So that's Jo in Southampton is interesting in that stuff

I: Mmhm, yeah

R7: But it is, you know, it's a real opportunity for those who get it (laughs) And you know I, I think it feels like a bit, a bit like pulling teeth sometimes

I: (laughs)

R7: to get people to, to engage with this, to join, often the barrier actually is whose departmental pot the subs come out of, to join organisations like ours, and I'm not even joking

I: (laughs), No, no, I believe that

R7: Sometimes that's that barrier, who coughs up that grand, and it's not even loads, you know

I: Yeah

47:39 R7: And the kind of, it is a bit like pulling teeth as I say, sometimes to persuade the institutions or for them to persuade the purse holders of this

I: Mm

R7; but once they're in (laughs) you really really see it

I: Yeah

R7: You know, we don't, we don't really lose academic institutions unless they're pretty disengaged or the person moves, who's had the vision

I: Mm, yeah

R7: which can be quite an issue. So you know I, my vision would be ultimately we have loads of academic members, who are all really contributing and really getting a lot out of it, for me. (inaudible), that would be.

48:13 I: Yeah. And I guess the other issue, I mean, particularly that we're aware of given the strikes recently, is that a lot of individual academics are so over stretched

R7: Mm

I: I guess just the extra work needed

R7: Yeah

I: to apply for that departmental money and the kind of

R7: Yeah, you have to be

I: and to persuade colleagues to join in might just be a

R7: Yeah

I: almost a step too far for some of them.

R7: Yeah. But I think, you know, we're over stretched as the heritage sector as well,

I: Yeah

R7: and I think, you know, academics are obviously developing their research, they're teaching, whatever, there is clearly a problem there

I: Mm



48:45 R7: However, I think there is, you know, some really hard thinking to be done about what it is that academics are doing that is really, genuinely valuable to society and to the wider sector, and you know be really aware of that when, you know, when they're thinking about future projects and future research, so

I: Yeah

R7: I know that our academic members, and we're looking at this at the moment, are interested in how to, we have a private members area that's been created on our website

I: Mmhm

R7: How behind that paywall, because we need to exist as an organisation

I: Yeah

R7: then academics institutions and those who, they wouldn't normally necessarily have to opportunity to have connections with, can be putting material on there about, about their mutual interests and needs

I: Yeah

R7: to form interesting co-operations and collaborations into the future. So, you know, we very much can be a broker in that space as well.

I: Yeah, yeah

R7: and you know between institutions as well, so, we know for instance, by us bringing people together at Oxford and Cambridge, particular parts of them are working together where they wouldn't necessarily have been before.

I: Mm

49:49 R7: You know, same for other institutions, the Royal Holloway, and others, they're finding real commonality by being in those interesting conversations between academics, between those on the front line and those, sort of somewhere in between.

I: Yeah, so the benefits are absolutely worth the effort

R7: Yeah, completely, I would say. But as you say it's difficult when people are, are stretched.

I: Yeah

R7: but I think sometimes the mindset of the institutions might need to, need to move with that, and as you say it's wonderful that some of our academic members get it

I: Mm

R7: But some of that has been down to really, really strong advocates within those organisations.

I: Mm, yeah

R7: Yeah. And vice versa, on the heritage sector side as well

I: Yeah

50:34 R7: You know, it's not just academic institutions understanding this, I think, you know, it's, we're hard stretched as well, and it's finding that time to, to understand the value of having those conversations and those collaborations

I: Yeah. Yeah, I guess, so that takes us on to the final question, which is about the kind of, the differences that you see, not, I mean, not just in terms of timing, the amount of time they have to spend on work or the in-depth studies they can do on work on the academic side, but also whether you feel that people who work in academia have a different idea of kind of what heritage should be and where it should be going, to people otherwise in the sector.

51:21 R7: I, to be quite frank (laughs), and I think you probably hear this from others, we're not aware of a lot that's out there, unless you've got a good communicator

I: Yeah

R7: in the academic sector, I think there's a lot of stuff that just gets done and not communicated, and therefore a bit wasted. I think there's some stuff that's done because it's an interesting question or because people think it might get funded.

I: Yeah

R7: I think the really valuable stuff for me is the stuff that equips me with really good anecdotal stuff or information or other evidence for why heritage is worthy of other people's time. That's my particular perspective. So the things that are most valuable to me are those things that support policy development.

I: Yes

52:10 R7: I don't have time to spend, I mean, separately I have academic interests

I: Mmhm

R7: you know, I'm one of those people who are very much about research for its own sake in my own time (laughs)

I: Yeah

R7: and you know, I know going through that peer review process because I've done it recently, you know, but I think there is definitely still that mindset of academia existing for its own sake in some quarters, and I, I'm just not convinced that, I mean heritage theory is probably really really important, it's probably more important to those, you know, so it's the for instance if you're going into archaeology, you really need a grounding in everything, you really need to understand what you're doing, as part of fieldwork, and you need to know how things, thinking is moving on,

I: Mmhm

52:55 R7: I'm not part of that, really, I'm not there on the ground, you know, analysing things

I: Yeah

R7: so I have a particular perspective on this, but the most useful stuff for me is the stuff that supports policy

I: Yeah

R7: And I know that is only one particular perspective, you'll get a different perspective from a conservator, I'm sure

I: Mmhm

R7: or a sort of archaeologist on the ground, or whatever.

I: Mm, yeah

R7: So for me, the most useful publications are things like Heritage Counts, which is all about you know the evidence for the economic, the social, all the evidence, have a look at that

I: Yeah

R7: I use that a lot. It's documents like the ones we're producing, which kind of show really tangibly, what we're trying to, the case we're trying to make

I: Yeah

R7: for me at the moment, you know, evidence on how heritage improves wellbeing and health outcomes, that's really interesting to me, but not in a purely academic kind of sense, in a

I: Mm

53:54 R7: how this can tangibly work. So it'll be around, around the things that we've identified heritage needs to contribute to, that conversation

I: Yeah

R7: There's a real place for research, absolutely, but the things that I find most useful will be those things.

I: So in a sense there's, the more interdisciplinary the research on heritage and the more it can kind of tie into other areas of interest

R7: Yeah, and practical, you know (laughs). Not just, not just theoretical, for me. This is just for me and my work

I: Yeah

54:29 R7: You know the, the understand how heritage changes lives, though I know that sounds a bit twee, that stuff, that stuff is usable for me

I: Yeah

R7: That kind of bigger picture stuff about, to take an example, so we've done, recently we did a report on international working

I: Mmhm

R7: and the amazing stuff our members are doing in that space

I: Yeah

R7: You know, and if you have an example of how academics are doing really interesting work across borders and between countries on kind of building each others' knowledge and working practically with practitioners, that stuff is really really useful

I: Yeah

55:10 R7: So, but that's for me, you know. And I suppose you're getting perspectives from a lot, a lot of different people. But making research relevant and really, really knowing how to communicate it,

I: Yeah

R7: is just so, so important for academics. I mean, they do say archaeology is destruction, don't they, unless it's properly, properly published

I: (laughs) yeah

R7: which is completely true, isn't it

I: Yeah, and I think, I think the danger is that sometimes that's not the kind of first priority for academic work. Sometimes it can feel like there is more pressure to have something published, that looks impressive academically, than to have something published that people can use?

55:47 R7: Yeah, and I would say, the latter is important, the former is actually not really very useful for anyone outside of academia.

I: Yeah

R7: I like a nicely written paper but I don't have time to read it.

(both laugh)

R7: Summaries, absolutely crucial, using social media, using, you know, visual ways to be making research relevant

I: Mm

R7: You know, engaging with the conversations, they're out there. So, you know, the discussions going on on climate change and fiscal repair and maintenance, you know, there's conversations around there on how heritage and wellbeing interact, you know, for academics to be thinking about, what have they got out there that can be part of that wider conversation, what can they do to help add to that?

I: Yeah, yeah

56:32 R7: will really help to make their research relevant

I: Yeah. Yeah, absolutely,

R7: I don't know whether that echoes other things that you hear or whether I'm coming from a particular perspective, because I suppose I do sit right at the kind of, the policy end (laughs) of this stuff

I: Yeah

R7: and it's about support for my members and helping my organisation to continue into the future

I: Mm

R7: that's very much what we're looking at

(...)

I: Yeah. Yeah, so, yeah, I always find it really interesting to people who've kind of moved between areas in the sector

R7: Mm, that perspective

I: because, you just get so many insights

R7: People who move around, you know, have done museums, done policy, done heritage, yes it makes you a jack of all trades, and in danger of being a master of none

I: (laughs)

57:49 R7: but actually I'm supposed to be a master of none, in a way, if that makes sense

I: Yeah, yeah

R7: Not everyone needs to be doing the same thing

I: Mm

R7: and it's about how we, our ecosystem that is kind of supporting a kind of wider, wider set of objectives here.

I: Yeah

R7: and then that's why the Alliance tries to pull together things like the Heritage Manifesto, and why Heritage 2020 is looking at certain cross-cutting collaborative priorities,

I: Mm

R7: because we've got to pull those things together and then feed through, you know everyone's, everyone's elements of that (inaudible).

