

# **Whose Heritage?**

## **The Construction of Cultural Built Heritage in a Pluralist, Multicultural England**

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Signed.....N. Shore.....

## ABSTRACT

Much recent debate surrounding the conservation of cultural built heritage (CBH) concerns its instrumental role in society. In Britain, the ascendance of openly contested identity politics and New Labour's orthodoxy of socially progressive reform draw attention to particular challenges facing heritage conservation activities in a pluralist, multicultural society. Here, it is argued, ethnic minorities face exclusion from state-defined heritages which they may not share. Yet despite its appropriation to pursue social objectives, the meaning of CBH, in terms of what it is and what it does at local community level, remains little understood. Accordingly, as heritage agencies strive to democratise their activities, the benefits of broadening access to national CBH, while taken as a matter of faith, remain untested and unexplored. This thesis tests the actuality and extent of post-modern notions of CBH in a culturally diverse local community setting.

By building on a cross-disciplinary theoretical framework, and using qualitative methods within an in-depth spatially defined case study, the research explores how CBH is defined, given meaning and how and why it is contested. Perceptual dysfunction between producer aims and consumer requirements is identified through critically analysing efforts to re-evaluate and revise existing definitions of national CBH. The research challenges the sustainability of reform directives stemming from the heritage sector and government, which are shown as incompliant with the values and meanings placed on heritage by participants. Reformist intervention in heritage policy must therefore acknowledge and accept the reality that such moves also have the potential to generate new forms of exclusion. The thesis concludes that we should focus less on efforts to (re)define CBH in a way that neutralises difference and more on developing understandings of the processes through which people define their experiences of heritage in their own social contexts. The work provides a platform for critical discourse and reflection on heritage encompassing the key fields of identity, democracy and ownership of the past.

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

‘The present is informed by the past and the past is reconstructed by the present’.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 Background to the research

England’s historic built environment provides an indicator of human settlement patterns and societal progression over time and cultural change. As part of our cultural heritage this built legacy spans social development ancient and modern, encompassing the emergence of the world’s first urbanised industrial nation.<sup>2</sup> Questioning what constitutes national heritage has been, historically, unproblematic. Indeed, until the latter decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was not a publicly manifest question. England’s cultural built heritage (CBH) has traditionally been defined in accordance with scholarly value judgements. These in turn were endorsed either by intrinsic criteria relative to a building’s age or aesthetic value, or more extrinsically through historical association with nationally significant people or events.<sup>3</sup> More recently however, CBH’s assimilation within popular culture – most visibly via the leisure and tourism sector – along with its use in urban regeneration strategies, has highlighted a further set of value measures. These are based not only on the role of heritage as a cultural, but also an economic, and by implication, political resource.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Boholm A, ‘Reinvented Histories: Medieval Rome as Memorial landscape,’ *Ecumene*, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 267

<sup>2</sup> See for example Macnaghten P, Urry J, 1998, *Contested Natures*, London: Sage, p. 174; Jackson P, 1989, *Maps of Meaning*, London: Routledge, p. 100

<sup>3</sup> See for example Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, *European Heritage Planning and Management*, Exeter: Intellect, pp. 21-22

<sup>4</sup> Ashworth and Howard point out that while leisure and tourism form heritage’s principal economic role, its use as a ‘destination marketing’ tool to attract inward migration and investment is illustrative of its other, less direct commercial use: Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, *ibid*, pp. 88-94. See also Pendlebury P et al, who discuss the distinction between heritage’s role as ‘historic place’ and ‘opportunity space’: Pendlebury P, Townshend T, Gilroy R, ‘The Conservation of English Cultural Built Heritage: A Force for Social Inclusion?’ *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2004, p. 11-31

These perceptual shifts have not occurred in isolation. Instead they are shadowed by theoretical developments in the humanities and social sciences, namely the ‘cultural turn’ which, since the 1980s has shifted emphasis from culture itself to the politics of culture, where according to Jackson ‘meanings are negotiated and relations of dominance and subordination are defined and contested’.<sup>5</sup> The post-modern principle of social constructivism drives this scholarly terrain. Consequently, a unitary view of culture as the intellectual product of an elite is rejected in favour of a pluralist vision – one asserting the values of all social groups, both on their own terms and as a challenge to dominant values. In short, for the study of culture and hence of heritage as a cultural form, focus has shifted from physical objects to people and processes.

As a national leading body charged with the protection and public enjoyment of the historic environment,<sup>6</sup> this ideological shift is clearly problematic for English Heritage (EH). As a historically based phenomenon heritage holds universal values that largely transcend relativistic interpretation. Yet landscape, buildings and artefacts also carry values other than the intrinsic, also varying markedly between cultures and over time. Yet, while the former are generally acknowledged, the construction of values regarding heritage’s extrinsic societal role has gained little scholarly attention. EH has for a number of years sought to address perceptions of CBH as being a narrow cultural concern.<sup>7</sup> More recently, the modernising Government’s request for a review of heritage policy has further advanced the priority given to searching questions

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<sup>5</sup> Jackson P, 1989, op. cit., p. 4

<sup>6</sup> *English Heritage and its Lead Role for the Historic Environment in England*, Memorandum submitted by EH to the Select Committee on Culture, Media and Sport, 12/06/02: House of Commons’ website: [www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200102/cmselect/cmcmds](http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200102/cmselect/cmcmds), accessed 27/06/03, unpaginated

<sup>7</sup> English Heritage, 1997, *Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future*, London: English Heritage



concerning the role of the historic built environment in society,<sup>8</sup> the moralising canon of New Labour's social inclusion agenda providing further impetus to the drive to demonstrate the socially progressive nature of England's heritage.

If problematic for EH, the cultural turn has proved fertile territory for advocates of post-national and multiculturalist discourses. The pluralisation of value within socially democratic discourse is salient within a pluralist, multicultural England. Here, it is argued, the act of conservation reflects an assertion of dominant notions of heritage, and hence of the culture and history from which it is constructed.<sup>9</sup> Those notions and the meanings they represent are in turn tied to the identity formations of a particular societal group. Consequently, it is claimed, manipulation by elites renders heritage a symbol of cultural hegemony, elevating a particular and narrow narrative of Englishness above others and leaving little room for marginal cultures to flourish.<sup>10</sup> This alleged imbalance has been at the forefront of a radically politicised literature which views heritage as a racialised concept. Typifying this position is Hall, for whom meanings conveyed through heritage expose an aggressive self-aggrandisement of white Englishness to which '...those who cannot see themselves reflected in its mirror cannot properly belong'.<sup>11</sup> Hereby, as black and minority ethnic (BME) groups have sought to assert the validity of their lifestyles and values, notions of what constitutes national CBH have been subject to challenge.

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<sup>8</sup> Culminating in the Market Opinion Research International (MORI) based *Power of Place* survey: English Heritage, 2000, *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*, London: English Heritage

<sup>9</sup> See Tunbridge J E, Ashworth G J, 1996, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons

<sup>10</sup> Dominant ideology theses; see also for example Graham B, 'Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture'; *Urban Studies*, Vol. 39, Nos. 5-6, 2002, p. 1005; Jacobs J M, 'Cultures of the Past and Urban Transformation: The Spitalfields Market Redevelopment in East London' in Anderson K, Gale F, 1992 (eds), *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, pp. 194-211

<sup>11</sup> Hall S, 'Whose Heritage? Un-Settling "the Heritage", Re-Imagining the Post-Nation', in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacy "Race"*, London: Routledge, p. 24

Yet this is not a new argument. As Ashworth and Howard reflect, heritage has always been contested, with national levels of identity challenged by often disparate sub-national groups.<sup>12</sup> Nor, as Chapters 2 and 3 will explicate, is the social construction of heritage a recent phenomenon. Thereby conceptions of value and meaning are themselves subject to socially and historically conditioned discourses.<sup>13</sup> Most recently, this has been manifest in the contention that heritage and its conservation should have demonstrable instrumental outcomes. Both politically and intellectually, this perceptual shift has foregrounded questions over what constitutes value and, more specifically, whose heritage those values represent.

Herein the focus is centred principally on the social benefits derived from heritage provision. Consequently participation in CBH, or more precisely the outcome of participation, has become a central measure of its social benefit. Yet, while its potential to generate desirable outcomes is not in question, the use of CBH to pursue social objectives raises its own set of problems, not least of those being that such initiatives are themselves products of a distinct and inherently subjective set of ideologies. Accordingly, the limits of existing generalisations surrounding efforts to broaden access and participation to CBH have been subject to little research and therefore remain untested. Specifically, there is little existing evidence to support claims that CBH contributes to social inclusion or cohesion, that BME groups and individuals feel inherently marginalized or excluded from participatory access in national CBH,<sup>14</sup> or that CBH is inherently important to human and social well-being.

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<sup>12</sup> Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, op. cit., p. 135

<sup>13</sup> Foucault M, 1972, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, London: Tavistock, esp. pp. 21-30

<sup>14</sup> For example recent MORI research showed how little relevance CBH actually had among many BME respondents: Market Opinion Research International (MORI), 2000, *Attitudes Towards the Heritage*, London: EH accessible online at <http://www.english-heritage.ork.uk.default.asp?wci=WebItem&WCE=157> (accessed 30/01/03)

In short, the significance of broader CBH access provision as a ‘common’ cultural good, whilst taken as a matter of faith, remains untested and unexplored.

## 1.2 Definitive problem statement

While the instrumental role of CBH in national society has been extensively debated in recent years, its role and meaning in terms of what it is and what it does at local community level remains little understood. The problem addressed in this research is: how compliant with values underlying CBH access and participatory reforms are the values of the groups and individuals at whom those reforms are aimed? Broadly, heritage reform proposes blanket social inclusion policies based on the assumption that participatory access to CBH constitutes a common cultural good. Yet we lack any specific conceptual understanding of how, in their local communities, values and meanings of BME groups and individuals are constructed with regard to national CBH. An imbalance in this synthesis of producer aims and consumer requirements presents a problem addressable only through enhanced understanding of the CBH construction process.

By building on existing work in this field and testing the limits of its generalisations this thesis will examine: *Whose Heritage: The Construction of Cultural Built Heritage in a Pluralist, Multicultural England*. Its aim will be to explore how CBH is defined, given meaning and how and why it is contested under conditions of cultural diversity.

The thesis argues for a more perceptive analysis of CBH than more familiar binary divisions, e.g. left/right, national/sub-national or majority/minority can provide. It

suggests that current debates over ‘whose heritage’ are driven less by pragmatic concerns over the requirements of the populace, and more by political considerations over diversity mainstreaming. It concludes that strategic decision makers should focus less on efforts to (re)define CBH in a manner that neutralises difference, and more on developing understanding of the processes by which people define their experiences of heritage in their own everyday contexts.

### **1.3 Justification for the research**

The research problem merits study on a number of practical and theoretical grounds. These will be explicated as Chapters 2 and 3 unfold. For ease of reference however, they are here summarised in brief. Broadly speaking, they relate to the specific problem and foundational issues addressed and fall within three discernable categories.

Firstly, despite the breadth of its disciplinary field there remains a relative neglect of conceptual research, which explores heritage as a subject of analysis in its own right. Prevailing heritage discourse is present- and commodity-centred; that is, heritage is treated as a product, multiply constructed and multi-sold as an economic and cultural resource.<sup>15</sup> The ensuing tensions are subsequently treated as a set of management problems concerning who decides what constitutes heritage and its purpose.<sup>16</sup> Much of this work is focused principally on the national and post-national European scale. Despite its socially constructivist complexity, it has not translated to an adequate understanding of how heritage values are constructed in the context of everyday life and at local community level. Addressing this shortfall will allow the thesis to

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<sup>15</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, London: Arnold, p. 5

<sup>16</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *ibid*, p. 5

contribute to the development of a conceptual framework for explaining and understanding how CBH values and meanings are constructed.

Secondly, contemporary cultural theory today is dominated by the radicalised identity politics of the Black British Cultural Studies (BBCS) paradigm. Adopting the political tactics of moralising and sensationalising social problems, BBCS presents assertiveness and sub-cultural power among BME groups as ‘difference’.<sup>17</sup> As a consequence, ethnic relations are portrayed in terms of their successful resistance to any dominant form of British culture. Yet the BBCS project is present-centred.

Moreover it is formulated on a particular national and societal context, namely what it is to be black in contemporary Britain.<sup>18</sup> Despite its ambitious theorising (a revision of conventional Marxism), its paradigm is in fact situated or positional.<sup>19</sup>

Conceptualising its subject in this mode leaves little room for theoretical or comparative critique. Despite their inferred limitations however, few have challenged BBCS’s paradigmatic generalisations.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, their influence among NGO’s and Government think tanks<sup>21</sup> as well as intellectual circles means that these generalisations pervade EH’s policy frameworks concerning the role of heritage in contemporary society. This thesis argues for a more perceptive analysis, one that not only critically examines the BBCS paradigm as it applies to the research problem, but

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<sup>17</sup> Steinert H, 2003, *Culture Industry*, Cambridge: Polity Press p. 163

<sup>18</sup> Favell A, ‘Multi-ethnic Britain: An Exception in Europe? *Patterns of Prejudice*’ Institute for Jewish Policy Research, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2001, p. 44

<sup>19</sup> Turner G, 1996, *British Cultural Studies*: 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London: Routledge

<sup>20</sup> Among the few critiques of cultural studies, perhaps the best known remains that of Bourdieu and Wacquant, in which they suggest that the cultural studies project is little more than a self-perpetuating oligarchy, sustained through manipulation by its own publishing houses: Bourdieu P, Wacquant L, 1999, ‘On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason’, *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 44-58

<sup>21</sup> For example the Black Environment Network (BEN) sits on the Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) Environment Review Executive Committee and its Policy group responsible for developing a social inclusion policy for the built and historic environment in England. As part of its access and inclusion strategy EH is also committed to working with BEN under its obligations to the DCMS’s spending targets. Among other organisations representing BME communities and affiliated to the DCMS are the Society of Black Architects (SOBA) and The Runnymede Trust

through comparative analysis also permits the British or, more precisely, English context to be compared with itself over time.

Thirdly and finally, the above-mentioned shortfalls illustrate the need for research combining – in an appropriate manner – the concerns of real-world policy and practice with rigorous academic scrutiny. In this, existing policy decisions surrounding access and participation in CBH are founded largely on research commissioned by the policy sector itself. Much of this work, and that in the social sciences in general, is survey-based and carried out in a formulaic way in a limited range of stereotypical locations. As a result its findings are based largely on anecdotal evidence. However thorough and well intentioned, these approaches permit neither the qualitative depth nor objective critique necessary to justifiably implement reform measures. Accordingly, policy and theoretical debates surrounding ‘whose heritage’ become circulated rather than advanced. Moreover, where in-depth qualitative methodologies are used, they centre – in the national context – on stereotypical case studies already well documented via existing community regeneration work;<sup>22</sup> or internationally, on reflecting the meaning of heritage among indigenous minority groups.<sup>23</sup> This research will address this conceptual and methodological shortfall. The thesis uses an in-depth qualitative case study to provide analytic rigour to its contribution to the development of knowledge, understanding, debate and policy in a

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<sup>22</sup> See for example Gard’ner J M, ‘Heritage Protection and Social Inclusion: A Case Study from the Bangladeshi Community of East London’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2004, pp. 75-92. Gard’ner’s study, in which he emphasises a need for joint heritage agency/community based characterisation studies, encompasses London’s Brick Lane, the site of EH’s Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme (HERS), funded by EH and the Heritage Lottery Fund since 1995; see *England’s Heritage – Your Heritage*, 2005, unpaginated information leaflet, London: English Heritage

<sup>23</sup> Smith L, Morgan A, van der Meer A, ‘Community-driven Research in Cultural Heritage Management: The Waanyi Women’s History Project’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 2003, pp. 65-80; Grimwade G, Carter B, ‘Managing Small Heritage Sites with Interpretation and Community Involvement’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2000, pp. 33-48

key evolving area of the heritage sector's activities. In so doing, the thesis will also contribute to wider practical and theoretical debates over the role of heritage and conservation in contemporary society.

#### **1.4 Summary of Methodology and Research Processes**

While explained fully in Chapter 4, for ease of reference this section provides an introductory overview of the methodology used in the thesis. In general terms the research process provides a critical analysis transcending humanities and social science barriers. The aim is to provide an analytical framework, both for understanding concepts of heritage construction and as a frame of reference for questioning how the heritage sector can review its policies on access to CBH. The historic built environment provides a medium through which to understand evolving attitudes towards English CBH in terms of what it is and what it does at local community level.

Underpinning the thesis is an extensive programme of primary empirical and secondary research. To facilitate its planning and manageability, a multi-method format initiated in consecutive phases has been devised. The result is a three-stage process, providing structure whilst allowing a degree of flexibility, as follows:

Stage 1 is based on the review of literature and conceptually develops notions of heritage by mapping the process of its creation. From this the nature of a redefined CBH in a pluralist, multicultural England is theorised.

Stage 2 investigates this theoretical work in a real-world social setting and embodies an in-depth spatially based case study. The general picture provided by theoretical concepts from stage 1 is tested through this cross-cultural community based research. Case study selection forms part of the research, the selection of Gloucester's Barton and Tredworth ward reflecting its suitability to the thesis's objectives and data requirements. Among criteria for its selection are:

- A suitably diverse population including BME groups and others whose values potentially lie outside traditional conceptions of CBH
- A nationally significant traditionally defined CBH
- Practicalities of access to stakeholders
- A non-stereotypical location overlooked in existing research

Following careful mapping and definition of stakeholders, qualitative methods are applied, using in-depth sequential interviewing. This approach is staged to allow refinement and definition of responses along with their ongoing analysis.

Stage 3 provides analysis and interpretation of findings, based on a process of coding and scoring responses, and as a deductive study, coding categories stem from theoretical work in stage 1. Involving an evaluative as well as qualitative dimension, this final stage seeks to provide a definitive answer to the research problem.



In brief, the research theorises EH's post-modern, 'cultural turn' inspired CBH model. It then tests that model in a real world community-based setting. By this means it tests the validity of such a model among participants via the extent to which it is shared at local community level. In so doing it will determine the limits of EH's programme of reformist intervention.

### **1.5 Delimitations of scope and key assumptions**

This research is necessarily delimited by a number of factors. Not least among these from the outset has been the context in which the study took place. As a collaborative ESRC CASE studentship, the study, as initially proposed, has been funded with particular and vested interests in mind. Therefore, throughout its planning and implementation the legitimacy of the research has been susceptible to conflict, should it run counter to its funder's expectations. Though far from unique to this research, this issue highlights how interests of different groups within society can be furthered through calls for relevant research. However, this being an academic thesis, it is intended principally for an academic audience, deeming it insufficient to passively accept preconceived assumptions and instead applying rigorous critique throughout and questioning the concept of 'relevant for whom and why'. Here, rather than accepting the existence of a problem for which there must be a solution, the research is approached as an analysis of a perceived problem or opportunity. It is fully accepted therefore, that results produced may run counter to, rather than reflect existing presuppositions.

This approach is reflected in explicit boundaries placed around the particular research problem described in section 1.2 above. Namely, the thesis sets out to explore how.

under conditions of cultural diversity, CBH is defined, given meaning and how and why it is contested. The outcome will be an interpretative account of this work's particular chosen social context. This approach is entirely appropriate to fulfilling its aims and objectives as they relate to both practical and theoretical criteria. Therefore no attempt to be representative beyond these rationales is made or implied. To this end it has been necessary to focus specifically on a relevant model with the best likelihood of yielding satisfactory results; while the construction of CBH is clearly a national and indeed international phenomenon, a broader study has been neither necessary nor practicable. Therefore, while fully acknowledging that issues presented have wider European and international applications, within the bounds of its precise aims and objectives the thesis makes no attempt to address a national or international remit. Instead it focuses specifically on individuals selected as participants from its spatially defined case study. More precisely, the social unit forming the research sample provides the thesis's unit of analysis. Again, no claims for significance beyond these delimitations are made or implied.

Further delimitations regarding the methodological approach chosen are explained in Chapter 4.

## **1.6 Definitions**

Definitions adopted by researchers are often not uniform, so key and contestable terms are defined here to establish positions taken in this research. Where practicable, established definitions are used and chosen to match the underlying assumptions of the research. By this means the results of the thesis can be fitted into the body of literature. The literature itself explicates the majority of terms and their use in the

thesis. However, the following are presented to clarify four of those particularly subject to variation.

Firstly, the term *heritage* is in itself problematic. This in part stems from conceptualisation of heritage ‘simply as a recent product of post-modern economic and social tendencies’.<sup>24</sup> Lowenthal’s suggestion that ‘...only in our time has heritage become a self-conscious creed’ – inferring a temporal closure upon the concept of heritage based loosely around late 20<sup>th</sup> century social and economic conditions – typifies this stance.<sup>25</sup> The notion of heritage defined as a product of the post-modern era consequently becomes firmly posited within the sphere of its recent and most visible manifestations.<sup>26</sup> As a result, whilst heritage has a higher profile, its democratisation and proliferation render it increasingly indefinable. Harvey notes this point, citing the Heritage Lottery as an example of a cash injection raising the public profile of heritage, yet equally highlighting its increasingly nebulous definition and the overt commercialisation and politicisation of its management and funding.<sup>27</sup> However, heritage’s social construction is evident in its contemporary conceptualisations: heritage is considered a cultural process rather than a fixed or physical artefact. In this sense, Tunbridge and Ashworth’s simple definition of heritage as a ‘contemporary product shaped from history’<sup>28</sup> most usefully embraces the value-laden nature of heritage. More precisely, it conveys heritage’s subjectivity

<sup>24</sup> Harvey D C, ‘Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies’: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2001, p. 335

<sup>25</sup> Lowenthal D, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge: University Press, p. 1

<sup>26</sup> General rather than specific reference to the widely held, yet often simplistic relation of heritage to conditions of post-modernity can be found in e.g. Walsh K T, 1992, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World*, London: Routledge; Eco U, 1987, *Travels in Hyper-Reality*, London: Picador; Jameson F, 1991, *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, London: Verso; Harvey D, 1989, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell; McCrone D, Morris A, Kiely I, 1995, *Scotland - The Brand. The Making of Scottish Heritage*, Edinburgh: Polygon

<sup>27</sup> Harvey D C, 2001, op. cit., p. 322

<sup>28</sup> Tunbridge J E, Ashworth G J, 1996, op. cit., p. 20

as a concept defined via reference to the present – in whatever period that present may be.<sup>29</sup> As such, this definition is adopted as a working one for this thesis. The term CBH refers to the historic built environment, with the two terms used interchangeably.

Secondly, the term *social inclusion/exclusion* is differently interpreted among different intellectual and policy frameworks. The term itself derives from its use in French social policy of the 1980s. In France its connotations were incompatible with those of the British Government's current socially progressive agenda. 'Social inclusion/exclusion' arose within a conceptualisation of national sovereignty founded on the idea of the 'one and indivisible republic' of France. Herein, actions to combat social exclusion sought the social, political and moral 'insertion' of subjects within a unified French social order. From this perspective it is difficult to reconcile the concept of social order with social – especially ethnic and cultural – diversity.<sup>30</sup> More recently the term has been mainstreamed in socially democratic discourse and cultural policy, but with little conceptual clarity.<sup>31</sup> For instance, among BME groups cultural difference is seen as the central basis of social exclusion, whilst for the majority 'white' population social exclusion is attributed to economic deprivation or physical factors concerning poor healthcare and educational opportunities.<sup>32</sup> In terms of its use by the heritage policy sector, institutional clarity is similarly lacking. For example, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in its *Policy Action Team (PAT) 10* report made little reference to heritage but linked social exclusion with ethnic

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<sup>29</sup> Harvey D C, 2001, op. cit., 327

<sup>30</sup> See for example Madanipour A, Cars G, Allen J, 1998 (eds), *Social Exclusion in European Cities: Processes, Experiences and Responses*, London: Jessica Kingsley, pp. 12-13

<sup>31</sup> Newman A, McLean F, 'Editorial', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2004, pp. 5-6

<sup>32</sup> Sandell R, 2002, *Museums, Society, Inequality*, London: Routledge, p. 3

minority groups.<sup>33</sup> EH's *Power of Place* did not directly use the term social exclusion/inclusion but in its discussion on reflecting wider values placed strong emphasis on ethnic diversity.<sup>34</sup> The DCMS's *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future* examines social exclusion in terms of access issues but primarily as something to be combated through lifelong learning, volunteering and regeneration,<sup>35</sup> whilst BEN's *Ethnic Environmental Participation* sees social exclusion purely as an issue of ethnicity.<sup>36</sup> Under these terms, as Pendlebury et al point out, '...though social inclusion is useful for communicating a broad concept, it lacks precision'.<sup>37</sup> This thesis therefore uses the term in a similarly broad manner to encompass the myriad ways in which CBH is appropriated to pursue social objectives.<sup>38</sup>

Thirdly, if social inclusion/exclusion is problematic, *multicultural/multiculturalism* are similarly fraught with conceptual imprecision. The former, put simply, refers to the coexistence within any given community of social groups and individuals from different cultural and particularly ethnic backgrounds. So defined, the term is hereafter used interchangeably with cultural diversity. Multiculturalism on the other hand is more complex. The concept is politically derived and in Britain gained theoretical ground with the 1980s cultural turn, which saw culture become a defining feature of Britain's black communities. As a consequence the term is closely allied with BBCS and post-national discourse, acquiring similarly 'positional' or 'situated'

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<sup>33</sup> Policy Action Team (PAT) 10: Report to the Social Exclusion Unit – Arts and Sport, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, London: HMSO, 1999, p. 66

<sup>34</sup> English Heritage, 2000, *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*, London: English Heritage

<sup>35</sup> Department for Culture, Media and Sport & Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions, 2001, *The Historic Environment: A force for our future*. London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport & Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions, p. 25

<sup>36</sup> BEN *Ethnic Environmental Participation*, Key Articles Vol. 4, Access to the Historic Built and Natural Environment

<sup>37</sup> Pendlebury J, Townshend T, Gilroy R, 2004, op. cit., p. 21

<sup>38</sup> Pendlebury J, Townshend T, Gilroy R, 2004, ibid, p. 21

connotations. Accordingly, Britain has seen the emergence of a ‘state sponsored ‘race relations’ industry’<sup>39</sup> surrounding anti-discrimination legislation and activism. Thus, multiculturalism refers to the process whereby resident ethnic minorities are given full equal social and political rights while retaining their cultural differences from the mainstream of society.<sup>40</sup> This particularly British definition of multiculturalism is used throughout the thesis.

Fourthly, notions of value and meaning are complex and subjective. As such, they are not easy to define or measure. This thesis adopts the term *cultural values* from EH’s *Sustaining the Historic Environment*<sup>41</sup> and fuses it with the notion of *cultural significance* set down by the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Burra Charter of 1979. Together these are as follows:

- Cultural values: ‘the historic environment helps to define a sense of place and provide a context for everyday life. Its appreciation and conservation fosters distinctiveness at local, regional and national level. It reflects the roots of our society and records its evolution’.<sup>42</sup>
- Cultural significance refers to an object or places’ ‘aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in place itself, its fabric, setting, use,

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<sup>39</sup> Koopmans R, Statham P, Challenging the Liberal Nation-State? Postnationalism, Multiculturalism, and the Collective Claims Making of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in Britain and Germany’, p. 665

<sup>40</sup> Koopmans R, Statham P, 1999, *ibid*, p. 663

<sup>41</sup> English Heritage, 1997, *Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future*, London: English Heritage

<sup>42</sup> English Heritage 1997, *ibid*, p. 4

associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups'.<sup>43</sup>

These definitions encapsulate the socially constructed characteristics of heritage, while at the same time acknowledging the historic and culturally embedded nature of this process.

### **1.7 Intellectual context and relevant explanatory models**

The above definitional issues reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the thesis and as such, of the heritage concept. The intellectual context into which the thesis fits is fully explicated by its theoretical background developed in Chapter 2. For ease of reference however, and as a prelude to that chapter, this section provides an introductory overview of relevant explanatory models.

This is a heritage studies thesis. Despite the explicitness of this statement the research problem does not readily comply with established subject-classificatory norms. A successful outcome therefore depends on positing the problem within its appropriate interdisciplinary contextual framework. To this end, works consulted fall broadly within four-core fields of study. The first, not surprisingly, is general heritage studies, which provide the basis of initial focus. Here, and building on the author's prior experience, the research problem is refined and positioned within the sphere of prevailing socially constructivist accounts of heritage. Though far-reaching in terms of their typological extent, prevailing heritage discourse offers little account of heritage existing outside the confines of its 'official' social and economic use. This is

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<sup>43</sup> International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Burra Charter 1979 Article 1, para. 1.2

not to say that the existence of ‘unofficial’ heritage is not acknowledged,<sup>44</sup> merely that the potentially dissonant syntheses of official heritage production and its unofficial consumption are treated as management issues. Though a valid area of concern in its own right, this approach alone adds little to our conceptual understanding of how values surrounding CBH are constructed outside the normal decision making process. But, as Chapter 3 will reveal, heritage exists in a hierarchy of attitudinal and typological scales, as it always has. The notion of dissonance elevating one heritage over another<sup>45</sup> extends the range of built typologies falling under the CBH umbrella; however it contributes little to understanding how values of individuals at local community level are constructed with regards even to existing CBH. In short, the fact that the problem, while acknowledged is not addressed further validates its suitability for study in this thesis.

Informed by the first (i.e. general heritage studies as described above), the second study category involves positing prevailing conceptions of heritage into their wider historical and theoretical context. This is the broad and complex field of social and cultural theory. Dealing principally with the issues of culture, history and power, these works provide theoretical bedrock to the thesis. Underlying this scholarly terrain is the notion of a dominant social order imposing and legitimating as natural its values upon those subordinate to it.<sup>46</sup> Yet analysis renders open the way history changes, and with it the way social problems are defined.<sup>47</sup> What is considered wrong in one era can appear acceptable in another and vice versa. Awareness of changing conditions that

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<sup>44</sup> See e.g. Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, op. cit., p. 17

<sup>45</sup> Tunbridge J E, Ashworth, G J, 1996, op. cit

<sup>46</sup> See e.g. Abercrombie N, Hill S, Turner B S, 1980, *The Dominant Ideology Thesis*, London: Allen & Unwin; Bourdieu P, 1993, *The Field of Cultural Production*, Cambridge: Polity

<sup>47</sup> Foucault M, 1970, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, London: Tavistock



define social problems has therefore been necessary. Translated to CBH where democratisation devolved slowly, anything less would overlook the reality that today's attempts by the state to foster broader access and participation are as much an exercise in power as those informing the values they seek to replace.

The third field of study encompasses many aspects from the above in an updated and place-specific form. Broadly defined, this is the diverse field of contemporary cultural theory. The field covers, among others, social and cultural history, cultural studies as outlined in section 1.3 above, the 'new' – that is 'cultural turn'-inspired cultural geography, and landscape and planning. Here, much recent and ongoing study centres on the dynamics of urban policy and social exclusion. In this, Marx and Engels's endorsement of the correlation between urbanism and emancipation no longer holds true.<sup>48</sup> Instead, the inner city has become a mythical entity rather than geographical category, the post-modern symbol of personal fragmentation and deprivation.<sup>49</sup> In contrast, however, few authors give equal weighting to exploring these issues outside the now stereotypical urban context, nor do they question the actuality and extent of exclusionary claims-making beyond their own normative and largely anecdotal evidence base. This is again suggestive of a dominant particular and 'situated' British national paradigm. Accordingly, it highlights the complexity and necessity for a perceptive approach to the research problem.

Policy documents make up the fourth field of study. These, as their name suggests, originate mainly from the policy sector itself. In addition however EH has been examining the social role of heritage and its conservation as part of an international

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<sup>48</sup> Short J R, 1991, *Imagined Country: Society, Culture and Environment*, London: Routledge, p. 43

<sup>49</sup> Short J R, 1991, *ibid*, pp. 43-48

network of heritage bodies. Though much of this work extends beyond the specific (BME) field of focus as well as typological reach of this thesis, its conceptual elements nevertheless provide a useful corrective to more particular ‘situated’ work mentioned above.

Finally, whilst the thesis makes no claims to validity beyond its delimitations as outlined above, international charters ensure definitional clarity and act as a benchmark for wider dissemination.<sup>50</sup>

### **1.8 Synopsis and thesis organisation**

To ensure logical progression of its argument and for ease of reference, the thesis is structured in such a way as to provide a progressively tightening focus. The current introductory chapter lays the thematic foundations for the thesis. This is followed by a review of literature; the resultant theoretical background provides the conceptual framework for the remaining chapters. There follows a chapter that consolidates the work’s research space by conceptualising the notion of CBH subsequently tested via fieldwork. The methods and methodology chosen for fieldwork are then explained, followed by two chapters elucidating the location and socio-demographic characteristics of the research setting. A further two chapters present and discuss the findings before a summary and conclusions being drawn in the final chapter. In summary, the eight chapters (excluding Chapter 1) briefly described are as follows:

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<sup>50</sup> For example the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) BURRA Charter 1979

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

This chapter builds the theoretical foundation upon which the research is based. The review comprises a selective interpretation and synthesis of existing work pertaining to the thesis's immediate and parent disciplinary fields: that is, the chapter explicates the 'story' of the literature surrounding the research problem and its links to the wider body of knowledge. In so doing it provides the intellectual context for the thesis.

## **Chapter 3: Mapping the Heritage Process**

Drawing on the literature review, this chapter conceptualises notions of CBH, achieved by mapping the process of its construction over time and cultural change. In so doing the field of research is consolidated around the socially constructivist 'process' model tested in the thesis.

## **Chapter 4: Research Methodology**

This chapter defines the specific research methodology used to test the conceptual model developed in Chapter 2. Linkages between theory and data requirements are explained and provide the framework for an integrated research design. The strategy and process used along with its design and implementation are then described and justified. As such, the chapter comprehensively details methods and process of case study selection, stakeholder mapping, empirical procedures and techniques, as well as data analysis and interpretation.

## **Chapter 5: Research Setting**

Building on the methodology, this chapter provides a detailed profile of city of Gloucester, selected as the research setting. A brief historical summary is followed by

an appraisal of the city as a heritage resource. Supported by a socio-demographic profile and précis of local heritage sector activity, taken together this chapter serves to underline Gloucester's suitability to the research aims and objectives.

## **Chapter 6: Case Study**

This chapter gives a detailed account of the specific locale selected for participant engagement. Justification for selection of the Barton and Tredworth ward as the spatially defined research setting is provided by character and cultural appraisal.

There follows a similarly detailed account of the selected research sample, including a full spatial and demographic profile of participants.

## **Chapter 7: Research Findings**

In this chapter the results of data analysis and interpretation are described. The findings are introduced via the reappraisal of the interpretative and thematic frameworks mediating their production. In all, five emergent themes are presented in an abridged form, with these providing the basis of the chapter's five- section structure. These are arranged to reflect the general – particular – specific presentational pattern adopted for the thesis as a whole.

## **Chapter 8: Discussion**

While the previous chapter has provided a preliminary reflection on each finding, here they are subjected to more detailed discussion. To draw out their principal inferences and implications with regards to the research problem, central emergent themes are examined in relation to the thesis's intellectual context. By putting them into perspective in this way, outcomes and their limitations are evaluated and reflected

upon. Following its introduction, the chapter is again arranged in a five-section structure mirroring that presented in the previous chapter and the thesis as a whole.

## **Chapter 9: Summary and Conclusions**

This chapter summarises the thesis, providing a brief discussion regarding its contribution to addressing the research problem. Recommendations for further research are included here.

### **1.9 Conclusion**

This chapter has laid the foundations for the thesis. It has introduced the research problem and aim, along with justification for their investigation. In this, the intellectual context within which the research is situated has been summarised.