I: Yeah, because that, you can kind of amplify all of that.

R7: Definitely, definitely, there is capacity for academia to be doing so much more in, in that space, I would say

I: Yeah. Yeah.

R7: Not in a competitive way, in a collaborative way, as well

I: (laughs)

R7: I think that is a danger for academia, isn't it?

I: Yeah, as well. Joining in and thinking that they know what they're doing already.

R7: Yeah, I think there's a lot of kind of listening and being involved, in what's already going on out though, because you see, for instance, you even see it with the British Academy

I: Yeah

58:55 R7: They represent the kind of epitome of academia, don't they, you know, that kind of rose to the top, but, you know, I did notice in meetings that I've had with them is that even though, they're not connecting themselves?

I: Mm

R7: You know, they're doing great thinking, but they're not linking it in to the reality of what's out there, so then it becomes, you know, an academic exercise again.

I: Yeah

R7: There was a report called, I think it was Reflections on Archaeology, a couple of years ago, where they were looking at you know The Sector, and they were thinking about the future of the sector and the challenges

I: Mmhm

59:26 R7: Now, there was an interesting report, but it was a bit divorced from what else was going on. So for instance, anyone who'd gone into policy or had left field excavation or whatever was considered a loss to the sector, which is quite a purist way of looking at it

I: Yeah, that seems a bit unfair

R7: No, I think, you know, it wasn't sophisticated enough an analysis as to what - what is heritage (laughs)

I: Yeah

R7: what does the sector mean. So, there's so much capacity, this is, it could be seen as a negative thing, that academia's kind of operating a bit on its own in some quarters

I: Mmhm

1:00:03 R7: but actually I think this should be seen as real opportunity,

I: Yeah

R7: I would say, for, for closer working into the future, because the mechanisms are starting to be there, for this

I: Yes. Yeah, I think particularly, in the kind of long view, particularly now that everybody is online

R7: Yes

I: there are so many opportunities to talk to people

R7: Yeah, yeah, and through social media and things like that as well

I: Yeah

R7: there are real communities of, of sort out there, and there's even things like Heritage Chat now as well

I: Yeah

R7: So, you know, the heritage sector puts on monthly chats on particular topics

I: Mm

R7: The odd academic will get involved in it, but that stuff is free for everyone to be involved in

I: Yeah

R7: You know, are they aware of this stuff, you know, it's such a great opportunity for them to be showcasing their research and thinking about things

I: Yeah

R7: So I think it's thinking about what's out there already, that are the real opportunities for them to be communicating and making their stuff relevant

I: Mm

1:00:58 R7: and also, probably feeding new thoughts and ideas through to what they're doing, as well

I: Yeah

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R7: I'm quite passionate about this stuff, by the way, you know, the idea that, I mean genuinely though, because there's such resource out there, you know real opportunity for us, for us to be much bigger than we are as a sector when academia gets involved as well.

I: Yeah, yeah. Rather than almost two sectors with each half doing their own thing.

1:01:25 R7: Well, I'm also quite passionate about routes through as well, so, we would take a lot of interns, generally from our members' organisations, because it's a benefit of membership and all that

I: Yeah

R7: But we've seen people who've spent time with us really getting this stuff, and you know, coming through into the sector

I: Yeah

R7: coming through into policy and research and moving from academia to practitioner stuff

I: Yeah

R7: and probably vice versa as well.

I: So it's a way for people to actually develop those interpersonal communications that can be important later?

R7: And just understanding it, you know

I: Yeah

R7: You sit in the Alliance for a month you get a real understanding of the policy context, the political context

I: Mm

R7: and why actually this stuff matters.

I: Yeah. Yeah, great, was there anything else that you wanted to touch on that I haven't covered yet, or

1:02:15 R7 I don't think so, I mean I think it'd be, it'd be interesting to hear what you're doing. Yeah, I think it's interesting that York are facilitating this thinking, and I would, you know I've tried, I would encourage those who are supporting these as research questions to also be thinking about their own department and how they can be networking themselves in.

1:02:35 I: Yeah

R7: And, you know, I think it's a hard questions for a lot of academic institutions, you know, they might be asking theoretically how can we be better connected (laughs)

I: yeah

R7: to practice but actually they can practically do that, and I think, I know you're looking at this from a kind of theoretical perspective

I: Mm

R7: but I'd say, you know, the useful PhDs will come out with something practical as well

I: Yeah, yeah

R7: you know in that sense, and change things, and make it easier for academic institutions to kind of understand this stuff

I: Yeah, and I think, I mean, the sense that sometimes academics are trapped in a bubble that is created by theoretical publications, sometimes to start the change you need to start it

R7: Yeah, I mean, they've got to do it, haven't they

I: Yeah

R7: but I think there's got to be, you know, I do, I do really believe in research for its own sake, but I think, if it was only that, um, there's not a future in it really, is there (laughs)

I: Yeah

1:03:42 R7: So, and increasingly with funding as it is

I: Yeah

R7: So, it's an, it's in academic institutions' own interests, I think, to be getting this, so I think it's important you're asking these questions really

I: Oh good

R7: And it's not dumbing it down, you know, it's not dumbing down the academic thinking, but it's finding ways for it to be relevant

I: Yes, yeah, absolutely. yeah, great, ok, than

## Interview 8

9.12.19, by phone

Respondent 8 studied archaeological science at undergraduate, and worked as a commercial archaeologist, then for an archaeological unit based in University A, while doing a Masters and PhD in Historical Archaeology. They then worked in site management, and now direct one of the Welsh Archaeological Trusts.

I: Did you want anything clarifying about the kind of topic of the PhD or anything before we begin?

R8: No, it looks fairly straightforward, you know, how well do critical heritage theory, legislation and practice share ideas? And I have a short answer to that, which is not very

(both laugh)

R8: but obviously I've got a bit of time to try and explore why. But yeah, it seems, it's a good topic actually, I think it's important because, you know, a lot of people do thinking about things, a lot of people do things, but the, the two sides of that don't always come together as well as they should do. So yeah, I think I've got a gist of what you're trying to find out. So, let's go for it.

(...)

06:26 I: So during, the first question in the kind of interview process is how you feel the heritage sector has changed during your career?

R8: Well. (pause) that's a good question. I mean I think obviously what began at the very beginning of my career was the, the archaeology being brought into the planning process, so the whole PPG16 and what followed sort of that.

I: Yeah

R8: and so I, I wasn't really in the system before then, so I don't, I can't really speak for the change that that has brought about then, but that has changed the way we've done things a lot, and so, thinking back to my early career, again I remember quite vividly, the emphasis changing, really, in the first 10 years after PPG16, in terms of the sorts of archaeology that we considered to be important. And I remember going on sites when we were looking at whatever medieval or Roman remains, and everything was later than those things which were the targets of research were, were machined away and removed, and I found that uncomfortable at the time, and gradually we've moved away from that and we've begun to consider archaeology and all different theories, including contemporary archaeology and so on

I: Mm

07:52 R8: in a much more serious and meaningful way. So I think that's been, that's been quite a useful and interesting development. I mean, I do have some issues with the whole contemporary archaeology theme, because I don't think it always does itself any favours in what it chooses to look at, and I think it's not necessarily very good at articulating why archaeology is useful in certain areas, but on the whole I think that's a positive development. I think the integration, or the closer integration of buildings archaeology and below-ground archaeology is very welcome, and, or we still haven't integrated as fully as we should do, but I think that's changed, that's another positive change. I think there's the negative change, from the point of view of archaeology, certainly, would be the loss of expertise and the loss of continuity of service, I mean we're very lucky in Wales, and this is one of the reasons I was attracted to come to this job, because we have this system in Wales that hasn't changed really since the 1970s, of the Welsh Archaeological Trusts, which contain within them this regional expertise that's very long-established. And we've got issues within that, with people retiring and so on, but generally there is a stability there and a regional expertise in the archaeology which is lacking in England, where there's very much, you know, this commercial drive to do projects and to, to achieve particular financial targets and sometimes that seems to be at the expense of the archaeology. Not directly at the expense of the archaeology, I think most people try and do a good job in archaeology, but it's that loss of reflective time, I think

I: Mmhm

09:42 R8: in the profession, that has hindered us, really. We don't have time to think about what they're doing or why they're doing it, we do things because that's how it should be done, and there are certain standards and guidance that recommend us to why we should do it in these ways, but there's less scope I think now for the experimental and the interesting and new ways of doing things, I think.

10:09 I: So do you think that's a response to the kind of professionalisation of archaeology as it's got incorporated formally into the planning system?

R8: Yeah, I think so. I mean, I see professionalisation as a two-edged sword, I think, I mean I, you know, one of the things I do is I'm very supportive of ClfA

I: Mm

R8: and the professionalisation of archaeology but I, I can see, that's a good thing, I think it's good that people are held to account, they abide by a code of conduct, they abide by certain

standards and guidance and they do things in a, in a consistent and professional way, I, I think that's all good, but I think we've lost something, slightly, in doing that, we've lost some of the (pause) spirit of the sort of pioneers of archaeology in a way. I think that spirit is still there, and I think, I think there is a sort of, yeah it's still there but it's not necessarily there in commercial practice, and whether it should be there or not I don't know, but I think there's less scope for variation and innovation than there might have been, maybe thirty forty years ago.

11:17 I: Right. Do you think there are any other kind of major factors which have played in to that?

R8: Well, I, it's, professionalisation is a symptom, I think, of just the modern world, in a way, but I think the fact that we're very much in this commercial paradigm, where we're doing archaeological work to a price, in a fairly unregulated market, I mean a market that isn't really a proper market, in a way, because people are paying for a service that they don't want.

I: (laughs)

11:55 R8: And so it's, it, you know, we're forcing developers to pay for something that, yeah that they don't want.

I: Mm

R8: Yeah, they need to do as a tick box thing, but they're not invested in the product as they would be if you were doing, if you were making some, you know if you were making cars or if you were building buildings, you, you can vary how you do that, you can build down to a price or you can build up to quality, and within archaeology we're not, it's a failed market and it's not really a proper market, and I think those market forces are, have inhibited innovation because things, if you step out of the, you haven't got the room to manoeuvre, you might do things differently, because you've got to do it on time, and, you can't therefore vary your technique and your method. There's been some really interesting stuff in the bigger infrastructure projects, and some of the work that was done a long time ago now around Heathrow Terminal 5, for example,

12:55 I: Mm

R8: the Frameworks project there, that was deliberately quite innovative, and I think some of, some of what they wanted to do with HS2 started out being quite interesting, um, and with Crossrail too. I don't know that it has managed to achieve quite what it wanted to at the beginning, but I think with bigger projects you have a bit more scope. But the general, generally,

no, I think that's one of the disappointing things about the system, (?it's become?) very fragmented and almost adversarial in a way, and I think people are reluctant to take risks.

I: Mm, yeah. And in terms of your own ideas about heritage, as you've kind of gone through, particularly when you've been doing Masters and PhDs, do you feel that your own ideas have changed?

13:48 R8: Yes, I mean, the heritage is a problematic term anyway, I think

I: Mm

R8: and I think, you know I'm thinking about archaeology, I suppose, and beyond there is a much broader thing which archaeology is part of, which is what you might broadly term cultural heritage, and you could include all manner of tangible and intangible things. I mean I, my own perspective has changed, I suppose, I guess, yeah, I've thought about things differently as time went on, I mean vividly I remember the fact that when I took my undergraduate degree, it was the Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, and archaeology stopped at the Romans

I: Yeah

14:39 R8: And that's, that's changed massively

I: Mm

R8: in, within the profession, which is, which is a good thing. And I think also, there's a wider public recognition, and I think that's another thing that's been really important, I think archaeology's always depended on the public and that public engagement (?overtly?). The development of public archaeology, as a strand within the discipline, and you know, specifically community archaeology, but, but certainly public archaeology and the recognition that public engagement with and involvement in archaeology is a good thing, is again a very positive thing. It's not universally shared by a lot of colleagues, a lot of professional archaeologists look down their noses at how people who do community archaeology, that's not pure archaeology, but I think actually it is real archaeology, and I think it's, it's where archaeology began, really

I: Mm

15:31 R8: It's people who weren't archaeologists doing archaeology, because there wasn't a thing, there wasn't (inaudible) at the time

I: Mm

R8: So, it's, and that's really important, I think that's changed, and is changing, but there's quite a long way to go. I don't know, I'm rambling now, I'm rambling.

I: (laughs)

R8: So I'll stop rambling and you can ask me the next question.

I: I mean, this interview is designed to get people rambling

R8: Yeah

I: Because, you know, you can never predict quite, if you ask very direct questions you can never quite predict what experiences people will have had that might turn out to be really useful for the PhD so, yeah.

R8: Mm

16:12 I: Yeah, ok, so, next question, might be different in terms of your kind of experience of the Welsh system than the response I've had of people who work in the English system, so if you do have comments there I'd be really interested in that. But primarily the question is who gets to have a say, in your experience, in the process of developing legislation and policy around heritage, so kind of planning policy and the Welsh heritage act, for example.

16:44 R8: That is a very interesting question and I would actually say (pause) I'm on a very privileged position because I feel that I have been able to have a say in the production of, certainly in terms of the Historic Environment Act, which was a few years ago now

I: Mm, yeah

R8: but that was, that was a very good piece of legislation, and I was able to contribute, and I was able to contribute not because I'm me, but because of the position that I hold as Director of a Welsh Archaeological Trust, so it's nothing to do with my own particular interests. So I think, I don't think that was, so I, yes. I think the range and scope of people that are able to influence policy is rather limited actually, and it is limited to people who are more senior and are in particular positions. I mean anyone can be, I mean, one of the, I have to say the Welsh system of government consultation is, was when I first came here a few years ago, a breath of fresh air, because so they have a consultation, and you would write in, and they would respond! And they go "oh, well actually, a lot of people are writing in saying this is a bad idea, and we're not going to do it any more" and you'd think great! That's really nice, and I think, I think there is more openness and actually consultation is a more genuine thing when it comes to Welsh government legislation

I: Mm

18:13 R8: that perhaps has been my experience in England, but again I, I don't know whether that's because it is or whether that's just because I have more weight in what I was bringing up when I responded. But in theory anyone can respond to the consultation and be, and be listened to, so I think that, that is quite positive. Probably (pause) in general terms, looking across the UK, I think archaeologists aren't very good at articulating what they want, or maybe they are good but they all want different things, I don't know

I: (laughs) ok

18:52 R8: but they, there's a tendency in archaeology, which I find quite frustrating, although I'm as guilty of it as the next person, to complain because things are done to you, without actually necessarily trying to influence how things are done yourself. Now that's sometimes the mechanisms and structures just aren't there, but I feel increasingly that we've found ourselves in this situation of a polluter pays, development driven kind of system, which is not of our making, and I don't think anyone particularly enjoys doing it, but no-one really wants to stand back and change it, and I, I find that quite frustrating. But, yeah. So, but then I feel that as a relatively senior person I find that quite frustrating, but then I don't feel that I'm, people actually do anything about it either, so I'm not sure really, what, who, how people feel about, about these things. I think generally, the delivery, or the design and delivery of policy, whether it's planning policy or heritage policy or whatever, is something that most heritage practitioners don't have an input into. And, at least alone as individuals. They might have inputs through some of the bodies that they belong to, whether that's the organisations that they belong to or through things like ClfA which will, which may, you know, have a view and try and influence decision-making. But I don't think a lot of people feel very empowered, in the production of policy, actually

I: Yeah

20:40 R8: I, I think the situation's slightly better in Wales, and reason for that is partly because I think Welsh government genuinely believe that consultation is useful and will listen to it, I think the sector is smaller, and so it's easier for it to speak with, if not a single voice with fewer voices, so it's easier for people to get this message across a little bit more coherently than it might do in England. But, but, the systemic issue is still there, it's all very much top-down stuff and there isn't very much scope for people to, to have influence that they might like I think.

I: Yeah



21:19 R8: I think, I think there is a disconnect as well, and this, I mean this is why I was quite interested to do this, looking at your title and your sort of aims

I: Mm

R8: I think there is a massive disconnect and this is a really big issue, and whether this comes up in a later question or not I don't know, but I'm going to mention it now

I: (laughs)

21:40 R8: is, between academic and professional colleagues.

I: Mmhm

R8: And this is across the board, and it's annoying. There are some very good academics, who are very much engaged with what goes on in the profession and, and you know, engage with things like CfA and engage with the sorts of things that the profession does. But they are exceptional. Most don't, and, I don't know why that is, well, I do know, I will guess why that is, a lot of it is all down to the fact that we're all in different silos doing different things and time is very precious and, and we're measured by different outputs. And, I just think it's quite frustrating. So I don't think a lot of academic theoretical work in, on heritage and heritage management and archaeology makes its way out there into the sector in the way that people would like. Some people are very influential, but most, most aren't, and I, and worse, what happens on the ground doesn't feed back into academic thinking so much as it ought to, either

I: Mm

22:59 R8: And I think there are, there are structural reasons why that is, and a lot of it's to do with the people who pursue an academic career, and the people who pursue professional careers. And the two things don't overlap very well, or at all. And I do find that quite, quite frustrating, because, in theory there should be an academic, there should be academic input in the profession should be there, and vice versa. We should be learning from each other. I mean there are some, there are some examples of you know, projects where that has happened, and if you look at the stuff that has been done with grey literature, rather belatedly, you know, it was recognised that there was an awful lot of data being produced by the development process, and a series of projects have begun to look at those, whether it's, you know, Roman rural settlements or whether it's, you know, whatever else has been going on

I: Yeah

23:57 R8: And, that's been very useful, but it's, again, it's been academics sort of taking data and synthesizing it in a way that is not necessarily very helpful in terms of coming back around to the profession and how the profession feels that it

I: Mm. So they're

R8: and I do find that, I do find that quite frustrating, and the, the issue, it's partly the generation of archaeological knowledge is very frustrating, but the dissemination of that knowledge too. So, for me, I have no, as I say periodically I have had, but at the moment I don't have access to any of the archaeological journals

I: Right

24:41 R8: Because, I don't, they sit behind a paywall. I don't belong to an institution that gives me access to journals.