Definitions have been presented and the research methodology briefly described and justified. Finally, the thesis's delimitations have been explained and its structure outlined. On these foundations the thesis can proceed with a detailed description of the research.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to develop and make explicit the theoretical foundation underlying the thesis. As such, it builds upon the intellectual context summarised in the previous chapter. Literature collated and reviewed here identifies issues relevant to the research problem and not addressed by existing research. By this means, the picture provided reflects the current state of knowledge surrounding the subject area under investigation; that is, the review is not an end in itself but a means to the end of identifying and refining those issues introduced in section 1.2 and, subsequently, listed in the conclusion to this chapter.

The review is analytical rather than descriptive, a critical appraisal integrating analysis, synthesis and evaluation of relevant literature. Disciplines reviewed are not limited merely to the area of the research problem, but include links to the wider body of knowledge. The review includes the immediate discipline/field of the research problem and its parent/discipline field. However, disciplines are focused to exclude those not directly relevant to the immediate field of research. In brief, the chapter identifies and reviews conceptual dimensions of literature relevant to the research problem. In doing so, it delineates the research issues investigated in later chapters.

#### **2.1.1 Structure/organisation of the chapter**

Little thematic or conceptual coherence exists within or between literature pertaining to the topic under investigation. Furthermore, as a multi-disciplinary study, works consulted do not conform to normative disciplinary boundaries. Thus, in their

selection and exclusion for review, reduction of extensive immediate and parent disciplinary fields was necessary. Moreover, a significant level of overlap occurred across and between thematic and conceptual models. Treating each field individually would render the review narrative too broad; this would consequently be detrimental to its presentation and intelligibility. Rather, for ease of reference, and to explicate links between the reviewed body of knowledge and the research problem, thematic and conceptual fields have been synthesised across disciplinary boundaries and with the current research. In brief, emergent synthesised themes rather than disciplinary fields or authorship provide the basis of the review's structure.

### 2.1.2 The nature of the topic under discussion

The topic of the thesis is a complex one. On the one hand, recent intellectual and policy discourses surrounding alleged exclusivity of existing national heritage narratives provide a theoretical foundation. Such narratives, founded on myths rooted in past ideologies,<sup>1</sup> are, it is claimed, unrepresentative of 21<sup>st</sup> century England's pluralist, multicultural society.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, those not sharing national heritage narratives find themselves socially and culturally excluded.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, such allegations are themselves the product of a particular way of seeing – founded on ideologies, rooted this time in moralist political and post-modern intellectual discourses. Insistence that contemporary heritage interpretations address perceived

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Short JR, 1991, *Imagined Country: Society, Culture and Environment*, London: Routledge, pp. xvi-xvii; also Duncan J, Ley D, 1993 (eds), *Place/Culture/Representation*, London: Routledge

<sup>2</sup> See e.g.. MORI, 2000, *Attitudes Towards the Heritage*, London: English Heritage; English Heritage, 2000, *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*, London: English Heritage

<sup>3</sup> Hall S, 'Whose Heritage? Un-Settling "The Heritage", Re-Imagining the Post-Nation', in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacy of "Race"*, London: Routledge, p. 24



injustices of the past generates new ‘truth’ claims.<sup>4</sup> They also emphasise how post-modern ideologies, like heritage itself as defined in Chapter 1, are contemporary constructs shaped by the past.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, reformist intellectual discourses and the policy directives they underpin raise as many questions over their legitimacy as those they seek to change. Yet, these questions gain scant attention in heritage or its allied literature. Here, given the lack of any accepted theorisation of heritage or philosophical approach to its study, many commentators seemingly shy away from critique or theoretical debate.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, effectively viewed as a one dimensional, present-centred enterprise, heritage increasingly appears disaggregated from its historic and hence cultural context. However, Harvey, situating heritage within a wider temporal framework than is commonly applied, notes how heritage has a heritage of its own.<sup>7</sup> It is from this wider temporal perspective, and maintaining the philosophical tradition of critique, that the topic of the thesis acquires its principal foundation. In brief, viewed through the prism of a pluralist, multicultural society, the thesis explores and delineates locally held values and meanings attributed to English CBH today. By this means it tests the validity of exclusionary claims surrounding CBH and the perspicacity of its use as an agent of social reform.

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<sup>4</sup> Laura Peers, ‘*Revising the Past: Historic Sites, the Heritage Elite and Challenges by Native Peoples in North America*’. Paper presented at the ASA annual conference, Goldsmiths College London, March 1999

<sup>5</sup> See Lowenthal D, 1998, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge: University Press, p. 1; Harvey, D C, ‘Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies’: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2001, p. 337; Tunbridge J E, Ashworth G J, 1996, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Larkham P J, ‘Heritage as Planned and Conserved’ in Herbert D T, 1995 (ed), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, London: Mansell, p. 85; also Harvey D C, who cites Larkham’s article as well as pointing out how ‘there seem to be as many definitions of the heritage concept as there are heritage practitioners’, p. 319

<sup>7</sup> Harvey D C, 2001, op. cit., p. 337; see also Lowenthal D, 1998, op. cit., p. xi

### **2.1.3 Parameters of the topic**

Positioning CBH and its investigation in an appropriate theoretical context demands a number of delimitations. These, detailed in the previous chapter, apply equally to the review of literature. As a critical and context specific study, the phenomena under investigation, as subjective values and meanings, are not considered autonomous and independent of wider social dimensions. Rather, they are bound in the societal and cultural context from which they originate. That context is itself historically informed, that is, notions of what constitute nationally significant CBH are diachronic constructs, differing across time and between cultures. Traditional notions of CBH and myths and ideologies surrounding its construction and communication thus provide one aspect of the works summarised in this review; however, the review's historical and structural analysis will not present an in-depth chronology of heritage construction theses. Detailed accounts of Marxian and postcolonial theories influencing contemporary criticism of hierarchical social dominance will not be offered, either. Instead, a historicist critique will situate CBH within the existing body of knowledge as a process underpinned by the dynamic of evolving social and culturally contingent perceptions and value measures.

The review falls broadly into three sections, moving from general, through particular, to specific themes relevant to the research problem. The first addresses contested legitimacy claims surrounding heritage constructions. Theoretical perspectives underlying notions of heritage as a cultural acquisition used to create and sustain social objectives are explored. Included are dominant ideology concepts on the one hand, and those of social and cultural capital and legitimation, on the other. Together, these theories form the background to the research problem's parent discipline field. In short, the first section positioning CBH outlines the general philosophical basis of

heritage construction, its conservation and contestation. Themes addressed are summarised as follows:

- Traditional perceptions of CBH and its conservation
- Who values heritage and through which set of lenses
- Alleged hegemony and dominant ideologies
- Legitimizing CBH – for whom and for what purpose

The second section, repositioning CBH, outlines particular concerns surrounding the construction of CBH and its conservation in a post-modern world. New challenges to notions of national significance within the identity politics of contemporary society foreground the existence of alleged hierarchical and peripheral groups. Charged with exclusivity and elitism, heritage bodies face demands to balance conservation needs with the production of commercial and cultural ‘goods’. Themes addressed by this section are as follows:

- Multicultural challenges to national significance
- What is a national CBH and who decides
- CBH as a relativist construct
- Legitimacy claims under postmodernism

The third section, redefining CBH, examines issues specific to its use and conservation as a social movement. Here, the research problem’s immediate discipline field is foregrounded. As CBH is mobilised to suit a progressive political doctrine, a new set of factors influence conservation directives. However, few question the extent

to which so-called marginalized groups share the ideologies of those purportedly acting on their behalf. In short, the question is considered whether the reformist agenda is more valid and democratic than that it seeks to replace. Themes addressed by this third review section are summarised as follows:

- Shifting CBH onto the social agenda
- Defining CBH in an age of reform
- Who decides – legitimacy for what purpose
- Heritage reform – pragmatic logic or political motives

Clearly, a degree of overlap will occur between themes addressed by the above sections. As focus is sharpened, delimited concepts will be made explicit through the process of ‘drilling down’; that is, themes will be revisited through their synthesis with the research problem in differing emergent contexts.

## **2.2 Parent discipline/fields and relevant explanatory models**

The research problem oscillates around contested notions of nationally significant CBH; this gives rise to questions of shifts in locally constructed value and meaning systems over time and cultural change. Philosophically speaking, these questions situate the problem within the sphere of developing epistemologies, or theories of knowledge. Given the alleged exclusionary character of state defined CBH, the principal sphere of concern here is that surrounding the ethics of power, identity and class relations. To facilitate the contextualisation of CBH with its current social agenda, this section reviews the topography of those relations within the existing body of knowledge.

### 2.2.1 Positioning CBH

As sites of often-contradictory economic interests, power relations, cultural dispositions and social difference, the potential for dissonance within historic built environments is pronounced. Within the literature, reformist critiques offer challenges to established notions of what constitutes nationally significant CBH. At issue is the relevance of CBH to multicultural, pluralist England, now quite different to that from which its cultural built legacy descends. Ashworth raised a similar point in his review of the BBC TV series *Restoration*. The programme was for Ashworth ‘...backward looking, in that it asked the viewer to remember a past’.<sup>8</sup> No matter how significant that past, its use and management in the present are central to Ashworth’s essentially practice-based notion of heritage. This example underpins how, within prevailing theories, the search for legitimation posits heritage as a contemporary construct. Consequently, though differently motivated, among discourses constituting the reviewed body of knowledge, CBH is user- or consumer-defined.<sup>9</sup>

#### 2.2.1.1 Conceptual framework

##### 2.2.1.1.1 Dominant ideology

As Chapter 1 outlined, CBH, as traditionally defined, is widely considered as undemocratically founded on elitist values. Informed by the canons of taste of a then dominant social order, these values, and hence CBH, are of questionable relevance to a pluralist, multicultural England. Given this situation, notions of hegemonic ideology not surprisingly provide the conceptual basis of much recent thinking surrounding the research problem. Indeed, as earlier indicated, for Ashworth and Howard dominant

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<sup>8</sup> Ashworth G J, ‘The BBC’s *Restoration*’: Should we Cheer, Laugh or Cry?: reviewed in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2004, p. 212

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Howard who comments that heritage studies are not interested in the past: Howard P, 2003, *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*, London: Continuum, p. 19

ideology theses, along with those of capital and legitimation models, provide the theoretical foundation to our understanding of heritage.<sup>10</sup>

Despite this, direct linkages between ideology and heritage in early social theory are scant. Ideology as a plausible scientific theory predates Marx, originating in late 18<sup>th</sup> century French philosophy. Destutt de Tracy referred to ideology as a science of ideas, based on analysis of human perception. Though written from a biological standpoint, de Tracy's analysis presented the argument that ideas are dependent on influences other than personal/individual. These influences, interpreted from a social scientific perspective, appear as the political and economic practices giving society its structure. Applied to the body of knowledge surrounding the research problem, de Tracy's work thus indicates the conceptual direction of prevailing 'structuralist' socio-cultural and heritage critiques.

Dominant ideology theses proper originate in the 19<sup>th</sup> century writings of Marx and Engels, and assert that for any society, the ideas of the ruling class are the ruling ideas. Offering expansive scope for application to a range of cultural analyses, and supported primarily among intellectuals rather than the working class,<sup>11</sup> Marxian thought informs much recent thinking surrounding the research problem.<sup>12</sup> Though wide-ranging, a common assertion is that culture and class struggle interweave through ideology. Central to this process is culture which, when produced within a class-divided society, participates either in the maintenance and legitimation of

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<sup>10</sup> See Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, *European Heritage Planning and Management*, Exeter: Intellect, p. 63; Howard P, 2003, *ibid*, p. 45

<sup>11</sup> Contrary to Marx's vision of proletarian revolution, the working class became assimilated into the capitalist order

<sup>12</sup> 'Marxian' or 'Neo-Marxism' refers to attempts, in the light of development in social theory and society throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, to update classical Marxism

existing power relations, or in resisting that power. Through their control of education, communication, cultural and media institutions etc., the dominant can exercise as accepted their own sets of ideas and beliefs. This is to suggest that certain beliefs and ways of seeing are in the interests of the dominant class but not in those of subordinate classes. Put simply, in classical Marxism societies are structured according to the exploitation of subordinate classes by a dominant class; political interests, as a legitimising agent, determine people's understanding of their social world. In other words, dominant groups maintain the status quo and in doing so curtail any conception that the world could be different. Culture therefore is attributed a complex position within society and its aesthetic and symbolic worth is intertwined with its political value. Regressive culture (interpreted as socially dominant) on the one hand is seen as ideology, reproducing the categories of thought and reasoning that make the existing social order appear natural and legitimate. Progressive culture (interpreted as socially subordinate) on the other hand is interpreted as an expression of alienation and an act of political resistance.

#### **2.2.1.1.2 Hegemony-viewing social dominance beyond economic determinism**

Whilst classical Marxist accounts suggest passive imposition of dominant ideas upon subordinate classes, along with a general restructuring of Marxism during the 20<sup>th</sup> century these reductionist notions have been challenged. The most radical change within literature based broadly around the study of culture has been its mounting concern with theory, that is, with the theoretical reasons for studying culture – increasingly, 'popular' culture – and the conceptual and analytic frameworks for its study. The changes have been radical because the theoretical schools coming to

dominate cultural analyses have been voices of the political left.<sup>13</sup> In particular, Marxism's relationship with culture began to change with the adoption of ideas of Gramsci, Mannheim and Althusser. These three theorists redirected attention to the role of mass culture in the functioning of the state, rendering its analysis more pressing than ever. Gramsci's concern was the political functioning of ideology. His theory of hegemony suggests a greater role for human agency than that suggested by Marxism's economic determinism. For Gramsci, ideologies, rather than being imposed from above, constitute a political process negotiated through consent. For example, the expansion of educational, voting and civil rights renders as untenable the dominant groups' ability to rule by force. In Gramsci's conception, dominant ideas are instead (re)negotiated and modified through consensus via a series of 'apparatus' such as the church, unions, civic associations and cooperatives.<sup>14</sup> These apparatus, while rooted among its people, serve at the same time to prolong the dynamics of the state. By this means, dominant ideas become universalised as those of civil society as a whole. Thus in Gramsci's model social contestation is contained rather than removed, as a process through which the dominant do not rule but lead through 'moral and intellectual leadership'.<sup>15</sup> This poses a problem in that subordinate groups may acquire a dual consciousness, simultaneously holding contradictory beliefs, one set grounded in hegemony, the other in everyday lived experience. As a result, the negotiation of conflicting interpretations renders culture a site of class struggle. Gramsci, while appearing committed to democracy and pluralism, appears less

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<sup>13</sup> Militant reactions to social problems of the 1960s prompted the Neo-Marxist influence on the social sciences. Despite coming to dominate socio-cultural scholarship since then and deriving from a common ideological position, Marxist scholarship does not form a cohesive body of knowledge. See Hall T, 2001, *Urban Geography*, London: Routledge, p. 24

<sup>14</sup> See Buci-Glucksmann C, 1978, 'Gramsci et l'état,' Paris: Grasset, quoted in Castells M. 1997, *The Power of Identity*, Oxford: Blackwell, p. 8-9

<sup>15</sup> Gramsci A, 'Hegemony, Intellectuals and the State' in Storey J, 1998 (ed), *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Prentice Hall, p. 210; see also Storey J, 2003, *Inventing Popular Culture*, Oxford: Blackwell, p. 48



inclined towards Marxist notions of bureaucratic centralism leading to a classless society.

Like Gramsci, German sociologist Karl Mannheim used dialectic reasoning and saw the link between ideology and class domination as tenuous. Moreover, whilst Marxist theory presupposed ideology to be a distortion set against true knowledge, Mannheim's sociology of knowledge challenged any positivist notion of truth.<sup>16</sup> Instead, Mannheim used the link between ideology and the material base of society or structure to argue that different social sectors understand the world in different ways. From this perspective, differences between bourgeois and proletarian understanding of culture are not the differences between the views of a dominant regressive and a subordinate progressive class; rather they are the differences between two equally legitimate worldviews. The inference of Mannheim's theory is that ideologies have no singular truth claim against which to judge their legitimacy. Rather, ideological claims have their own standards of truth and accuracy, contingent on the social circumstances underlying their construction.

In this aspect Mannheim's work appears close to French structuralist Louis Althusser's notion of ideology extending beyond people's thought processes to their everyday lived practice or action.<sup>17</sup> Althusser borrowed from Saussurian linguistics and Lacan's<sup>18</sup> theory of dreams to argue that ideology is purely imaginary; while they

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<sup>16</sup> Mannheim K, 1960, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, London: Routledge (first published 1929)

<sup>17</sup> Althusser L, 1971, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, London: New Left Books. See also Edgar A, Sedgwick P, 1999, *Key Concepts in Cultural Theory*, London: Routledge. The implications of Althusser's work on art and literature are explored in e.g. Machery P, 1978, *A Theory of Literary Production*, London: Routledge; Machery P, 1995, *The Object of Literature*, Cambridge: University Press

<sup>18</sup> Lacan J. 1977, *Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*. London: Hogarth

may be used historically to maintain the power of the ruling class, ideologies as a form of consciousness are not tied to historical moments. Rather, for Althusser, ideologies are imaginary worlds in which individual, social, and personal identities are constructed. Thus, Althusser sought to fuse the materialist function of ideology in reproducing social relations of production, with its symbolic function in the constitution of subjects. For Althusser, social relations are instrumental in the construction of identity, belief systems and forms of consciousness. Together with Gramsci and Mannheim's analyses, Althusser's conception of ideology as lived practice partially addresses the subject-object dualism of earlier Marxist discourses.

A second structuralist tradition entering the literature on culture and hence relevant to heritage construction is semiotics, or the study of signs and the way sign systems explicate problems of meaning and communication. In many ways semiotics is the antithesis of neo-Marxist structuralism, as it disembeds cultural objects from their social contexts instead of seeking their meaning in their social location and function. Both structuralist traditions, however, share a commitment to finding the meaning of objects not in their material characteristics, but in their deeper structural significance. Crucially, semiotics does not seek to assess the worth of 'texts' but to understand the processes through which they become meaningful and how they are interpreted. Semiotics is rooted in Saussurian linguistics and Levi-Strauss's anthropology. Among its influential theorists, Roland Barthes sought to extend the idea of culture as a communication system; he did this by deconstructing cultural sign systems to uncover capitalism's underlying ideological layers.<sup>19</sup> Central to Barthes's theory was the notion that meanings are not inherent to signs themselves, but lie in the difference

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<sup>19</sup> Barthes R, 1967, *Elements of Semiology*, New York: Hill And Wang; Barthes R, 1973, *Mythologies*, St Albans: Paladin

between one sign and another. He distinguished between the denotations of a sign as its literal meaning, and the connotations of a sign as the associative or more emotional nuances it evokes. Using this distinction, Barthes argued that connotation be understood as calling forth the value system in which the sign is used and interpreted. These culture-specific evaluations he linked to the distribution of power, that is, the fact that connotations are taken for granted and confused with denotations renders them accepted as natural or fixed, leading to what he calls 'myth'. The evaluative and political implications of signs are then concealed, leaving the reader to unwittingly absorb the dominant value system conveyed in the text.

#### **2.2.1.1.3 Cultural capital – linking cultural and heritage values**

The above theories to varying degrees address problems of the dialectic between the economic and the cultural, and between the material and aesthetic. Common to these contributions are refinements to Marxian distinctions between structure and superstructure, or Weberian concepts of status and class in cultural systems. Such distinctions, in the context of the research problem, appear conceptualised as dichotomies, classifying cultural production as for example high and low, legitimate and unofficial, elite and peripheral fields.

Overcoming this dualism between objectivism and subjectivism has been a central aim of Bourdieu's 'field' theory of culture, which positions individuals socially according to their endowments of capital.<sup>20</sup> Offering the only major development of dominant ideology theses specific to the study of heritage, Bourdieu goes beyond the

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<sup>20</sup> This 'field' theory, based on the distinction of class and status value spheres and spheres of life conduct owes as much to Marx as to Weber. In contrast to Weber's macro-sociological approach however, Bourdieu's field theory is primarily located at the micro-level. Bourdieu P, 'The Market of Symbolic Goods', *Poetics*, Vol. 14, No.13, 1985, pp. 13-44; Bourdieu P, 1993, *The Field of Cultural Production*, Cambridge: Polity; Weber M, 1972, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen: Mohr

Marxist concept of class as a system of property rights and introduces a more complex notion that takes account of different forms of capital; that is, social and cultural as well as economic. His theory evolved from his work on 'cultural reproduction', a term he used to describe the process through which culture, and hence political power is maintained across generations by the dominant class through the education system.<sup>21</sup> Bourdieu's argument is that whilst class dominance ultimately remains economic, the form it takes is cultural. The source of social difference and power relations is, he suggests, subject to a symbolic shift from the economic field to that of cultural consumption. Authoritarian imposed tastes and ways of living are transformed by this means into legitimate taste and ways of life, where '...taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier'.<sup>22</sup> Capital, then, is for Bourdieu a generalised resource that can assume monetary and non-monetary as well as tangible and intangible forms. The suggestion remains that a dichotomy exists between elite and marginal cultures and dominates social structure, with significant differences in both social and cultural capital distinguishing elite from non-elite positions. In other words, groups and individuals are positioned according to the overall amount and combinations of capital available to them, giving rise to social structure. Within that structure groups and individuals occupying similar or neighbouring positions assume similar conditions,<sup>23</sup> making them likely to develop similar dispositions, interests and habits.<sup>24</sup> A hierarchy of taste is by this means mapped onto a hierarchy of social class, with the former legitimating the latter. Thus, for Bourdieu, '...culture is not what one is but what one has, or

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<sup>21</sup> Bourdieu P, 1973, 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction', in Brown R, (ed), *Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change*, London: Tavistock

<sup>22</sup> Bourdieu P, 1984, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London: Routledge, p.6

<sup>23</sup> Bourdieu P, 'Social Space and Symbolic Power', *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1989, p. 17

<sup>24</sup> See Bourdieu P and Wacquant L D, 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 97

rather, what one has become'. To explain this point,<sup>25</sup> Bourdieu distinguishes between three general types of capital.<sup>26</sup>

- Economic capital refers to monetary income as well as other resources and assets.
- Cultural capital exists in various forms. It includes long-standing dispositions and habits acquired in the socialisation process, the accumulation of valued cultural objects and artefacts, as well as formal educational qualifications and training. For example, through the study of architecture or culture, individuals may acquire tastes and styles different from others.
- Social capital refers to resources mobilised through membership in social networks and organisations. For example, the social networks of individuals and even small group local amenity societies differ in size and span from those of national cultural institutions.

For Bourdieu, relative to cultural and social capital, economic capital plays a lesser role in understanding the social structure of cultural production and consumption.

This reflects the dominance of specific forms of capital within different social fields.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Bourdieu P, 1993, op.cit., p. 236

<sup>26</sup> Bourdieu's usage and definitions of the various forms of capital are sometimes cursory. His 1983 paper on forms of capital (English translation 1986) offers the most complete and systematic discussion of capital forms: see Bourdieu P, 1983, 'The Forms of Capital', in Richardson J G, 1986 (ed), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York: Greenwood; see also Muller H-P, 'Kultur, Geschmack und Distinktion: Grundzüge der Kultursociologie Pierre Bourdieu': in Neidhart F, Lepsius M R, Weiss J, 1985 (eds) *Kultur und Gesellschaft*, Opladen: West-Deutscher Verlag; Gartman, 'Culture as Class Symbolisation or Mass Reification? A Critique of Bourdieu's Distinction': *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 97, No. 2, 1992, pp. 421-447; Bourdieu P, Wacquant L. D, 1992, op. cit.

<sup>27</sup> Bourdieu P, op. cit., 1985, pp.165-181

From a heritage management perspective the distinction lies between the fields of restricted cultural production and large-scale cultural production. Both fields differ in the extent to which economic and non-economic capital forms dominate. The field of restricted production is relatively autonomous from market considerations, with economic success secondary to symbolic value. CBH, traditionally defined as a product of ideology, historical narrative, national myth and political legitimacy rather than monetary rewards, is applicable to this field. In contrast, the field of large-scale cultural production is characterised by the predominance of economic considerations and market success. Here, the current role of heritage conservation as commercial producer and economic driver or ‘opportunity space’ is more apt.<sup>28</sup> Distinctions between fields imply the imposition of boundaries in which different primary ‘currencies’ – for example prestige versus money – are exchanged. This however appears overly simplistic, as it takes little account of evolving socio-political agendas or their effect on the value systems of social groups and individuals. In this respect, viewed from elite or democratic perspectives, conserving the historic built environment through evaluation and legitimation as heritage (re)introduces hierarchical elements into the social structure. In this regard, Paul DiMaggio’s research on the arts also proves important.<sup>29</sup> DiMaggio demonstrates the ways in which art acquisition and classification reinforce status categories and the distinction between elite and non-elite culture.

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<sup>28</sup> See e.g. Pendlebury P, Townshend T, Gilroy R, ‘The Conservation of English Cultural Built Heritage: A Force for Social Inclusion?’ *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2004

<sup>29</sup> DiMaggio P, 1992, ‘Cultural Boundaries and Structural Change: The Extension of the High Culture Model to Theatre, Opera and the Dance, 1900-1940’: in Lamont M, Fournier M (eds), *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, Chicago: University Press, p. 21-57

Bourdieu's forms of capital are not fixed but variable in terms of their fluidity and potential for inflation or loss through erosion. Differences in fluidity, convertibility and loss potential entail different scenarios for different social groups. The nouveaux riches e.g. are characterised by high volumes of economic capital, yet lower volumes of cultural and social capital. Howard ably demonstrates this, citing the acquisition among pop stars of large country houses as '...the most potent symbol of cultural capital in England'.<sup>30</sup> Intellectuals, on the other hand, offer an example typically accumulating higher amounts of cultural and symbolic capital than they do economic or social endowments.

#### **2.2.1.1.4 Legitimation**

Important to this thesis is the distinction between incorporated cultural capital in the form of education and knowledge, and symbolic cultural capital as the capacity to define and legitimise cultural, aesthetic and moral values, standards and styles. High-culture historic built environments, e.g. the English country house, and monumental religious, commercial and civic architectural genres may have high levels of symbolic capital; rural vernacular or folk genres, and those associated with popular culture or the culture industry on the other hand, may have little. Central to debates surrounding the research problem is the legitimation of national CBH and the extent to which these notions are shared or challenged.

Despite close links with ideology theories and forms of capital through its fundamental role in creating official heritage narratives, few existing heritage works give analytic prominence to the legitimation concept. Legitimation as an analytic term

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<sup>30</sup> Howard P, 2003, op. cit., p. 44

is an abstract notion rooted in Weberian sociology;<sup>31</sup> it refers to acknowledgement on the part of society of the right of their rulers to rule them. More recently, legitimation has become central to social, political and cultural debates, yet few of those make direct reference to heritage. For Lyotard<sup>32</sup> for example, questions of legitimation are questions of discourse, concerning appropriate means to particular ends, and cannot be divorced from consideration of their social and cultural dimensions. Here, Lyotard appears close to Foucault who developed these ideas in relation to tutelary complexes of power and knowledge.<sup>33</sup> Foucault argues that social, political and cultural practices and institutions are both constituted by and situated within historically and culturally informed discourse, that is, in ways of seeing or speaking about the world of social experience contingent to that experience. Though lacking analytic specificity, Foucault's focus on the role of discursive practices addresses his belief that knowledge and understanding of the social world is historically constructed, rather than a naturally occurring universal structure common to all as a primordial given. Legitimacy in this view is a way of producing, organising and conveying meaning within a socio-cultural context. For Lyotard and Foucault there appear no universal criteria for the legitimation of competing discourse or narratives. As a result, the socio-political realm remains one of cultural antagonism between contending purposes, rather than being consensus oriented.

Against these views, which endorse a politics of conflict, a further body of work suggests that the consensual values of society must be internalised to achieve social

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<sup>31</sup> Weber M, 1958, *Three Types of Legitimate Rule*, Berkeley Publications in Society and Institutions

<sup>32</sup> Lyotard J F, 1988, *The Differend: Phases in Dispute*, Manchester: University Press

<sup>33</sup> Foucault M, 1970, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, London: Tavistock; Foucault M, 1972, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, New York: Pantheon



integration and stability, a view encapsulated in Durkheim's conscience collective.<sup>34</sup> The only extensive work linking legitimation with heritage construction is offered by Habermas. Habermas's work is developed on Parsons's earlier efforts to explain how, through their socialisation, people acquire a set of values that motivate them to conform to the prevailing system of social rules or norms.<sup>35</sup> For Habermas, under capitalism – despite welfare reform – the class system limits the extent to which social stability can be maintained through wealth distribution. With the state controlling the economy, social inequality assumes a political dimension. As a result, simple economic or political problems quickly become crises of social integration, which the ruling class cannot address through interests applicable to all. This makes it difficult for the state to justify its actions, resulting in what Habermas terms a legitimation crisis. To compensate, the state must make use of cultural resources such as national symbols, cultural references and traditions. By this means culture as a national heritage is transmitted and incorporated into the conscience of groups and individuals as part of their everyday, subjective experience of the world. In other words, people become socialised into accepting and cohering around cultural heritage, procured as a meaning resource and appealing to '...feeling, stimulation and unconscious motives'.<sup>36</sup> Habermas terms the resulting system of social interaction 'lifeworld', a holistically structured concept founded on the use of mutual understandings and norms, mediated through 'natural' communication.<sup>37</sup> Here Habermas draws upon earlier analytical philosophy, such as Austin's conception of speech act theory<sup>38</sup> and

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<sup>34</sup> See Lukes S, 1975, *Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work. An Historical and Critical Study*, Harmondsworth: Penguin; Durkheim, E, 1956, *Education and Sociology*, London: Collier-Macmillan

<sup>35</sup> See e.g. Parsons T, Smelser N J, 1956, *Economy and Society*, London: Routledge; Parsons T, 1968, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: The Free Press

<sup>36</sup> Habermas J, 1976, *Legitimation Crisis*, London: Heinemann, p. 70

<sup>37</sup> Habermas J, 1997, *The Theory of Communicative Action Volume 1: Reason and the Rationalisation of Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press

<sup>38</sup> See e.g. Austin J L, 1975, *How to Do Things with Words*, Oxford: University Press.

the latter Wittgenstein.<sup>39</sup> His aim is to formulate a non-instrumental notion of rationality which, while facilitating critical and rational discourse termed by Habermas ‘communicative action’, is founded on material and historical factors underlying its development. Despite distancing himself from post-modern critiques of rationality, Habermas’s ideas remain comparable to general social theories forming macro-micro linkages relevant to the study of cultural identity – notably Bourdieu’s theory of habitus<sup>40</sup> and Giddens’s theory of structuration.<sup>41</sup>

## 2.3 Culture, identity and locality

The previous section reviewed key theoretical perspectives surrounding dominant ideologies and, through recourse to culture, their use to sustain and legitimate prevailing social structures. Moving from this abstract parent field, this section explores the outcome rather than motivations of conflicting culture-power relationships underlying the alleged hegemonic control of heritage consciousness.

### 2.3.1 Positioning Culture

The research problem lies central to debates on cultural identity, a sense of place and ownership of the past. The liberal tenets of cultural studies and postcolonial theory dominate the extensive and diverse body of knowledge converging in this scholarly terrain. These works, above all, draw attention to the assertion that cultures are social constructs. Accordingly, commentators dispute any notion of a pure, underlying cultural identity, regarding them instead as hybrid mixtures.

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<sup>39</sup> See e.g. Wittgenstein L, 1958, *Philosophical Investigations*, Oxford: Blackwell.

<sup>40</sup> Bourdieu P, 1977, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge: University Press; Jenkins R, 2002, *Pierre Bourdieu*, London: Routledge; Fowler B, 2000 (ed), *Reading Bourdieu on Society and Culture*, Oxford: Blackwell, p. 64

<sup>41</sup> Giddens A, 1984, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Cambridge: Polity Press. For a development and critique of Giddens’s work see: Archer M S, 1996, *Culture and Agency: The Place of Culture in Social Theory*, Cambridge: University Press

Culture itself is a complex term, much disputed within the literature. Indeed, Williams asserts that culture is ‘...one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language’.<sup>42</sup> Glassie goes further, arguing that: ‘Culture is not a problem with a solution’ and that ‘...studying people involves refining understanding, not achieving actual proof’.<sup>43</sup> Of interest to this thesis are, firstly, the way in which social relations of a group are structured and shaped, experienced and interpreted; secondly, the cultural processes of production and consumption and their implications for heritage. If we accept Williams’s assertion that culture is a signifying system ‘...through which ... a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored’,<sup>44</sup> then it becomes possible to envisage a pluralised conception of signifying practices and multi-layered discourses. This eschews the notion of a fixed and immutable heritage, and in place of an imposed homogeneity exposes dialogues of difference, dissonance and diversity.

### 2.3.1.1 Culture in discourse

Burke provides a comprehensive account of culture’s emergence as a field of analysis.<sup>45</sup> From its roots as in Germany as *Kulturgeschichte*, Burke recounts how cultural scholarship focused e.g. on understanding canonical architecture, art, or philosophy from the perspective of their historical contexts; namely, the focus was not on cultural artefacts themselves, but on the relationship between these differing artistic forms and – following Hegel and others – the ‘spirit of the age’, or *Zeitgeist*.<sup>46</sup> Here Burke sees a connection with later semiotic modes of analyses. The ‘reading’ of

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<sup>42</sup> Williams R, 1976, *Keywords*, Oxford: University Press, p. 76

<sup>43</sup> Glassie H, 1982. *Passing the Time in Ballymenone*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 13

<sup>44</sup> Williams R, 1981, *Culture*, London: Collins, p. 13

<sup>45</sup> Burke P, 2004, *What is Cultural History*, Cambridge: Polity

<sup>46</sup> Burke P, 2004, *ibid*, p. 6-19

artistic forms as evidence of the culture producing them widened the idea of hermeneutics, which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century expanded from interpretation of biblical texts to that of artefacts and practices.

Burke attributes growing sensitivity within British intellectual circles to the relationship between culture and society to the arrival in England of a group of émigré scholars from central Europe. Among those fleeing 1930s Germany, sociologists Mannheim, Arendt, Hauser and art historian Antal brought – in varying degrees – Marxist notions of culture as a historically informed expression of society. Specifically, by positing culture as a reflection of the world-view of the bourgeoisie, their writings linked culture to social and economic conflict. Out of this conflict emerged the idea of ‘mass society’ as a means of understanding Nazi Germany and the rise of totalitarian societies. Arendt e.g. saw people in ‘mass society’ as unusually susceptible to authoritarian regimes because of their isolation from major social and political institutions.<sup>47</sup> She considered the individual in mass society as alienated and isolated; from a political perspective this rendered people susceptible to authoritarian propaganda. From a cultural perspective, they were susceptible to the manipulatory machinery of ‘culture industry’.<sup>48</sup> Frankfurt theorists Horkheimer and Adorno coined the deliberately contradictory term (setting culture against its apparent antithesis in industry) to refer to the production of mass culture. This relationship between culture and power amidst the emergence of mass society are for contemporary cultural theorists Burke and Storey, central to the development of British cultural studies.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Arendt H, 1958, *The Human Condition*, New York: Anchor

<sup>48</sup> Horkheimer M, Adorno T W, 1972 (first published 1944) *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, New York: Seabury

<sup>49</sup> Burke P, 2004, op. cit.; Storey 2003, *Inventing Popular Culture*, Oxford: Blackwell

In recent decades debates over the production and consumption of culture have taken several significant turns of interest to the study of heritage. The result has been the (re)formulation of cultural critiques. The most prominent of these is the New Left version typified through the cultural turn in geography and cultural studies.