I: Mmhm

R8: When I was doing my PhD it was great, I could, I could go, I could log on with my student ID and I could look at any academic journal that was in the bundle, which is a huge bundle of things that the university subscribed to, and, you know, I could go on and I could look at all journals to do with anything at all, although obviously mainly I was looking for archaeology.

I: Mm

25:08 R8: And that I'm completely closed off to now.

I: Yeah

R8: And it's closed off to most people, in the profession, because they don't belong to institutions that give them access, you know

I: Yeah

R8: It costs a lot of money, if you want to access Taylor and Francis portfolio journals, it costs a lot of money as an individual, to subscribe to that

I: Mm

25:23 R8: obviously if you're part of a university you get that access as part of your, you know, that just comes

I: Yeah

R8: and the university pays for it. And I think, and that is frustrating, I think. Yes there is an increasing move towards open access, and I think that's a good thing, but not everything's open access, and there's a lot of things going on in academia which are just physically not accessible. Yes, you can ring people up and they can send you an offprint, and you can find that information that you need, but unless you know it's there, you can't really ask for it.

I: Yeah

R8: So I, I, that I think is a, a really big issue. And I know it's a broader issue than me simply not knowing what's going on

I: Mm

26:06 R8: there are big issues there around the production of knowledge and the role of academic publishers, and indeed the role of university hierarchies in, in managing knowledge and knowledge creation and intellectual property

I: Mm

R8: but it, on a sort of day to day practical level, it's very frustrating

I: Yeah

26:30 R8: So I don't know who's written in the Journal of whatever, something that might be very relevant to how we're managing the historic environment here in Wales, I don't know, you know, I can't, I can't access that. You know, there's a time lag, yes we find out about it eventually but it might be two or three years later, we're not at the cutting edge of, of academic thinking, and similarly our academic colleagues I think are not really aware of what's going on on the ground on a daily basis, or even on a, you know, not on a daily basis. So that, and I think that's inevitable because of the structures within which we operate, but I think it's rather sad, because I think there's so much potential for both sides to help inform the other. And I don't know how you'd overcome that, but I think one answer might be to encourage academic institutions to be a little bit more open about their recruitment policies and what they expect academics to do

I: Mm

27:36 R8: and the problem is the whole, there's a whole system there which is built around the REF and, and you know, it's satisfying certain research outputs, which doesn't sit well with people actually sitting and thinking, I mean I know a lot of academics under pressure to produce, I mean, well, we've seen a strike recently, I mean this all, there are big issues there around

security of tenure and around pressures to produce certain types of output and not other types of output

I: Mmhm

28:09 R8: and so academics aren't in a position to necessarily do very much about that. So I've kind of lost my thread slightly. But the point is I'm not blaming any particular individuals, I just think there are big systemic issues which make that rather problematic. And I think, it's a shame in a way, that someone like me is, I don't want to say not welcome, but it's very difficult for me to contribute to teaching at a academic institution, and, and encouraging people to think about these things, because of, because those opportunities aren't open to me. And I have to say I don't, something I do moan about quite a lot in the context of archaeological field skills

I: Mm

29:01 R8: but I think it applies in other areas as well, and this goes back to what I was saying earlier, there is this, so, to put it bluntly, if you're brilliant as an undergraduate, and you get a first class undergraduate degree, then you are very strongly encouraged to take that in pursuit of a PhD, and so these first class undergraduates went off and do a PhD. They might do a bit of work in between doing that and doing the PhD, but generally they go straight in to fast track in a PhD, they come out of the PhD full time you know in their mid to late 20s, and then they start looking around for a post doctoral job, and then they get a lecturing job, and so then they, by the time they're in their mid 30s maybe, they're a lecturer or a senior lecturer, they're responsible for training the next generation of archaeologists, but they themselves have had no practical experience (laughs) in doing archaeology. They've been taught how to do archaeology by a professor who probably followed a very similar route to them, and then they're sat within higher education, and that's the only world they know. They might read about stuff but they've got no practical experience of doing it, and it's very different, different thing. And so the knowledge that is then passed on is much more limited, and so out the other come more students who go into the profession, who have very limited understanding of how the profession works and how the planning system works and how archaeological knowledge is generated outside of that very small subset of academics. And that, I just find that very frustrating and quite sad, and you know, on the other hand, you get people who go to university and don't get their first class degree and go off and do other things, and they never then re-engage with the academic world

I: Mm

30:47 R8: and I find that quite sad too. So, I think, where I'm going at is I think there is this big disconnect, and I see this in conferences, actually. And I'm one of the few people I know that go to both CifA conference and to TAG, although I'm not going to TAG this year

I: Right

31:06 R8: There's so little overlap between those two things. It is very interesting, conferences, in their own different ways, but most people go to one or the other, they don't go to both, and I think that is symptomatic of some of the issues

I: Mm

31:17 R8: that I've described. (pause) So, there we go, that's my rant over.

I: (laughs) Yeah, well you, yes, you have very neatly anticipated my last question which is about how people who work in the sector and people who work more in theory have different approaches, yeah, I was just, I was wondering if you could just talk a little bit more about, you know, if you were to go to TAG, for example, and talk to some of the more theoretically minded people, how would you, how would you kind of expect them to approach things differently to you?

31:56 R8: Well that is a good question. I don't know, because I normally do talk to people and they're normally quite sensible

I: (laughs)

R8: and I think (pause) TAG is, yes, I mean, TAG does annoy me. I mean, sometimes I find TAG very inspiring and great and then sometimes it just annoys me, for the same reason that a lot of contemporary archaeology annoys me, because it's up its own arse, frankly

I: (laughs)

32:17 R8: there is a degree, there is a degree of that, you know, a lot of theoretical archaeology doesn't speak to people other than other theoretical archaeologists, there's a lot of very dense, densely argued deliberately obtuse language that's used. And that's also, it's all about power and control, it's all about, particularly, old white men controlling the narrative and dominating archaeological theory or particular types of archaeological theory. I think we're possibly shifting away from that slightly, but there is, there is that going on. I'm not answering your question at all, I'm ranting further

I: (laughs)

R8: but nevertheless, there is an element of that, and there's a lot of people, like my staff here, who just don't engage with that at all,

I: Mm

33:03 R8: and they feel that it's something that they can't engage with, they can't, it's not that they can't understand it but it's just that they can't be bothered to make the effort to understand it because actually they're dealing with, you know, a farmer bulldozing a bit of ancient monument here or somebody knocking down something there or somebody building on something there and so it's dealing with the day-in-day-out kind of (pause)

I: practicalities

33:29 R8: practicalities of it, and it doesn't, it doesn't speak to them at all. And yes, we can all sit back and admire whatever, or we can sit back and discuss whether the things have agency or whether they don't, and so on and so forth, but I don't think, I don't think those debates actually go on in archaeological teams

I: Mm

R8: in the way they may have done, and in fact actually I think, I think that is one of the things that has changed, going back to that. But again, whether that's because it's actually changed, or whether my role has changed, I don't know. But I do know that having these sorts of discussions, whether we were talking the agency of things I don't know, we were talking about post-processualism probably, but I do remember having those discussions in site huts at various points in my earlier career, but perhaps that's because I was young, just out of university, in my early twenties, full of excitement for the whole brave new world and being, you know, we were discussing all these things in an excited way. Maybe I'm a bit more cynical and jaded and I don't do that any more, maybe I don't, I'm not party to those discussions any more, I don't know. I don't know whether those sorts of discussions still go on. I would hope that they do but I suspect they probably don't. So to answer your question about how that engagement happen, I think, it's (pause) it's difficult and I think it's about language, and I think it's about accessibility again, I think

I: Mm

34:59 R8: And I mean language itself can obviously be an issue when it comes to accessibility, and I think that the use of language is important and it can be exclusionary, and I think that it

has been deliberately so in the past, so I think that's, that's one way, and I think a lot of people just can't see developments

I: Yeah

35:20 R8: So, it's not (?a part of?) their own daily lives, so they choose to ignore it. And there's, it's, as I say, it is inaccessible because it's often behind a paywall,

I: Mm

R8: a publisher's paywall.

I: Particularly for a profession that isn't known for its high pay rates

R8: Well exactly

I: particularly, it's

35:37 R8: And I think opportunities got people to go and listen to this stuff are, I don't know, I'm sending one of my staff, or she's going to TAG and I'm paying for her to go to TAG, but not everybody wants to go to TAG, and the limit, there's limited resources available to get people to conferences and do all of that

I: Mm

35:57 R8: and as I said before, we can't afford, as a charitable trust of 15 staff, to pay the ludicrous subscription fees, you know, and I know we wouldn't benefit from that, so, you know, I mean, as an organisation, if we paid, however much it would be, to join one of the bundles of archaeological journals, I mean, it just wouldn't pay for itself, it wouldn't be cost effective. So I think, I, yeah, I don't know how you overcome that, but I think that is a major issue. Perhaps we will work towards that more with open access. But I don't know, that's not happening any time soon, I don't think

I: Mm

36:41 R8: I hoped about two three years ago that open access would change things, but I don't think it has in the way that people thought it might.

I: Yeah, so it's problems about I guess physical accessibility to things, not being able to get behind the paywall

R8: Yes

I: and then also about the kind of, the intellectual accessibility, how it's written quite densely, and then also just about the relevance of it, whether it's actually worth reading because whether you'll actually be able to use it.

R8: All of those things, yes

I: Yeah

37:08 R8: I think (pause) I think you've probably put them in the, in the order of, well, there is an order to them there. I think if you break down the paywall, that would be a relatively easy thing to do I think because that's a technical issue, but then I think people would, (pause) yeah, they would read some things and not others, and I think a lot of the ideas that are expressed by theoreticians probably could do with a bit of exposure to (laughs) like, market conditions in the sense that

I: Mm

37:46 R8: you know, it, it's all very well, and you know, you might get, you might have written something in the Norwegian Archaeological Review and it might be wonderful, but actually, if it's exposed to the real world of people on the ground actually out there digging holes and finding out data, and it won't wash, you know. It's like, well, it's all very well saying that, but we can't actually do that, or that sort of information doesn't emerge in the way that you think it does

I: Mm

38:11 R8: Then I think that would probably serve to correct a lot of the, and it's a bubble, a lot of the, the stuff that goes on in that theoretical bubble. I know some academics are actually very good at engaging with the profession and what goes on around them

I: Mmhm

38:30 R8: but they are the minority, I think.

I: Mm. So I guess there's a kind of reputational thing to work against, as well? Yeah, whether, what is published theoretically is useful or not there's a perception that is might be failing to engage with real world problems

R8: Yes I think so, yeah, I think so, definitely

I: Mm



38:55 R8: But it may be, it may be useful, but if it's not accessible to be used, and if the real world, or so called, is actually now modelled as I said at the beginning, in a structure that prevents risks from being taken and prevents new ideas from being carried out

I: Mm

R8: then actually it doesn't matter how brilliant the idea is, you know, if you can't get to it in the first place, and even if you got to it you can't actually implement it, then it might as well be pointless, so I think, I do think we need to break down some of those barriers really, yeah.

I: Yeah. Ok great, so that's my kind of formal list of questions covered

R8: Right

39:35 I: so was there anything else you wanted to mention before we wrap up?

R8: Not really, I think I've said enough. I think, you know, I, as I say I'm in quite a unique position because I'm a more senior person and I've seen a lot of things, and I've managed to keep a foot in several camps (pause) so I'm broadly aware of things that are going on and I'm able to afford, even if my institution can't pay for me, I'm able to afford and travel to conferences and to, to you know buy books and to sort of keep abreast of developments, but even I still feel that I'm not quite as up to speed with some things as I would like, I'm discovering things and "ooh, that's interesting, ooh yes I'd better-" and then you can't because it's behind a paywall

I: Mm

40:26 R8: So, I think, yeah, I think I've said all I need to say, and I think part of the problem (pause) is, I don't know what it is. I mean I've said to, I'm going back, but it's funny, going back earlier, I said I worked for [University A's] commercial archaeology unit, there was a funny thing that came about in the 90s, there was a lot of it about (...) I think they've all pretty much, Glasgow might have retained theirs but they've all pretty much gone. The rump of [the unit] carried on for a while. But it was basically an idea that universities would run contracting units to bring in a bit of money, have the archaeological expertise, why don't we sell it into the marketplace, there's a market there for it, and so they did that, and that's how they set up, but, throughout that whole time that [the unit] existed, and I was there from more or less when it began, in the mid 90s, um and then I left in about 2000 and they kept on going until 2009 and then eventually that stopped, but, never did the university department, within which [the unit] was specifically situated, ever make the best use of that organisation. It didn't see its output as research, although arguably it was research

I: Mm

41:51 R8: it was paid for by developers but it was still research, sort of archaeological research. It didn't use the expertise of the field team that were in [the unit] to deliver teaching or training to students or to run field schools or to do any of those sorts of things, it never even used the expertise of its more senior staff to deliver anything other than occasional lectures, and never really embraced the output and there was some very good high quality output in terms of books and research papers and so on and so forth from the team and it never really brought that in to its, the output as a university. Now that, that is maybe to some extent down to individual personalities and egos at [University A] at that time, but later, when I moved to [a site management post], I was quite closely involved at various times with the Birmingham university archaeological unit, which again closed down a few years ago, but they had exactly the same issue, they were within the same university building but they were kept very much at arm's length, and did not really contribute to the academic program. And so, I think that's all very sad and very missed opportunity, and I think that is symptomatic of the situation now, I'm talking now ten years ago or more, 10, 20 years ago, but it seems to me that situation hasn't changed, those units no longer exist so there isn't even that embedding of commercial archaeology in the academic, in you know academic practice, in the way that there was then. But even then, it didn't work in terms of incubating the two sides of the coin. And I think that, that's very sad. But that to me explains why it's not working now, either. And I don't, I, very different mindsets, I think

I: Mm

43:46 R8: And I, I think it's quite sad, you know, academics don't engage with ClfA, in a way that I think ClfA would like them to

I: Mmhm

R8: And I've had, you know there's two, two anecdotal things I would share with you (...) Both quite senior academics, one who said to me once when I was discussing the question of ClfA membership, he said, and they're both hes, he said, well the university will only pay for me to have one professional membership, and I prefer to be a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries rather than join ClfA, and I said well, you're a senior academic, you can afford to pay for it, "oh well, I just don't see the (?relevance?)". So that was one, and then another one said, when we were discussing something else and we were talking about how we saw ourselves, and I said I'm an archaeologist, and he said "well I'm not, I'm a academic, I'm a senior lecturer"

44:48 I: Mm

R8: And, I was like, "but you're a lecturer in archaeology", "yeah but I don't see myself as an archaeologist, I see myself as an academic", and it's like hm. That's interesting. And that tells us something, I'm ranting now about academics, and I don't mean to do that

I: (laughs)

45:02 R8: But I just think it's a certain mindset, from being in that particular institution

I: Mm

R8: and that particular academic saw, had more in common with his colleagues in other academic department, who were doing similar things to what he was doing like sitting on exam boards, sitting on doing this, managing the academic workload, and producing research output, he didn't, matter to him, well it did matter to him in a sense because he had the expertise in that area, but it didn't really, you know, he saw much more in common with somebody, in, say geography or whatever but who was producing papers and producing students than he did with other archaeologists in the profession. And I, I don't know, it's a systemic and structural issue, I think, I hate to say it, but I don't think it's going to be solved overnight.

I: Mm

45:48 R8: but I think it, there needs to be a willingness to solve it, and I don't think there is on either side to be honest. I don't think, sorry, I'm just very pessimistic

I: (laughs) but a kind of perceptual divide between academic, or academic studies of archaeology and archaeology as done in practice

46:08 R8: Yeah I think so, I think it's self-perpetuating, regardless of the reasons I said before where you've got particular routes into academia or the profession, and generally speaking there's very little, once you've gone, made that early career decision to pursue a PhD or not pursue a PhD, I would say, then it's very difficult to change the side on the fence that you're on

I: Mm

46:34 R8: I mean as I say, I've managed to go across both sides, I've done part time study and so on, but I wouldn't say I was an academic, but I would say that the potential contribution I would have is, is lost, and I think there's quite a few people like that who feel they probably could contribute to teaching and to engagement and all that sort of stuff, but are excluded from doing so

I: Mm

46:56 R8: Which is, which is a shame

I: Yeah

R8: It really is. I think people should be allowed to cross that border back again, you know, and, and universities should be able to open, you know, lectureships up on, even if it's a short term thing, it's just to get, to bring in more diversity into the, into the classroom and you know into training and stuff

I: Yeah

47:21 R8: But there we go. But it's difficult for people to change. When an institution is in a particular, the way higher education is now, I mean I wouldn't want to be a lecturer actually, but the, the pressure and the strains and all that, you know, we've seen that through the prism of the strike recently, but I mean that's been there for a long time, and it's getting worse and worse and worse.

I: Mm

47:43 R8: But that's a system, in its own right, and then the commercial archaeology thing is a system in its own right, and as I said before there are reasons why that doesn't want to change, or it's very difficult to change as well

I: Yeah

R8: So, it's difficult to know how, how that would be improved, except, of course, the only way it would be improved is to, chuck the whole thing up in the air and start over again

I: (laughs) I imagine a few people might have objections to that

48:12 R8: Well, I, you see, that's the problem, it's all about, well it is! It's vested interests, isn't it

I: Yeah

R8: It's people being in particular positions and wanting to protect the status that comes with those positions. And I guess I, I'm as much now a part of the problem as anyone else, but, I don't know. Who knows what will happen

I: Yeah

48:35 R8: That's

I: Well

R8: I've been rambling slightly, but I hope you'll be able to construct something positive out of that

I: Yeah, no, there's plenty to think about in there, thank you

R8: Good, good.