Cultural studies as a distinctive field of academic enquiry emerged from the work of Williams and Hoggart in the late 1950s and led to the founding of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in 1964. Cultural studies largely opposed orthodox theories, drawing instead on more radical approaches derived from Marxism, feminism and postcolonialism. In turn, its exponents have sought to situate the production of culture explicitly in relation to wider social practices, in particular political structures and social hierarchies. In this – and cultural studies draw heavily on Gramsci here – groups and individuals as consumers of culture are deemed increasingly active; consequently, the processes by which cultural ‘texts’ are communicated become progressively more complex. Hence, drawing on a theory of hegemony, the production of culture does not merely impose a message on its ‘reader’. Rather, groups and individuals’ own environment and life experience determine their interpretation of cultural artefacts as texts. In short, for Burke, as for Storey, cultural studies oppose the celebration of high culture, viewing the cultural field instead as one ‘...marked by a struggle to articulate, disarticulate and rearticulate particular meanings, particular ideologies, particular politics.’<sup>50</sup>

### **2.3.1.2 Contemporary cultural discourses**

Given their complexity, it is beyond this project’s delimitations and remit to review all available theoretical approaches. Rather, works reviewed are limited to examples

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<sup>50</sup> Storey J, 2003, *ibid*, p. xi

underpinning the definition of culture as a system of shared meaning, relevant to this thesis. Rose's use of the myth of Babel is helpful in this context.<sup>51</sup> Taking the myth beyond a metaphor of language, Rose presents it also as a metaphor of architecture. Her argument is that the building of Babel presents a cultural watershed, since it is in the city that diverse customs, beliefs and values first come together. Subsequently, people – through ensuing disagreements between previously taken for granted custom, belief and value norms – become aware, perhaps for the first time, that they have a culture. This confrontation and power struggle stemming from attempts to sustain one's own values against the assault of others, provide the foundation for group and individual self-awareness. The Babel metaphor illustrates Rose's argument that through buildings, humans present to future generations a cultural legacy which endures long after the individuals who constructed them. This, she asserts, is instrumental in transforming notions of time and creating an understanding of history and value systems among the populace.

Rose's argument broadly encapsulates the geographical metaphor employed by the CCCS, namely that cultures are maps of meaning through which the world is made intelligible. This metaphor, coined with reference to '...the codes with which meaning is constructed, conveyed and understood',<sup>52</sup> is similarly applicable to Giddens's sociological theorisation of culture. For Giddens, culture consists principally of ways of life, constructed and communicated through shared meanings.<sup>53</sup> Giddens's theory involves three key elements:

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<sup>51</sup> Rose G, 1993, 'Architecture to Philosophy – the Post-modern Complicity', in *Judaism and Modernity: Philosophical Essays*, Oxford: Blackwell; see also Knox P, Pinch S, 2000, *Urban Social Geography: An Introduction*, London: Prentice Hall, p. 6

<sup>52</sup> See e.g. Jackson P, 1989, *Maps of Meaning*, London: Routledge

<sup>53</sup> Giddens A, 1989, *Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press

- Firstly, the values and meanings that groups and individuals hold, i.e. their ideals and aspirations
- Secondly, the norms that groups and individuals follow, i.e. the rules and principles that govern their lives
- Thirdly, the material objects people use to make sense of their lives, i.e. the symbolic and everyday material elements providing points of reference to their surroundings.

Whilst outwardly simplistic, the essential point of Giddens's theory is that his elements of culture – values, norms and objects – are interrelated. His argument is that culture is not merely about ideas, but that – as points of reference – material objects provide indications of people's value systems. Like Giddens, Poole defines culture along three central strands.<sup>54</sup> For Poole, culture in its first significant sense consists of meaningful or representative objects, which those with the appropriate cultural knowledge can interpret and evaluate. In this sense, culture exists in the public realm. Secondly, culture refers to creation and modification of these objects; culture in this sense is a process as opposed to a product. Here, Poole emphasises the dynamics of cultural production and reproduction, as cultural objects and artefacts gain or lose meaning through contestation or reinterpretation. Central to this process is the third sense, in which the concept of culture refers to the process through which people acquire the knowledge and understanding of cultural artefacts, enabling them to recognise them as their own.

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<sup>54</sup> Poole R, 1999, *Nation and Identity*, London: Routledge, p. 13

Thus the essence of both Giddens and Poole's theories is that a shared culture is not limited to linguistic representation or passive socialisation. Rather, it is a process, existing in and through the communication and interpretation of public symbols, myths and artefacts, and which enables individuals to acquire and recognise their own objective social identities. Knox and Pinch encapsulate this relationship between material objects and cultural production with the term 'intentionality'.<sup>55</sup> From their urban geographical perspective, the term highlights their assertion that material objects have no meaning other than that acquired through interaction with people.

Given the New Left's prominence within contemporary cultural discourses, it is not surprising that Hall's work has been prolific and influential. Hall also sees culture as a system of shared meanings. He argues that through meanings individuals belonging to shared communities or nations interpret and position themselves in their environment: 'It is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them...that we give them meaning'.<sup>56</sup> Hall, drawing on Gramscian hegemony, stresses the role of power relations within cultural (re)production, and argues that 'culture' includes the social practices producing meaning, and the practices regulated and organised by those meanings. He uses the familiar term 'maps of meaning' to illustrate how a sense of belonging, mediated via shared sets of meaning, provides a sense of commonality and identity among diverse and otherwise differentiated groups and individuals. Culture for Hall is thus a process in constant flux; it is a '...principal means by which identities are constructed, sustained and transformed'.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Knox P, Pinch S, 2000, op. cit., p. 55

<sup>56</sup> Hall S, 1997 (ed), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London: Sage, p. 3

<sup>57</sup> Hall S, 'New Cultures for Old', in Massey D, Jess P, 2002 (first published 1995), *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalisation*, Oxford: University Press, p. 176



### 2.3.2 Constructing Identity

A growing body of literature explores the mechanism by which societies create distinctions, establish hierarchies and negotiate rules of inclusion. Such works link with major knowledge theories including Bourdieu's theory of distinction,<sup>58</sup> Derrida's focus on difference,<sup>59</sup> Foucault's genealogy of knowledge<sup>60</sup> and the semiotic models of de Saussure.<sup>61</sup> Being integral to the diversity of cultural values constituting society, the concept of identity has become central to recent socio-cultural and political discourses. Within the literature the term, broadly defined, refers to the contexts within and through which groups and individuals construct and negotiate their own self-understanding. Prevailing approaches dispute orthodox theories which treated the self as autonomous from external influences, and instead consider identity as a response to something external to it; an 'other'.<sup>62</sup> While diverse, this body of knowledge is characterised by its refocusing of scholarly attention from the individual to the collective; by its prioritising discourse over the systematic scrutiny of behaviour; and by approaching identity as a principal source of mobilisation, rather than a product of it.

#### 2.3.2.1 Identification Processes

Attention to the establishment and legitimation of collective identities remain central to debates surrounding the identification process. Society as a collective identity is a concept grounded in classic sociological constructs: Durkheim's 'collective

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<sup>58</sup> Bourdieu P, 1984, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

<sup>59</sup> See e.g. Derrida J, 1973, *Speech and Phenomena and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press; Derrida J, 1987, *The Truth in Painting*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

<sup>60</sup> See e.g. Foucault M, 1972, op. cit.; Foucault M, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History' in Bouchard D F, 1977, (ed), *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, Oxford: Blackwell

<sup>61</sup> de Saussure E, 1983, (first published 1916) *Course in General Linguistics*, London: Duckworth

<sup>62</sup> See Said E, 1978, *Orientalism*, London: Routledge

conscience', Marx's 'class consciousness', Weber's *Verstehen* and Tonnies's *Gemeinschaft*. So rooted, the notion addresses the 'we-ness' of a group, stressing similarities or shared attributes around which group members coalesce. Early opinion considered these attributes as accepted or essential characteristics, emerging from elemental physiological traits, psychological predispositions, regional features or the properties of structural locations. A society or collective's members, it was thought, internalised these qualities, suggesting a unified, singular social experience against which individuals constructed a sense of self. More recent opinion has questioned the essentialism of collective attributes, suggesting instead the social construction of identity as a more viable basis of the collective self.

### 2.3.2.2 Identity in Discourse

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Durkheim posed the first serious challenge to the tenets of liberal individualism.<sup>63</sup> He argued that individuals were a product of society, as opposed to society being a product of individuals. Durkheim's point was that in post-industrial societies, individuals' self-understanding was a product of their own particular history and culture rather than of nature. A loss of this sense of 'self' was a central concern of Erikson's psychoanalytic theory of identity<sup>64</sup> which he saw as a process between the identity of the individual and that of his or her communal history and culture. His argument was that culture gave coherence to the individual's sense of self. As a result, any separation from the personal sameness and historical continuity

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<sup>63</sup> Durkheim E, 1984 (first published 1893), *The Division of Labour in Society*, Basingstoke: Macmillan. Before Durkheim, orthodox European philosophy, inspired by the 17<sup>th</sup> century writings of Descartes, assumed that the self existed as an autonomous form of meaning and agency. This notion was questioned by Hume's liberalism, but resulted only in an understanding of the self as a series of sense impressions, changing with new experiences or the recalling of old ones. See Descartes R, 1968 (originally published 1637 and 1641), *Discourse on Method and the Mediations*, Harmondsworth: Penguin; Hume D, 1978, *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals*, Oxford: Clarendon Press esp. p. 251-263

<sup>64</sup> Erikson E, 1968, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, London: Faber & Faber

afforded by culture led to 'identity crisis', a term Erikson first coined in the 1940s.<sup>65</sup> Out of these challenges to traditional notions, and more recently from post-structuralist and post-modern theory, a new understanding of identity has emerged. Among these, identity was central to Foucault's early work on madness. Foucault compared the Renaissance view of madness as its own form of reason with the rationalist 17<sup>th</sup> century exclusion of the insane. From this he asserted his belief that madness was a socially constructed identity, providing the 'other' against which the sane and the rational defined themselves. In other words, for Foucault, the socially dominant groups' internalisation and legitimation of a normalising identity depended upon the construction of its own other.

Where Foucault sees a normalising identity as internalised domination, Castells places greater emphasis on the role of agency in identity formation. He sees identity as 'people's source of meaning and experience'.<sup>66</sup> While recognising the influence of dominating institutions, for Castells identities only come into being when and if social actors internalise them and construct their meaning around their own internalisation. In this, he distinguishes between 'identity' and 'roles'. Castells sees roles as being defined by the structural norms of social organisation and institutions: e.g. as parent, employee, homeowner or neighbour. Identities, on the other hand, are a source of meaning constructed by individuals themselves. To support his theory Castells distinguishes between three sequential forms of identity formation:

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<sup>65</sup> Erikson E, 1968, *ibid*, p. 22

<sup>66</sup> Castells M, 1997, *The Power of Identity*, Oxford: Blackwell, p. 6

- Legitimising identity: constructed by dominant groups to legitimise their authority as in modernist and constructivist theories of nationalism (Castells is also close to Foucault here)
- Resistance identity: generated by groups and individuals devalued or stigmatised by the dominant groups, and holding ideals opposed to those permeating national institutions. Here the result is usually a form of collective resistance against alleged social, political or economic exclusion; a situation witnessed with the emergence of identity politics
- Project identity: where groups and individuals actively assert their rights to build a new identity to redefine their social position. In so doing they seek the transformation of social structure.

Central to Castells's sequential theory is its dynamics. For example, resistance identities have the capacity over time, to induce projects. These may subsequently become dominant within social institutions, ultimately forging a legitimising identity which validates their own position. In short, for Castells, no identity has an essentialist claim, nor is one more progressive or regressive than others; rather, their production and consumption are historically and culturally contingent.

The key significance of Castells's theory is in offering a formulation that replaces the concept of 'identity' with that of multiple and mobile 'identities'. As such, identities are a form of production rather than consumption of a fixed or 'natural' inheritance.

This view, taken up by Hall, as by Bhabha, posits identity not as something fixed and

coherent but as something constructed and always in process – as much about the future as the past.<sup>67</sup> Accordingly, for Hall ‘Identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being.’<sup>68</sup> Like Castells, Hall sees a greater role for agency in identity construction than does Foucault; in this, he suggests a reconceptualisation rather than abandonment of agents, positioning them in a new, if displaced role. Hall, reflecting the activist aspirations of the New Left, wants to demonstrate that in the postcolonial world identities are increasingly fragmented, contested and open to challenge. Moreover, rather than being singular, identities are ‘...multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions’.<sup>69</sup> To illustrate his position, Hall uses the distinction between ‘roots’ and ‘routes’ of cultural identity. Roots refer to autobiographical narratives sustained by memory of our past; routes refer to the process of identity construction within specific historical and institutional settings. The essence of Hall’s argument, as with Laclau who follows Hall in this respect, is that identities based on essentialist claims of a shared history and ancestry are not a unifying force but an act of power.<sup>70</sup> So-called common identities are, he claims, dependent on material and symbolic cultural resources for their existence. These resources, and the identities and sense of belonging they inform are – and Hall borrows from Hobsbawm here – products of invented tradition rather than tradition itself. Therefore identity, evoked through stereotyped resources of history, becomes a question of misrepresentation for those who e.g. on ethnic, class or gender grounds do not subscribe to a ‘naturally constituted’ identity.

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<sup>67</sup> Hall 1996, ‘Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms’ in Storey J (ed), *What is Cultural Studies? A Reader*, London: Edward Arnold, pp. 31–48; Bhabha H, 1994, *The Location of Culture*, London: Routledge

<sup>68</sup> Hall S in Hall S, Du Gay P, 1996 (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage, p.4

<sup>69</sup> Hall S in Hall S, Du Gay P, 1996 (eds), *ibid*, p.4

<sup>70</sup> See Laclau E, 1990, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, London: Verso

Storey, drawing on French sociologist Halbwachs's concept of 'collective memory', provides a useful corrective to Hall's radicalised approach.<sup>71</sup> Storey has tried to combine subject and contingent elements of identity as a negotiation between what he terms accumulated autobiography (or narrative of the self), and imposed biographies (or narratives of the self by significant others).<sup>72</sup> His assertion that memory lies at the core of identity is based on a four-fold division of Halbwachs's theory and is illuminating in the context of heritage. The first point suggests that memory is as much collective as individual. This claim is qualified in two ways: firstly, Halbwachs recognises the fragmentary and incomplete nature of memory, arguing that its completion be attained only in the social world, beyond that of the individual. In other words, memories of others confirm those held provisionally in people's own minds. Secondly, memory is collective because people sometimes 'remember' what they did not in fact experience first hand. Halbwachs qualifies this point with reference to remembering '...events that I know about only from newspapers or the testimony of those directly involved...'<sup>73</sup> The second point in Storey's reworking of Halbwachs suggests that remembering is always a process of reconstruction and representation. This is not to deny the validity of the past, merely to suggest that memory of it, like culture in general, is not past-specific. Rather, it is articulated, elaborated and 'activated' in the context of the present. In other words, for Storey, the past is significant only when interpreted to articulate meaning in the present. The interaction between memory and identity formation does not therefore depend on the truth of what is being remembered. Expanding on this, Storey's third point suggests that memories recall and reconstruct the past in the context of the present, that is,

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<sup>71</sup> Storey J, 2003, op. cit., p. 81; Halbwachs M, 1980, *The Collective Memory*, New York: Harper and Row

<sup>72</sup> Storey J, 2003, op. cit., p. 83

<sup>73</sup> Halbwachs M, 1980, op. cit., p. 51

memories remain meaningful because they interpret the past from the perspective of current attitudes and beliefs, rather than the context of the original memory. Thus, according to Storey, memory informs identity not through direct reference to the past, but the past as it exists in the present. The final point, for Halbwachs, refers to his assertion that mnemonic artefacts such as memorials and other forms of commemoration represent collective memory. This view, taken up and broadened by e.g. Nora as ‘sites of memory’<sup>74</sup> and Landsberg as ‘prosthetic memories’<sup>75</sup>, posits identity as being central to the articulation of the past, and hence to heritage. However, the significance of CBH as a frame of reference to memory and identity has received little attention within the literature.

### 2.3.3 Positioning Space and Place

This thesis is concerned with deconstructing locally held meanings of national CBH and its contribution to participants’ sense of identity, place and belonging. In this, and drawing on Relph, Howard reminds us that heritage offers ‘...one of the defining differences between place and mere space, or placelessness’.<sup>76</sup>

#### 2.3.3.1 Space and Place in Discourse

A diverse range of literature has for many years contributed to debates on place identity. These debates have never been fully resolved and no one analytic perspective holds ascendancy over the multiple place conceptions identified. Central to the

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<sup>74</sup> Nora P, 1989, ‘Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire’, *Representations*, Vol. 26, pp. 7-24

<sup>75</sup> Landsberg’s work focuses on the way the mass media enable people to experience events they themselves did not live. Landsberg A, 1995, ‘Prosthetic memory: Total Recall and Blade Runner’. *Body and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 175-189

<sup>76</sup> Howard P, 2003, op. cit., p. 27. Howard qualifies his assertion by noting limits to the use of place for defining heritage; in particular, the internationality of museum collections, locally based nature of personal collections and placeless nature of digitally networked ‘communities’ offer non-place specific heritage constructs. For work on placelessness see Relph E, 1976, *Place and Placelessness*, London: Pion

research problem is the association of place identities with their conceptual and experiential contexts. Literature most relevant to this theme is rooted in urban geography. Here, early contributions stem from urban morphological and humanistic geographical traditions.

### 2.3.3.1.1 Urban Morphological Tradition

The first urban morphology is a qualitative, largely descriptive approach, developed in Germany in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Its leading exponent in Britain has been Conzen, whose historic-geographical approach to urban landscape management emphasises the historical relationship between landscape and society and hence proffers a significant heritage dimension.<sup>77</sup> Conzen's aim was to demonstrate that the historic built environments' principal significance was as a cultural asset. Built environments, he argued, through their historical unfolding offered a palimpsest reflecting the aspirations as well as problems of successive generations within a specific locale. For Conzen, as for Whitehand who follows closely in this respect, the spirit of each successive society, objectified in and through the historic-geographical character of the built environment, becomes its *genius loci*. Whitehand articulates this point, arguing that: 'Over the course of time the landscape, whether a large region or small locality, acquires its specific *genius loci*, its culture- and history-conditioned character which commonly reflects not only the work and aspirations of the society at present in

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<sup>77</sup> Conzen M R G, 'Historical Townscapes in Britain: A Problem in Applied Geography', in House J W, 1966 (ed), *Northern Geographical Essays in Honour of G H J Daysh*, Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, pp. 56-78. See also Conzen M R G, 'Geography and Townscape Conservation', in Uhlig H, Lienau C, 1975 (eds), *Anglo-German Symposium in Applied Geography*, Giessen-Würzburg-München, Giessen: Lenz, pp. 95-102; Conzen M R G, 'Morphogenesis, Morphological Regions and Secular Human Agency in the Historic Townscape, as Exemplified by Ludlow', in Denecke D, Shaw G, 1988 (eds), *Urban Historical Geography: Recent Progress in Britain and Germany*, Cambridge: University Press, pp. 253-272



occupancy but also that of its precursors in the area'.<sup>78</sup> Conzen's approach is essentially conservative. Whilst focused on urban planning and development, its accent is on historically and geographically informed transformation, augmentation and conservation of an already existing cultural legacy. As such, the urban morphological perspective differs from that of heritage planning and management practitioners, constrained by present-centred political and economic interests. Whitehand, and Whitehand and Larkham have, in more recent work gone some way to addressing this gulf, contributing to debates surrounding the role of planning and management in the production of urban areas.<sup>79</sup> However, most relevant to this thesis is the essence of both Conzen and Whitehand's theories, namely that the *genius loci*, even when unconsciously perceived, creates a sense of place and feeling of continuity within historic built environments, enabling groups and individuals to identify with and take root in an area. In other words, the meaning of historic built environments is rooted in their contexts. It is not merely the physical phenomena themselves but their interaction with social actors that bring about their meaning in social environments.

### 2.3.3.1.2 Humanistic Approaches

This is the facet of place identity central to much work in humanistic geography, the second disciplinary approach relevant in this regard to the thesis. Dating principally from the 1960s and 70s, humanistic geography, like behavioural approaches,<sup>80</sup> arose from rejection of a singular spatial geographical focus in favour of an alternative, articulated as a concept of place. Despite its apparent promise, humanistic approaches

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<sup>78</sup> Whitehand J W R, 1981 (ed), *The Urban Landscape: Historical Development and Management*. London: Academic Press, p. 57. See also Whitehand J W R, 1993, *The Making of the Urban Landscape*, Oxford: Blackwell

<sup>79</sup> See Whitehand J W R, 1993, *ibid*; Whitehand J W R, Larkham P J, 1992 (eds), *Urban Landscapes: International Perspectives*, London: Routledge

<sup>80</sup> Behavioural approaches to geography are typified by Appleton J. 1975, *The Experience of Landscape*, London: Wiley

have developed only sporadically since, superseded in the 1980s by the cultural turn.<sup>81</sup> However, the contribution of their influential adherents remains constructive in the context of this thesis. Kirk, for example, developed an early notion of the built environments as social constructs.<sup>82</sup> He distinguished between two types of environment – the phenomenal and the behavioural. The phenomenal environment is one of empirical facts; the behavioural environment is the environment as perceived. Kirk sees towns and cities as exemplars of a phenomenal environment existing in its entirety. Yet, individuals know only the selected areas of their daily interaction. This, for Kirk, renders their behavioural environment smaller, more circumscribed – a product of unique personal experiences. Tuan has similarly developed these ideas, arguing for a human experiential construction of place, reflecting meanings attributed through use.<sup>83</sup> The essence of Tuan's theory of place is the fusion of social status and geographical location. This he qualifies by proposing a twofold conceptualisation to the meaning of place. The first, spirit and personality, refers to the composition of physical characteristics and the modification wrought by successive generations through its historical unfolding. These places are for Tuan 'public symbols', identifiable by external criteria and having high societal visibility commanding attention and awe. The second, a sense of place, refers to subjective meanings, ascribed following prolonged experience and association with a particular environment, and often held subconsciously. These places are for Tuan 'fields of care', and evoke affection rather than awe. Central to Tuan's theory, and to its

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<sup>81</sup> Significant contributions in the humanistic tradition focus principally on natural rather than built landscape perception and include e.g.: Kaplan R & S, 1989, *The Experience of Nature: A Psychological Perspective*, Cambridge: University Press; Bourassa S C, 1991, *The Aesthetics of Landscape*, London: Belhaven. For a review of trends in this disciplinary field see: Aoki Y, 'Review Article: Trends in the Study of the Psychological Evaluation of Landscape': *Landscape Research*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1999, pp. 85-94

<sup>82</sup> Kirk W, 1963, 'Problems of Geography', *Geography*, Vol. 48, 1963, pp. 357-371

<sup>83</sup> Tuan Y F, 1974, 'Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective', in Agnew J, Livingstone D N, Rogers A, 1996 (eds), *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 444-457

application to the current study, is his assertion that built environments simultaneously contain public symbols and fields of care. Place is constructed only in relation to the emotional investments of people in its immediate environs. In other words, built environments become places only when they become fields of care, endowed with meaning over the course of time.

### **2.3.3.1.3 Insider and Outsider Perspectives**

The significance of such meaningful place association, as opposed to the forces of placelessness, also provides the theme for Relph's early but influential work in this field.<sup>84</sup> For Relph, drawing on Heidegger,<sup>85</sup> space is merely a context for more meaningful place; the latter, he argues, is fundamental to groups and individuals' identity and security in everyday life. Central to Relph's theory is his assertion that while fulfilling a deep human need, a sense of place depends not merely on the identity *of* a place, but the identity groups and individuals have *with* that place. In other words, place identity is dependent on experience as an insider or an outsider. Relph draws on Berger's<sup>86</sup> model of anthropological assimilation to define distinct yet interrelated levels of insideness and outsideness in place, distinguishing three immediate and direct, and four less immediate modes of experience.

Immediate modes of experience are:

- Behavioural insideness: referring to physical presence in a place
- Empathetic insideness: referring to emotional participation in a place

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<sup>84</sup> Relph E, 1976, op. cit.

<sup>85</sup> Heidegger M, in Norberg-Schulz C, 1971, *Existence, Space and Architecture*, New York: Praeger, p. 16

<sup>86</sup> Berger P, 1971, 'A Rumour of Angels', Harmondsworth: Pelican, pp. 20-21, cited in Relph R, 1976, op. cit., p. 50

- Existential insideness: referring to complete and unselfconscious commitment to a place

Less immediate modes of experience are:

- Vicarious insideness: referring to 'second-hand' experience of place through written or other media
- Incidental outsideness: referring to experience of place as background to other activities
- Objective outsideness: referring to places treated as concepts and locations
- Existential outsideness: referring to profound alienation from places<sup>87</sup>

For Relph, individuals perceive place in many different ways, as well as distinctly from other individuals. Similarly, group or community images of places are dependent on the social and cultural context of actors. For example, planners and managers are inevitably outsiders. They may therefore take a very different view of a city's built environment to that of its long-term residents as insiders, who in turn may perceive their built surroundings differently to culturally marginal groups or wealthy incomers.<sup>88</sup> Hence, multiple ways of seeing determine multiple identities, held simultaneously among groups and individuals. Here, Relph's notion of differently perceived and defined place identities is close to recent work by Ashworth and Howard<sup>89</sup> and Howard;<sup>90</sup> namely, that at any one time simultaneously held multiple

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<sup>87</sup> Relph E, 1976, *ibid*, pp. 50-55; see also Howard P, 2003, *op. cit.*, p. 116, for an updated adaptation of Relph's modes of experience

<sup>88</sup> For example Urry draws upon Foucault's concept of the gaze to illustrate how tourists too, as outsiders, construct differing forms of social experiences and consciousness in relation to specific locales than do non-tourists. See Urry J, 1990, *The Tourist Gaze: Theory, Culture and Society*, London: Sage

<sup>89</sup> Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, *op. cit.*, p. 60

<sup>90</sup> Howard P, 2003, *op. cit.*, p. 150

identities contribute multiple lenses through which heritage is attributed value and meaning.

#### 2.3.3.1.4 Summary

With heritage lying central to debates surrounding perceptions of place, cultural identity and ownership of the past, Relph's work, like that of Tuan, Conzen and Whitehand, remains relevant to these debates in contemporary discourses. Moreover, the above theories, applied to cities as lived built environments, illustrate sensitivity to the effect of then prevailing economic structures on historically informed meaning and identity ascribed to places. Whitehand remarks how Britain, like most other western countries, rejected its *genius loci* throughout the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>91</sup> Instead, technical innovation and short-term material goals held sway over long-term socio-cultural needs during the economic boom of the period. The result in Relph's vision is placelessness, which he describes as a 'weakening of the identity of places to the point where they not only look alike but feel alike and offer the same bland possibilities for experience'.<sup>92</sup> Placelessness for Relph is a product of a culturally homogenising mass media and the economic system they embrace and are in turn embraced by. His notion of museumised and Disneyfied,<sup>93</sup> commodified, placeless landscapes bears obvious parity with Horkheimer and Adorno's culture industry and much recent work on heritage and popular culture.<sup>94</sup> As such, the above theories, whilst products of their time and offering few new insights, remain relevant in the context of the present. Moreover, they provide a bridge between work concerning place attachment on

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<sup>91</sup> Whitehand J W R, 1991 1993, *The Making of the Urban Landscape*, London: Routledge, p. 7

<sup>92</sup> Relph E, 1976, op. cit., p. 90

<sup>93</sup> Relph E, 1976, *ibid*, p. 101

<sup>94</sup> Horkheimer M, Adorno T W, 1972, op. cit.

experiential psychological grounds and post-modern accounts focused on urban environments as arenas of power and class struggle.

### 2.3.3.2 Post-modern Approaches to Theorising Place and Identity

Much of the work in this field has focused on addressing contemporary tensions between the local and the global.<sup>95</sup> However, these are not of primary concern to this thesis and thus are not reviewed.<sup>96</sup> Rather, of interest here is how CBH contributes to a sense of place, and in turn to a sense of identity. The relationship between heritage and identity exists at a range of scales. Identity in this context has specific connotations. Central among these are the lived experiences underlying everyday consciousness of the past. Also significant are social relations from which those experiences stem. As Rutherford argues, 'identity marks the conjuncture of our past with the social, cultural and economic relations we live within'.<sup>97</sup> Since the 1980s, an extensive and diverse body of knowledge has emerged from efforts to understand the social and symbolic meaning of urban environments in this respect. Much of this work originates from the 'new' cultural geography and its cognate fields in social science, humanities and environmental psychology. Though diverse, these efforts, drawing heavily on Marxian social theory, have concerned the deconstruction of urban environments, regarding them not as material artefacts, but as sites through which ideologies are projected, cultural values expressed and power exercised.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Harvey and Virilo typify those linking globalisation and communication technology with a loss of place. See e.g. Harvey D, 1989, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Conditions of Cultural Change*, Oxford: Blackwell; Virilo P, 1986, *Speed and Politics*, New York: Semiotext

<sup>96</sup> Harvey and Robins have both tried to demonstrate conflicting interests between traditional place-bound identities and those of an alleged globalising capitalist hegemony. See Harvey D, 1989, *ibid*; Robins K, 'Tradition and Translation; National Culture in its Global Context', in Corner J, Harvey S, 1991 (eds), *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture*, London: Routledge

<sup>97</sup> Rutherford J, 1990 (ed), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, p. 19

<sup>98</sup> See Hall T, 2001, *Urban Geography*, London: Routledge, p. 28

Harvey has noted the difficulty in developing theoretical concepts of 'place' which he considers '...one of the most multi-layered and multi-purpose words in our language.'<sup>99</sup> Similarly, Hayden sees 'place' as '...one of the trickiest words in the English language, a suitcase so overfilled one can never shut the lid'.<sup>100</sup> Rose, too, sees 'place' as '...one of the most theoretically and politically pressing issues facing us today'.<sup>101</sup> A number of commentators have analysed the social construction of place within different spatial hierarchies. Among influential early theorists, French sociologist Lefebvre sought to provide a holistic theory of space which combined cultural or discursive elements with material social practices and the physical environment.<sup>102</sup> In essence, his work focused on what he termed 'the overlaying of physical space and the symbolic use of its objects'.<sup>103</sup> Central to this was an understanding of the (re)production of space and place through a combination of ideological, cultural and practical means. Lefebvre based his theory on what he termed 'dialectic of triplicate', in short, a three-dimensional conceptualisation of space. The three dimensions were: space as experienced, space as perceived and space as imagined. The first, space as experienced, refers to spatial practices - the diverse routines and interaction between groups and individuals, which, (re)produced over time, become space. Spatial practices then become naturalised within built environments. Secondly, space as perceived refers to representations of space – the knowledge and ideologies influencing conceptual depictions of space and informing planning and management decisions. Thirdly, space as imagined, refers to spaces of

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<sup>99</sup> Harvey D W, 1993, 'From Space to Place and Back Again; Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity', In Bird J, Curtis B, Putnam T, Tickner L, 1993 (eds), *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, London: Routledge, p. 4. See also Knox P, Pinch S, 2000, op. cit., p. 258

<sup>100</sup> Hayden D, 1995, *The Power of Place*, Urban Landscapes as Public History, Cambridge (Massachusetts): The MIT Press, p. 15

<sup>101</sup> Rose G, 'Place and Identity: A Sense of Place', in Massey D, Jess P, 2002, op. cit., p. 88

<sup>102</sup> Lefebvre H, 1991, *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell

<sup>103</sup> Lefebvre H, 1991, *ibid*, p. 39

representation – that is the collective experience of spaces, which for Lefebvre is ‘...space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols and hence the space of inhabitants and users’.<sup>104</sup>

Shields has drawn on Lefebvre’s concepts of spaces of representation and representations of space in analysing the social spatialisation of the built environment. Shields attempts to combine material and cultural notions of space production without resorting to Lefebvre’s dualism of ‘group and individual’, or ‘agency and structure’. In this, he conceptualises a dominant form of space production as social spatialisation, which refers to the social construction of the spatial ‘...and its imposition and enactment in the real topography of the world’.<sup>105</sup> Social spatialisation involves both discursive cultural constructions of space and non-discursive institutional realities of geographical space, which combine to construct empirically specific places and spaces. The discursive element comprises discourses of space, or the construction of myths and images of particular places and spaces. These space and place myths become common to a particular social spatialisation through being internalised within hegemonic discourses.

Here, Shields is close to Short’s notion of environmental myths and ideologies.<sup>106</sup> For Short, myths are intellectual constructions embodying beliefs, values and information, which over time become shared as socio-cognitive constructions. As such, myths are capable of influencing events, behaviour and perceptions through their legitimisation as ideologies, and subsequent portrayal via specific texts. Short is eager to point out,

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<sup>104</sup> Lefebvre H, 1991, *ibid*, p. 39

<sup>105</sup> Shields R, 1991, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*, London: Routledge, p. 255. To illustrate the creation of myths about national identity, Shields cites the British North/South divide.

<sup>106</sup> Short J R, 1991, *op. cit.*



however, that myths do not imply falsehood to be contrasted with reality. Rather, he asserts, the question is not ‘...is it true - but whose truth is it?’<sup>107</sup> Here, Anderson’s conceptualisation of nations as imagined communities provides an example of socially constructed, physically inscribed space myth.<sup>108</sup> In brief, the spatial mythology inscribed in its institutional practices reinforces both the nation’s authority and its success as a spatial form.

### 2.3.4 Constructing the Nation

The construction of English CBH is dependent on the idea of nationhood; this in turn relies on a shared sense of the past to construct a common cultural identity. Central to these debates is the founding of national myths, symbolised by national monuments and instilling a shared sense of identity and belonging.

A sense of belonging – be it to a nation, locality or place – is a powerful manifestation of identity. Hall suggests that we cannot separate notions of English cultural identity from association with place, not because they ‘...are, but *because that is how we imagine them*’.<sup>109</sup> Using Said’s notion of ‘landscapes of the mind’<sup>110</sup> Hall argues that all cultural identities have at their root a stereotypical image of place or home, whose characteristics echo or mirror the characteristics of the identity in question. This process he describes as ‘landscaping cultural identities’, to take account of their imaginary geographies. The association of national cultures and identities with particular landscapes, Hall argues, helps to construct and fix in place a powerful

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<sup>107</sup> Short J R, 1991, *ibid*, p. xvi

<sup>108</sup> Anderson B, 1991 (first published 1983), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso

<sup>109</sup> Hall S, in Massey D, Jess P, 2002, *op. cit.*, p.181

<sup>110</sup> Said E. W, ‘Narrative and Geography’: *New Left Review*, No. 190, cited in Massey D, Jess P, 2002, *ibid*, p. 182

association between culture and home. Schama, too, takes the concept of nation to hold mythical, imaginary elements.<sup>111</sup> Though writing from the perspective of natural rather than built landscape heritage, Schama's assertion of the significance of myth, in elaborating and enriching national identity and belonging, bears parity with Hall's similarly constructivist account.