I: Great, ok, um, you're happy to wrap up there?

R8: Yes, I am happy to wrap up there

## Interview 9

16.12.19, London

Respondent 9 studied archaeology at undergraduate, then spent time teaching before doing a PhD in archaeology accompanied by community outreach work. They are now working in a community engagement post for a Welsh Archaeological Trust.

(...)

02:47 I: Ok, so first question is, how you feel the heritage sector has changed during your career, and I guess, particularly going from your undergrad through to where you are now

R9: Big change, definitely. I think there's been a lot more effort to engage with those more diverse audiences, because very much when I first started, it felt quite niche to be interested in archaeology and heritage, it felt very much like not many people would want to visit a dig, for example

I: Mmhm

03:12 R9: Even though it, even though that was at the time that things like Time Team were quite popular

I: Yeah

R9: It was, I think it was still a lot like on the margins, kind of thing?

I: Mmhm

R9: It was a sort of a middle-class hobby to visit a museum,

I: Yeah

R9: or to visit an archaeological site. And heritage sites, they didn't really cater for broad audiences like they do now. So they will do events, but it would be like lectures, this kind of thing

I: Yeah

R9: it wouldn't be things that you could take your family to

I: Mmhm

03:35 R9: and I think there has been quite a big change in that, probably driven a lot by museums and museum studies, a lot of work's been done there that sort of filtered out into the

heritage sector, and archaeology's slowly catching up, I think we've realised that when we're developing projects, our funders and government legislation needs to see public engagement

I: Yeah

R9: and genuine public engagement that actually has measurable outcomes, so I think, it's almost like become institutionalised in a way, we've started to frame what we do in reaction to policy, but I think it's actually having a really positive effect

I: Yeah, yeah

R9: at least, it's getting there.

04:07 I: Yeah. Do you think there's anything particular which has kind of pushed that? I guess the changes in the kind of museum approach, but is there anything externally to the sector?

R9: I mean, when I was first starting out, we were just, we were just into like a socialist Labour government, they really pushed things like monitoring areas of deprivation, looking at cultural engagement as a driver for social change, so that filtered in what we were doing, definitely, that way, but also there were lots of I think changes in the planning legislation at the same time as well

I: Mmhm

04:36 R9: which meant that the ways that we were funded to go into places and the ways that projects became very reactive instead of, instead of just being this is a research project, this is a rescue project more kind of thing

I: Yeah

R9: and I think as a discipline we are so reactive now, it's all big infrastructure projects

I: Mmhm

R9: I mean like HS2, things like that

I: Yeah

R9: It's, I mean even though we entered a recession, archaeology's still on the bounce, because construction is still massively happening

I: Mmhm

05:00 R9: and those big infrastructure projects are guiding us really where we're going, so really I think the change in legislation with regards to public social indicators and the change in these huge projects being, driving what we do sort of like day to day bringing money in has definitely changed

I: Yeah, yeah.

R9: the landscape big time.

I: Great. Yeah, I've had a few people also mention the Heritage Lottery Fund

R9: Oh right yeah

I: And the kind of requirements in that for engaging people and for, you know, proving outreach and impact

R9: Yeah, especially

I: has kind of changed the way people approach it

R9: especially this year, it, because it had a reputation, looking back, in that their reporting criteria are so onerous that some people are like, I don't want to apply for the Lottery Fund

I: Mmhm

05:43 R9: because even though it's a big pot of money, we, you know, we spend so much time on the admin and the reporting that it becomes not worth while

I: Right

R9: but I think they've really taken on board a lot of criticism, and now they want to see, you have to do consultation with the community at the beginning and demonstrate that, and you have to build in paid consultation with public or with specific advisers

I: Mmhm

R9: So you're forced into this model of project building that is more genuinely engaging, I'm not saying it's perfect yet

I: Yeah

06:10 R9: but it's definitely a step beyond, above what it was, even in the last like two or three years, it's, the new ones that came out this year, the new guidance, is much better



I: Yeah, right, good. And in terms of your, your own ideas about kind of what heritage is and how it works

R9: Mm

I: have they changed, do you think, over your career?

06:30 R9: I think so. I think when I first went into archaeology, I was into that niche interest

I: Mmhm

R9: and I was a bit, sort of like, what does and doesn't qualify as something that should be in a museum, for example

I: Yeah

R9: what qualifies as cultural engagement, I think I was very much like, is it worthwhile, and my thoughts about what was worthwhile is like, is it academically viable, like, you know, is it good for the safeguarding of this like monument's, like structural integrity, kind of thing.

I: Yeah

06:59 R9: So I think I was quite, because I was interested in archaeology, I was quite narrow-minded in to what that actually meant

I: Yeah

R9: and I was very dismissive of things like, oh Time Team is not really, proper archaeologists don't (inaudible)

I: (laughs)

R9: But as I've worked a lot more in outreach, and especially with teaching communities, it's just like, well, the way that I view what culture is so blinkered

I: Mm

R9: and just because I value university education and just because I enjoy visiting a historic site and being talked at by somebody

I: Yeah

07:25 R9: that's not the only valid way to engage with heritage and history, that's not the way that other people build their identity or build their sense of relationship to a place, so I've definitely become a lot more socially focused

I: Yeah

R9: I've become a lot more sort of in my approach to like when I'm designing an activity or designing the way I work with people, it's much more, I need to listen to what they want, and I need to like appreciate that

I: Yeah

R9: and sort of tackle some of my own biases and tackle some of my own prejudices that I have, conscious and unconscious, and sort of think

I: Yeah

07:54 R9: No, like, you know, worthwhile isn't just what an academic thinks is worthwhile, basically

I: Yeah

R9: I've tried to take on a lot more social conscious way that I do things

I: Mm

R9: I'm not saying I've got there yet, but, I mean, working on it

I: (laughs) Yeah, yeah, I think it takes everyone a little while to realise that just because, you know, their way is the way they've always done it

R9: exactly

I: it's not necessarily the, the right way

R9: Yeah, I mean, I came from a, my background's quite common, so I come from a working class sort of mining family

I: Oh right, ok

08:19 R9: so I had a scholarship and went to a fee paying school, and both sides of my personality really like butt against each other, so I had the huge privilege of going to that school,

I: Mm

R9: but also, like, my background is working class, so for me things like the way that I eat and the things that I enjoy and the places I go to have been influenced mostly by that

I: Yeah

R9: but then, as I went along a more academic path afterwards it sort of, I almost feel like I've betrayed that heritage, in a way

I: (laughs)

R9: So now, I think that's why it's easier for me to pick up that sort of social model of doing things

I: Mm

R9: because I can look back on my own growing up, my own path, and

I: Yeah, yeah

R9: oh, of course, like, we enjoy going for a pasty and watching a film.

I: Yeah

R9: That is, you know, you know, that is engaging heritage, just a very different heritage

I: Yeah, it's a kind of way of almost a way in to

R9: Yeah, definitely

I: to understand the way other people see things yeah. Yeah, and, I realise this isn't your area of expertise, necessarily, but in terms of your experience in the heritage sector, who do you think particularly gets to have a say in the process of heritage legislation and policy? So, particularly thinking about the Historic Environment Act Wales, and things like that

09:31 R9: Yeah. I mean, it's, it's people who, they've come from sort of like political science backgrounds, so they're working within government, especially in Wales because Cadw is part of Welsh government

I: Yeah

R9: so it's like, there's no degrees of separation there.

I: Mmhm

R9: So they're people who've, they've worked in policy, or they've worked in like managerial, governmental roles, not necessarily archaeological backgrounds, especially, and even at quite a high managerial level at Cadw they're people who've got project management backgrounds,

I: Mm

R9: Which is great because they can develop an effective project, not necessarily an effective heritage project, though

I: Right

R9: so I think a lot of people that are affecting policy, they've come from that policy background, great, not a heritage background.

I: Mmhm

10:14 R9: But also equally there are quite a lot of old guard affecting heritage policy who, you know, they've worked, usually in academic archaeology, from 50s 60s 70s, and they've done things their way and they, they, you know, they run field projects so they know how heritage works

I: Mmhm

R9: because they, you know, they've run a field school every summer, for the past x years.

I: Mmhm

R9: So it's very traditionalist, I would say, it's run by people who have had long established careers in their specialism, that not always means, it doesn't always move swiftly (laughs) I think

I: Yeah. Not necessarily pulling in new ideas

10:46 R9: it's definitely top-down, not bottom-up. There's not much influence from, say, I mean there's quite a lot of very engaged like local societies and archaeology groups, and there's the Cambrian archaeology society who are very well established, but as much as they do a lot of work and they get stuff out there, they're not influencing policy and they're not influencing the direction of where things like Cadw and our various political acts go, in Wales. I can't speak as much for England, because it's not my, my experience

I: Yeah, well this is why I needed to talk to people in Wales, because it's different!

R9: Yeah, yeah.

11:15 I: So you would say there's a kind of disconnection

R9: Definitely

I: between the way it's done on the ground

R9: Oh yeah, yeah, a lot.