In contrast, for Poole national claims to a unique identity are not an illusion, but are rooted in historical and cultural developments. While acknowledging the diversity of potential national self-perceptions, the historical specificity of cultural artefacts and traditions – and hence its heritage – provides a significant common element of national identity. His theory involves two key elements. The first is a national homeland, '...described in national literature, depicted in its art, and celebrated in its music'.<sup>112</sup> Poole thus defines the national homeland not merely in spatial terms, but by its cultural characteristics. These exist as a mode of self and other awareness, created, recreated and appropriated for the nation and conceived as a common possession available to its members. The second related element of Poole's theory of national self-perception is history itself. Here he ascribes particular value to acts of heroism, represented in '...the significance of cenotaphs, tombs of the Unknown Soldier, memorial services and the like'.<sup>113</sup>

Expressions of national heritage and the cultural identities they inform are not finite but continually remade, reaffirmed and changed. Similarly, cultural objects may change in meaning or become less central; new objects become culture and seemingly static historic cultural and natural environments become arenas of contestation and

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<sup>111</sup> Schama S, 1995, *Landscape and Memory*, New York: Alfred A Knopf

<sup>112</sup> Poole R, 1999, op. cit., p. 16

<sup>113</sup> Poole R, 1999, *ibid*, p. 17

challenge. Indeed, shaped by man's influence, what has come to typify Englishness evolved in line with e.g. architectural patronage, evolving canons of artistic taste, agricultural productivity or industrialisation over ensuing centuries. Accordingly, these changes, and hence the way the nation itself is perceived at any given time, may differ widely between groups and individuals.

In this sense, national culture is a process by which people come to understand and attribute meaning to their cultural backdrop. This is not passive acquisition of pre-existing patterns of behaviour (socialisation), but a process in which people's self-perception is fashioned within their available cultural arena. Hence, it is a process of self-formation, not merely formation of the self, through which groups and individuals acquire their social and cultural identities.

#### **2.3.4.1 The Nation in Discourse**

Literature on the construction of national identity falls broadly into two analytical frameworks. Though both geographically informed, the first focuses on the historical development of a national consciousness; the second – on more discursive aspects surrounding the social construction of space and place. The concern here is with literature exploring how the nation appropriates for itself the cultural means necessary for the articulation of a sense of identity and belonging among its members. For Ashworth and Tunbridge, it is this model of the nation and of a subsequent national identity, asserted over and above other spatially or socially defined communal relationships, which requires a past designated as national heritage for its founding.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, London: Arnold, p. 12

Social constructivism drives a multifaceted literature on nation and identity. An array of socio-historical works on commemoration, narrative and symbolisation maps a process through which dominant groups create, manipulate and (re)interpret the identity of nations and their citizenship.<sup>115</sup> Within reviewed literature, the nation presents itself not merely as a political phenomenon but as a matter of cultural identity. As such, conceptions of the nation to which the literature refers take account of historic, ethnic and linguistic criteria, political notions of legitimacy, class and bureaucracy as well as geographical boundaries. Though drawn from multi-disciplinary perspectives, a central concern among commentators is the extent to which national identity represents a continuance of time-honoured tradition, rather than being a more contemporary construct.

Samuel cites the writings of Herodotus to illustrate his assertion that: 'The idea of nation...is as old as the oldest written histories'.<sup>116</sup> Samuel provides but one of many socio-historical accounts offering a range of temporal frameworks for the emergence of national consciousness. Hastings<sup>117</sup> e.g. suggests that the idea of nation and nationalism is medieval in origin, a view shared by Helgerson in his study of notions of Englishness conveyed in Elizabethan writings.<sup>118</sup> Greenfield too has argued that the English nation as a political power emerged from the rhetoric of 16<sup>th</sup> century Tudor

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<sup>115</sup> In addition to those cited, the European context is represented in influential theses by e.g. Brubaker R, 1992, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press, and Koopman R, Statham P, 'Challenging the Liberal Nation State? Postnationalism, Multiculturalism, and the Collective Claims Making of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in Britain and Germany', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 105, No. 3, 1999, pp, 652-696

<sup>116</sup> Samuel R, 1998, *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain, Theatres of Memory*, Volume II, London: Verso, p. 5

<sup>117</sup> Hastings A, 1997, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, Cambridge: University Press

<sup>118</sup> Helgerson R, 1992, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

monarchs,<sup>119</sup> whilst for Colley, taking a 'four nations' perspective, British nationalism is a product of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>120</sup>

The above authors provide contextual material, yet they fail to distinguish between the emergence of a conception of the nation as a culturally distinct and politically sovereign community and the extent to which national consciousness pervaded wider society. Despite its existence in ancient times, available literature more commonly dates the emergence of the nation in the public consciousness to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. In particular, the American Declaration of Independence (1776) and the French Revolution (1789) are widely cited as the beginning of nationalism and the modern nation state.

#### **2.3.4.2 The Nation as Self-conscious Cultural Object**

Among early theorists, Herder's work on folk culture blurs the distinction between nature and national, offering a conceptualisation of nationalism comparable to current notions of popular culture. Herder argues that a nation is comprised of its language and culture.<sup>121</sup> He emphasises the significance of the practices, customs and rituals of everyday life, and of the stories, folk beliefs and myths as a medium through which people make sense of their lives. Language is fundamental, as only through communication could these stories, beliefs and myths find expression and interpretation. Thus, for Herder, culture and language provide not merely a backdrop to people's everyday lives, but are fundamental to constructing their identity. For

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<sup>119</sup> Greenfield L, 1992, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press

<sup>120</sup> Colley L, 1992, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, New Haven: Yale University Press

<sup>121</sup> Herder J G, 1969, *Herder on Social and Political Culture*, Cambridge: University Press

Herder then, as for Taylor,<sup>122</sup> who from his communitarian perspective is close to Herder in this regard, human identity exists only within a framework of interpretation. It is through language and cultural symbols embodied in national culture that this framework is structured and through which groups and individuals become aware of both themselves and others.

While Herder reflects the transition from Enlightenment ideals to themes prevalent within Romanticism, analytic engagement with the nation as a political force is more commonly associated with modernist and postcolonial discourses. From the early 1980s in particular, a number of key texts have come to dominate debates surrounding nations and nationalism, yet no universally accepted theory of the nation is available. Among the most influential writers on the subject have been Anderson,<sup>123</sup> Gellner,<sup>124</sup> Hobsbawm<sup>125</sup> and Smith.<sup>126</sup> Particular divisions within the literature revolve around the relative importance of the nations' political (civic) and cultural (ethnic) dimensions. Many 'modernist' theories are also materialist, as e.g. in Nairn, who explicitly regards nationalism as the product of and response to the uneven development of capitalism.<sup>127</sup> Others regard materialism as an inherent facet of modernisation, whether manifest in the standardised literary education, central to Gellner's thesis, or the spread of print capitalism stressed by Anderson.

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<sup>122</sup> See e.g. Taylor C, 1985, *Human Agency and Language: Philosophical Papers Vol. 1*, Cambridge: University Press; Taylor C, 1990, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*, Cambridge: University Press

<sup>123</sup> Anderson B, 1991, op. cit.

<sup>124</sup> Gellner E, 1983, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell

<sup>125</sup> Hobsbawm J, 1990, *Nations and Nationalism since 1788*, Cambridge: University Press

<sup>126</sup> Smith A D, 1986, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford: Blackwell

<sup>127</sup> Nairn T, 1977, *The Break-up of Britain*, London: New Left Books

#### **2.3.4.2.1 Constructivist Approaches**

Gellner sees nationalism as ‘...a political principle, which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent’.<sup>128</sup> The principle of nationalism and the conception of nation it invokes are for him rooted in industrialisation, a fundamental feature of the modern world. Citing the pre-industrial agrarian society as its basis, his argument is that before industrialisation social networks among the poor were limited to the extent that few would subscribe to the notion of a common culture. Under such conditions there is no incentive for the ruling classes to impose cultural homogeneity on the masses; rather, they benefit from diversity as it renders unlikely any challenge to their power. For Gellner, the crucial change came with increased geographical, social and occupational mobility offered by industrialisation. To satisfy its needs, an industrial society depends on perpetual growth; the shifts in working practices needed to achieve this demanded greater cultural homogeneity. In turn, new technologies and forms of working required specialised institutional and educational systems, imposing common forms of writing and speech. Thus, the state’s need for education resulted in a fusion of state and culture. In this Gellner sees an important development, where education, rather than the agrarian kinship of earlier societies, now defines the status of the individual. These egalitarian moves form the foundation for a common culture and enable participation in economic life, imposing a corresponding conception of rationality on society and a common constructive attitude toward it.

#### **2.3.4.2.2 Deconstructing the Nation**

By contrast, the (de)constructive models of Hobsbawm and Anderson question the real or imaginary status of the nation. Hobsbawm has proposed that the nation is

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<sup>128</sup> Gellner E, 1983, op. cit.

largely an invention on the part of social elites.<sup>129</sup> He argues that traditions founding national consciousness comprise symbols, myths and history which, while appearing old, ‘...are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented’.<sup>130</sup> To support his thesis, Hobsbawm distinguishes three overlapping types of tradition: those establishing or symbolising social cohesion, those establishing or legitimising institutions and those aimed at socialisation through inculcation of beliefs, value systems and behaviour.<sup>131</sup> These invented traditions, through communication to the populace, come to constitute a superficial national cultural heritage. An innovative and widely disseminated elaboration on constructivism is that of Anderson, who also sees the nation as founded on a socio-cognitive construction of the past.<sup>132</sup> Characterising the nation as an imagined community, his basic premise is that it is an object of creative imagination, analogous to a work of art or literature. Anderson’s concern is to demonstrate that national identity is imaginary because, whilst it is physically impossible to know everyone in a country, patriotic bonds exist among people, formulated through the imaginative projection of shared cultural texts. As such, his theory posits nationalism not in relation to self-consciously held political ideologies, but the cultural systems preceding them, that is, nationalism emerges as previous cultural conceptions decrease in importance. Three changes in particular are central to Anderson’s argument: firstly, changes in the religious community; secondly, changes in the dynastic realm; thirdly, changing conceptions of temporality. From these preceding elements, nationalism as a new form of consciousness emerged

<sup>129</sup> Hobsbawm E, Ranger T, 2003 (first published 1993, eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: University Press; see also Hobsbawm E, 1995, *Age of Extremes*, London: Abacus

<sup>130</sup> Hobsbawm E, Ranger T, 2003 (eds), *ibid*, p.1. An example of a recently invented tradition is that of the St Pirrin’s day celebrations, held in Penzance, Cornwall, for the first time on the 6<sup>th</sup> March 2004. Hailed as a celebration of Cornish national identity, the now ‘annual’ event involves children dancing through the streets of Penzance to a purposely-composed traditional musical score. As with other separatist nationalisms however, whether its exponents are principally identifying *with* Cornwall or *against* England remains subject to debate. BBC *Spotlight*, March 6<sup>th</sup> 2004

<sup>131</sup> Hobsbawm E, Ranger T, 2003 (eds), *ibid*, p. 9

<sup>132</sup> Anderson B, 1991, *op. cit.*



through the interaction of capitalism, print technology and linguistic diversity. Print capitalism, according to Anderson, fuelled the decline of Latin in favour of works published in the vernacular. These works in turn gave their readers the notion that, simultaneously in time, other readers were consuming the same news or cultural products, hence instilling a sense of national consciousness.

#### 2.3.4.2.3 Evolutionary Approaches

A third theoretical strand sees the commitment to modernist constructivism as problematic in its generality and level of abstraction. Smith poses perhaps the greatest challenge, arguing that nationalism has its roots in pre-modern ethnicity.<sup>133</sup> Using what he terms an ‘ethno-symbolic’ approach, he acknowledges that nations are not primordial or natural, but argues that their roots lie in relatively ancient histories and in enduring ethnic consciousness. Smith agrees that nationalism as ideology or movement dates only from the later 18<sup>th</sup> century, but argues that the ethnic origins of nations are much older. Smith focuses on *ethnie* – ethnic communities with their myths and symbols – and shows that these exist in both modern and pre-modern times, and with substantial continuity through history. He argues that forms and genres of artefacts and activities, which change only very slowly, communicate myths, symbols, memories and values. Because of this, *ethnie* – once formed – are exceptionally durable, and persist over many generations, even centuries. This is the foundation of particular nations and of the idea of nation. Smith does not suggest that ethnicities are natural, coherent and pure rather than socially constructed, merely that they are a product of evolutionary process. Conversely, rooted in ethnicity, nations are long-term processes, continually re-enacted and reconstructed; they require ethnic

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<sup>133</sup> Smith A D, 1986, op. cit.; Smith A D, 1991, *National Identity*, Harmondsworth: Penguin; Smith A D, 1995, ‘The Nation: Real or Imagined?’ in Mortimer E, Fine R, 1999 (eds), *People, Nation & State: The Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, London: I B Tauris & Co

cores, homelands, heroes and golden ages if they are to survive. Smith argues that the origins of modern nationalism lie in the successful bureaucratisation of aristocratic ethnies. Under these circumstances, territorial centralisation goes hand in hand with cultural standardisation. Smith thus stresses the continuity in ethnic groupings and the relations of cultural similarity that define them.

The idea of heritage mediated through national narratives is thereby subject to multiple and contested interpretations. Yet, despite its theoretical complexity, social constructivism offers little beyond accounts of ethnicity as the product of manipulation, or recurrent invocation. Challenges to national CBH narratives in pursuit of socially progressive reform are contingent on the identity perspectives of both heritage producers and consumers. Here, few question the credentials on which hegemonic claims are based. Yet ethical judgements pertaining to heritage access, in reality specific to time and place, gain near-universal authority. By this means dominant groups maintain or gain social, political and economic advantage, allegedly for groups they purport to represent, but equally for themselves. Whether inadvertently or purposely arrived at, such a position risks perpetuating discriminatory practices. Here, for Poole, the dominance of liberal consciousness within mainstream political and academic discourses underlies the discrediting of nationalism. He argues that even the most benign forms of nationalism offend the tenets of individuality espoused by liberal ideology. In response Poole suggests that individualism is merely one of a choice of moral identities available to us; national identity is itself a form of individual existence, carrying with it a conception of agency, relationship with others and appropriate forms of behaviour.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Poole R, 1999, op, cit., p. 4

### 2.3.5 Heritage in Contemporary Discourse

Translated to notions of CBH, official heritage narratives and their contribution to a place-bound sense of identity are discussed in a diverse range of works. This cross-disciplinary field includes social and art history, geography, historical archaeology, cultural studies, tourism studies, museology and heritage studies. No totalising theoretical position holds ascendancy over this scholarly terrain. Moreover, as with all sections of the review, it is outside the thesis's delimitations to review all consulted fields. As such, works available and reviewed here are suggestive models – exemplars illustrating themes most relevant to the research problem and informing its intellectual context. Social constructivism dominates this body of knowledge; most relevant to this thesis are works which map the evolution through time and social change of attitudes and values informing traditional definitions of national heritage. An understanding of the transience and relativity of such attitudes and values is central to notions of English CBH.

#### 2.3.5.1 Negotiating Past and Present: National Heritage Narratives in Discourse

A number of works falling within the historic geographical sphere provide context to more specific heritage discourses. These 'culture-histories' attempt to characterise within a broad sweep of social evolution the role and significance of England's built and natural past in the national consciousness. Ousby and Brace typify the extensive development of this work from the perspective of early travel and tourism.<sup>135</sup> Mandler similarly synthesises social, political, cultural and artistic perspectives to convey his genealogy of evolving attitudes towards the English country house. Like Ousby, his

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<sup>135</sup> Ousby I, 1991, *The Englishman's England: Taste Travel and the Rise of Tourism*, Cambridge: University Press; Brace C, 'Finding England Everywhere: Regional Identity and the Construction of National Identity 1890-1940': *Ecumene*, Vol. 6, 1999, pp. 90-109; Brace C, 'The Door is Ajar: The Use of the Past in Constructions of English National Identity': *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 502-516

central argument challenges notions that prevailing attitudes to conserving and visiting country houses stem from deep-seated cultural affinity with a traditional ruling elite. Instead for Mandler ‘...the English experience over the past two centuries has been notable for an ambivalence towards the aristocratic heritage and a reluctance to take positive steps to preserve it’.<sup>136</sup> Mandler bases his assertion on a portrayal of English society not as one necessarily adhering to tradition, but as a process of continuous change and modernization. The result is a cultural life in which the aristocracy as readily embraces urbanisation and commercialisation as wider society. Notions of English tradition rooted in nostalgia are thus for Mandler the prerogative of ‘clusters of anxious aesthetes and intellectuals’<sup>137</sup> rather than of mainstream society.<sup>138</sup> Borsay in his study of Georgian Bath goes further: England’s preservation movement, he argues, is rooted in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century middle-class interest in the old and historic, which encouraged a radical approach to the future, triggering ‘... 20<sup>th</sup> century antithesis between modernism and traditionalism’.<sup>139</sup>

Against this backdrop, both popular and intellectual attitudes towards the aristocracy and its stately homes have veered from selective appreciation to outright hostility and only since the 1970s to thoroughgoing appreciation. Mandler cites three factors to account for the latter. Firstly, he argues, Britain has a longer history of industrialisation and modernisation than other countries. Its damaging impact on town centres into the late 1960s helped fuel reaction against the modern in defence of built heritage. Secondly, he shares a widely held view that a turn to the political right gave

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<sup>136</sup> Mandler P 1997, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, Yale: University Press, p. 415

<sup>137</sup> Mandler P, 1997, *ibid*, p. 415

<sup>138</sup> Graham et al raise a similar point in their discussion on nationalism and contested heritage. Heritage conflicts, they assert, arose not between imperial and local ethnic identities but from the threat of nationalism founded upon the construction of nationalist narratives by intellectual elites; Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge G E, 2000, *op. cit.*, p. 191

<sup>139</sup> Borsay P, 2000, *The Image of Georgian Bath 1700-2000*, Oxford: University Press, p. 385

greater precedence to private property during a period of decline in the public sphere.<sup>140</sup> Thirdly, in Britain – unlike in other countries – the survival of the aristocracy and its heritage rendered the English country house version of heritage practicable.

Present-centred value judgements in relation to past narratives similarly resonate through Matless's analysis of landscape and Englishness. Matless considers landscape central to definitions of Englishness over centuries. Drawing on Foucauldian analysis, his theory maps landscape's genealogy between 1918 to the 1950s as the site where English visions of past, present and future converge in debates over e.g. national identity, history and modernity, and ideals of citizenship. The essence of Matless's theory is his model of landscape as process: 'The question of what landscape is...can always be subsumed in the question of how it works; as a vehicle for social and self identity...a site for the claiming of cultural authority, as a generator of profit, as a space for different kinds of living'.<sup>141</sup> He expounds these themes through a three-stage chronology. In the first he aims to demonstrate how preservation movements emerged not as nostalgic anti-modern doctrines but as progressive attempts to define Englishness as orderly and modern, following aristocratic decline in the post-First World War era. Accordingly, for Matless, preservation espoused a particular modernism by which preservationists gained cultural and political authority. In the second stage of his chronology, he points to the rejection of modernism by a series of English ecologies focused upon soil and authority. These ecological visions of a rural

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<sup>140</sup> A number of critics have associated the success of heritage in late 20<sup>th</sup> century England with the ascendancy of Conservatism, Thatcherism, and the New Right. See e.g. Wright P, 1985, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain*, London: Verso pp. 135-92; Walsh K, 1992, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post Modern World*, London: Routledge, pp. 41-47, 87-93; Corner J, Harvey S, 1991 (eds), op. cit.

<sup>141</sup> Matless D, 1998, *Landscape and Englishness*, London: Reaktion, p. 12

England espoused an organic relationship to land, setting traditional rural authority against urban progressive expertise. Such a relationship for Matless, in its dependence on an organic social order stressing physical values over cerebral, folk over mass culture and genetic purity, highlights uneasy links between organicism and fascism in the interwar years.<sup>142</sup> These links and organicism itself declined in the English context in the aftermath of the Second World War. Matless takes this as his third chronological stage, pointing to the opening of literal and metaphorical space following agricultural transformation and the bombing of cities. Against this backdrop, he asserts, the ‘...planner-preservationist discourse of reconstruction could occupy a moral and political high ground’.<sup>143</sup> The progressive doctrine of ‘brave new world’ ideology disregarded any notion of rebuilding, as in other European models, of that which had stood before.<sup>144</sup> The result for Matless, as for Mandler, was a damaging modernist cultural tide cut off from its past, the outcome of which subsequently fuelled appreciation and defence of built heritage.

The above studies argue for a place-bound version of Englishness, created not through simplistic intergenerational conflict but, as part of a larger phenomenon, through debate over the merits of past and present, material and context. As such, they give a more nuanced analysis than simplistic good/bad, left/right or urban/rural dualities. Moreover, these analyses centre not merely on whether at any period in time heritage is valued, but on the way specific heritage narratives which posit a particular relationship between present, past and future are constructed, thus situating heritage within the cultural context from which it takes form. However, they fail to address the

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<sup>142</sup> Matless D, 1998, *ibid*, p. 15. Matless points out how outdoor lifestyles of the interwar years were carried over to the formation of England’s National Parks

<sup>143</sup> Matless D, 1998, *ibid*, p. 15

<sup>144</sup> See e.g. Ashworth G J, 1991, *War and the City*, London: Routledge

wider democratic credentials of those dominant planner-preservationist discourses which replaced earlier, discredited ones. Applied to the current study, the assertion remains that as a national legacy consensus over the shape and characteristics of CBH is socially constructed. In other words, the process by which CBH as the physical legacy of past human actions acquires symbolic value is not a merely a question of weighing past influences over present. Rather, it reflects changing political imperatives and ideological currents linked to questions of democracy, power and citizenship. These notions of CBH raise questions concerning contested versions of the past, and hence that of 'whose heritage', relevant to this thesis. Moreover, they situate these questions in the context of what Corner and Harvey consider tensions '...between that thought to be of value inherited from the past, and that which is the product of energetic, dynamic and deliberate innovation'.<sup>145</sup> In brief, rather than being viewed as a product, fixed and maintained by a social elite in order to legitimize establishment values and beliefs, heritage as a cultural process offers a dynamic and fluid understanding of possible pasts.

#### **2.3.5.2 Heritage as Process**

This cultural model of heritage as process dominates contemporary heritage discourses. Heritage's ascendancy and assimilation within popular culture drives a wide-ranging body of knowledge. Heritage studies as a discipline in its own right emerged in Britain in the 1980s and today draw on a growing multi-disciplinary field. Though diverse, approaches within the literature fall into two discernable strands relevant to this thesis. The first takes a socio-historical perspective, examining the conjunction of past and present attitudes manifest as contemporary heritage

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<sup>145</sup> Corner J, Harvey S, 1991 (eds), *op. cit.*, p.1

expression. The writing of Lowenthal is influential in this area. The second approach is concerned less with historically informed critique. Focus instead centres on practice – the use of the past in the present. Positing heritage in the context of postmodern economic conditions, present-centered heritage planning and management concerns inform these analyses. The writings of geographers Ashworth, Graham, Tunbridge and Howard are influential and widely disseminated in this field, although within the literature the space where these two discourses meet gains little attention.

### 2.3.5.2.1 Heritage in Critical Discourse

Lowenthal's broad social and material perspective on heritage place identities provides an essentially critical analysis, viewing heritage proliferation as '...obsessive concern with rooted legacies...more backward than forward looking'.<sup>146</sup> He considers heritage's democratisation in Britain and elsewhere as a reaction to the complexity of perceptions engendering value and meaning to material aspects of the past: 'What comprises heritage differs greatly among peoples and over time, but the attachments they reflect are universal'.<sup>147</sup> This he posits as an impact of postmodernity, in which market forces dictate inbuilt product obsolescence, increased migration fuels a search for cultural roots and new technology contributes to a sense of remoteness even from recent pasts.<sup>148</sup> Against this backdrop, a collective legacy becomes central to linking resources of the past to our present lives.<sup>149</sup> In this, Lowenthal argues, for each successive generation '...most heritage comes already packed by precursors'.<sup>150</sup> His argument is that a gulf exists between physical resources of the past and their

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<sup>146</sup> Lowenthal D, 1998, op. cit., p. 11

<sup>147</sup> Lowenthal D, 'Natural and Cultural Heritage': *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2005, p. 81

<sup>148</sup> Lowenthal D, 1998, op. cit.

<sup>149</sup> Lowenthal D, 1998, *ibid*, p. 67

<sup>150</sup> Lowenthal D, 1998, *ibid*, p.23



appropriation for modern use. For Lowenthal prevailing norms and objectives render heritage a populist crusade in which any legacy formerly seen as elitist must be transformed as a communal good. He makes a distinction between personal heritage and personal inheritance. Whilst few in society today expect a personal legacy, he argues, ‘...most are now conceded full shares in communal inheritance’.<sup>151</sup> By this he is not suggesting that all members of society inherit equally. Rather, he points out the democratising effects of e.g. heritage institutionalization via conservation legislative frameworks, open access, mass media and compulsory education, which depict a national heritage available in principle to all. Lowenthal qualifies his assertion in a recent study of communal legacies and defines heritage as ‘...everything we suppose has been handed down to us from the past. Although not all heritage is uniformly desirable, it is widely viewed as a precious and irreplaceable resource, essential to personal and collective identity and necessary for self-respect.’<sup>152</sup> Legacies of the past may in reality reflect neither contemporary place nor societal symbolisms. Yet, appropriated as heritage, they denote for Lowenthal – who is close to Anderson’s imagined communities here – constraint on the present expressed in fabricated communal identity traceable to supposed collective antecedents.

This vision of heritage as fictitious nationalist sentiment underlies Lowenthal’s critique. Here, whilst not overtly subscribing to their ‘conspiracy theories’, his work bears parity with earlier post-imperialist attacks on heritage proliferation. These posit heritage as a hegemonic reinforcement of official identity construction – imposed to alleviate economic decline and legitimize then ascendant Thatcherite government initiatives. Hewison’s work is prominent in this vein. He asserts that lack of faith in

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<sup>151</sup> Lowenthal D, 1998, *ibid*, pp. 67-68

<sup>152</sup> Lowenthal D, 2005, *op. cit.*, p. 81

national industrial and economic prospects dictated attitudes towards Britain's past.<sup>153</sup> For Wright too, focusing on Britain's nostalgia for a lost past, heritage was '...part of the self-fulfilling culture of national decline'.<sup>154</sup> Wright's argument was that the Conservative government of the 1980s nurtured a unifying dominant national culture as a means of diffusing political tensions.

As not central to this thesis, these widely disseminated views need no repetition here. They do however typify work produced in the late 1980s as part of what Samuel referred to as 'heritage baiting'.<sup>155</sup> Samuel in contrast took an opposing view, reestablishing links between heritage and memory. Rather than a symptom of national decay, he argues, heritage's ascendancy in the national consciousness stems from growing awareness of possible pasts; that is, heritage is not a fixed imposition in the service of power. Instead it is user-defined from generation to generation, synchronously with broadening socio-historical understanding. For Samuel heritage is historically conditioned, progressively altered, and defined by the present, whenever that present may be. In this, Samuel posits preservationist sentiment towards the built environment as '...a recoil from the modernizations of the 1950s, rather than as a reflex of economic decline'.<sup>156</sup> Here he is close to Mandler and Matless's positions reviewed above. Significantly, for the study of built heritage he goes further. As the era of the affluent society, the 1950s saw significant increase in car ownership.

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<sup>153</sup> Hewison R, 1987, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, London: Hewison R, 'Commerce and Culture' in Corner J, Harvey S, 1991, (eds), op. cit., pp. 162-177

<sup>154</sup> Wright P, 1985, *On Living in an Old Country*, London: Verso

<sup>155</sup> Samuel R, 1996, *Theatres of Memory*, Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture, London: Verso p.259-273. Samuel coins the term 'heritage baiters' to refer to critics who deem heritage a conspiracy to shore-up national identity during a period of collapsing British power.

<sup>156</sup> Samuel R, 1996, *ibid*, p. 243

Together with allied road and infrastructure development, this, according to Samuel, triggered Britain's preservationist shift from a rural to an urban cause.<sup>157</sup>

In brief, the above analyses acknowledge the gap between producers and consumers of heritage, irrespective of either group's consciousness of their role in this regard. In terms of relevance to the current thesis these critiques are suggestive of gulfs between resources of the past expressed as CBH and its role in instilling place-bound identity and belonging.

#### **2.3.5.2.2 Contemporary Practice-based Heritage Theories**

The establishment and legitimation of collective heritage place identities remain central to current heritage planning and management debates. Here too, heritage is a present-centred process rather than a set of fixed ideas. Graham et al e.g. remind us that heritage can be '...interpreted differently within any one culture at any one time, as well as between cultures and through time'.<sup>158</sup> In this they draw on Hall's<sup>159</sup> notion of culture to present heritage as a signifying practice. Their assertion is that heritage holds multiple potential narratives reflecting competing perspectives within a socially divided society. This interaction of heritage production and consumption at different social and spatial scales underlies perceived ownership of the past, and hence the question 'whose heritage' central to this thesis.

The essence of these heritage conceptualisations is its dissonance. Though differently approached, debates over who owns the past are central within literature on heritage and its cognate fields. These complex debates oscillate around the relationship

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<sup>157</sup> Samuel R, 1996, *ibid*, pp. 243-244

<sup>158</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *op. cit.*, p. 3

<sup>159</sup> Hall S, 1997, *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, London: Sage

between heritage and the dominant ideology, legitimation and cultural capital theories reviewed earlier. Specific to this thesis is their application to explore how values are constructed with regard to national CBH. Here, Graham et al typify recent thinking, treating heritage as an economic and cultural commodity linked by dependence on conservation of artefacts and their endowment with meaning.<sup>160</sup> Heritage is thereby defined as a product created from historical resources by a process of interpretation. This is a practitioner's viewpoint from which '...heritage is about the political and economic structures of the present using the past as a resource...' <sup>161</sup> The essence of their argument is that heritage derives not from physical artefacts themselves, but the meanings they convey to consumers. Here Graham et al share Ashworth and Larkham's view that the same artefacts can support different heritage constructs: '...because the medium is the message...the object remains but its messages change'.<sup>162</sup> The central point for Ashworth and Larkham is that heritage, unlike physical resources of the past, exists not in or of itself, but because of values people attach to it. In other words, definition of heritage and its ascription with meaning are synchronous constructs. These theories raise practical as well as theoretical implications for this thesis. Cultural diversity renders England's CBH subject to increasingly complex and fluid interpretations. Rather than CBH's physical extent, its multiple conflicting meanings may be the subject of challenges to official narratives. Methodologically, this renders intrinsic CBH typology secondary to the significance of its role in reflecting changing social and cultural conditions. In this, Graham et al see national heritage as a paradox '...being largely place-bound and thus displayed

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<sup>160</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, op, cit., p. 22

<sup>161</sup> Tunbridge JE, Ashworth G J, 1996, op.cit., p. 25

<sup>162</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, ibid, p. 25

locally'.<sup>163</sup> Their point is that state sponsored heritage – culturally commodified in the service of national identity expression – may connote very different meanings among individuals with more localised identity affiliations. This view, shared e.g. by Ashworth and Howard<sup>164</sup> and Howard<sup>165</sup> illustrates for Graham et al their assertion that tension and conflict are inherent to the concept of heritage.

### 2.3.5.2.3 Heritage Dissonance

'...All heritage is someone's heritage and inevitably not someone else's.'<sup>166</sup> This conviction that contestation lies at the heart of heritage as produced, commodified and consumed in contemporary society, underpins prevailing thought in the literature. Much of this work centres on a post-national vision of a common European heritage. The notion of dissonance features e.g. in Ashworth and Larkham's call for a reconstructed European heritage place identity to supplement if not replace the national scale.<sup>167</sup> Tunbridge and Ashworth, who use the term 'dissonant heritage' to refer to what they consider intrinsic discord surrounding the value and meaning of heritage, develop these themes.<sup>168</sup> A heritage of conflict and atrocity within Europe provides context for their influential and widely disseminated analysis.<sup>169</sup> Amounting to selection and interpretation of the past, they argue, heritage is implicated in questions of power, exclusivity and territoriality. Put simply, for Tunbridge and Ashworth selection is a matter of choice, concerning which heritage and hence whose heritage. These are questions more recently acknowledged by Graham et al. They

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<sup>163</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *ibid*, p. 190; As such, CBH is spared 'Elginist' repatriation claims on geographical grounds.

<sup>164</sup> Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, *op. cit*

<sup>165</sup> Howard P, 2003, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 4 and pp. 147-185

<sup>166</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *ibid*, p. 93

<sup>167</sup> Ashworth G J, Larkham P J, 1994 (eds), *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, London: Routledge

<sup>168</sup> Tunbridge J E, Ashworth G J, 1996, *op. cit.*

<sup>169</sup> The theme of dissonance also appears in Ashworth G J, Larkham P J, 1994, *op. cit*

argue that dissonance cannot be abstracted from questions over who decides what is heritage. Herein the divisive power of heritage is exacerbated through implication in the exclusivity, power and territorial claims that attend the nation-state. Those not subscribing, or embraced within the terms of meaning defining national heritage, are actively or potentially excluded.<sup>170</sup> In this, Graham et al define dissonance as ‘...the mismatch between heritage and people, in space and time’.<sup>171</sup> They elaborate, citing growing social and cultural diversity as the most pervasive causal factor which, they argue, brings about transformation in the way heritage is perceived and in the value systems filtering those perceptions.<sup>172</sup>

Given its impact on heritage ownership and legitimacy claims, identity construction is a concern concurrent to that of dissonance in contemporary heritage discourse.

Tunbridge and Ashworth e.g. qualify their notion of inherent dissonance by drawing a distinction between identity and interpretation. A pluralist society, they argue, amounts to one ‘...in which different groups have no obvious generalised dependencies...and in that broadest sense are social equals’.<sup>173</sup> Howard agrees.<sup>174</sup> In this context the assertion of a heritage identity by one group does not necessarily affect or cause dissonance by depriving others of that heritage. On the contrary, such a society is for Tunbridge and Ashworth capable of accommodating different heritages without discord. They qualify their assertion with a three-fold example. The first is based on mutual indifference exemplified by England’s Polish community. Here, a social group adheres to a distinctive and cohesive identity, quite exclusively from its

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<sup>170</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, op. cit., p. 24

<sup>171</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *ibid*, p. 93

<sup>172</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *ibid*, p. 93

<sup>173</sup> Tunbridge J E, Ashworth G J, 1996, op. cit., p. 30

<sup>174</sup> Howard P, 2003, op. cit., p. 182; Howard agrees citing the Amish and American communities as distinct cultural groups coexisting without discord

host society without threatening or feeling threatened by the legitimacy of that society.<sup>175</sup> The second is tolerant acceptance as of necessity. Developed in the Netherlands to reconcile conflicting Protestant and Catholic social visions, in this model different groups maintain their own completely separate existence, social organisations and histories. This is conditional on mutual acceptance of the need for each group to contribute equally to wider society. The third is a mutuality of esteem leading to mutual association and participation. This Tunbridge and Ashworth illustrate with the example of England's Notting Hill Carnival. In celebration of the heritage of others, diverse heritages are in this model, they claim, not only tolerated but also shared.

Whilst such attitudes may be evolving, they are by no means universal. The latter of Tunbridge and Ashworth's examples in particular is challenged by the views of Claire Holder who runs the Notting Hill Carnival. She asserts that the heritage she is proud of and which, she feels, ought to be protected is the carnival itself. Accordingly, for anyone from the Caribbean it represents, in its 36 years of life, a very important development: 'My ancestors developed this style of carnival because it was particularly significant that they had the freedom to walk the streets'.<sup>176</sup> On the other hand, traditional English heritage embodied by historic houses has a very different resonance for Holder: 'I regard them as part of my heritage but in a negative way. I'm angry that the whole issue of slavery took place and the benefits are all there, stored

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<sup>175</sup> While maintaining their own cultural heritage and political outlook, England's established Polish community, being of little or no interest to the majority, was not deemed a threat to national heritage and identity. This position has been brought into question since the accession of Poland to the European Union in 2004 with the subsequent influx of immigrants raising voices of concern in the British media and among the populace.

<sup>176</sup> BBC Radio 4, 'What is Heritage?' Monday 30<sup>th</sup> October 2000

up in all the stately homes and Houses of Parliament. It's not a heritage you want to celebrate', <sup>177</sup> she argues.

Dissonance in official heritage expression cannot be separated from underlying human diversity. Hence the moral legitimacy of nation states has been brought into question. Accordingly, their association with identity processes renders dominant heritage narratives problematic. Yet the central issue here is that heritage identification need not constitute a threat to marginal groups nor contribute to their sense of exclusion. If, as the above theories suggest, heritage is user determined, only when interpreted as denying or excluding access or inclusion does dispossession and dissonance occur. Contemporary work sees society as constituted by a plurality of cultures, some dominant and some marginal. Yet, as Samuel has recognised, heritage's use in the service of power has long ceased being the sole preserve of dominant classes. Questions remain over the extent and form of exclusion from official CBH narratives among BME groups. While self-differentiated in contrast to national others, their wider exclusion and marginalisation from participation in CBH, though alleged is not unvaryingly affirmed. This brings into question the values underlying calls for more inclusive expressions of what symbolises nationally significant CBH.

### **2.3.6 CBH on the Social Agenda**

Race and multiculturalism (or the politics of difference) drive an extensive albeit protean literature. The body of knowledge provided – despite converging interest in social groups sharing and uniting around experiences of perceived social injustice –

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<sup>177</sup> BBC Radio 4, 2000, *ibid*



appears incoherent. In this it reflects what Bennet sees as differing complexions of ambivalence towards any usage of 'multiculturalism' '...depending on whether the term is regarded as alien or integral to discourses on national identity...' <sup>178</sup> Bennet's misgivings appear well founded. It is true that no universalising theory holds ascendancy here. Much influential work e.g. derives from new world countries and demarcates between the rights of national and immigrant ethnic minorities. The liberal multiculturalism of Rawles <sup>179</sup> and Kymlicka, and communitarian ideals of Taylor <sup>180</sup> are widely disseminated in this vein. Focus for these theorists is oriented towards the rights of indigenous national minority groups involuntarily incorporated into larger states. However, discussion of such international experiences is rare in British multiculturalist literature. Here, discourses are instead characterised principally by concepts arising from reflection and criticism of the British situation alone. For Bhabha, 'Multiculturalism, – a portmanteau term for anything from minority discourse to postcolonial critique, from gay and lesbian studies to chicano/a fiction – has become the most charged sign for describing the scattered social contingencies that characterise contemporary *Kulturkritik*.' <sup>181</sup> Dominating this field are the radical tenets of BBCS, with their lexicon of e.g. liberating blackness, identity struggles and resistance, and articulating oppressed voices. Indeed, Favell goes so far as to argue that the work of Hall has since the 1970s defined the paradigm – the attitude,

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<sup>178</sup> Bennet D, 1998 (ed), *Multicultural States: Rethinking Difference and Identity*, London: Routledge p.3

<sup>179</sup> See e.g. Rawles J, 1993, *Political Liberalism*, New York: Columbia University Press; Kymlicka W, 1989, *Liberalism, Community, and Culture*, Oxford: University Press; Kymlicka W, 'Modernity and National Identity', in Ben-Ami S, Peled Y, Spektorowski A (eds), 2000, *Ethnic Challenges to the Modern Nation State*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press pp. 11-41

<sup>180</sup> See e.g. Taylor C, 'Nationalism and Modernity' in McKim R, McMahan J, 1997 (eds), *The Morality of Nationalism*, Oxford: University Press

<sup>181</sup> Bhabha H, 'Cultures in Between' in Hall and Du Gay, 1996 (eds), op. cit., p. 55

language and theoretical framework of homegrown academic and institutional understandings of multiculturalism in Britain.<sup>182</sup>

### 2.3.6.1 Approaches to Cultural Diversity

If, as is widely argued, heritage's ascendance throughout the 1980s benefited under New Right policies, attacks on the New Right have for a number of years proved fertile territory for a radically politicised literature. It is no surprise to find Hall's address to the 1999 conference *Whose Heritage? The Impact of Cultural Diversity on Britain's Living Heritage*<sup>183</sup> being widely cited as a seminal work in reconfiguring culture and identity.<sup>184</sup>

Hall regards heritage as a racialised concept. Using the term 'the heritage', its present definitions, he argues, offer a '...retrospective, nation-alised and tradition-alised (sic) conception of culture'.<sup>185</sup> As such, the meanings conveyed through heritage expose an aggressive self-aggrandisement of white Englishness to which 'those who cannot see themselves reflected in its mirror cannot properly belong'.<sup>186</sup> The essence of Hall's argument is that those not sharing dominant notions of national heritage on ethnic grounds are inadequately represented in the mirror of culture it conveys. In response Hall, drawing on Anderson's notion of imagined community, sees national heritage not as an immutable entity but a discursive practice constructed as a collective social memory. While seemingly close to Samuel here, he disputes Samuel's theory that

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<sup>182</sup> Favell A, 'Multi-ethnic Britain: An Exception in Europe?': *Patterns of Prejudice*, Institute for Jewish Policy Research, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2001 p. 42

<sup>183</sup> Hall S, 'Whose Heritage? Un-Settling "The Heritage", Re-Imagining the Post-Nation', in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), op. cit., pp, 23-35; originally presented as a keynote speech at the national conference *Whose Heritage? The Impact of Cultural Diversity on Britain's Living Heritage*, G-Mex, Manchester, England, 2 November 1999

<sup>184</sup> Khan N, 'Taking Root in Britain: The Process of Shaping Heritage', in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), *ibid*, p. 139

<sup>185</sup> Hall S, in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005, *ibid*, p. 24

<sup>186</sup> Hall S, 2005, *ibid*, p. 24

democratisation stems from the populace, evolving adequately from awareness of pluralist national pasts. This for Hall merely fosters attachment of other discrete heritages to a majority mainstream version of the past. He acknowledges that democratisation and recognition of 'other' histories has taken place within heritage planning and management developments. For Hall however, these merely mark an unsettling of heritage from its unquestioning representation of white upper and middle class values.

It is this inherent 'whiteness' of heritage that Hall sees as a great unspoken value yet to be addressed in its democratisation. Arguing from a reversed Saidian perspective of a white 'them' and a black 'us',<sup>187</sup> he calls for a more radical post-nation approach to defining heritage and Englishness. Herein, he suggests, there are many different ways of being black; an open agenda is necessary, which grants these not only equal representation but recognition of difference. Hall proposes a four-fold agenda for change. The first involves the reconceptualisation of Englishness in which the margins are rewritten into the centre. By this he means greater recognition of the long history of ethnic minorities contributing to British culture. The second involves more cohesive financial and institutional support and documentation of contemporary black art practitioners. For the third he suggests incorporating the experience of migration itself into recreations of black daily life in Britain. Finally, the fourth would involve a greater awareness of the complex practices of tradition and belief manifest for example through arts, poetry and religion as signifiers of ethnic difference. In brief, Hall's vision of a re-imagined post-national heritage is one in which ethnic minorities

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<sup>187</sup> Said E W, 1985, *Orientalism*, Harmondsworth: Penguin

assert their right to be reflected, ‘...while steadfastly refusing to have to become ‘other’ to belong...’<sup>188</sup>

Whilst influential among academic and other institutional e.g. race relations’ activists, heritage practitioners, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), think tanks and heritage policy specialists, Hall’s views go largely unsupported by credible empirical evidence. In short, little qualitative research has been undertaken which explores the experiential dimensions of BME groups’ exclusion from England’s CBH. Similarly, calls for more inclusive definitions of heritage go hand in hand with recognition of the complexity and multiplicity of values held within contemporary society. Little research has been undertaken to explore how this diversity impacts on the meanings of CBH to people in local community settings.

A number of studies from New World countries identify a need to incorporate within heritage management decisions an understanding of intangible experiences and values associated with physical aspects of heritage. As with multicultural discourse, however, focus here is primarily on concerns of indigenous national minority communities as opposed to those of ethnic minorities. For example, in her study of the heritage of Southeast Queensland’s forests, Powell suggests that local indigenous communities have long considered heritage a holistic entity. In this, she argues, professional heritage experts have much to learn in terms of the identification and management of heritage values.<sup>189</sup> Smith et al agree.<sup>190</sup> In their study of community

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<sup>188</sup> Hall S, 2005, op. cit., p. 35

<sup>189</sup> Powell J, ‘Expanding Horizons: Environmental and Cultural Values within Natural Boundaries’. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2000, pp. 49-65

<sup>190</sup> Smith L, Morgan A, van der Meer A, ‘Community Driven Research in Cultural Heritage Management: The Waanyi Women’s History Project’: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. Vol. 9, No. 1, 2003, pp. 65-80. See also Grimwade G, Carter B, ‘Managing Small Heritage Sites with

involvement in heritage management they advocate the applicability of indigenous interpretations of heritage value as extending beyond those limited by intrinsic tangible or material criteria. Based on a case study using oral history techniques, they suggest that oral histories and experiential aspects surrounding proximity to historic sites over time are as much heritage as the material aspects from which they are derived: 'The significance of heritage does not lie in its materiality or its fabric, but in the cultural and historical processes that give it meaning'.<sup>191</sup>

These qualitative studies offer a challenge to standard notions of what constitutes heritage. Significantly, they also recognise that indigenous communities can be possessive about their heritage; wider public dissemination under these circumstances can be seen as depersonalising and hence devaluing its significance. Translated to the British context, the implications are twofold. Firstly, for the research problem, such reasoning highlights potential for dysfunction between values informing participatory reform measures and those to whom reforms are aimed. Secondly, generically it highlights the particular 'situated' characteristics and need for research into heritage construction under the British reformist paradigm.

#### **2.3.6.2 Heritage Values in the British Context**

Qualitative studies into the meaning of heritage in the British context are scant. Among them, Gard'ner's investigation of heritage protection and social inclusion among East London's Bangladeshi community indicates a number of problems

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Interpretation and Community Involvement': *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2000, pp. 33-48

<sup>191</sup> Smith L, Morgan A, van der Meer A, 2003, *ibid*, p. 75

associated with efforts to mainstream culturally diverse heritage values.<sup>192</sup> Gard'ner focuses on identifying differences between values ascribed to CBH by local community group members and leaders, and those underpinning statutory designations. Unsurprisingly, his findings point to religious buildings and community centres as being among those of prime significance to the local community. These in many cases do not meet current criteria for statutory listing, yet they illustrate the significance of cultural continuity and of function rather than form for informing the value of built structures among BME groups. In this, Pendlebury et al recognise the difficulty in redefining CBH to reflect the values of BME groups within society.<sup>193</sup> Situating their discussion on heritage and social inclusion within the framework provided by recent DCMS and EH policy documents, Pendlebury et al note confusion in the latter's strategic direction. Principally, they identify two strands of potentially inclusive activity through which institutional clarity might be attained: these equate to a fusion of CBH's role as 'historic place' and 'opportunity space'. Taken together, it is suggested, a broader view of what constitutes CBH might be countenanced on grounds of bringing communities and heritage decision makers closer together. Recognising how, as historic place, CBH's capacity to reflect BME values appears limited (these often relating to non built heritage), only with this level of consultation will further exclusionary practices – e.g. through gentrification – be avoided. In short, by indicating potential limits to CBH's use to pursue social objectives, Pendlebury et al provide a corrective to recent policy documents which uncritically reflect the reformist paradigm.

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<sup>192</sup> Gard'ner J M, 'Heritage Protection and Social Inclusion: A Case Study from the Bangladeshi Community of East London': *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2004, pp. 75-92

<sup>193</sup> Pendlebury J, Townshend T, Gilroy R, 'The Conservation of English Cultural Built Heritage: A Force for Social Inclusion?': *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2004, pp. 11-31

Pendlebury et al's work reflects a number of issues raised in MORI's 2000 report *Attitudes Towards the Heritage*. Carried out on behalf of EH's *Power of Place* survey, MORI's objectives were to establish:

- General perceptions/attitudes towards the concept of heritage and what it means to people
- People's participation in heritage activities
- Attitudes towards the heritage among people of ethnic minority background<sup>194</sup>

Based on a combination of quantitative survey and qualitative focus group methods, MORI's key point summary highlights the personal nature of heritage conceptualisations. Significantly, these exist not at the forefront of people's minds but are subject to deeply held, subconscious values. For BME groups this translates to a preference for personal and familial heritage associated with their distinct ways of life, rather than for built forms, which in contrast mean little. Linking these findings to what they define as a 'need for meaning'<sup>195</sup> within contemporary English society, MORI suggest that traditional institutions have become less significant in national life, leading individuals to seek new frames of reference for self-identification. In this, MORI conclude, the onus is on heritage producers to rethink the way they interpret and market heritage: 'In a culture which is relying increasingly on being spoon-fed education and entertainment, this implies that there needs to be a fundamental shift in how heritage is presented to the public'.<sup>196</sup> However, while pointing out the irrelevance of much existing CBH to BME groups, the survey offers little insight into

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<sup>194</sup> MORI, 2000, *Attitudes Towards the Heritage*, London: English Heritage, Preface, p. 1, accessible online at <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/default.asp?wci=WebItem&WCE=157> (accessed 30/01/03)

<sup>195</sup> MORI, 2000, *ibid*, Key Point Summary, p. 1

<sup>196</sup> MORI, 2000, *ibid*, Key Point Summary, p. 3

how this might be addressed, or subsequent benefits of such a shift. Indeed, beyond broadening definitions to encompass everyday built surroundings, its suggestions for making heritage relevant are limited to building upon BME groups' existing cultural interests and explaining these to the wider English public.<sup>197</sup> In summary, whilst being a keystone of ensuing heritage sector policy statements (addressed more appropriately in Chapter 3), the value of MORI's survey is intellectually limited in two ways: firstly in its methodological approach, which lacks qualitative rigour; secondly in its stemming from the heritage sector itself. Both are reflected in its focus on heritage as a visitor oriented economic activity, rather than a subject of conceptual analysis in its own right. Though recognising a need to move beyond the 'regeneration rhetoric' of instrumentally driven arguments, beyond a suite of potential indicators for measuring the social benefits of heritage, the joint Institute of Field Archaeologists (IFA) and Atkins Heritage project for the National Trust (NT) *Measuring the Social Contribution of the Historic Environment* offers little new in this respect.<sup>198</sup> In short, despite MORI's report and ensuing institutional polemics for access to CBH as a common cultural 'good', conceptual understanding of how or why this should be so remains lacking.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> MORI, 2000, *ibid*, Making the Heritage Relevant – Qualitative, p. 1

<sup>198</sup> IFA and Atkins Heritage, 2004, *Measuring the Social Contribution of the Historic Environment*, IFA and Atkins Heritage

<sup>199</sup> Though offering little new beyond a reworking of established theories surrounding heritage hegemonies, among emerging work at the time of this thesis's submission, Smith's notion of Authorised Heritage Discourses (AHD's) re-emphasises how the construction of official heritage narratives - implicated in e.g. the reinforcement of nationalist, aesthetic, racial and class elites – raise potential for conflict with the alternative, resistant or 'subaltern' narratives of culturally distinct resident and visitor groups. See e.g. Smith L, 2006, *Uses of Heritage*, London: Routledge, p. 4 and esp. pp. 29-43



### **2.3.6.3 Conclusion**

This chapter has set the theoretical foundation for the thesis. In so doing it has identified and re(defined) fields of interest explicit to investigating the research problem. The latter, briefly restated is: how compliant with values underlying CBH access and participatory reforms are the values of groups and individuals at whom those reforms are aimed?

To date no literature has questioned the credentials on which hegemonic and exclusionary claims-making surrounding CBH are based. In particular, it does not address the issue of the extent to which BME groups and individuals feel inherently marginalized or excluded from participatory access in national CBH. This brings into question values underlying calls for more inclusive expressions of what symbolises nationally significant CBH. Again, no research exists in this regard, or to support claims that CBH contributes to social inclusion or cohesion and is inherently important to human and social well-being. Despite acknowledging heritage as a social construct, no existing research addresses how BME groups forge their values and meanings with regard to CBH. In short, how is CBH defined and given meaning, and how and why is it contested under conditions of cultural diversity?

These are the issues researched in later chapters. The following chapter begins this process by conceptualising notions of CBH to define and delimit the field of investigation.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **HERITAGE PERCEIVED – MAPPING THE HERITAGE PROCESS**

## **CHAPTER 3: HERITAGE PERCEIVED – MAPPING THE HERITAGE PROCESS**

### **3.1 Introduction:**

The previous chapter established the theoretical background to the thesis. Drawing on that background, the purpose of this chapter is to conceptualise CBH and so consolidate the field of research. It achieves this by positioning notions of English CBH and the ‘ways of seeing’ through which they are shaped into an appropriate historical and theoretical context. The aim of this chapter is thus to concisely map the heritage process, and in so doing conceptualise and consolidate delimitations around the post-modern ‘cultural turn’-inspired CBH model tested in this thesis.

There has long existed a hierarchy of official/unofficial heritage. This research explores tensions in the synthesis of producer aims and consumer requirements by testing the extent to which post-modern notions of CBH are shared at local community level. In proceeding, the key question to be addressed is: as a socially constructed process and core constituent of identity, to what extent has social and cultural change influenced attitudes towards national CBH in terms of what it is and its significance in people’s lives?

#### **3.1.1 The Heritage Process in Context**

Concepts of value and meaning underlie prevailing notions of CBH, reflecting the dominance of social constructivism within post-modern humanities and social science theory. This has resulted in the erosion of previously dominant notions of heritage value as intrinsic to the physical fabric itself, indicating a shift in taste and ideological

paradigms. Such paradigms are themselves products of particular ideologies specific to time and place and hence to their own political and socio-cultural context.

Therefore CBH's recontextualisation as an agent of social reform is but one of many facets of its appropriation and use for specific purposes over time and cultural change, thus pointing to the social construction of CBH not as a recent but a historical phenomenon.

By implication, heritage has always been a process rather than a fixed set of ideas with static meaning. In turn, as a measure of what constitutes nationally significant CBH, it is less the historic built environment itself that changes but the values with which it is held. In this sense, variations in consciousness of historical legacies invariably occur over time. Consequently, charting evolving attitudes towards the past and its material remains draws disparity as well as parity with contemporary conceptualisations of heritage. For example, some of the earliest documented illustrations of heritage consciousness of any kind are those tracing their lineage to the medieval period. Yet this was an era marked by indifference toward historic buildings. At the same time, hagiographies and pilgrimages are widely cited as early illustrations of heritage awareness. Harvey refers to the former – used to legitimate Christian belief – as representing an early indication of heritage's use as a form of cultural power: by instilling a particular relationship with the past, specific sites were imbued with significance, religious cults enlarged and pilgrimage generated.<sup>1</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup> See Harvey D C, 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies': *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2001 p. 332; see also Harvey D C, 'Landscape Organisation, Identity and Change: Territoriality and Hagiography in Medieval West Cornwall', *Landscape Research*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2000, pp. 201-212; Abou-El Haj B, 1997, *The Medieval Cult of Saints, Formations and Transformations*, Cambridge: University Press, pp. 7-32. Whilst superficially dissimilar to built heritage, the medieval pilgrimage marks an important link between heritage awareness and travel. As such, they are widely considered analogous to the modern tourism industry of which built heritage is an important component. See e.g. Fladmark J M, 1998 (ed), *In Search of Heritage: As Pilgrim or Tourist?* Shaftsbury: Donhead

process was based on subjective interpretations of historical events within the (then) present time. Historically, it is apparent that conceptions of the cultural and material past were infused with historical narratives. Moreover, the use and interpretation of those narratives bore comparison to contemporary heritage representations. In this sense, Tunbridge and Ashworth's earlier cited definition of heritage as a 'contemporary product shaped from history' is fitting:<sup>2</sup> here, the subjectivity of heritage is clearly communicated; furthermore, it is seen as defined with reference to the present – in whatever period that present actually is. This assertion substantiates the one made above; namely that the process of heritage construction is nothing new and is indeed a historical phenomenon.

As a social construct, heritage and society exist only in each other's presence. This being so, it is only through the complex webs of history, culture and power that their past, present and indeed future relationships can be understood. The notion of subjective interpretations of the past – filtered through reference to contemporary conditions over time – is suggestive of a long-standing 'heritage of built heritage'.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, England's built legacy spans social developments ancient and modern. Therefore it resonates with, as Ashworth puts it, '...the many different voices that have ascribed meaning to it over time'.<sup>4</sup> However, with its value being 'multivocal',<sup>5</sup> attitudes towards the material past reflect fragmented and piecemeal 'ways of seeing' rather than coherent linear progression. Determining what, in any given place and

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<sup>2</sup> Tunbridge J E, Ashworth G J, 1996, *Dissonant Heritage*, The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, p. 20

<sup>3</sup> Harvey uses the term 'heritage of heritage' in discussing the inadequate temporal dimensions of prevailing heritage analyses. See Harvey D C, 2001, op. cit., p. 337

<sup>4</sup> Ashworth G J, 'Heritage, Identity and Interpreting a European Sense of Place', in Uzzel D, Ballantyne R, 1998 (eds), *Contemporary Issues in Heritage and Environmental Interpretation*, London: TSO, p. 113

<sup>5</sup> Graham in his analysis of Ireland's cultural geography uses the notion of 'multivocal' landscapes in reference to the multilayered meanings inscribed within both natural and physical landscape features. Graham B, 1997, *In Search of Ireland: A Cultural Geography*, London: Routledge, p. 3

time, constitutes national CBH, is thus fraught with complexity.<sup>6</sup> In this, an in-depth historiography of the heritage process is outside the requirements and remit of this thesis.<sup>7</sup> Whilst not a definitive account, the following critique will suffice to map interest in and concern for England's historic built environment as motivated by the context of its contemporaneous interpretation.

Divisions between historical time periods are an arbitrary but nonetheless entirely appropriate means of simplifying referral to the past.<sup>8</sup> The principal sphere of interest lies with national CBH narratives or, more precisely, with their value and meaning at sub-national, local community level. This being so is illustrative of currently dominant intellectual and political discourses driven by a new moral earnestness concerning participatory access and social exclusion – and hence ownership of the past. These discourses in turn reflect not only long-entrenched disputes surrounding repatriation of artefacts as characterised by 'Elginism'.<sup>9</sup> Rather, they reflect concerns over the relevance of existing heritage narratives to societies very different to those in which the physical legacies of the past originated. For the heritage sector this has led to questioning what constitutes value, and in particular, whose heritage those values represent. The central point here is that this values-based, 'cultural turn'-inspired vision of heritage is but one way of seeing, yet it has come to dominate others. To

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<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, positioning CBH accurately within its historical narrative is itself problematic; much depends on the availability of corroborative evidence. From the early historical period in particular little documentary evidence is available. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century most of what has been written consists of official accounts and views of the educated elite.

<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, this is a task sufficiently achieved elsewhere: See for example Walsh K 1992, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-modern World*, London: Routledge; Larkham 1996, *Conservation and The City*, London: Routledge; Hunter M, 1996 (ed), *Preserving the Past: The Rise of Heritage in Modern Britain*, Stroud: Alan Sutton; Lowenthal D, 1998, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge: University Press; Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, *European Heritage Planning and Management*, Exeter: Intellect

<sup>8</sup> Ashworth and Howard describe the practice of demarcating the past by eras or periods as 'a device imposed by the present as an instrument for simplification and understanding': Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, *ibid*, p. 35

<sup>9</sup> Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, *ibid*, p. 76; Lowenthal D, 1998, *op. cit.*, p. 244

understand how and why this should be so requires appraisal of its lineage as part of broader changes in the conceptualisation of CBH.

### **3.2 Mapping the Heritage Process**

England's CBH as it exists today is a product of complex webs of group and individual consciousness, selection, intervention and protection. In this sense, the 'construction' of CBH implies some form of prescribed intervention. The reality is less coherent. As Graham et al reflect, apart from religious buildings benefiting from continuous maintenance, most of England's historic buildings are chance survivals rather than products of deliberate selection and preservation.<sup>10</sup> The latter is an idea dating only from the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century and associated with early prophets of preservation – a small but influential elite – rather than public support or statutory legislative frameworks.

This point further illustrates how notions of CBH are largely inconsistent with sequential criteria. A more informed critique takes account of heritage construction's interdependence on preservationist sentiment, protective legislature and public opinion. Ennen's notion of 'time pictures' is fitting in this regard and for ease of reference is appropriated and adapted for use here.<sup>11</sup> Offering greater flexibility than historiography narratives, these facilitate bracketing of historical periods with key events or attitudinal changes, concomitant with notions of heritage being differently 'pictured' at different times. Here, four broadly defined time contexts are sufficient: the early, pre-awareness phase (Romanesque era to the 17<sup>th</sup> century); the pre-

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<sup>10</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, London: Arnold, p. 13

<sup>11</sup> Ennen E., 1999, *Heritage in Fragments: The Meaning of Pasts for City Centre Residents*, Groningen: Nederlandse Geografische Studies, pp. 29-34

interventionist phase of heritage consciousness (17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries); the interventionist phase of heritage inventory (19<sup>th</sup> century) and the phase of protection (20<sup>th</sup> century to date).

### **3.2.1 The Pre-awareness Phase: From the Romanesque Era to the 17<sup>th</sup> Century**

The Romanesque era is marked by little historical consciousness, with only powerful institutions such as the Church, the Crown and nobility offering any documentary evidence. Greater significance was placed upon modern architecture, with bricks and tiles often reused from Roman sites. In the wake of the Norman invasion an extensive programme of ecclesiastical building replaced what was perceived as outmoded Saxon architecture.

Similarly, the medieval era, despite the hagiographies and pilgrimages mentioned above, offers little evidence to support the notion of built heritage existing at this time. At the height of monastic expansion during the late 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries wealth from agriculture and rents led to building on a grand scale. Following dissolution in 1536-1540 however, the structures were not valued for their historical significance. Conversely, their materials and fittings were largely quarried for reuse in new buildings elsewhere.

Tudor policy during the early Classical era saw England ecclesiastically, intellectually as well as geographically isolated from mainstream European Renaissance culture.<sup>12</sup>

Preference remained with the modern, with conscious efforts to restore classical standards and motifs limited to wealthy patrons and architects. Accordingly, medieval

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<sup>12</sup> Fuelled e.g. by the religious wars leading to the Reformation, accomplished through acts of Parliament during 1532-36, as well as military campaigns in France and Spain. See e.g. Davies N, 1997, *Europe: A History*, Oxford: University Press, pp. 545-549



buildings were cosmetically updated or rebuilt in classical style rather than valued in their own right.<sup>13</sup>

### **3.2.2 The Awakening of Heritage Consciousness in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

The early 17<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a small but significant indication of consciousness and appreciation of the built past. This was manifest through the building of what later became known as follies, as an indulgence of the wealthy. Begun in 1612, the rebuilt Norman motte and bailey castle at Bolsover, Derbyshire is an early example. The point of note here – in what must be one of the first instances of Gothic revivalist sentiment in England – is the self-conscious (re)interpretation of the distant past to provide a personal legacy in the then present.

More publicly nonetheless, awareness and regard for historic buildings remained negligible. The focus of grandiose architectural schemes typifying this era centred instead on the new and the innovative; particularly the foreign influenced neo-classical structures of Inigo Jones (c.1620-1660) and the later Baroque (c.1660-1720).

However, these schemes in themselves convey a significant development. As Ashworth and Howard recognise, they mark an expression of awareness, at least in the eyes of the state, of the potential of buildings to lend prestige to the urban

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<sup>13</sup> Longleat in Wiltshire was a small medieval priory. Enlarged and rebuilt in 1567 but using a medieval floorplan, it offers the earliest surviving example of English Renaissance architecture. Henry VIII maintained a large medieval court, a practice continued by his successors. The medieval floor plan was better suited to courtier buildings used in this way than more symmetrical Renaissance designs. Thus, medieval design was maintained more for its functional value than any appreciation of its heritage. See Durant N D, 1992, *The Handbook of British Architectural Styles*, London: Barrie & Jenkins, pp. 78-79

landscape, and hence indirectly to those in positions of civic authority. Consequently, this points to the 'subconscious economic appreciation of heritage'.<sup>14</sup>

The 18<sup>th</sup> century was the great age of the show house, where the taste for architectural modernity still prevailed.<sup>15</sup> Designed as showplaces, houses were displays not only of wealth and power but also of the taste of the owner. In this sense, increased prosperity rendered landowners eager to replace rather than preserve what they perceived as old-fashioned, e.g. Tudor or Jacobean mansions.

Country houses featured on the early tourist map of England, appearing in travel and guidebooks. Country house visiting became popular among the emergent leisured and mobile classes. However, for visitors as well as for owners, nostalgia for the past was still not a prerequisite. As Ousby notes, neo-classical styles, often built within the visitor's own lifetime, if not still in the process of construction, were admired over those of the past.<sup>16</sup>

The 18<sup>th</sup> century was also epitomised by the popularity of the Grand Tour. Country houses formed repositories for artefacts and art collections brought back from the continent. Often, these collections attracted and impressed visitors more than the buildings that housed them.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, op. cit., p. 36

<sup>15</sup> Ousby I, 1990, *The Englishman's England: Taste Travel and the Rise of Tourism*, Cambridge: University Press, p. 63

<sup>16</sup> Ousby I, 1990, *ibid*, p. 69

<sup>17</sup> Ousby again notes how in the early guidebooks on country houses, information was scant when it came to their architecture, yet precise and detailed in their account of their art collections: Ousby I, 1990, *ibid*, p. 74

The Georgian period witnessed the Age of Enlightenment. The result was the propagation of certain attitudes and ideals that would have far-reaching political and social consequences during the succeeding centuries. The most significant was a belief in the idea of progress and a concomitant disposition to reform or discard existing institutions or practices in pursuit of ‘rationalist’ progress.<sup>18</sup> Herein, the drive for reason and order depended on new methods for its correct application. The result was manifest in burgeoning scientific histories including archaeology and the history of art, leading to the systematic cataloguing and definition of styles and periods. As Ashworth and Howard again reflect, this marked the first documented awareness of historical periods; each with a beginning and an end and each leaving behind a physical legacy of its passing. Consequently, while their study remained the preserve of the wealthy and educated elite, monuments to the past gave, for the first time, tangible meaning to the concept of heritage.<sup>19</sup>

Born of Enlightenment’s critical perspective on the perceived regressive influences of tradition, aristocratic privilege and institutional religion, the French revolution of 1789 influenced attitudes far beyond France itself. In France, rather than their wholesale destruction, appropriation of the built legacy of the aristocracy by the people was seen as marking the legitimate transference of power. Accordingly, as Lowenthal points out, realisation of public possession ‘...raised these relics from reminders of aristocratic rule to emblems of an inclusive national saga’.<sup>20</sup> Thus were attained the Enlightenment’s moral ideals of a freer, more equal society and a new,

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<sup>18</sup> These rationalist ideals embrace a broad segment of political and intellectual spectrum, including liberal reformism and Marxist socialism. As such, they continue to underlie much of the current heritage reform agenda.

<sup>19</sup> Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, op. cit., p. 36

<sup>20</sup> Lowenthal D, 1998, op. cit., p. 63; Colley L, 1992, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, New Haven: Yale University Press

rights-based notion of culture. Herein, events of this era are generally considered as signalling the birth of nationalism as a self-conscious political project, and with it the first publicly held conception of a state-protected, common national heritage.<sup>21</sup>

Whilst revolution shaped the idea of national heritage in France, in England cultural ownership from private to public devolved more slowly. Landed elites required stability and public allegiance to maintain their position. In some measure they found it in anti-French sentiment during the Napoleonic wars of 1793-1815. Country houses and their treasures thus assumed the mantle of national possessions, with the privilege of private ownership bestowing upon the elite the additional responsibility of public stewardship.<sup>22</sup>

In the wake of the revolution, the Napoleonic wars rendered the continent inaccessible to travellers, fuelling interest in all things English. Accordingly, country house visiting extended to a public infused with a renewed sense of patriotism. Ultimately this change, driven by burgeoning industrial revolution, led to pride in material progress becoming tainted with disquiet concerning its materialist consequences; many people ascribed to the past virtues which they felt were lost in the present. Accordingly, the earliest preservationist voices in England came in reaction to thoughtless destruction of relics of the past in the name of progress. As early as 1789 the antiquary John Carter lamented ‘...the innovating system of improving (as it is called) our cities and towns’.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> See e.g. Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, op. cit., pp. 36-37

<sup>22</sup> See e.g. Lowenthal D, 1998, op. cit., pp. 64-65

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Hunter M, ‘The Decline of the Destructive Spirit’, *New Statesman*: Living History: The Present State of Our Past, special supplement, London: 2003, p, viii

This preservationist sentiment found its most visible manifestation in late 18<sup>th</sup> century Romantic reaction to Enlightenment values. Romanticism was characterised by its rejection of foreign influenced precepts of order, symmetry and rationality.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, it allied itself to historicist values, denoting the first significant shift towards awareness and nostalgia for the physical remnants of England's medieval built heritage. Hence, while travel remained the preserve of the wealthy, Gothic ruins perceived as the true English architectural style now became worthy of their attention.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, the vogue among landowners for the building of neo-gothic follies to enhance their landscape parks reached its peak at this time.

### **3.2.3 The Interventionist Phase of Heritage Preservation in the 19th Century**

The 19<sup>th</sup> century bore witness to a continuing rise in nationalist sentiment. With rapid industrialisation came increased urbanisation. The pace of change rendered the past ever more distant, as the destruction of historic buildings, monuments and landscapes made way for the new,<sup>26</sup> resulting in growing disquiet among a small but influential elite, which – as Lowenthal remarks – would later foster ‘...attachment to ancient monuments as symbols of national identity’.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, for the first time built

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<sup>24</sup> Romanticism was an attitude or intellectual orientation that characterised many works of architecture, literature, art and music from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. Romanticism emphasised the individual, the subjective and the transcendental. It was to a large degree a reaction against the ideals of the Enlightenment and against 18<sup>th</sup> century rationalism and physical materialism in general.

<sup>25</sup> The ability to travel did filter down to a wider social sector during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was prompted in part by the literary influences of the Romantic and Picturesque movements, combined with educational reform and industrialisation of the printing process.

<sup>26</sup> The Great Exhibitions in London (1851) and Paris (1867) marked the economic supremacy and progressive accomplishments of both host nations. At the same time, as Hunter reflects, they marked the awakening of interest in vernacular architecture and folk culture as epitomising national identity, as already observed in the Scandinavian countries. Hunter M, 1996 (ed), *Preserving the Past: The Rise of Heritage in Modern Britain*, Stroud: Alan Sutton, p. 5; Stratton M, ‘Open-air Museums: Windows onto a Lost World or Graveyards for Unloved Buildings?’ Hunter M, 1996 (ed), *ibid*, pp. 156-176

<sup>27</sup> Lowenthal D, ‘Natural and Cultural Heritage’: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2005, p. 83

heritage assumed meaning not only as a symbol of collective identity but also of perceived national continuity and potential brake against change.

Movement against change, however, required preservationist intervention. This was created not from a populist outpouring of public sentiment but by a small group of intellectuals from the world of art and literary criticism, namely John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896). Ruskin's preservationist tenets traversed technical and conceptual aspects of heritage consciousness. For example, his precept that the 'greatest glory of a building is its age', advocated minimal restorative intervention rather than wholesale, often unsympathetic restoration 'a la mode'.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, buildings were for Ruskin 'events as well as structures',<sup>29</sup> implying that as physical expressions of social development and cultural change, they were in principle a common inheritance. 'We have no right to touch them. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us'.<sup>30</sup> In this, Ruskin's thinking – if not his practice – marked the emergence of modernist notions of built heritage as a public legacy, of benefit to all successors.<sup>31</sup>

Much influenced by Ruskin, Morris too deemed unsympathetic restoration damaging to the patina of age, which he thought fundamental to the integrity and meaning of historic buildings. Following precepts comparable with these underlying present-day conservation attitudes, he instead advocated regular maintenance as the most practical and economic form of preservation. He considered incessant and insensitive church

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<sup>28</sup> Restoration 'a la mode' was a concept associated with the Frenchman Eugène Viollet-le-Duc.