I: Yeah, because a lot of people I've talked to have said, well there's a consultation process, and anyone can, you know, reply to that, but

R9: but it's held on a Wednesday in, like, Cardiff

I: (laughs) Mm

R9: and Wales is so dispersed, I mean, my area is (...)

11:46 R9: So you can hold a consultation

I: Yeah

R9: but, like, 2% of your population will get to it

I: Mmhm

R9: and, they're not connected to the internet a lot of them

I: Right

R9: First language Welsh, so if you don't get a really great quality translation, they're not going to engage with it anyway, and they have a distrust, the Welsh in general have a distrust of authority

I: Right

12:03 R9: They don't like any, doesn't matter what political colour you are, who you work for, they don't like any sign of authority.

I: Ok

R9: So you come in there with, oh, we're doing this project, it's like, will shut us down, immediately

I: Mm, yeah. And, I think to a certain extent, there's the language thing and possibly also in terms of the sort of way you need to approach things like that in order to be taken seriously

R9: Yeah, definitely.

I: Yeah. And, for you particularly, do you find that the approach to heritage of people who work in the sector is different to the way that people who work in kind of theory and academic studies would approach it?

12:49 R9: Yeah. There is a lot of clash, especially Cadw, specifically. They're trying to do things at their sites that are engaging a lot of audience, so like they're having silent discos at the sites, they're putting up these fantastic new artworks and statues, they engage a lot with contemporary artists

I: Ok

R9: and that really raises the hackles of a lot of academic archaeologists, they're all "why have you put a statue of Merlin here", it's like not related to the site, and that kind of thing

I: Mmhm

R9: And "why are you putting money into like a festival at a site when you should be studying X Y and Z." And I think because archaeology involves universities it has declined, I think like, Bangor's closed their department

I: Right

13:24 R9: there's a little bit holding on at what was Lampeter that's now Trinity St David, but it's shrunk a lot, considerably, and Cardiff does a lot of classical archaeology and it's not really Welsh focused archaeology

I: Ok

R9: So I think, academic archaeology within Wales is on the decline, and I think that's only emphasised by the fact that people like Cadw are trying to be contemporary, they're trying to engage different audiences. And they don't always get it right, and they sort of, they butt against both local community and the academic community, I think

I: Right, ok

13:53 R9: so they do try doing something new, but they're not always the best at that consultation

I: Mmhm

R9: at that, let's find out what people are actually wanting to do

I: Ok

R9: They're all about, like, spectacle? Which can be great sort of like initial impact, but long term, they're not building those connections with, like, archaeology societies, they're not building

connection with university departments that would mean they'd get, like, placement people in or they work on projects together, this kind of thing, so there is definitely antagonism

I: Right

14:16 R9: I'd say, between the two camps. I mean, we have the Welsh Archaeological Framework

I: Mmhm

R9: Or, it's something along those lines, or Archaeological Framework for Wales, it's one of those

I: Yeah, yeah

R9: it was started, I think about 10 years ago, and it was supposed to unify like the Welsh Trusts and university departments and Cadw so that we're working on the same standards and guidance but, it has a webpage and there was like a flurry of meetings and development meetings but it's stalled, completely

I: Ok

14:44 R9: because there is that, it just can't unify it and work together to make this standard happen, so, yeah, I would say it's dead in the water, really (laughs)

I: Ok. So that was an attempt to kind of create a

R9: Yeah, there was an attempt

I: cohesive structure

R9: that worked and to make that standard framework. Because, we're so well placed in Wales to have these standards, because of the four Welsh Trusts do most of the archaeological work.

I: Yeah

R9: I mean there's a few independent units, but they work pretty well with us.

I: Mm

R9: If we could unify and do everything like HER excavation, reporting, and outreach to a set standard,

I: Yeah

15:17 R9: that would just be fantastic, and it would be so good for us, like funding wise and cultural development wise,

I: Mm

R9: and the way we develop our volunteers, if it was to this framework, brilliant, just can't get there.

I: Yeah. Yeah, I mean to a certain extent the structure in Wales is simpler to that in England

R9: Yeah, exactly!

I: because you've just got this one organisation that can do,

R9: Yeah

I: so much

R9: So piecemeal in England, you've got, you've still got County Archaeologists, you've got your big commercial units doing things, and every county does things differently, and oh, no

I: Yeah

15:43 R9: No, chaos.

I: (laughs) Usually. Yeah, so, it sounds like in some ways you're almost talking about three camps there, so there was kind of you know, the academic archaeologists

R9: Mmhm

I: and the, who are quite I guess reactive, in a sense

R9: Yeah

I: and then Cadw who are sort of trying to be forward looking

R9: Yeah

I: and then your local archaeological societies and people who work with local communities.

R9: Yeah. Who are on the ground, basically.

I: Yeah, yeah, so that's almost three different branches of archaeology practice

R9: Yeah, three, definitely

16:20 I: Yeah, so my, kind of, the area that I'm focusing on for my thesis is critical heritage theory



R9: Mmhm

I: so looking at heritage very much as a social construct, and as a political force

R9: Yeah

I: which obviously you're familiar with. And there's a sense among academic theorists in that particular field, that they are being progressive, and that people in practice don't keep up, which is kind of the opposite of what you were saying?

16:50 R9: Yeah. I mean, it, I mean in Wales, people are very, the idea of heritage being political and about identity, is very intrinsic in the Welsh

I: Mm, yeah

R9: sort of like self-idealisation, and when you know, the word hiraeth in Wales, which is like, you know, this word that's often said you can't translate it, it means like homesickness, but also belonging and also this kind of stuff, and you know, you just need to scratch the surface of any community in Wales and they've got some kind of story like, up in North Wales you've got Llyn Celyn, you've got Aberfan in South Wales, and you've got, we love painting signs, so protest signs turn up everywhere that people have (?done?), so I think, I mean, small societies like people volunteering and people on the ground, they have this reputation of we have one site, and we dig it, and we only do one thing, but they are still very aware of what the implications are

I: Mm

R9: X culture lived here, or, you know, we've had continuous occupation since x time period, and

I: Yeah

17:45 R9: and there is definitely an awareness of presenting that in ways it can be sensitive to local communities and how they identify and how we talk about immigration, nationalism, so I don't, I wouldn't agree that those other societies aren't engaged with it

I: Yeah

R9: They might be quite progressive with it

I: Mm

R9: they might not frame their outreach around it or they might not publish based on it

I: Yeah

R9: but they're definitely not unaware. They're definitely not naive to it

I: Yeah

18:12 R9: And I don't know how much work academically is being done in Wales in that field as well to engage with them, because I think if they, academics went out into these projects and worked with them, they'd find them a really receptive audience

I: Yeah

R9: and I think you could make some fantastic research projects out of it, if they just would bridge that gap, I think

I: Yeah. So it's more a matter of the academics not looking outside

R9: Definitely

I: their own areas to find it, really

R9: Yeah.

I: Yeah. And has that kind of thinking, have you found that like you've been able to apply these kind of ideas about socially constructed heritage and intangible heritage and things in your own work?

18:51 R9: Yeah, I mean, my main projects that I work on is really based all on that

I: Mmhm

R9: because we try and, we're avoiding things like the big flashy castles, Romans, etc etc

I: Yeah

R9: and it's just about identifying parts of the local community that are not so talked about and examining it, so (...) we're looking at how rural life changed before and after the combustion engine

I: Mmhm

R9: so a lot of that is very intangible, it's like the loss of farming traditions, it's that the way that we eat changed, the way that we were employed changed and how people went on holiday, so it is very, it is looking at tangible and intangible heritage.

I: Mm

R9: And it's a youth-based project, so they're the ones that develop it, and they're really receptive to doing things like thinking exercises of like, oh if we didn't have the internal combustion engine how would I get to school, or you know like, what, how would the village celebrate the end of the farming season and what do we do now that's similar, and this kind of thing

I: Yeah

19:35 R9: and people have really engaged with it in local communities, they've come to our events and they come, when we have a little pop up of our like videos and things, they come and they give the kids really good feedback, so, it wouldn't take much impetus

I: Yeah

R9: to really get people on board with that kind of ideas, and they sort of like, they build their construction themselves and they speak to us, without us really having to prompt them about "and how does this make you feel about Wales today" or "how does this make you feel about living in a farming landscape"

I: Mm

20:05 R9: They naturally bring us those ideas anyway

I: Yes

R9: So they're already coming with things like, all this, and you know, specially your transport infrastructure, which is quite a big part of our project, they remember the trains, they start talking about privatisation, they start talking about life, living down on like the halt stop train track where you had to put your hand out and this kind of thing

I: Yeah

R9: and about, they start talking a lot about being a person who lives locally, and being in a farming community

I: Yeah

R9: and that brings out a lot of, that identity, social identity kind of things

I: Yeah

20:36 R9: So it very naturally develops, right, once you get the right sort of subjects, and it just needs a very small impetus of people

I: Mmhm

R9: to know how to speak about it, and to bring that discussion, so

I: Yeah

R9: I don't think it, I think in some ways it's easier with a project like that than it would be with a big Cadw like castle

I: Mm

R9: because the traditional interpretation of those is so, like "here is the rich person that lived here", and then there isn't a lot of, in that respect, they're not very progressive

I: Mm

R9: in speaking about what other people or ordinary lives like, and disrupting it a little bit, and talking about, like, privilege in relation to a rich merchant house or whatever, this kind of thing

I: Yeah

21:10 R9: So, yeah, it's just quite disparate, the way, because they do these big events, that are like "let's bring in people", but when they're actually doing the interpretation they're still very traditionalist

I: Right

R9: quite cautious, with the way that they present things, so

I: I guess there is a fear of, kind of, creating that kind of political tension

R9: Yeah

I: Yeah, so, whereas, I mean, it's there already, but they don't necessarily want to

R9: They don't want to give it a nudge

I: Yeah, amplify it. Yeah. Ok, that's my kind of, the main, like, topic headings that I had down there

R9: Mmhm

21:47 I: So was there anything that you wanted to kind of discuss in terms of how you've found working with academic projects, or, you know, working within a legislative framework?