<sup>29</sup> Bruns G, 'The Formal Nature of Victorian Thinking', *PMLA*, Vol. 90, 1975, p. 912

<sup>30</sup> Ruskin J, 1989 (originally published 1887), *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, New York: Dover Publications, p. 197

<sup>31</sup> Lowenthal D, 1998, *op. cit.*, p. 67

restorations in particular as destructive of original detailing. Morris, who was provoked into mobilizing public opinion, vehemently opposed such ‘improvements’. A socialist and pioneer of the preservation movement, he formed England’s first national amenity society, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in 1877.<sup>32</sup> Rather than directly galvanizing public opinion, SPAB, like other national amenity societies that followed, was particularly influential in its lobbying and educational capacity.<sup>33</sup> Preservationist sentiment, however, was slow to filter through to state-based intervention. English society was founded on land and property ownership. Legislation to preserve buildings in the public interest would therefore necessarily place restrictions on the rights of individual property owners. Tensions in this synthesis of public/private interests could be addressed only by measured and continuous (re)appraisal of public opinion. Consequently, as relics of the built past became perceived as significant enough to inspire appreciation, restriction of property rights became justifiable in the wider public interest.<sup>34</sup>

After a number of failed attempts to introduce heritage protection acts, gradual change towards state-based legislation was manifest in the 1882 Ancient Monuments Protection Act. This was the first formal statutory protection afforded the historic built environment in England. The 1882 Act marked the first recognition of the need for governmental administration to protect built heritage and provided for a schedule of

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<sup>32</sup> See e.g. Miele C, ‘The First Conservation Militants: William Morris and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings’, in Hunter M, 1996 (ed), op. cit., pp. 17-37

<sup>33</sup> Black G, The Conservation of the Built Environment in the UK, in Phelps A, Ashworth G J, Johansson B O H, 2002, *The Construction of Built Heritage: A North European Perspective on Policies, Practices and Outcomes*, Aldershot: Ashgate, p. 16. Howard notes how the decision making process in amenity societies seldom reflects public consensus. As a result, organisations such as SPAB can be deemed as representing an effective means of mobilising expert opinion on conservation or, on the contrary, as a means of mobilising and retaining intellectual control of heritage. Howard P, 2003, *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*, London: Continuum, p. 40

<sup>34</sup> Hunter M, 1996 (ed), op. cit., p. 1. The history of government intervention in heritage has been well documented.

significant sites which, with the agreement of the owners, could be taken into public guardianship. Though limited to monuments rather than inhabited structures, their protection, as Hunter remarks, ‘...provided a seedbed for seeing such monuments as especially precious, and hence the state as having a role in guarding them...’<sup>35</sup> These events mark the first common awakening of national heritage sentiment and the significance of its guardianship in legitimating the state’s position.

During the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century concern to preserve national heritage gained political momentum. Protecting built heritage was not, however, the underlying motivation behind the founding of the National Trust (NT) in 1895.<sup>36</sup> Instead, and despite its founders’ elite social standing, it emerged primarily from socialist reaction against urban development and private land ownership. The NTs’ early concern centred on protecting and providing public access to open spaces.<sup>37</sup> Its remit extended through acquisition of, at first, mainly small buildings; a shift recognised by the first National Trust Act in 1907, which empowered it to promote ‘...the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty or historic interests’.<sup>38</sup>

### **3.2.4 Heritage and Social Change in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

#### **3.2.4.1 The Development of Heritage Legislation**

The 1908 appointment of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) (RCHME) marked a significant step in the creation of legal and practical frameworks

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<sup>35</sup> Hunter M, 1996 (ed), *ibid*, p. 5

<sup>36</sup> Formally: The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty

<sup>37</sup> See e.g. Hewison R, 1987, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, London: Methuen, pp. 56-67; Samuel R, 1996, *Theatres of Memory, Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, London: Verso, esp. pp 297-298; Howard P, 2003, *op. cit.*, p. 36

<sup>38</sup> Hewison R, 1987, *ibid*, p. 57; National Trust website <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-trust/w-thecharity.htm>, accessed 20/4/06; Britannica DVD, 2000



to protect England's historic built environment. Their first responsibility set down by the Royal Warrant was:

‘To make an inventory of the ancient and historical monuments and constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilisation and conditions of life of the people of England, excluding Monmouthshire, from the earliest times to the year 1700, and to specify those which seem most worthy of preservation.’<sup>39</sup>

Inventories were compiled on a county basis, with no monument included that had not been inspected in person by the Commission. As Ashworth and Howard reflect, questions over who would carry out the inspection and by which criteria a building would be included were at the time unproblematic. Inspection would be by professional ‘expert’ and criteria for inclusion were principally: age, aesthetic value and historical significance – e.g. through association with nationally important individuals or events.<sup>40</sup> Despite growing consensus as regards the protection of the built environment through legislation, the actual range of buildings and level of protection afforded remained limited. The Ancient Monuments Act of 1900 extended the range of antiquities covered by its 1882 predecessor. Nevertheless, like the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act that followed in 1913, it extended protection only to monuments – in other words ruins or earthworks – rather than buildings actually used or inhabited. Only with the introduction in 1932 of the Town and Country Planning Act did local authorities gain power to extend protection to inhabited buildings and groups of buildings. The Town and Country Planning Act

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<sup>39</sup> Royal Commission on Historic Monuments of England, Annual Report 1998/9, London: RCHME, p. 6

<sup>40</sup> Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, op. cit., p. 42

was amended in 1944 and 1947, introducing the principle of listing historic buildings to inhibit their destruction or alteration.<sup>41</sup> The Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act followed in 1953. This was established in the wake of the Gowers Report and remains the foundation of state preservation today.<sup>42</sup> Early focus centred on country house preservation, with Historic Buildings Councils (HBCs) – comprised of experts and owners – established and empowered for the first time to distribute treasury funded maintenance and repair grants.

#### **3.2.4.2 Evolving Attitudes towards the Country House as a National Legacy**

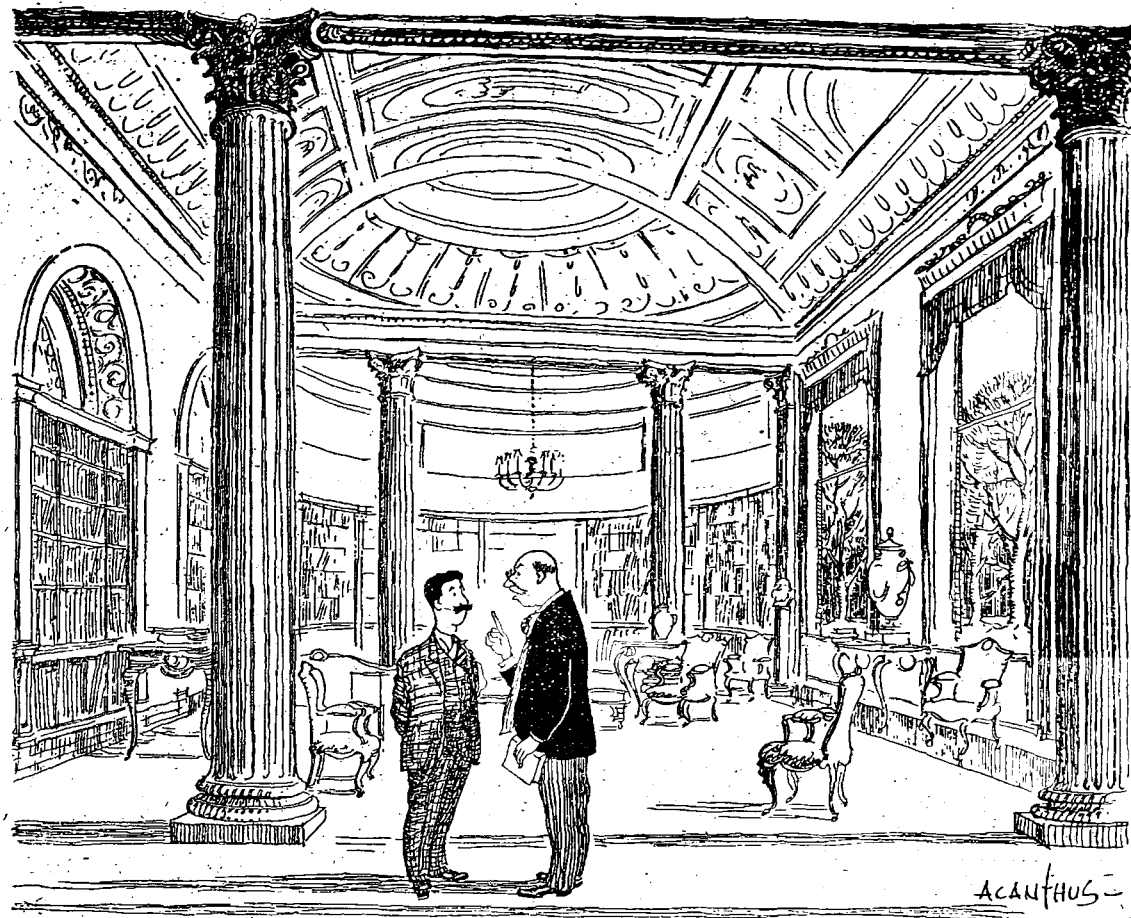
As can be seen, throughout the heritage process, evolving approaches to its protection reflect changing attitudes to what constituted heritage itself. This in turn increasingly depended on the support of public opinion. In this, from one-time showplace of the landed elite, the country house had never unvaryingly gained heritage standing in its own right. Ravaged by the social and economic impact of death duties, late 19<sup>th</sup> century agricultural depression and the First World War, landed estates and their houses fared particularly badly in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The story of their revival and elevation in the public imagining as symbols of England's cultural heritage is well documented. However, it is significant so it is précised here.

Recognising their plight, and itself short of funds in the 1920s, the NT shifted its activities towards the country house. In 1931 it secured tax relief from the Treasury for property owners willing to donate property to the Trust. Subsequently, emphasis shifted fully to the acquisition of country houses, following formation of the

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<sup>41</sup> The amendment of 1944 was principally a manifesto for radical post-war planning improvements afforded by the Blitz, and requiring a list of what should be kept and or reinstated. See Saint A, 'How Listing Happened', in Hunter M, 1996 (ed), op. cit., pp. 115-133

<sup>42</sup> The Gowers Report was commissioned following the establishment in 1948 of the Committee on Houses of Outstanding Historic or Architectural Interest. The report was published in 1950 and is considered significant in advancing the view that country houses were part of English national culture.



*"This is my last warning, Charles. If you do not mend your ways I shall leave the estate to you instead of to the National Trust."*

Figure 1: A light-hearted view of the NT's new role as guardian of the country house (source: *Punch*, 22/01/1947 p.90)

Trust's Country House Committee in 1936. Under the tutelage of James Lees-Milne, this led to revision of the National Trust Act in 1937 and subsequent inauguration of the Country House Scheme in the same year. The essence of the scheme was the founding of covenants by which owners could remain in residence, ensuring their – and their heirs' – continuity of tenure in exchange for limited public access. Through ensuing decades the scheme has continued, and with Treasury support, enables property to be relinquished to the National Trust in lieu of tax (see Fig. 1).

Thus, within the heritage process, the story of the country house is significant. Five counts in particular are pertinent to this thesis. Firstly, it marks the stage – later

reinforced by the Gowers Report – where in the public imagining the country house came to epitomise notions of England and its CBH. Secondly, it illustrates how this public imagining is itself created by external intervention. Thirdly, it indicates a significant ideological shift in the values and activities of a major national conservation body. Fourthly, it illustrates how the evolution of national CBH consciousness and the agenda for its preservation are synchronous rather than separate entities; those defining what constitutes national CBH setting the agenda for what should be preserved. Fifthly, it sets the scene against which heritage has been perceived as a medium for perpetuating hegemonic, elite values at public expense.<sup>43</sup> Encapsulated by Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, though at a less abstract level, both Samuel and Howard refer to this widely held perception as 'conspiracy theory'.<sup>44</sup>

### **3.2.4.3 Broadening the Notion of CBH under Social Change**

However, irrespective of the motives behind its protection, CBH has long ceased to be the sole preserve of the elite. For example, the years immediately following the Second World War saw a rise in grassroots interest in heritage and architecture. Marked by wide scale social and industrial modernisation, the age of the progressive society also witnessed burgeoning interest in industrial and vernacular heritage. Similarly, road building and increased car ownership, while outwardly detrimental to CBH, paradoxically furthered its democratisation, rendering its preservation an urban rather than rural cause.<sup>45</sup> The impact of war damage in towns and cities and threat of radical and unsympathetic redevelopment (see Fig.2) also coincided with the proliferation of local civic societies. These gained national representation in 1957

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<sup>43</sup> Typified by the works of e.g. Wright P, 1985, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain*, London: Verso and Hewison R, 1987, op. cit.

<sup>44</sup> Samuel R, 1996, op. cit., p. 242, 264; Howard P, 2003, op. cit., p. 36-39

<sup>45</sup> Samuel R, 1996, *ibid*, esp. pp. 236, 242-253



**Figure 2: Demolition of Euston Arch, London, in 1962 (source: Alamy Images, [www.alamy.com](http://www.alamy.com))**

group rather than individual value of buildings. The idea gained legislative support, empowering local authorities to identify and declare ‘Conservation Areas’ following establishment of the Civic Amenities Act in 1967.

‘Conservation’ as opposed to ‘preservation’ developed in the spirit of the post-war era. The act of protecting large tracts of the historic urban environment signalled a shift from earlier notions of heritage as a limited resource, defined only by measurable intrinsic criteria. Preservation at this scale was not justified on grounds of continued existence alone. Continued useful existence was the solution. Burke’s notion of ‘preserving purposefully’ exemplifies this shift in emphasis from form to function in the preservation decision-making process.<sup>47</sup> Subsequently, heritage shifted from being principally a concern of historians or architects to one incorporating practice-based planning and management sectors. The post-war era thus marked the transition from preservation to more active and socially progressive conservation. In so doing, it signalled awareness that CBH and its conservation could be exploited to confer

<sup>46</sup> Civic Trust website: <http://www.civictrust.org.uk/about/index.shtml>, accessed 19/02/04. As Andreae reminds us, a product of the progressive 1950s, rebuilding and urban renewal were as much part of the Civic Trusts’ remit as preserving the past: Andreae A, ‘From Comprehensive Development to Conservation Areas’, in Hunter M, 1996 (ed), op. cit., pp. 135-155 esp. p. 138

<sup>47</sup> Burke G, 1976, *Townscapes*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, p.117

benefits on society and historic locales. Subsequently, consensus with regards to the protection of CBH achieved through legislation was eroded in favour of concerns over for whose benefit it should be protected. Against this backdrop, as Tunbridge and Ashworth assert, ‘...the production of heritage becomes a matter for deliberate goal-directed choice about what uses are made of the past and for what contemporary purpose’.<sup>48</sup> Such marketing terminology dominates recent heritage planning and management discourse.

### **3.2.5 Changing Notions of CBH under Differing Political and Social Agendas**

#### **3.2.5.1 The Enterprise Culture and Establishment of English Heritage**

Graham et al may be correct in their assessment that ‘...the social, educational and political characteristics of heritage producers have changed little since the nineteenth century’.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, major conservation campaigns of the 1960s and 1970s reflect this.<sup>50</sup> Nonetheless, it is clear from the above that heritage ‘production’ has shifted not in terms of its social construction, but in terms of who is doing the construction and for what purpose. A case in point was the mobilisation of CBH conservation within wider urban policy frameworks through the 1980s. In 1979 the newly elected Conservative Government brought with it shifts in the lexicon of radical reform. Where once such reforms had been the bastion of post-war principles of collective provision, with ‘Thatcherism’ came a new enterprise paradigm of reduced public

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<sup>48</sup> Tunbridge J E, Ashworth G J, 1996, op. cit., p. 9

<sup>49</sup> Graham B, et al, 2000, op. cit., p. 14

<sup>50</sup> Among major conservation campaigns of the 1970s, the *Destruction of the Country House* exhibition of 1974 is generally considered to have triggered the establishment of SAVE Britain’s Heritage in the following year. The driving force behind both remained principally with architects and historians. The decade is similarly associated with two seminal conservation texts: Ferguson A, 1973, *The Sack of Bath: A Record and an Indictment*, Salisbury: Compton Russell, and Amery C, Cruikshank D, 1975, *The Rape of Britain*, London: Paul Elek

spending and a free market economy.<sup>51</sup> As Pendlebury et al point out, urban areas were being promoted as a locus of market activity; however, the problems of the city arising from its industrial decline and dereliction acted as a deterrent to private investment.<sup>52</sup> The solution was area regeneration through restoration and reuse of historic buildings. Residential areas did not feature in those plans. Instead, focus centred on high profile waterfront and former commercial areas, a number of which became flagship models of urban regeneration. As Pendlebury et al again note, ‘The socially beneficial potential of CBH was in this period linked to the broader strategy of physical regeneration, whereby investment benefits were supposed to “trickle down” to poorer people’.<sup>53</sup> In practice, however, economic conditions which made investment in CBH renovation profitable coincided with broader effects of the enterprise culture. The result was a series of demographic and sociological circumstances linking fashionable lifestyles to inner city communities and their renovated ‘heritage’ buildings.<sup>54</sup> A consequence was valorisation of CBH as cultural capital, ensuring its subsequently much-maligned position within consumer society and corresponding implication in the process of area gentrification.<sup>55</sup> Hence, CBH in particular and heritage in general became associated with the ascendancy of New Right politics in 1980s Britain, furthering the cause of ‘conspiracy theory’ critiques.<sup>56</sup>

New Right reform, too, underlay the establishment of EH as part of the Conservative Government’s devolution of responsibility for national heritage policy. Previously

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<sup>51</sup> Corner J, Harvey S, 1991 (eds), *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture*, London: Routledge p. 3

<sup>52</sup> Pendlebury J, Townshend T, Gilroy R, ‘The Conservation of English Cultural Built Heritage: A Force for Social Inclusion?’: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2004, p. 19

<sup>53</sup> Pendlebury J et al, 2004, *ibid*, p. 19

<sup>54</sup> See Ley D, 1996, *The New Middle Class and the Making of the Central City*, Oxford: University Press, in Graham B et al, 2000, *op. cit.*, p.138

<sup>55</sup> See e.g. Howard P, 2003, *op. cit.*, p. 231-233, Samuel R, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 126

<sup>56</sup> Again, best typified by the well-known heritage critiques from Hewison R, 1987, *op. cit.* and Wright P, 1985, *op. cit.*

such responsibility lay with the Department of the Environment (DoE). In 1981 the DoE published a consultation paper titled *Organisation of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings in England*,<sup>57</sup> the purpose of which was principally to find a way of effectively transferring the heritage related functions of the DoE to a dedicated, non-departmental agency. The aim, however, was not solely to relieve governmental burden. Rather, it was felt that a non-departmental agency could better exploit commercial and fund-raising opportunities. A follow-up document *The Way Forward* was published the following year and paved the way for a new agency committed to the care of the nation's heritage within a market oriented system.<sup>58</sup> Accordingly, the National Heritage Act of 1983 led to the creation in 1984 of a separate government heritage quango, the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission of England, or English Heritage (EH). EH replaced the former Ancient Monuments Board and Historic Buildings Councils, and assumed responsibility for historic properties already taken into direct government care.

Given that promoting these properties for financial gain was a primary reason for its creation, the priorities of EH differed at the outset from those of the Historic Buildings Councils it replaced. For many observers at the time this expansive and corporate remit rendered EH over-bureaucratic and lacking clarity of purpose.<sup>59</sup> Its quasi-autonomous status and susceptibility for absorbing redundant civil servants did little to dispel this belief.<sup>60</sup> As an executive, non-departmental public body EH was intended to provide arms-length service to its sponsoring ministry, with neither its

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<sup>57</sup> DoE, 1981, *Organisation of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings in England*, London: HMSO

<sup>58</sup> DoE, 1982, *The Way Forward*, London: HMSO

<sup>59</sup> See e.g. Andreae S, 'From Comprehensive Development to Conservation Areas', in Hunter M, 1996 (ed), op. cit., p. 152

<sup>60</sup> National Heritage Act 1983, Section 3, para 5, London: HMSO



staff nor its operation subordinate to the Government.<sup>61</sup> Its general responsibilities as set out in the 1983 Act were:

‘So far as practicable,

- to secure the preservation of ancient monuments and historic buildings situated in England,
- to promote the preservation and enhancement of the character and appearance of conservation areas situated in England,
- to promote the public’s enjoyment of, and advance their knowledge of, ancient monuments and buildings situated in England and their preservation.’<sup>62</sup>

EH’s corporate leanings were effectively an extension of conservationist moves to reuse the past and give it a function suitable to contemporary social needs. However, as a quango its policy and decision making framework retained governmental links in a number of key areas. Firstly, appointment of its overseeing board or Commission lies with its ministerial sponsor, who also retains authority to remove such Commissioners under special circumstances. Secondly, funding of the organisation comes principally from the public purse; the remainder is from revenue earned from historic properties in its care. Thirdly, under section 34 (2) of the 1983 Act, the

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<sup>61</sup> National Heritage Act 1983, *ibid*, Section 3, para 1; see also DCMS Select Committee Memorandum submitted by EH 12/06/02, unpaginated

<sup>62</sup> National Heritage Act 1983, *ibid*, Section 33, (1); see also Annual Report and Accounts of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (HBMC), London: HBMC, 1983-84, unpaginated

Secretary of State may direct EH to exercise certain ministerial functions on his/her behalf. In these instances EH is afforded the same privileges, immunities and exemptions as those enjoyed by the same.<sup>63</sup> Thereby, from Thatcherite monetarism at its inception to the moral earnestness of New Labour social reform, in carrying out its general responsibilities the social structuring of EH's conservation activities reflects the policy and decision making framework of its ministerial administration.

Arriving at this position, shifts in heritage policy agendas have offered a challenging backdrop to EH's activities. Originally sponsored through the DoE, EH was transferred in 1992 to the short-lived Department of National Heritage (DNH). The DNH, as Selwood points out, was – unlike its predecessor – accorded status as a Department of State with representation at cabinet level.<sup>64</sup> With EH among its sponsored executive non-governmental bodies – which together accounted for as much as 95 per cent of the Department's funding – this led to increased political interest in the cultural sector. Accordingly, EH was driven to justify its subsidies in economic terms and identify itself as a wealth creator. Broadening public access and participation in cultural activities thereby provided a means of achieving greater accountability. In turn, by foregrounding the human dimension of heritage, this agenda depended on promoting and encouraging access as a sustainable, demonstrable public good. Underpinning this conceptual shift was EH's acknowledgment that value judgements surrounding definitions of nationally significant heritage had traditionally been expert-led; more significantly, that these may not reflect the wider cultural

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<sup>63</sup> National Heritage Act 1983, *ibid*, Section 3, para 1 (3)

<sup>64</sup> Selwood S, 2002, *Measuring Culture*, Spiked-culture Online, [www.spiked-online.com/Articles/00000006DBAF.htm](http://www.spiked-online.com/Articles/00000006DBAF.htm), accessed 23/04/05, unpaginated

values of society in general.<sup>65</sup> Consequently, impetus for a more inclusive pluralist interpretation of heritage stemmed initially from an economic rather than strictly socially driven conservation agenda.<sup>66</sup>

### **3.2.5.2 Heritage as an Agent of Social Reform under New Labour**

With the election of New Labour in 1997, 'culture' was to be brought into line with the new administration's vision of 'joined-up' government.<sup>67</sup> Subsequently, in 1997 EH's sponsorship transferred to the DNH's replacement, the Department of Media, Culture and Sport (DCMS).<sup>68</sup> In the following year the DCMS published the outcome of its spending review, focused on streamlining the Department's function. Titled *A New Approach to Investment in Culture*, the review concluded that there would be financial and operational benefits in bringing together the functions of EH and RCHME.<sup>69</sup> Becoming operational in 1999, the merger made EH the Government's first unified lead body for the protection and public enjoyment of the historic environment.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> English Heritage 1997, *Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future*, London: English Heritage

<sup>66</sup> Although early attention focused on community and participatory arts projects, the impact of 'diversity' and 'pluralist' mainstreaming filtered also to the museum and heritage sector. See e.g. Bottomly V, 1996, *Building Communities: Community Development, Participation and Partnership*, London: DNH; Mason R, 'Conflict and Complement: An Exploration of the Discourse Informing the Concepts of the Socially Inclusive Museum in Contemporary Britain': *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2004, pp. 49-73; Selwood S, 2002, *Measuring Culture*, Spiked-culture Online, op. cit., accessed 23/04/05, unpaginated

<sup>67</sup> See e.g. DCMS, 1998, *A New Cultural Framework*, London: DCMS

<sup>68</sup> EH also works with a range of government departments, notably the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) and Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA). Since 5/5/06 a new Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) has assumed the responsibilities previously held by the now defunct ODPM

<sup>69</sup> DCMS 1998, *The DCMS Comprehensive Spending Review: A New Approach to Investment in Culture*, London: DCMS

<sup>70</sup> *English Heritage and its Lead Role for the Historic Environment in England*, memorandum submitted by EH to the Select Committee on Culture, Media and Sport, 12/06/02: House of Commons website [www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200102/cmselect/cmcmds](http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200102/cmselect/cmcmds), accessed 27/06/03, unpaginated

As such, EH's responsibilities extended beyond its own direct interests and included contributing to and implementing the Government's central ambitions to:

- improve the quality of life for the country's citizens – as individuals and as communities
- reduce inequality
- build a sustainable future based on improving economic performance
- improve the delivery of public services.<sup>71</sup>

EH's progress in this regard was monitored under the terms of the DCMS's Public Service Agreement (PSA). Introduced under the 1998 spending review, PSA's are tied to the Government's biennial spending reviews and outline each Department's aims, objectives and measurable targets for the following three years. Effectively a means of motivating departments and monitoring their efficiency, the DCMS's PSA targets obligate EH to meet specified levels of performance in terms of efficient use of resources and delivery of the Government's central ambitions.<sup>72</sup>

Neighbourhood renewal through area regeneration remained fundamental to these ambitions. While many urban areas had undergone positive physical change under earlier initiatives, by this time it was clear that the supposed benefits had not filtered through to poorer social groups. Part of the problem, it was believed, lay in the fact

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<sup>71</sup> English Heritage Funding Agreement 2003/4-2005/6, p. 4

<sup>72</sup> PSA website [http://performance.treasury.gov.uk/dcms-psasummary\(crown\\_copyright\).pdf](http://performance.treasury.gov.uk/dcms-psasummary(crown_copyright).pdf), accessed 04/03/05

that neighbourhood renewal programmes had been imposed in a top-down fashion. Accordingly, their planning and implementation had received minimal input from the communities they were supposed to benefit. For a government committed to its new orthodoxy of socially inclusive reform this posed a key problem. Part of the strategy for its alleviation was to devolve power and responsibility from professional experts to the local community. This approach signalled the future direction of New Labour's cultural policy recommendations affecting heritage and social reform. To this end its Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), set up in 1998, in the same year produced its report *Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal*. This reflected the Government's new orthodoxy, suggesting the following explanations for the failure of earlier regeneration initiatives:

- A tendency to parachute solutions in from outside, rather than engaging local communities
- Too much emphasis on physical renewal instead of better opportunities for local people.<sup>73</sup>

In response, cultural policy had to (re)focus its attention from physical objects to the human dimension of heritage – people and processes.<sup>74</sup> To this end the SEU recommended the formation of a number of Policy Action Teams (PATs), whose remit was to examine existing cultural policy and report on how social exclusion might be addressed through recourse to the cultural sector. In 1999 the DCMS responded with its *PAT 10* report. However, this, like its 2001 follow-up *Building on*

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<sup>73</sup> See DCMS, 1999, *Policy Action Team 10: Report to the Social Exclusion Unit – Arts and Sport*, DCMS, London: HMSO, p. 28

<sup>74</sup> Pendlebury J et al, 2004, op. cit., p. 19

*PAT 10*, made only minimal reference to heritage. Instead, attention centred on the contribution of arts, sports and leisure to meeting the Government's social inclusion commitments through neighbourhood regeneration and local participation<sup>75</sup> – in other words, to delivering public services beyond EH's direct interests. Consequently, EH's own statutory conservation activities sat uneasily with the DCMS's cultural and sporting priorities. Stronger strategic direction for the heritage sector was required.<sup>76</sup>

In response EH, in consultation with other heritage bodies, was commissioned to coordinate a review of heritage policies resulting in its MORI-based *Power of Place* report in 2000. *Power of Place*, together with the Government's subsequent policy statement *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future* set out priorities for the relationship between heritage, sustainable communities and social inclusion. The agenda was dualistic. Diversifying CBH meant broadening its audience and widening understanding. To achieve this, the purportedly excluded were to be included as a policy objective. CBH was now inextricably linked with the need to demonstrate instrumental outcomes regarding delivery of the Government's socially progressive agenda.<sup>77</sup> Accordingly, shifts in cultural policy foreshadowed a corresponding shift in the social structure of EH's conservation agenda. From its previous concern with technical aspects of conservation and neighbourhood renewal, CBH was to be drafted in to act as an agent of social reform.<sup>78</sup> Consequently, in meeting the Government's

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<sup>75</sup> See *Policy Action Team 10*, 1999, op. cit.; DCMS, 2001, *Building on PAT 10: Progress Report on Social Inclusion*, DCMS, London: HMSO

<sup>76</sup> DCMS Select Committee on Culture Media and Sport, Minutes of Evidence, Annex 2. English Heritage's External Relations, 25/04/02, House of Commons website [www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200102/cmselect/cmcmds](http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200102/cmselect/cmcmds), accessed 27/06/03, unpaginated

<sup>77</sup> See e.g. DCMS, 2002, *People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for the Built and Historic Environment*, London: DCMS, p. 15

<sup>78</sup> In a similar vein Martin discusses the use – in response to government social inclusion targets – of heritage archives as 'engines of neighbourhood renewal': Martin S I, 2005, 'Inheriting Diversity: Archiving the Past', in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacy of "Race"*, London: Routledge p. 198

commitment to mainstreaming diversity and combating social exclusion, EH became increasingly socially and ethnically aware in the late 1990s. The organisation's Statement of Social Inclusion Goals reflects this. These goals are:

- To increase access to the historic environment, particularly to those traditionally left out of cultural activities physically, intellectually and financially
- To acknowledge, respect and celebrate the cultural diversity of England's heritage in all our activities
- To improve access to the historic environment for people with disabilities
- To articulate a more inclusive past and promote educational opportunities
- To promote cultural diversity internally within English Heritage and develop programmes to combat institutional discrimination.<sup>79</sup>

As Pendlebury et al imply, these '...emphasise the cultural diversity of England's heritage and need to enable access in its widest sense to this legacy'<sup>80</sup> leaving little doubt about EH's strategic direction. More recently, EH's obligation to its DCMS PSA target of 100,000 new users to the historic environment from priority groups by 2005/2006 further affirms this. For its purposes the DCMS defines priority groups as

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<sup>79</sup> EH statement of social inclusion goals: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/nav.1698>, accessed 18/04/04

<sup>80</sup> Pendlebury J et al, 2004, op. cit., p. 20

BME groups and social class C2, D and E,<sup>81</sup> with the primary aim of its access target being:

‘To make the historic environment accessible to everyone and ensure that it is seen as something with which the whole of society can engage.’<sup>82</sup>

As Cowell acknowledges, ‘...it is the outcomes of participation rather than participation itself that are of interest to the Government’.<sup>83</sup> In brief, conceptualising the reformist CBH model reaffirms a shift not in its social construction, but in who is doing the construction, under what constraints and for what purpose.

### **3.2.6 Towards a Broader Definition of CBH**

Its appropriation as an agent of socially progressive reform has raised questions over what constitutes national CBH. More precisely, under the new lexicon of moral earnestness, tapping CBH’s social and economic potential meant that it required a broader definition – one taking account of values ascribed to it at local community level.<sup>84</sup> Participatory and cognitive access to heritage, like inequality itself, was no longer measurable in purely economic terms. Foregrounded instead were e.g. cultural oppression, alienation, disadvantage and disaffection. This movement is linked to the supposition that lifestyle and identity assertions of traditionally subordinate groups, especially ethnic minorities, offer a challenge to a conservation ideology created by ‘white’ experts who do not have the best interest of other groups sufficiently in mind.

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<sup>81</sup> DCMS Annual Report 2005, Chapter 1, Part 4, *Performance Against our PSA Targets*: HM Treasury website [www.performance.treasury.gov.uk/dcms-psasummary.pdf](http://www.performance.treasury.gov.uk/dcms-psasummary.pdf), accessed 03/07/05

<sup>82</sup> English Heritage Funding Agreement 2003/04-2005/06. Key Performance Indicators on Access, p. 5

<sup>83</sup> Cowell B, ‘Why Heritage Counts: Researching the Historic Environment’: *Cultural Trends*, Vol. 13(4), No. 52, December 2004, p. 33

<sup>84</sup> Traditional statutory designations were deemed to reinforce notions CBH as being definable in quantifiable terms.



In these terms, along with demographic concentration in deprived urban areas, cultural difference has been seen as a key basis for exclusion and alienation among ethnically diverse communities.<sup>85</sup> In their discussion on inclusiveness, the strong emphasis on multiculturalism in the above-mentioned policy documents reflects this. A more inclusive extension, encompassing the values of BME groups, thereby has become an essential precept of a broader definition of national CBH. Accordingly, under the social structuring of its decision-making framework and as national lead body, the promotion and dissemination of such a model remains key to EH's policy objectives. However, the actuality and extent of the benefits of a redefined CBH model remain untested.

#### **3.2.6.1 Conceptualising CBH: the Human Dimension**

The previous section mapped the process of heritage construction over time and cultural change. This section delimits that conceptualisation theoretically. In brief, the remaining issue refers to the theoretical form of the reformist CBH model. There follows concise analysis and synthesis of the CBH production and consumption process relevant to the research problem, that is, the production of CBH for a specific 'market' – namely for BME groups whose values the reformist model and its underlying ideology aim to encompass.

#### **3.2.6.2 Socio-psychological Aspects of Meaning**

EH's notion of CBH presents a model which expressly does not include a wider range of built typologies.<sup>86</sup> Rather, it is one broadened to encompass the human dimension of heritage, specifically the values of BME groups in society. As such it is a relativist

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<sup>85</sup> DCMS, 2002, op. cit., p. 5

<sup>86</sup> Outside the remit of this thesis, though this is an ongoing extension of EH's activities.

model which presupposes a phenomenon endowed with multiple meanings. These reflect the socio-psychological values central to this research. This being so, the role of the reformist CBH model is contingent on benefits it conveys to social groups for whom its construction is proposed.

As part of wider processes of cultural production and consumption, those benefits cannot occur in isolation. Rather, they are bound in what CBH might mean or be made to mean through its use or consumption. These meanings are in turn contingent on cultural values and significance, subjectively ascribed to CBH. Three socio-psychological aspects of meaning are of particular interest to this research. Linked to CBH's alleged importance to human and social well-being, these concern its contribution to instilling a sense of place, a sense of cultural identity and a sense of belonging.

The notion that a geographically defined space becomes a socio-psychological place through its ascription with meaning is indicative of the dependence of place on perspective. Places are constructed and exist from a particular and subjective point of view. Central to this synthesis of people, place and, in respect of this thesis, heritage, is the notion of identity: namely, that only through identifying – be it positively or negatively – with aspects of geographical space, does it acquire the meanings implicit to a sense of place.<sup>87</sup> The historically conditioned nature of CBH's social construction affirms its centrality within this time-space-society continuum. Indeed, King considers it '...fallacious to conceptualise society...without reference to the physical and spatial

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<sup>87</sup> Rose G, 'Place and Identity: A Sense of Place', in Massey D, Jess P, 2002 (first published 1995, eds), *A Place in the World: Places, Cultures and Globalisation*, Oxford: University Press, p. 88-96

material reality of the built environment'.<sup>88</sup> On this basis, and following Tuan, CBH appears a significant discursive resource for shaping and legitimising place.<sup>89</sup> In this sense, place cannot be considered a fixed entity, nor is it determined solely by present-centred lived experiences or subjective feelings of everyday consciousness. Rather, it is a historically contingent process, one that – like CBH itself – is constantly in a state of becoming.<sup>90</sup>

The experiential construction of place, like that of CBH, can be understood only in relation to its wider historical – and hence social – context. Consequently, identity, either with or against CBH-informed notions of place, is similarly determined. CBH's contribution to a sense of place and identity cannot be abstracted from the vagaries of historical consciousness over time and cultural change. Accordingly, complex webs of history, culture and power underlying and structuring social life shape place and identity, rather than these being solely the outcome of individual biography.<sup>91</sup>

Notions of CBH and the place and identity associations they inform are products of conditions and practices of cultural production and consumption. Potential asymmetries between power, cultural resources and knowledge are key to mapping the interplay of social contexts in which CBH construction is situated. Here, the idea of traditionally defined national CBH narratives informing a particular and narrow symbolisation of Englishness is synonymous with Hall's notion of 'landscaping'

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<sup>88</sup> King A, 'Architecture, Capital and the Globalisation of Culture', in Featherstone M, 1990 (ed), *Global Culture*, London: Sage, p. 404

<sup>89</sup> Tuan Y F, 1974, 'Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective', in Agnew J, Livingstone D N, Rogers A, 1996 (eds), *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology*, Oxford: Blackwell, p. 450-451

<sup>90</sup> Pred A, 'Structuration, Biography Formation and Knowledge: Observations on Port Growth During the Late Mercantile Period': *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 2, pp. 251-275

<sup>91</sup> Rose G, in Massey D, Jess P, 2002 (eds), op. cit., p. 89; Castells M, 1997, *The Power of Identity*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 6-12

cultural identities.<sup>92</sup> Perceived as embedded in the belief systems of national culture, CBH serves to perpetuate and reinforce the idea of nation as a homogenous and unified entity. Accordingly, the interrelationship between social progression and the physical environment has a legitimating effect on conceptualising CBH in terms of what it is, what it does and how and why it is conserved. Perceived in this way, national CBH presents a socially constructed product which, through mediating a particular sense of place and identity, has the potential to contribute to a unified sense of belonging. Its role in this sense has been at best only partially successful, as borne out by continuing challenges to CBH's historical and culturally embedded informatory narratives. These, it is alleged, fail to adequately incorporate or reflect the plurality of cultures contributing to and enriching English history and heritage. BME groups in particular are denied vital points of reference provided by the past and necessary to instilling a sense of belonging.

The underlying argument here is that as a place-specific form, CBH acquires meaning in direct proportion to the extent to which it conveys an experiential sense of belonging. This poses a particular problem for BME groups, who may not share any dominant notion of CBH and may indeed identify more closely with their own distinct non-built cultural heritage.<sup>93</sup> The idea of BME groups as geographical, that is, in Relph's terms, 'behavioural' insiders – whilst experiencing life as 'incidental' outsiders – presents a basic interpretation of their alleged circumstances.<sup>94</sup> However, it is one presented as acceptance, if not approval, of existing heritage narratives and practices, which does not fully convey challenges and resistance to standard narratives

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<sup>92</sup> Hall S, 'New Cultures for Old', in Massey D, Jess P, 2002, *ibid*, p. 182

<sup>93</sup> MORI, *Attitudes Towards the Heritage*, London: EH accessible online at <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/default.asp?wci=WebItem&WCE=157>

<sup>94</sup> Relph E, 1983 (first published 1976), *Place and Placelessness*, London: Pion, pp. 50-55

implicit in moves to redefine CBH under reformist policy objectives. More enlightening in this context is the notion of existential outsidership,<sup>95</sup> stemming not solely from CBH's informatory narratives but from the reform agenda's view of BME groups as an external 'other'. In this respect, CBH is seen not only as an instrument of hegemonic power, but also of resistance for those whose self-definition comes, in a Saidian sense<sup>96</sup>, in relation to their own objectified 'other'; that is the people and places external to real or perceived subjectivities of BME and other allegedly disadvantaged groups.<sup>97</sup>

Exclusionary claims surrounding participatory and cognitive access to CBH do not occur in isolation. Rather, like the construction of CBH itself, they are produced and shaped by the dynamic interplay of history, culture and power. Hence, under the influential canon of post-modern reformist ideology, the self-generated spontaneity of exclusionary claims-making among BME groups is not itself without question. The idea that such groups are irrefutably excluded on the grounds of their ethnicity is, in a Foucauldian sense, one embedded in a particular discourse. This is linked to a turn from culture as high or avant-garde towards one defined as struggle against social oppression and injustice. Harris, drawing on Morris, astutely describes the subsequent fusion of post-modern cultural pluralism and overtly politicised cultural critique as '...endless circling between "oppression" and "resistance" or cultural passivity and activity'.<sup>98</sup> It follows that exclusionary claims are subject to ethical judgements, which are in turn specific to time and place. Since, by definition, an ethical stance is socially

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<sup>95</sup> Relph E, 1983, *ibid*, p. 51

<sup>96</sup> Said E W, Said E, 1985, *Orientalism*, Harmondsworth: Penguin

<sup>97</sup> Dowling R, 'Femininity, Place and Commodities: A Retail Case Study': *Antipode*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 1993, p. 299

<sup>98</sup> Harris D, 1996, *A Society of Signs?* London: Routledge, p. 32; Morris M, 'Banality of Cultural Studies': *Discourse*, Vol. 10, 1988, pp. 3-29

constructed, its use as ‘proof’ that an objective problem exists is itself debatable. Moreover, beyond legitimating the position of those constructing the problem, it overlooks the question of why that problem should be considered of public or political relevance. That cognitive and participatory exclusion from heritage on grounds of ethnicity and difference is an injustice that can and does occur – as it always has done – is not in doubt. Less certain, through its socially progressive appropriation, are the emancipatory and democratic credentials of those administering new contingencies of minority cultural expression and empowerment through CBH.

Against this backdrop it is unclear how CBH can be rendered more representative and inclusive of the values of BME groups. The production of heritage for particular ‘markets’ is nothing new and indeed underlies the ‘process’ model dominating post-modern heritage discourse.<sup>99</sup> The reformist CBH model is no exception in this respect and is best seen as a product developed in response to, as Ashworth and Larkham put it, ‘...market segment identification and targeting...’<sup>100</sup> However, their conceptualisation of this market-driven process model as the direct reverse of a market-derived version appears unsustainable in the context of this thesis. At the very least if, as suggested, CBH is a user-determined product, its social construction according to the market-driven model implies production for a specifically defined consumer. In other words, its instrumental production to meet the reformist agenda is based on the assumption that a market exists for the resulting CBH product. Therefore, for the ends to justify the means, the user or consumer of that product has to be ‘created’ to legitimise the reform agenda from which that socially inclusive model originates.

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<sup>99</sup> Ashworth G J, Larkham P J, 1994 (eds), *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, London: Routledge, pp. 15-18

<sup>100</sup> Ashworth G J, Larkham P J, 1994 (eds), *ibid*, p. 17

### **3.2.6.3 Reaffirming the Need for Research**

The extent to which society or, more precisely, influential factions from within it shape notions of CBH in the public domain, is clear. With the decline of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century industrial society, cultural goods or cultural services have assumed an increasing share of productive activity in Britain's post-Fordist knowledge economy.<sup>101</sup> Despite obvious divergences from the high cultural moral authority of Horkheimer and Adorno,<sup>102</sup> this reflects continued expansion of the culture industry. Just as audience development and consumer friendliness has long rendered the museum sector at the vanguard of social reform, so CBH has been commissioned to shake off its earlier connotations as the preserve of a dominant or privileged social order. This being so, the rejection of past narratives on the basis that they elevate a particular narrow and expert-led account, is replaced by an ideology of liberation, empowerment and inclusiveness, implementable through CBH.<sup>103</sup>

Given its susceptibility to political manipulation, the construction of CBH within complex webs of history, power and culture cannot be understood through analysis of its conditions of existence alone. Nor can it be realised by assuming a productionist analytical bias. Required instead is an understanding of how and why CBH products are manufactured for consumption and of the ways in which consumers define, appropriate and make these products meaningful – how they construct them into

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<sup>101</sup> Knowledge economy refers to the expansion of media, entertainment and IT to the realm of commodity production. One consequence is the transformation of once high-cultural forms into a mass medium. See for example: Lash S, Urry J, 1994, *Economies of Signs and Space*, London: Sage, esp. pp. 123 & 138

<sup>102</sup> Horkheimer M, Adorno T W, 1972 (first published 1944) *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, New York: Seabury

<sup>103</sup> The use of CBH in pursuit of social objectives is clearly just one aspect of wider instrumental appropriation across the arts and cultural sector. Calling for a stronger evidence base for the use of cultural resources in this manner, Hamilton describes these activities as 'the huge search for the Holy Grail – the answer to the question why funding the arts will cure the sick, raise the dead and eradicate world poverty': Hamilton C, 2002, *Arts Research Digest Seminar*, unpublished presentation

culture and hence into CBH in the lived practices of their everyday lives. In short, we need to examine the compliance of producer aims and consumer claims by enhancing our understanding of how society shapes CBH and is in turn shaped by it at local community level.

In conceptualising the post-modern reformist CBH model, this chapter has set delimitations around the research problem, suggesting that we cannot neutrally observe the social world. To do so would merely replicate and perpetuate assumptions and stereotypes of existing paradigmatic conventions. In this, as Horkheimer reminds us, ‘...those who profit from the status quo entertain a general suspicion of any intellectual independence’.<sup>104</sup> Adopting a critical yet reflexive approach has helped define the research problem as a ‘testing out’ (explanatory) and evaluative one.<sup>105</sup> With this in mind, the need to identify an appropriate means with which to bring empirical data to bear on the thesis’s conceptual foundations is clear. It is to that testing-out element of the research that the thesis now turns, or more specifically, to the selection of a suitable strategy for the production of valid and relevant empirical data. The following chapter explains these fundamental methodological decisions: how the specific study method was chosen, the type of data to be collected and the processes by which this was achieved.

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<sup>104</sup> Horkheimer M, 1972, *Critical Theory: Selected Essays*, New York: Herder and Herder, p. 232

<sup>105</sup> Whilst principally adopting a deductive approach, in its use of cross-disciplinary syntheses the research process also fuses elements of Kuhn’s paradigmatic principles. However, whilst Kuhn’s work focuses on singular paradigms, this thesis clearly draws on others, both in defining the research problem and to enable understanding and explanation of its empirical enquiry. See Kuhn T, ‘Scientific Paradigms’, in Barnes B, 1972 (ed), *Sociology of Science: Selected Readings*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, p. 91



## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

## CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 4.1 Introduction:

The aim of this study is to explore how, under conditions of cultural diversity, CBH is defined, given meaning and how and how and why it is contested. The preceding chapters have shown the concept of CBH to be complex and multifaceted. This chapter explains methods used to examine this in a spatially defined local community setting.

Empirical testing involved using an in-depth spatially based case study via qualitative techniques and procedures. This allowed the following problem to be addressed: how compliant with values underlying CBH access and participatory reform are those of groups and individuals at whom reforms are aimed? To explain how this problem was investigated, this chapter addresses the following themes:

- type of data needed to address the problem
- selection of appropriate methods by which to achieve this
- selection of the case study setting<sup>1</sup>
- selection of a suitable mode of analysis for data production
- problems, limitations and pitfalls encountered

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<sup>1</sup> The selection of the city's Barton and Tredworth wards as the specific study local is discussed in Chapter 5

Overlap invariably occurs between these methodological issues and theoretical aspects from which they derive. In this respect, theory and empirical concerns are inextricably linked, and so more quantifiable aspects, associated but not directly pertaining to methodological themes – for example the research sample's social and demographic profile – are more appropriately covered in Chapter 6. The current chapter is limited to making explicit the fundamental methodological decisions taken, how and why these were arrived at and their suitability and limitations.

#### **4.1.1 Linkages and Tensions between Data and Theory**

As earlier cited delimitations have implied, divergent values of different interested parties entering the research process have had ramifications for devising a suitable methodological approach. Though applicable to all research, in this instance the field of enquiry is characterised not by clearly identifiable paradigms but by divisions regarding the aims, methods and motivations of heritage producers and consumers. To this can be added the differing interests existing from the outset between the project's funders and the demands of an academic enquiry, all of which have been taken into account as part of the research planning process. The underlying point is that differing interests and agendas have been among guiding factors influencing decisions throughout the planning stage and before the research itself was conducted. This reflects how, regardless of its final form and outcome, the research process was not a value-free one. That is why theories and guiding principles have been made explicit from the outset. Indeed, theory and research are in this sense inextricably linked, differing only in techniques employed and their implementation.

## **4.2 Methodological Approach**

This thesis is concerned with exploring the interaction of people and processes in the social construction of heritage. These are qualitative issues relating to ‘how’ and ‘why’ values and meanings of BME groups are constructed with regards to CBH, as opposed to quantifiable concerns over ‘how many’ or ‘how much’. In other words, the research is not bracketed by a concentration on ‘fact-gathering’. Unlike experimental research where variables are manipulated to determine causal significance, or surveys asking standardised questions of large representative samples, the focus of this research is on in-depth qualitative analysis of an individual spatially defined social unit. This is why a qualitative methodological approach was necessary and subsequently chosen.

‘Qualitative research’ is not in and of itself a method of empirical enquiry. Rather it is an approach to research which facilitates understanding of individuals’ perceptions, interpretations and insights. A qualitative approach permits use of different methodologies within an interpretative analytic paradigm. In this, as a socially constructed phenomenon CBH is not a ‘fixed’ entity but subject to modification and reinterpretation. To understand these processes research has to be internalised, that is, intersubjective understandings sought from within the culture being studied. Accordingly, the concern here is not with addressing standardized or fixed questions, but with gaining understanding through people’s experiential and biographical insights. Establishment of a definitive rationale for empirical testing is marked by translation of these general goals into specific objectives, necessary for provision of the right kind of data to answer the research problem. In summary, these are as follows:

- To examine at local community level attitudes towards and perceptions of CBH in terms of what it is and what it does
- To explore and evaluate the actuality and extent of the reformist CBH model and cultural dimensions along which it is defined
- To explore and evaluate the potential for (re)defining CBH in accordance with the value systems of a socially and culturally diverse society
- To examine implications of the findings for the heritage sector

The thesis combines theory and empirical research to explore the limits of existing generalisations surrounding the production and consumption of CBH. This epistemologically pluralist approach avoids any suggestion that producing data without theory can adequately reflect BME group values, or that theory without data can speak in the name of reality. The outcome is a critical, yet reflexive methodological process underpinned by its theoretical foundation. This foundation provides propositions from which to explore how CBH is defined and given meaning under conditions of cultural diversity and how and why it is contested, i.e. how and under what constraints conceptions of what symbolises national CBH are constructed.

Stemming from the above, specific objectives formulated from propositions for empirical testing are to examine how these conceptions translate to and reflect changing social and cultural conditions:

- How compliant with reformist notions of CBH are the views of those BME groups to whom reforms are aimed, i.e. to what extent does the reformist CBH model traverse social and cultural plurality and diversity?
- How extensive is access and participatory claims-making among BME groups and how is this manifest?
- How can CBH be adequately defined to encompass the value systems of a pluralist, multicultural society?

The additional outcome will be to provide a frame of reference for questioning how the heritage sector in general, and EH in particular, can review its policies on participatory access to and inclusion in the historic built environment. To this purpose the thesis will examine and evaluate the practical consequences to the heritage sector of a shift in definitions of what constitutes national CBH.

Synthesising these points affirms how the research had both explanatory and evaluative elements from the outset. The former is based principally on the outcome of developing and testing conceptual work; the latter stems from subsequent analysis and critique.

#### **4.2.1 Summary of Approach**

In summary so far, this chapter has drawn attention to linkages and tensions between theory and research characterising the project. These underline the complex

interrelations of social practices and contemporary discourses influencing both the research problem and the method of its investigation.

To test the conceptual work empirically has required use of a spatially defined context-based strategy to elicit and investigate individuals' opinions and attitudes. This suggests a cross-disciplinary evidence-based approach, engaging 'users' in their local, community-based context. As such it lends itself particularly to an in-depth, spatially based case study approach.

#### **4.3 Why a Case Study? Positioning Method and Research Problem**

Integration of theory and research has been fundamental to the overall research design. It has thus been inappropriate to separate methodological structure from the development of theoretical suppositions. In other words, the case study itself is not the methodological tool used for the collection of empirical evidence but provides the strategic framework within which a range of information and data collection techniques could be adapted and used.

This thesis draws upon a range of conceptual discourses. Boundaries between these are often ill defined, reflecting the cross-disciplinary dominance of the 'cultural turn' and its impact on the current field of investigation. At the same time the setting for this investigation will already have been instilled with the multiple and diverse interpretations and actions of its inhabitants, highlighting the issue of values in the research process. Attitudes towards CBH are by definition subjective, suggesting an interpretative analytic rather than purely scientific dimension to their empirical study. However, as May points out, it is insufficient to merely reflect rather than explain 'the

origin and effects of such values through rigorous and systematic enquiry'.<sup>2</sup> In this respect a case study is well suited to this investigation of contemporary social phenomena, allowing historical and contemporary cultural discourses to be set against a real life sociological framework.

The objective of the thesis is suited to the comprehensive and holistic framework provided by a case study approach. The definition of a case study suggested by Yin substantiates this.

A case study is an empirical enquiry that

- 'Investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when;
- The boundaries between phenomenon under investigation and the context are not clearly evident, and in which;
- Multiple sources of evidence are used.'<sup>3</sup>

However, as a strategy the case study enables ideas to be adapted from a variety of methodologies and combined for use in the research setting. This factor, along with continual refinement of the research problem in relation to its developing conceptual framework, has helped delimit the type of information needed to address it. In so doing, the case study approach has provided simplification and a greater analytic cutting edge to the study.

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<sup>2</sup> May T, 2001, *Social Research*, Buckingham: OU Press, p.48

<sup>3</sup> Yin R K, 1990, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, London: Sage p.23



Use of this methodology aims to reflect not just contemporary accounts of values and meanings attributed to heritage, but to understand these in relation to their historical and cultural contexts. Context in this sense includes the full range of physical, cultural, social, psychological, economic and geographical factors, as well as wider historical patterns and narratives contributing to individuals' sense of identity. In short, the case study allows use of a range of techniques to provide a contemporary interpretative account of the construction of heritage (qualitative dimension) via the history and culture informing the narratives of participants (conceptual dimension).

A critical approach to this research has provided subject definition and chronology. Rather than accepting given definitions of the perceived problem (product), it has been equally valid to examine how it became constructed as one (process). In this respect, previous chapters have shown the investigation to have what can be termed a 'natural history', and provided both analytic framework for understanding concepts of heritage construction, meaning and interpretation, and a platform for the collection of empirical data.

The work is aimed principally at an academic audience. Within these parameters and those imposed by limitations on time and other resources, its orientation is theoretical rather than applied. The review of literature has provided the theoretical starting point and identified thematic concepts for the research; these set the framework for the investigation's empirical objective. In this sense, research has not needed to be 'representative' or externally validated against other geographically or spatially defined areas – a point extending to the selection of a specific study locale. Rather, it is sufficient that it adequately addresses the issues arising from the literature

(intellectual rationale) and those raised by the heritage sector (practical rationale). The flexible methodology offered within a generic case study format is entirely suited to research of this kind.

#### **4.4 Selection of the Research Setting**

Selection of the case study locale reflects its suitability to the objectives of the research and subsequently influences the nature and extent of data produced. In addition to earlier cited delimitations, selection also takes into account resource availability and the need for originality within the research. The latter stems largely from critical interpretation of the problem – making it relevant to people’s lives – and builds upon prior experience and interests of the author. As such, selection of the research setting parallels (re)focusing of the research aim in line with (re)definition of the research problem and consequent clarification of data requirements. There follows a précis of key selection and exclusion criteria used to provide a uniform basis for selecting a locale enabling these requirements to be met. Throughout, these have been underpinned by theoretical work, statistical analysis, exploratory fieldwork and consultation with primary sources. These elements have yielded definition to cultural and geographical characteristics, and hence the location of potential ‘target’ sites, and amounted to provision of a series of audits, or SWOT analyses, used for shortlisting sites. In summary, these criteria are as follows:

Heritage/cultural audit:

- Significant, traditionally defined CBH: sub-issues include the need for an archetypal English CBH, potentially conveying meanings, identity and national myths via imagery inscribed over time

- Place-specific identity transcending normative urban-rural divides: sub-issues include the need to avoid stereotyping regional or provincial centres as affluent or elitist

Demographic audit:

- Diverse community profile: including principally BME groups as those who may have ‘other’ notions of what constitutes national CBH

Intellectual audit:

- Not over-researched: avoiding ‘populist’ approach which overlooks small or provincial/regional centres in favour of high profile urban ‘stereotypes’
- Ensure originality of contribution: suited to maintaining a critical approach to research – non-stereotypical to address, rather than accepting as a matter of faith presuppositions stemming from reformist discourses

Practical audit:

- Manageability by an individual researcher within the limitation of the study: sub-issues includes the scale of the site, availability of and access to stakeholders, likely levels of interest and cooperation, time and other resource limitations

Using this rationale-driven framework to compile a preliminary shortlist, this, not surprisingly, showed numerous sites broadly meeting these criteria. Furthermore, in their material form, buildings, both grand and vernacular, reflect the nation’s socio-

cultural development at a regional as well as national level; with this in mind, case study selection afforded equal consideration to all English regions. This breadth of coverage was reflected in initial shortlisted areas, which for research purposes and ease of reference fell broadly into the following categories: seaside towns, provincial/market towns, and industrial centres. These typologies epitomize the culturally conditioned, place-specific features imbuing England's historic environment (as traditionally defined), its distinctive characteristics and identity. From these three categories, an initial shortlist of potential study sites was drawn up as follows:

Seaside towns:

- Morecambe
- Plymouth
- Chatham

Provincial/market towns:

- Gloucester
- Chesterfield

Industrial towns:

- Burslem
- Wakefield
- Halifax

Categorisation in this manner is not an exact science; inevitably a degree of overlap exists both within and between identifiable characteristics. For example, Chatham and Plymouth could both be positioned within the seaside and/or industrial categories. Equally, Halifax is an established market town as well as an industrial centre. However, whilst some ambiguity is inevitable, this system provided a consistency to the organisation and assessment of material at each location. As such, it proved a useful aid to the process of study site selection and exclusion, and consequently to the research design.

The selection procedure identified area typologies and demographic characteristics within which the range of values and meanings – and hence data needed to address the research problem – were most likely to occur. Further exploratory fieldwork of shortlisted sites revealed Gloucester and Halifax in particular to lend themselves to the project's needs. These findings, summarised in relation to criteria laid out above, are as follows:

Heritage/cultural criteria:

- Each has a clearly defined 'place-specific' identity, being national in profile yet regionally significant
- Each has a significant yet compact, readily and traditionally definable CBH

Intellectual criteria:

- Each suffers social problems and levels of deprivation more often associated with large metropolitan centres<sup>4</sup>
- Each is urban in character,<sup>5</sup> yet draws upon a rural hinterland with catchment areas more associated with relative affluence, usually overlooked as subjects of further analysis

Demographic criteria:

- Each has a socially and ethnically diverse demographic profile<sup>6</sup>

Practical criteria:

- Each has a manageable spatial scale with clear ward definition
- Each has active, well-established community liaison organisations working with ethnic and other minority groups
- Each has active engagement with heritage sector activity<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions (DTLGR) 2000, and Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) 2004, *Indices of Multiple Deprivation for Wards in England*: <http://www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1128442>, accessed 30/09/03 and 04/07/05. See also 2001 census website: [www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001](http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001), accessed 21/07/03

<sup>5</sup> Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), *Urban and Rural Area Definitions: A User Guide*, London, ODPM/DTLGR, 2000, also available at [http://www.statistics.gov.uk/geography/urban\\_rural.asp](http://www.statistics.gov.uk/geography/urban_rural.asp)

<sup>6</sup> With wards having higher than average BME populations: See National Statistics Online – Ethnicity <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cgi/nugget.asp?id=273>, accessed 04/06/04; Office for National Statistics (ONS), *Social Focus in Brief: Ethnicity*, 2002, London: HMSO. See also 2001 Census website: [www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001](http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001), accessed 30/09/04

<sup>7</sup> Substantiated through personal communication, for example with Kath Graham, EH Outreach Officer for the South West

Again, precise division of categories is impracticable, with a degree of overlap existing between these. Indeed, intellectual and practical criteria can be regarded as encompassing both demographics and heritage/culture; the system however is adequate for the project's needs. Existing research in this subject field is limited and reflects the polarisation of contemporary New World and British socio-cultural critiques. Similarly, commissioned research, notably the recent MORI investigations on behalf of the heritage sector,<sup>8</sup> reflect current reformist political ideologies. In short, there is a need for research to widen this agenda in line with EH's national remit.

In terms of its suitability to the research objectives, Gloucester was shortlisted as the favoured study locale. The city lies in a region less closely associated with issues of urban social deprivation and ethnicity, yet fulfils all key criteria; a point further supported by a fact-finding programme of observational and informal discussion-based research detailed below. On this basis the Barton and Tredworth wards in central Gloucester were selected, this locale best suiting the project's intellectual and practical needs and the critical research philosophy adopted.

In summary, the diversity of England's cultural built landscape renders it impracticable to categorize a site as ideal or representative of the country as a whole. That was not the intention of this research. Moreover, no two sites are wholly comparable in terms of their heritage credentials or socio-cultural profile. Along with the thesis's aims and objectives, this validates the use of a single case study, providing depth rather than breadth to information gathering, data production and analysis in a

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<sup>8</sup> Market Opinion Research International (MORI), 2000, *Attitudes Towards the Heritage*, London: EH, accessible online at <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk.default.asp?wci=WebItem&WCE=157>

context-based qualitative investigation. In short, this small-scale ‘thick description’<sup>9</sup> approach better suits the research than would a comparative study.

## **4.5 Research Method – Design and Implementation**

Having established a geographical basis for the research, it has been necessary at an early stage to identify potential stakeholder groups and make clear to them the nature of the study and its intended outcomes. It is to the process of deriving and accessing a suitable research sample that the chapter now turns.

### **4.5.1 Exploratory Fieldwork: Fact-finding and Evaluation**

#### **4.5.1.1 Stakeholder Mapping**

In identifying a suitable working model for the purposes of this project, consideration was given to the many recognised definitions of ‘stakeholder,’ beginning in 1963 with the Stanford Research Institute which defined stakeholders as ‘...groups upon which an organisation depends for continued survival,’<sup>10</sup> broadened in 1984 by Freeman who defined a stakeholder as ‘...a group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of any organisation’s objectives.’<sup>11</sup> Within the context of this research, neither of these examples is wholly suitable. To explore the construction of values as regards CBH, a more holistic approach is needed which takes account of the diversity found among groups and individuals comprising the target population. Therefore a simplified approach is necessary, which identifies key stakeholders and enables a thorough attitudinal investigation to be carried out, whilst minimising the likelihood of preventable difficulties.

<sup>9</sup> Geertz C, 1993 (first published 1973), Geertz C, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, London: Fontana

<sup>10</sup> See Hardy A L, Beeton R J S, ‘Sustainable Tourism or Maintainable Tourism: Managing Resources for More Than Average Outcomes’: *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 2001, p. 174

<sup>11</sup> Freeman R E, 1984, *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*, Boston: Pitman, p. 46. See also Hardy A L, Beeton R J S, 2001, *ibid*, pp. 168-189



For the purpose of this study stakeholders have been divided into categories according to their engagement with the issues under investigation. In order to explore their compliance with values underlying reformist ideology, data requirements are for an interpretative account of how BME group values are constructed with regard to CBH. Engaging people within their own environment will have provided a context-based approach – not as a move to fulfil an agenda for political correctness, but as a means of enhancing understanding of how BME individuals identify with and define ‘their’ heritage. At issue is people’s position as ‘insiders’ – or as the core group of interest to this thesis – outside the heritage decision-making process.

In addition to the BME individuals forming the core of this study, a further three groups, less central to this thesis but useful for maintaining institutional links, have interests transcending local and national levels:

- Gloucester City Council cultural sector
- EH and other national and international heritage organisations and their partners<sup>12</sup>
- Academics – often with vested interests

One of the problems encountered with this method of stakeholder identification is that it implies a degree of homogeneity among participant groups. This is not necessarily the case. Indeed, a degree of overlap occurs, e.g. some academic interests intersecting with those of national and international heritage organisations. Interaction within

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<sup>12</sup> Partners include those cooperating with the sector in similarly focused research – principally at government level via DCMS’s, Broadening Access to the Historic Environment Group (meeting attended at Cockspur Street London on 05/12/03), BEN etc. At international level working partners include e.g. The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, California

stakeholder relationships is therefore inevitable, with consequent formation of sub-groups. In addition, the project aims necessitate exclusion of other legitimate groups with direct or indirect involvement, e.g. community representatives, local non-participants, local business and retail leaders.

#### 4.5.1.2 Initial Contacts

If people feel valued in the research process, their participation and contribution is likely to be enhanced. In this respect, at both institutional and, as the main focus of this research, non-institutional level, early establishment of rapport with likely research participants was paramount.<sup>13</sup> As an individual researcher, time and resource limitations made it necessary to work as quickly as possible; a process eased by establishing from the outset lines of communication with e.g. the Gloucester City Council cultural sector,<sup>14</sup> the Black Environment Network (BEN), representatives of a number of local ethnic minority community liaison groups,<sup>15</sup> the University of Gloucester, The Government Office for the South West<sup>16</sup> and the EH outreach team for the South West.<sup>17</sup>

#### 4.5.1.3 Field Visits – Follow-up Meetings

There followed a series of evaluative site visits to the city, made during the autumn and winter of November 2003/February 2004. Face-to-face investigative discussions

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<sup>13</sup> 'Rapport' in this context refers to building of mutual trust that allows the free flow of information, see e.g. Spradley J, 1979, *The Ethnographic Interview*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, p.78

<sup>14</sup> For example, Malcolm Watkins, Strategic Cultural Manager, Gloucester City Council, pers-comm.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 1

<sup>16</sup> Most of the heritage organisations are accessible via the South West Historic Environment Forum (SWHEF). SWHEF is the group representing the key historic agencies and organizations active within the region. Members are: English Heritage, SW Regional Assembly, National Trust, Country Land and Business Association, Heritage Lottery Fund, Gloucestershire County Council, North Wiltshire District Council, Faculty of the Built Environment at the University of the West of England, Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and Government Office for the South West.

<sup>17</sup> EH had been consulted throughout principally via Nyla Naseer, EH Social Inclusion Director, and Kath Graham, EH Outreach Officer for the South West.

were arranged with the above-mentioned groups to coincide with the visits over two fortnightly periods. Those were intended to further explain the nature of the research and its intentions and to canvass preliminary levels of interest and support for the study 'on the ground.' Used partly as a developmental stage and confidence-building exercise, the meetings also served to enhance awareness of the research at institutional and non-institutional level.

#### **4.5.2 Negotiating Problems and Pitfalls**

Inevitably, a number of difficulties were encountered during both the planning and implementation stages of this research phase. As a qualitative, attitudinal study initiated within a culturally diverse community, the role of the researcher and the way he was perceived by participants was always a potential concern: as a white researcher working among BME groups, the ability to 'fit in' with culture-specific norms in terms of age, race, gender and accent is clearly limited. Similarly, a white researcher interviewing BME groups may find that views and opinions expressed may be more or less radical than would be the case were he/she from a BME group. This must however be tempered with reference to purpose, expectations, content and context of the research process itself. Thus, those likely limitations were taken into account and built into the study design through its intent to convey an interpretative rather than scientific explanation.

As became evident from initial contacts, levels of response and enthusiasm for further participation varied widely, even within stakeholder groups initially most forthcoming. This rendered it difficult to establish a degree of uniformity for the face-to-face follow-up discussions. Despite their spatial proximity (as detailed in Chapters

5 and 6),<sup>18</sup> the sheer diversity of BME groups present and their culturally polarised nature in part exacerbated this.

Combined with the issue of ‘fitting in’, this rendered it impracticable to fully immerse oneself within this diverse societal context. Whilst a valuable tool, participant observation would not have provided the depth of cross-cultural analysis needed for the study to achieve its intended outcome. In a similar vein, focus groups were deemed a tool unlikely to be usable in this research setting. As such, early indications highlighted the nature and likelihood of issues to be negotiated in accessing and securing adequate levels of cooperation between different groups, and in selecting an appropriate research tool with which to elicit their opinions. At the same time they also served to highlight the culturally rooted nature of many identity affiliations, in turn substantiating the outcome of the literature review and conceptual work.

#### **4.5.2.1 Outcomes and Impact on Design and Implementation**

Rather than an obstacle to the research process, the above were construed as positive factors, enabling clearer insight into, and better understanding of the individual nature of attitudes among stakeholders. Similarly, the findings served as an early indication of the strengths and weaknesses of various data collection techniques, highlighting the need for those to adequately match the diversity of potential participants. The preliminary outcomes further demonstrated the need to work as efficiently and flexibly as possible in terms of resource use.

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<sup>18</sup> Chapters 5 and 6 detail the specific demographic and geographical basis of the selected research sample. The concentration of the city’s BME population and their community representative groups within the city centre’s Barton and Tredworth wards was an important influence on finalising the specific research ‘site’.

### 4.5.3 Methodological Clarification/Informal Observation

With this in mind, field visits were utilised as a means of evaluating potential methodological tools for use within the developing case study framework. Here, the ability to distinguish objective facts of the case from more subjective reformist thinking was helped by foreknowledge of the research situation. Gained via conceptual work, the use of multiple sources of evidence in complementary ways and the fusion of theoretical and empirical elements characterised the adopted case study approach. Consequently, this enabled the necessary range of e.g. historical, cultural, attitudinal and observational issues to be addressed. However, despite this, as Cohen and Manion point out, observation lies at the heart of case study research.<sup>19</sup> Whilst not a prime research tool, it was practical at this point to undertake informal observation-based research in parallel with the discussions. This made efficient use of available time and resources in a form of what Denzin and Lincoln term an opportunistic, ‘bricoleur’ approach.<sup>20</sup> This stage involved observational visits to ‘sites’ identified through documentary evidence and statistical data to confirm their heritage and socio-cultural credentials, and hence their suitability as the basis for the study.