R9: I mean, we're quite lucky in Wales because we have the Wellbeing of Future Generations Act,

I: Mmhm

R9: as, as guidance and law basically

I: Ok

R9: That means that if you're a government organisation you have to show the way that your work with the public impacts on

I: Right

R9: like 7 key areas, so it's like mental, physical wellbeing, employability and boosting skills and boosting mental wellbeing, this kind of thing. And because we work with Cadw who are a government organisation, we really need to build those into our project designs, so when I'm doing, when I'm developing next year's projects with the field services team, I say to them, look I need x number of days so I can do these, like, I can go to volunteers and make sure they're doing skills passports

I: Mmhm

22:37 R9: or make sure that they, I'm monitoring their wellbeing or we're getting, you know, these particular facilities on site that mean they can have that quiet space for a break, this kind of thing

I: Yeah

R9: And, you know, a lot of traditional field archaeologists think, you know, they grumble a bit at first, like, oh, it's not real archaeology, not proper archaeology, you know

I: (laughs)

R9: You're taking time away from the excavation, but when they see how much emphasis people like the funders will put on it, and their, when we're reporting we need to report on that now, and they do come around to it

I: Mmhm

23:01 R9: And they can, they can see the difference in our, like, staff and volunteers, because we're having to work with this legislation now, I think it's, we're quite fortunate. I know that it's on the cards to be legislation in England as well, isn't it

I: Right, yeah

R9: A Wellbeing Act

I: When we actually get any Parliamentary time for it

R9: Yeah

I: Yeah, so you're kind of forced into that, almost

R9: Yeah

I: whether you're interested in it or not

R9: Exactly, so it's forced people who are quite, sort of, traditional in their ways that they engage with volunteers or the community, sort of "oh I did a, I did a lecture in the evening", or you know, we got x number of people to like backfill a trench for us

I: Yeah

23:36 R9: I think it's really making people examine the way that they actively treat the volunteers and the way that they engage with communities rather than just be, you know, we build a project for you and we go "you will enjoy this"

I: (laughs)

R9: "come here now", it's more sort of we go to them first and say what's already happening and what's not happening

I: Yeah

R9: and would you actually enjoy this, kind of thing. So I think, it's good because it gives me, it very easily legitimises what I do, to what can be quite a reticent audience

I: Yeah

R9: who don't want to do it

I: Mmhm

24:03 R9: So I feel quite lucky, in that respect.

I: Yeah

R9: And also just working in a place that's so keyed into so many different periods of heritage

I: Mmhm

R9: They still identify very much with their sort of like Welsh versus the Romans struggle

I: Right

R9: but they also identify strongly with their industrial heritage, whereas a lot of industrial heritage areas, it's not really spoken about and they're not, you know, they don't care if the mining institute crumbles. A lot of places in Wales, they're still very proud of that heritage

I: Mmhm

24:28 R9: there's so many direct connections to it still that you can build a heritage project around, you know, a terrace, terraced houses and people will come.

I: Yeah

R9: You know, you can build a heritage project around an old bus station, which is a thing we're doing in North Wales at the moment, and people are interested and they will come, still, because they still feel so strongly about various parts of their heritage that they can be interested in more than the basic, you know, the flashy artefacts and the, the big sites. So I feel very fortunate that it's, if you frame it correctly

I: Mmhm

R9: you can get people interested in heritage projects without too much of a struggle.

I: Yeah

25:05 R9: Whereas other places I've lived in the UK it's not always been the case.

I: Right, yeah. And to a certain extent the, the kind of legislation and policy around it in England really encourages people to look at heritage as kind of tangible

R9: yeah

I: and look at, you know, damage or significant impacts

R9: exactly

I: on the site itself rather than on the kind of communities around it

R9: Yeah

I: so there isn't that legitimisation of working in that way, particularly with austerity cuts, so

R9: yeah, exactly. And we have such a culture that celebrates intangible heritage, like we have the Eisteddfod,

I: Yeah

R9: and they're all over the place and every village has its own show, basically, and it's own

I: Mmhm

25:43 R9: so they're very much aware of heritage is not just the built environment, they're very proud of their other ways of linking in to heritage

I: Yeah

R9: so that's a great thing to, that's a great building block to bounce off, basically, to be able to build projects off

I: Yeah

R9: I love working in Wales, it's a great place

(both laugh)

I: It's probably something England could learn a lot from, yeah. Ok, is there anything else you would like to raise, or

R9: Not sure. I am quite cautious of what's going to happen going forward, because where I am is going to see some very big changes, should Brexit happen

I: yeah

26:21 R9: Because then, there's been quite a lot of meetings recently between various organisations, including heritage and Cadw

I: Mm

R9: about what's the landscape implication, what's going to happen. Because basically sheep farming will come to an end as we know it in Wales

I: Yeah

R9: and although it's really only been the last like three four hundred years that it's been in, you know, before it was cattle and agriculture

I: that's only a short period of time in archaeological terms though, right?



R9: Yeah, like, as far as living memory goes, that, that is all they've known, and it's had a huge impact, especially on like upland and the valleys

I: Mm

26:52 R9: and the way that landscape is managed and the way that people live and are employed

I: Yeah

R9: but basically it's going to come fairly abruptly to an end

I: Right

R9: so we've got to be quite cautious about how we deal with, as well the historic environment in these places

I: Mmhm

27:08 R9: and how it's going to react to what's basically going to be effectively wilding of these places and how that's going to affect the communities that we work with, because you're going to see shifts in employment, possibly quite significant unemployment,

I: Yeah

R9: how are we going to encourage people, and engage people to interact with their historic environment when half the village lost their jobs

I: Yeah

R9: and all this kind of thing, so it's going to be quite a significant challenge and I think, going forward, even with that, yes, we've got the Wellbeing enshrined into government, that's great, but communities are not going to have a lot to be very wellbeing-focused about, basically

I: Yeah

27:37 R9: So there are some quite significant challenges on the horizon, I'd say. And it's going to be harder to key into things like social awareness and social activism and being but, having said that it's going to be even more focused on identity and place making

I: Yeah

R9: because it's going to be, yes, we've, our identity is Welsh, and I mean, when you say Welsh people are like "sheep farmer" straight away

I: Yeah (laughs)

R9: It's so long it's been so intrinsically linked with who they see themselves as

I: Mmhm

R9: and their identity, the shift away from that's going to be, almost like a trauma

I: Yeah, right

28:08 R9: for a lot of communities so I think that heritage and archaeology's going to be quite well placed to go in there and examine other heritages

I: Mmm

R9: and other ways of making yourself belong in a certain place, without what you've always known, basically

I: Yeah

R9: So I think it's definitely going to be room for us to work better together, academically

I: Mmhm

R9: and as legislatively, and to work on something that can try and find the positive out of it, if it can be found.

28:33 I: Yeah. So you're almost kind of, planning for the present as heritage in the future

R9: Yes, definitely

I: Yeah, so, it's very, it's a very kind of socially responsible area to be working in

R9: Mm, definitely

I: if you're looking at the way that you can kind of work with identities and yeah, social groups at the moment.

R9: Yeah

I: Ok, thank you. So I think that pretty much covers everything here, so thank you very much

## Abbreviations

ALGAO – Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers

AMAAA – Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act (1979)

CBA – Council for British Archaeology

CifA – Chartered Institute for Archaeologists

DCMS – Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (Department for Culture, Media and Sport prior to 2017. The abbreviation remains the same.)

HERs – Historic Environment Records

ICHC – World Heritage Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention) (2003)

ICOMOS – the International Council on Monuments and Sites

IHBC – the Institute for Historic Building Conservation

IJCP – International Journal of Cultural Property

IJHS – International Journal of Heritage Studies

JCH – Journal of Cultural Heritage

NLHF – National Lottery Heritage Fund, formerly the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF)

NPPF – National Planning Policy Framework (2012, updated 2018)

PPG 16 – Planning Policy Guidance 16 (1990)

PPW – Planning Policy Wales (first published 2002, last updated 2018)

TAN 24 – Technical Advice Note on the Historic Environment (published by the Welsh Government)

UNESCO – The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WHC – World Heritage Convention

WHO – World Heritage Organisation

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