Exploring the sites on foot elicited a number of useful observations in terms of highlighting the nature and character of the historic built fabric, demographics and overall social tone. As Bauman states, ‘...strolling still has its uses...’;<sup>21</sup> to stroll in this sense is to listen, observe and experience and to expose theories and biographies to new and unfamiliar social settings and relations, with a view to enhancing

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<sup>19</sup> Observation in this context refers to the means by which the meanings brought by actors to their social environments are recorded and described; hence these means can be interviews or observation: see e.g. Cohen L, Manion L, 1994, *Research Methods in Education*, London: Routledge, p. 107; Hughes J, 1980, *The Philosophy of Social Research*, London: Longman, p. 73

<sup>20</sup> Denzin N K, Lincoln Y S, 1994 (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage

<sup>21</sup> Bauman Z 1992, *Intimations of Postmodernity*, London: Routledge, p. 155

understanding.<sup>22</sup> Guided by the conceptual framework, notes were taken and a photographic record maintained during the visits. In this regard the author's own ethnicity, along with overt use of these visible research 'tools', proved helpful in attracting the curiosity and attention of a number of BME and white community members encountered. In a number of instances this enabled a degree of informal dialogue to be established. During those spontaneous, conversation-based encounters, no attempt was made to record or document comments and opinions elicited. Subsequently, writing up was carried out as soon as practicable after the event. Importantly, these discussions were instigated within the target population's own socio-environmental contexts, and with those who may otherwise have remained inaccessible.

#### 4.5.3.1 Negotiating Access

The issue of negotiating access to participants is an important one. With this in mind, for the study to meet its objectives, a number of selective measures were necessary. For example, 'snowball' sampling was avoided, even where people proved non-amenable to approaches and requests to participate. With 'snowballing', forthcoming individuals nominate friends or people within their own 'circle' or organisation. It was felt that this approach could lead to findings that reflect the views of a particular group or perspective; a situation evident in a number of contemporary commissioned social surveys. In these instances, those purporting to speak on behalf of others are given voice, yet less visible minorities and their opinions are largely omitted. In this sense, participants selected on the basis of local community liaison group recommendation were incompatible with the critical philosophy and methodological

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<sup>22</sup> This technique was used by Samuel in his living history reflections: Samuel R, 1996, *Theatres of Memory, Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, London: Verso 1994, p.117

attitude of this research. Instead, it was deemed necessary to balance views of a more vocal minority with those less willing to come forward and be given voice. In recognition of the fact that the most accessible are not necessarily the most appropriate research participants, a compromise was achieved, with a more individual approach adopted for negotiating access and building rapport.. Herein, whilst observation provided an initial impetus to structuring a participant sub-sample, demands on time and resources had to be weighed against the needs of the project. With conceptual work providing definition to the research problem, its clarity of aims negated use of a full pilot study, which is better suited to survey type research. In short, a balanced, analytical approach to addressing the problem outweighed the greater time and effort prerequisite.

#### **4.5.3.2 Maintaining Institutional Links**

The exploratory fieldwork was supported at institutional level by a two-week placement at EH's central office during December 2003, which provided an opportunity to update and discuss progress and developments relating to the research. Similarly, shadowing the work of the social inclusion unit 'on the ground' afforded an insight into levels of engagement with and understanding of the social inclusion agenda in relation to heritage at institutional level. These and other issues arising within the sector and relevant to the research could then be cross-referenced with the project's conceptual foundation. During that period consultations took place within EH, the DCMS and ODPM, and with other heritage sector and community representatives. This stage therefore proved valuable both in terms of its outcomes

and in consolidating the project's intellectual and practical rationale.<sup>23</sup> Thus, it further corroborated epistemological and empirical decisions taken and the proposed target population, as suited to the needs of the research.

This section has examined the methodological strategy and process chosen to render empirical data production and analysis manageable and intelligible. It is to the production of those empirical data that the following section now turns. Specifically, there follows an examination of techniques and procedures used to engage and elicit responses from participants.

#### **4.6 Methods: Design and Implementation**

Rather than being bracketed by 'fact-gathering', this project is intended as a small-scale, in-depth study of an individual, culturally diverse social unit. To provide the right kind of data, the study required insight into participants' biographies; that is, into their values, experiences and attitudes contributing to the socio-psychological aspects of heritage meaning. This necessitated qualitative depth within the researcher/participant dialogue. The specificity of aims and objectives pointed to the potential of focused qualitative interviews as a research tool. This method involves the researcher having an explicit aim when conducting the interview, whilst the interviewee has greater flexibility to talk about the topic.<sup>24</sup> Qualitative depth is achieved by allowing interviewees to talk within their own frames of reference, drawing upon ideas and meanings with which they are familiar. At the same time, guidance by the researcher ensures that outcomes reflect the research aims. This

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<sup>23</sup> DCMS Broadening Access Group meeting attended 05/12/03. The agenda at this meeting included broadening access to the historic environment for priority groups in order to meet PSA targets. Those present in addition to the author were Nyla Naseer (EH), Sian Clarke (DCMS), Frances MacLeod and Frances Garner of Historic Houses Association (HHA).

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. Bryman A, 1988, *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*, London: Unwin Hyman



flexibility better suits the discovery of values, meanings and perceptions than does e.g. standardisation or a desire to compare outcomes through the constraints of a set interview schedule.

Questioning would thus indicate the field of interest and supplement rather than displace participants' own meanings and interpretations. This brings us to the research problem – specifically, its translation into a format for eliciting responses: the raw product from which data are produced. Concerning people's experiential understanding of socially constructed phenomena, specific questions devised in a formulaic manner are inappropriate. In this, as May reminds us, 'interviews do not begin with the first question but follow much preparation by reading and exploratory fieldwork'.<sup>25</sup> Instead, to render them comprehensible, the following questions were defined as fields of interests derived from the research problem:

How and in what way does the reformist CBH model traverse socio-cultural diversity?

- How and why have contemporary socio-economic and cultural change (the plurality and diversity within contemporary social groups, cultures and lifestyles affecting community structure) resulted in an equivalent multiplicity of attitudes towards CBH?

How have meanings and values attributed to heritage, and its role in instilling a sense of place and identity been transformed, diffused or disappeared?

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<sup>25</sup> May T, 2001, op. cit., p.132

- How have such places changed not just physically, but in people's perceptions?

Are heritage meanings and values perceived as established and coherent, or are they re-imagined and defined in ways that take account of their changing role and nature?

- How evident is access and participatory claims-making among BME groups at local community level?
- How are reformist calls for a more inclusive definition of what constitutes national CBH received at local community level?

#### 4.6.1 Emergent Issues within Interviewing

As with all aspects of this research, tensions existed between subjectivity and objectivity. In this, adoption of a critical research approach brought with it a need for objective distance in order to situate the participant socially. Here, a compromise was necessary between outwardly polarised positions: full engagement to detached analysis. Herein, as Cicourel points out: 'A sustained relationship appears to produce a successful interview from a qualitative perspective, while a more detached stance is assumed to produce more reliable data'.<sup>26</sup>

In balancing these seemingly contradictory criteria, detailed conversations within the focused interview mode provide fuller insight in to a person's biography; here, full disengagement from the interview process is neither practicable nor desirable. Instead, responses are correlated to their theoretical categories during the data production stage. Critical disengagement is achieved after the event via return to theory.

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<sup>26</sup> See e.g. Cicourel A, 1964, *Method and Measurement in Sociology*, London: Macmillan

#### **4.6.1.1 Research Sample**

Gaining the qualitative depth from interviews depends on eliciting understanding of the participants' perspectives. This calls upon a significant level of cooperation and rapport established over time. In this, exploratory fieldwork was used to combine understanding of both the intellectual position of the research and the locale in which its empirical element took place. This process helped clarify ambiguities surrounding the research among the target population, while eliciting their cooperation and being sensitive to ethical, practical and theoretical concerns. Decisions surrounding selection of a research sample were influenced by Moser and Kalton, who suggest the following three conditions for successful completion of interviews:

- **Accessibility** – refers to whether the person being interviewed has the information needed to answer the researcher's needs. The interviewer can use the flexibility of focused approaches to clarify research issues, though people may refuse to answer for ethical, personal or political reasons; those were 'weeded' out prior to selecting respondents.
- **Cognition** – or an understanding by the participants of what is required of them. Interviews are social encounters rather than a passive means of gaining information. Interviewees have to be made aware of what is required of them, as well as of the information needed to address the research problem.
- **Motivation** – it is essential to make the participants feel that they and their responses are valued, for their cooperation is fundamental to the conduct of the

research. This means maintaining interest leading up to and during the interviews.<sup>27</sup>

Having acted upon these points, a sample of 28 participants was derived from the target population. This represents the spatially defined cultural unit forming the basis of empirical work. As Chapter 6 will demonstrate, in terms of its scale and social and cultural diversity, it is deemed entirely adequate to the research needs.

#### 4.6.1.2 Reflecting on Practice

Focused interviewing is expensive and time consuming. To ensure that interview responses served their explicit purpose, data analysis needed to be considered, along with choice of response mode.<sup>28</sup> According to Benney and Hughes, two conventions characterise interviews: equality and comparability.<sup>29</sup> The former relates to the level of dialogue on the participants' own terms. Whilst in focused interviewing this works to the advantage of the respondent, the resultant lack of structure can lead to a lack of uniformity in responses. This makes comparative analysis more difficult. As for the latter, structured and semi-structured techniques provide greater ease of analysis. However, as May argues, 'Interviews have different aims, and the convenience of analysis should not be a reason for choosing one rather than another'.<sup>30</sup> With this in mind, data requirements were balanced with the ability to produce them via analysis of responses. Therefore, despite their shortcomings, focused interviews were deemed best suited to this project's requirements.

<sup>27</sup> Moser C, Kalton G, 1983, *Survey Methods in Social Investigation*, London: Heinemann, p. 271-2

<sup>28</sup> For more information see Cohen L, Manion L, 1994, op. cit., p.285

<sup>29</sup> Benney M, Hughes E, 'Of Sociology and the Interview', in Bulmer M, 1984 (ed), *Sociological Research Methods*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London: Macmillan, cited in May T, 2001, op. cit., p. 137

<sup>30</sup> May T, 2001, ibid, p. 137

### 4.6.1.3 Conducting the Interviews

The majority of interviews were held in participants' own homes, with a further three held within private rooms allocated by BME community liaison groups: two at the Roshni Women's Centre (see Fig.3) and one at the Bangladeshi Gloucester Association.



**Figure 3: Roshni Women's Centre, Barton Street, Gloucester (source: author's collection)**

Directive questioning was used to gain quantifiable information, as explicated in Chapter 6. Subsequently, non-directive, open-ended questioning facilitated probing and a wider degree of flexibility. This gave participants more latitude, allowing elaborations on the subject by repetition, and encouraging clarification or amplification of response. Throughout, questioning reflected the nature of information required and so utilised both specific and non-specific formats.<sup>31</sup> Non-specific techniques were particularly used where apathy was encountered; here, as Tuckman

<sup>31</sup> See Tuckman B W, 1972, 'Conducting Educational Research', in Cohen L Manion L, 1994, op. cit., p.278

argues, ‘non-specific questions may lead circuitously to the desired information but with less alarm by the respondents.’<sup>32</sup> This change in emphasis of a question – or simply posing it in a different way – can provoke further thought on the subject, as well as serving as a catalyst enabling links to be made with answers given previously. This marked a transition from general and non-specific to specific issues, a point further aided by use of funnelling to provide greater depth of focus.

This flexibility, as well as permitting elaboration of previously made points, as accounts unfolded, allowed questioning about previously stated beliefs in terms of the information subsequently gained. This information could then be applied to a later stage in the conversation in a form of retrospective-prospective interpretation.<sup>33</sup> This method of ‘reflecting back’ made it possible to seek clarification and elaboration upon the participants’ account. In a similar vein, it permitted interviewees to correct and/or modify their opinions. This was useful in terms of its capacity to help link historical and culturally conditioned notions of CBH with participants’ evolving perspectives, perceptions and values.<sup>34</sup>

This chronological method of interviewing is associated with ideas relating to a person’s ‘career’ – not in the sense of a person developing occupational status, but in terms of the transformations people undergo in adopting particular roles as a result of new experiences.<sup>35</sup> Bourdieu used these principles in research into housing problems,

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<sup>32</sup> Tuckman B W, 1972, in Cohen L, Manion, 1994, *ibid*, p. 278

<sup>33</sup> See e.g. Garfinkel F, 1967, *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall. See also Scott J, Alwin D, ‘Retrospective Versus Prospective Measurement of Life Histories in Longitudinal Research’, in Giele J Z, Elder G H Jr 1988 (eds), *Methods of Life Course Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, London: Sage

<sup>34</sup> See e.g. Giele J Z, Elder J H Jr, 1998, *ibid*

<sup>35</sup> Based on principles developed by the Chicago School: See Hall T, 2001, *Urban Geography*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn, London: Routledge, pp. 5-7

noting that ‘...the interviews...proceeded in such a way that seemed...very “natural”, giving rise to accounts of an unhopd-for frankness’.<sup>36</sup>

#### 4.6.2 Analysis and Interpretation

The problems of recording and analysing responses from focused interviews have been touched upon above. Where permitted, interviews were taped, with non-verbal gestures of the participant recorded in note form. Whilst outwardly economical in terms of time use, tape-recording also had disadvantages, in particular in terms of researcher/participant interaction. For example, in a number of instances participants did not wish the conversation to be recorded. On those occasions interviews as well as observations were transcribed on the same day and added to as other points were recalled.

Following the interviews, the work of transcribing took place. This process permitted a degree of familiarity with the information, beyond that available in the field. At the same time, pre-coding to conceptual work assisted in the early indication of emergent categories under which data sets could be indexed. This strategy was used prior to withdrawal from the study setting in order to make analytic sense of responses. With categories pre-determined by theoretical propositions and exploratory fieldwork, this enabled a degree of analysis to be carried out quickly and simultaneously with data collection and recording. In turn, categorisation was modified and adapted as emergent patterns were identified and aligned with the project’s analytic framework.

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<sup>36</sup> Bourdieu P, 1999, *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society*, Cambridge: Polity, p.618

Coding as a means of facilitating comparative analysis of open-ended questions has been defined as ‘the general term for conceptualising data;<sup>37</sup> whilst for Kerlinger, coding is ‘...the translation of question responses and respondents’ information to specific categories for the purposes of analysis’.<sup>38</sup> Categorisation was aided by detailed content analysis of responses as a form of post-coding and scoring. Where findings bore similarity, they could be categorised under relevant topics and headings. This employed elements of both pattern matching and explanation building techniques.<sup>39</sup> Through cross-referencing with theoretical categories, texts were marked each time a response significant to the research question was elicited; these marked comments or phrases then summarised the ‘themes’ of what had been said. ‘Themes’ subsequently formed the basis of the ‘categories’ and the actual comments and phrases, of the ‘codes’.

Subsequently, editing was carried out according to the emerging themes and topic headings. Each categorised transcript comprised the element of the interview relevant to that particular topic or heading. This applied to both taped and non-taped interviews. In the case of the latter, once written-up, notes were ordered in the same way by cutting and pasting under relevant headings. Together with notes on the course and context of the interviews, and any non-verbal gestures, this procedure helped build familiarity with the data.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Strauss A, 1988, *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*, Cambridge: University Press, p. 20

<sup>38</sup> Kerlinger F N, 1969, ‘*Foundations of Behavioural Research*’, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, cited in Cohen L, Manion L, 1994, op. cit., p. 286

<sup>39</sup> Pattern matching is where results are compared with those predicted to match propositions; explanation building is where propositions are used to establish chains of causality against which empirical evidence has been assessed. These approaches were varied as more evidence was amassed.

<sup>40</sup> In accordance with the ESRC Datasets Policy, and following processing in compliance with confidentiality criteria, dataset copies will be submitted for deposit at the Qualidata archival resource centre, University of Essex (see <http://www.essex.ac.uk/qualidata>).



To ease the process of analysis, electronic data analysis packages were tried, notably NUDIST. This was useful to a degree for comparing and exploring emergent categories, following the use of initial manual techniques. However, time constraints and limitations of these packages for use with in-depth qualitative research rendered them limited, especially as the 'process' of analysis tended to override any ability to gain familiarity with the information inputted. They were therefore considered an unsuitable substitute for more contextually aware, albeit protracted modes of analysis and interpretation.

In this, the developmental approach to interviewing proved valuable. Moving chronologically through participants' accounts of events, meanings and experiences enabled a clearer picture of how those accounts related to contextual circumstances. Considering the context-based characteristics of CBH's social construction, opinions and values have to be 'situated' in order to understand the socio-cultural determinants underpinning participant responses. This points to the establishment of what Mills terms 'vocabularies of motive'<sup>41</sup> Indeed as May, reflecting on Bourdieu remarks: 'Analysis of talk requires more than linguistic analysis...also required is an explanation of the position of the respondent or speaker in terms for example of their class, race...and so on. This "positioning" will be missed if concentration is on speech alone'.<sup>42</sup>

Ways in which people identify and understand their physical and social environments are not static but subject to modification and reinterpretation. To understand these processes, research must be internalised; that is, those understandings need to be

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<sup>41</sup> Mills C W, 1940, *Situated Accounts and Vocabularies of Motive*, American Sociological Review, Vol. 6, cited in May T, 2001, op. cit., p. 140

<sup>42</sup> May T, 2001, *ibid*, p. 140

sought from within the culture being studied. Though leading to adoption of an interpretative paradigm, this has not been at the total expense of objectivity. Indeed, while reflexivity is an important dimension, as May states, 'it cannot serve as justification for introspective indulgence'.<sup>43</sup> The latter would render the work emotive, moralised or sensationalised. In this case, it would uncritically accept as self-evident existing generalisations surrounding participatory access to CBH. Such a standpoint merely risks perpetuating discriminatory practices. At the same time, as an attitudinal study of a potentially dissonant cultural form, a scientific or quasi-scientific paradigm is considered unsuitable. Therefore no attempt to produce universally applicable or replicable findings is implied or considered viable.

This chapter has explained how the research problem was addressed. The next chapter will describe the spatial setting in which research took place.

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<sup>43</sup> May T, 2001, *ibid*, p. 169

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **GLOUCESTER – A CASE STUDY PROFILE**

## CHAPTER 5: GLOUCESTER – A CASE STUDY PROFILE

### 5.1 Introduction

As the previous chapter has shown, the selection of Gloucester as the case study locale took place as part of the research. It was based on decisions mediated through theory and borne out of the project's twofold design. Similarly, Chapter 3 made clear how issues surrounding cultural identity underpin much of what heritage embodies within the context of this thesis, the historic built environment reflecting wider socio-cultural developments. Whilst the connotation of these issues is subject to area and regional variation, the notion of cultural identity and continuity proffered by built heritage remains central to EH's conservation ethic. Against a backdrop of social reform, however, the continued relevance to contemporary society of established perceptions of CBH is disputed. These issues are central to the investigation; as earlier outlined, Gloucester meets all criteria necessary to address them.

'One of the finest historic cities in England'; so says Chris Smith, EH's Assistant Regional Director, South West Region.<sup>1</sup> Located on a strategically important gateway to England's West Country, Gloucester is one of the oldest continuously occupied cities in the country. Its heritage reflects development from Roman times to the present day, although such an extensive cultural lineage would render its full explication impractical.

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<sup>1</sup> Commenting on the formation of Gloucester's Heritage Urban Regeneration Company (HURC) in February 2004: *New Dawn for Gloucester*, South West of England Regional Development Agency Newsletter, 02/02/04. Also available online at the SWRDA website <http://www.southwestrda.org.uk/news/release.aspID=1003>

This chapter provides a broadly descriptive historical summary to introduce Gloucester's heritage credentials. These are then explicated further in a brief review of the city as a heritage resource. Intrinsic and extrinsic heritage values are addressed and a temporal framework provided to illustrate the city's varying social tone characterised by historical periods of prosperity and decline. The city today is represented in a socio-cultural profile, showing the compliance of the case study locale with its intellectual and practical selection criteria. The 'official' role of CBH within Gloucester is not overlooked, with a précis of recent heritage sector activity providing an indicator of official uses and perceptions of the city's traditionally defined heritage legacy.

## 5.2 Historical Overview

### 5.2.1 The Early Period

The current city centre stands on the site of a Roman fort dating from around AD 43. Its location was the first point on the river Severn where a bridge could easily be built.<sup>2</sup> From AD 60 a new station, Glevum<sup>3</sup> was built, which by AD 97 was made a colonia.<sup>4</sup> Following the battle of Deohram (now Dyrham) in AD 577, the town became capital of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia. Gloucester's importance as a regional centre was further confirmed with the founding of St Peter's Abbey (now the site of Gloucester cathedral) in AD 681<sup>5</sup> and St Oswald's Priory in AD 900<sup>6</sup>. The

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<sup>2</sup> On the river Thames, the same reasoning made London such an important centre at the time: see e.g. Hayes K, 2001, *Around Gloucester*, Salisbury: Frith Book Company Ltd, p. 12

<sup>3</sup> Glevum was the Roman name for Gloucester, founded by the emperor Nerva, AD 96-98: See Spry N, *Glevum: The Roman Origins of Gloucester*, research paper for the Gloucester and District Archaeological Research Group, available online at <http://www.gadarg.org.uk/essays/e001.htm> (accessed 09/12/04)

<sup>4</sup> The Roman coloniae were high status, self-governing cities with similar rights to Rome itself. Gloucester or Glevum formed part of a network along with York, Lincoln and Colchester. They became centres for Roman ideals, values and beliefs – an advert for the Roman way of life: Spry N, Gloucester and District Archaeological Research Group, *ibid*

<sup>5</sup> Under King Aethelred of Mercia: See Hayes K, 2001, *op. cit.*, p. 13

latter coincided with the rebuilding of the town incorporating the Roman cruciform street pattern still evident today.<sup>7</sup> This period also witnessed the building of a palace at Kingsholm, later used by several Saxon and Norman kings for councils and parliaments. It was from here in 1085 that William I ordered the Domesday Survey. Gloucester's strategic and administrative standing was affirmed during the Middle Ages by a series of royal grants culminating in a charter of 1485, conferring on the town the status of a county in its own right. City status followed in 1541, with the former abbey church of St Peter becoming Cathedral of the new Diocese (Fig. 4).



**Figure 4: Gloucester Cathedral**  
(source: author's collection)

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<sup>6</sup> Under Queen Aethelflaed, daughter of Alfred the Great: Hayes K, 2001, *ibid*, p. 13

<sup>7</sup> This rebuilding followed a period of unrest in which invasions from the Welsh, fires caused through negligence, the civil war between Beornwulf (King of Mercia) and his successor Coelwulf, and plundering by Danes (defeated by Alfred the Great in AD 878) damaged the city's Roman foundations laid down 600 years earlier: Hayes K, 2001, *ibid*, p. 13

Throughout the Civil War the city was a parliamentary stronghold.<sup>8</sup> Following the restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, retribution included partial demolition of the city's medieval walls and the stripping away of land awarded as part of the 1485 charter. Nonetheless, the city retained its status as a county, as well as county town of Gloucestershire.

### **5.2.2 The Georgian Period**

After the turbulence of the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, Gloucester became a provincial centre; industrial growth, which for many comparable English towns had begun in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was delayed until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly, its size and population remained smaller than it had been prior to the deliberate burning of suburbs outside the city walls during the Civil War. The city's economy depended on its role as a regional centre for marketing agricultural produce and supporting traditional industries such as match and pin manufacture,<sup>9</sup> bell founding, tanning and wool stapling. Whilst benefiting from its river trade,<sup>10</sup> maritime trade was restricted by navigational hazards in the estuary below the city, and by control exercised over Gloucester's trade by the neighbouring port of Bristol. Indeed, Bristol's commercial dominance stifled industrial development, contributing to the failure of Gloucester's economic expansion in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, despite economic stagnation, the Georgian period saw considerable change in the city's built environment. The central Roman street pattern (meeting at the Cross) remained, along with side streets of medieval origin. Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, church (re)building and new

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<sup>8</sup> The imposition of 'Ship Tax', a tax for coastal defence imposed on the people of inland Gloucester by Charles I, is one reason why the city stood for Parliament against the monarch: Alan Drewett, Gloucester Transport History website <http://glostransporthistory.softdata.co.uk/>, accessed 26/11/04

<sup>9</sup> Pin manufacturing was first mentioned in Gloucester in 1396. By 1802 one in five of the city's workers were employed in one of nine pin factories: see e.g. Living Gloucester website [http://www.livinggloucester.co.uk/made/pin\\_making/](http://www.livinggloucester.co.uk/made/pin_making/), accessed 23/11/03

<sup>10</sup> A charter from Elizabeth I granted Gloucester the status of a port in 1580. The city is the most inland port in the country: see e.g. Living Gloucester website [http://www.livinggloucester.co.uk/histories/gloucester\\_docks/](http://www.livinggloucester.co.uk/histories/gloucester_docks/), accessed 19/09/03

public buildings, banks and schools enriched their appearance. Similarly, many gabled timber buildings were rebuilt or refaced with brick façades.

### **5.2.3 The Industrial Age**

The city's future prosperity depended on its trading links. To overcome the hazards of the Severn estuary, a canal scheme was developed, with strong backing locally and in the West Midlands where much trade depended on the Severn navigation.

Construction of the Gloucester and Berkeley canal – which by-passed the worst parts of the tidal River Severn – was completed in 1824. Linking the city with the Severn estuary, this brought an immediate increase in sea-going trade, with Gloucester becoming a busy port handling goods and imports bound for the West Midlands. This success stimulated commercial and industrial activity, its strategic position on major land routes also making Gloucester an important railway centre. By 1850 the city had rail links with Birmingham, Bristol, London and South Wales. In the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century commercial development centred on the docks area, with warehouses built e.g. by corn merchants, contributing to the area's character still evident today (see Fig. 5 overleaf).

The inability of larger vessels to use the canal and the development of a comprehensive railway network worked to the advantage of other industrial centres. Thus the peak of the docks trade was short-lived, being quickly overshadowed by newer transport facilities at Avonmouth and Portshead. However, water-borne trade continued into the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the port's staple imports, grain and timber, fuelling industrial activity. Gloucester also continued to prosper as an industrial and manufacturing centre, with e.g. the railway wagon works, opened in





Figure 5: Gloucester's docks, looking towards the Cathedral (source: author's collection)

1860.<sup>11</sup> Changes to the built environment during the 19<sup>th</sup> century reflected Gloucester's industrialisation, with new building taking place in the Kingsholm, Barton and Tredworth areas to provide housing for workers. In the city centre, road improvements and the demolition of some medieval buildings eased road congestion and made way for new commercial and public buildings.

#### 5.2.4 The Modern Era

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Gloucester's economic development was reflected in its growing population, which stood at 47,955, a six-fold increase on a century earlier. To alleviate increasing public health concerns, piecemeal slum clearance began in 1909, with the first council houses built in 1919. Manufacturing

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<sup>11</sup> The wagon works was the largest firm in the city, at its peak employing 1100 people: see e. g. Jufica J, 1994, *Gloucester: A Pictorial History*, Chichester: Phillimore, unpaginated



continued to provide many jobs with the Gloster (sic) Aircraft Company and Cotton motorcycle plant becoming leading employers after the First World War. By the 1930s the docks trade diminished in the face of competition from road transport. The 20th century saw a period of decline for Gloucester; the opening of the Severn Bridge changed its economic perspective, while widespread industrial decline from the 1960s onwards saw a loss of railway and manufacturing trade, culminating in closure of the wagon works in the mid 1980s.



**Figure 6: One of Gloucester's famous brands, still in use but no longer manufactured in the city (source: [www.livinggloucester.co.uk](http://www.livinggloucester.co.uk))**

However, with the construction of motorway links, the city remained a centre for road transport, helping maintain its economic and social viability by contributing to the establishment of e.g. newer high-tech and food manufacturing industries, and distribution centres. In common with many cities, Gloucester's built environment has been affected by measures to ease traffic congestion and facilitate car parking and pedestrianisation, a number of old streets and buildings – many of historical and

architectural significance – being lost in the process. Nonetheless, despite the impact of late 20<sup>th</sup> century development, a rich and substantial built heritage framework survives.

### **5.3 The City as a Heritage Resource**

This framework today illustrates the ‘continuity within change’ important to the formation of the character and identity of Gloucester. As a heritage resource, the city’s buildings provide a repository of not only cultural and architectural heritage, but a narrative of socio-cultural settlement, lifestyle and identity practices over the centuries. Accordingly, they present a useful resource from which to explore the geographies of heritage value construction underpinning the research problem.

#### **5.3.1 Heritage Profile**

With its many layers of English history, Gloucester’s heritage offers a distinctive built form: an internationally important Cathedral, a Roman and medieval street pattern, 19th century docks and an abundance of important ecclesiastical buildings. The fabric of once prosperous, high quality residential enclaves still exists within the central area, e.g. the Regency Spa environs and many fine Victorian terraces and townhouses.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, inner city suburbs of terraced housing stand testament to Gloucester’s industrial urbanisation.

Among this built legacy are over 700 listed buildings. Of these 37 are listed grade I, 53 grade II\* and 616 grade II. This, when taken as a percentage of the whole, illustrates a high proportion (13%) of listed grade I and II\* buildings and structures.

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<sup>12</sup> The city’s spa contributed briefly to its prosperity, with the spring having been discovered in 1814: see e.g. Virtual Gloucester website <http://www.softdata.co.uk/gloucester/19th.htm>, accessed 04/03/04

Of the total number of listed buildings, Gloucester City Council's (GCC) Buildings at Risk strategy has identified 47 as being at risk. In addition, there are 26 Scheduled Ancient Monuments within the city, 5 of which are at risk.<sup>13</sup> The distinctive character of streetscapes and historic spaces is safeguarded within 11 Conservation Areas, predominantly concentrated within the central part of the city<sup>14</sup> (see Fig. 7 overleaf).

### 5.3.2 The City Today

Gloucester's historic environment and architectural heritage are central to its continuance as a residential, employment and leisure environment. This is evidenced e.g. in the place-marketing strategies of GCC. Moreover, tourism accounts for 6 per cent of the city's employment and, with 3.2 million visitors to the city each year, income from tourism e.g. in 2003 stood at £207 million.<sup>15</sup> The city's nationally and regionally distinctive heritage is among the major tourist attractions of Gloucester, as evidenced below:

Rank city	Rank county	Site/attraction	Visitor numbers
1	1	Gloucester docks	1,000,771
2	2	Antiques centre	425,814
3	3	Gloucester Cathedral	351,331
4	12	Mariners Church at Gloucester docks	153,620
5	N/C	National Waterways Museum	52,118

**Table 1: Top five visitor destinations in the city (source: Jo Turley, Gloucester City Council Tourism Assistant pers-comm)**

<sup>13</sup> GCC Buildings at Risk register is compiled in collaboration with EH and Gloucester Historic Buildings Limited (a local building preservation trust). The term 'building at risk' is shorthand for 'historic building at risk through neglect and decay'. Risk is generally defined by a combination of condition and occupancy, using a method developed by EH in 1992. There are six risk categories – from 1 (extreme risk) to 6 (not at risk from neglect). This provides a national standard of risk assessment: Caroline Ansell, GCC Department of Policy, Design and Conservation, interviewed on 17/03/04, pers-comm. See also GCC website <http://www.gloucester.gov.uk/Content.aspx?URN=533>

<sup>14</sup> In accordance with Section 69 of the Civic Amenities Act 1967 which gives local councils the power to designate Conservation Areas, and reinforced by the 1990 Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act. Available online at the Office for Public Sector Information (OMNI) website [http://www.opsi.gov.uk/ACTS/acts1990/Ukpga\\_19900009\\_en\\_1.htm](http://www.opsi.gov.uk/ACTS/acts1990/Ukpga_19900009_en_1.htm)

<sup>15</sup> *Baseline Research and Facilitation for a Gloucester Partnership Community Cohesion Strategy: Final Report*, CLES Consulting, Manchester, October 2003. Also Brenda Yearwood, Gloucester Community Cohesion Action Group, interviewed on 11/03/04, pers-comm



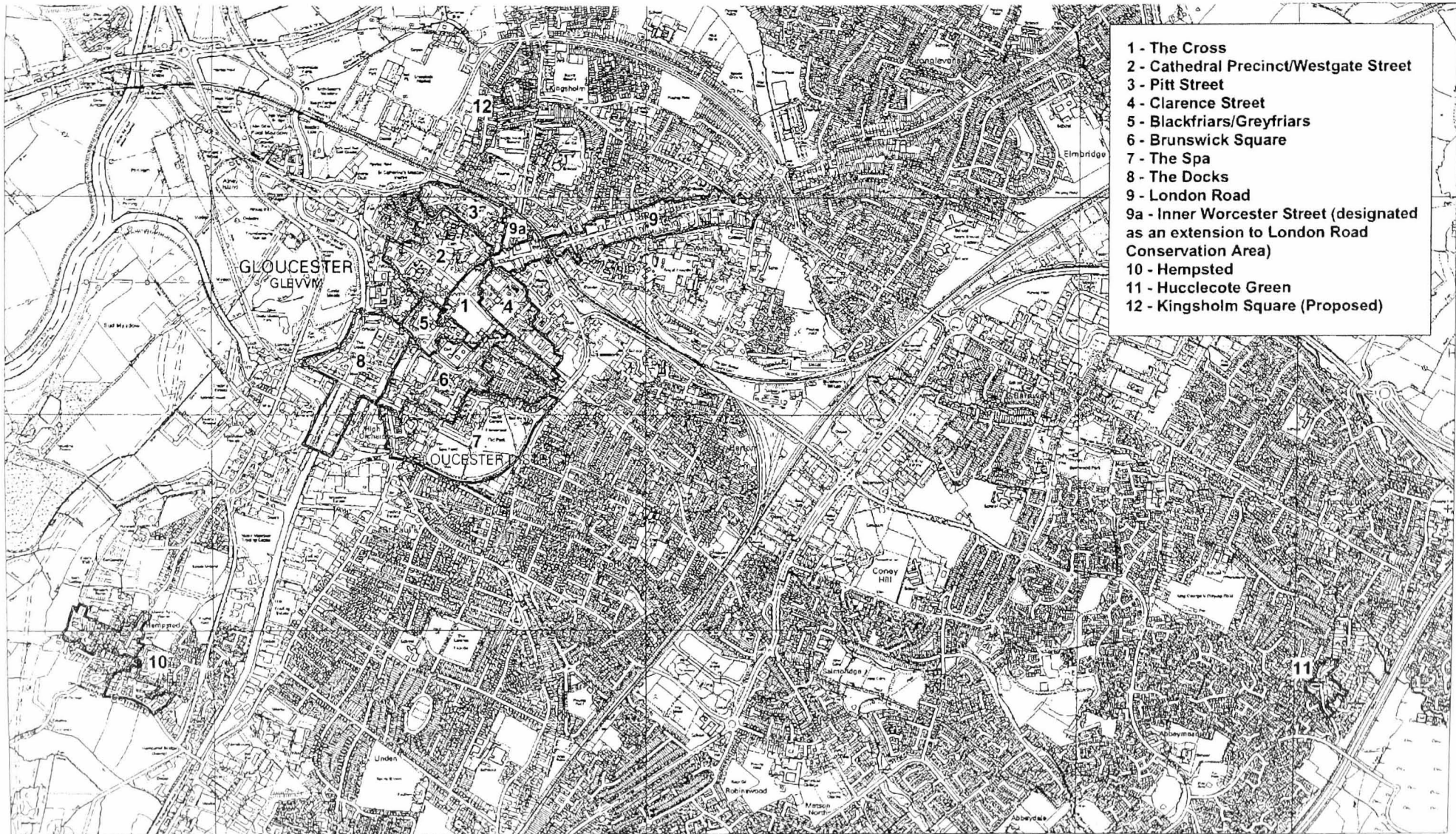


Figure 7: Existing and proposed Conservation Areas in Gloucester (source: Gloucester City Council)

## 5.4 Socio-cultural Profile

### 5.4.1 Demographic Overview

Statistically, Gloucester faces social problems and levels of deprivation usually associated with more prominent urban areas. For example, according to the National Indices of Multiple Deprivation, GCC is the 56th most severely deprived local authority of the 354 in England.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the city is the most deprived district in

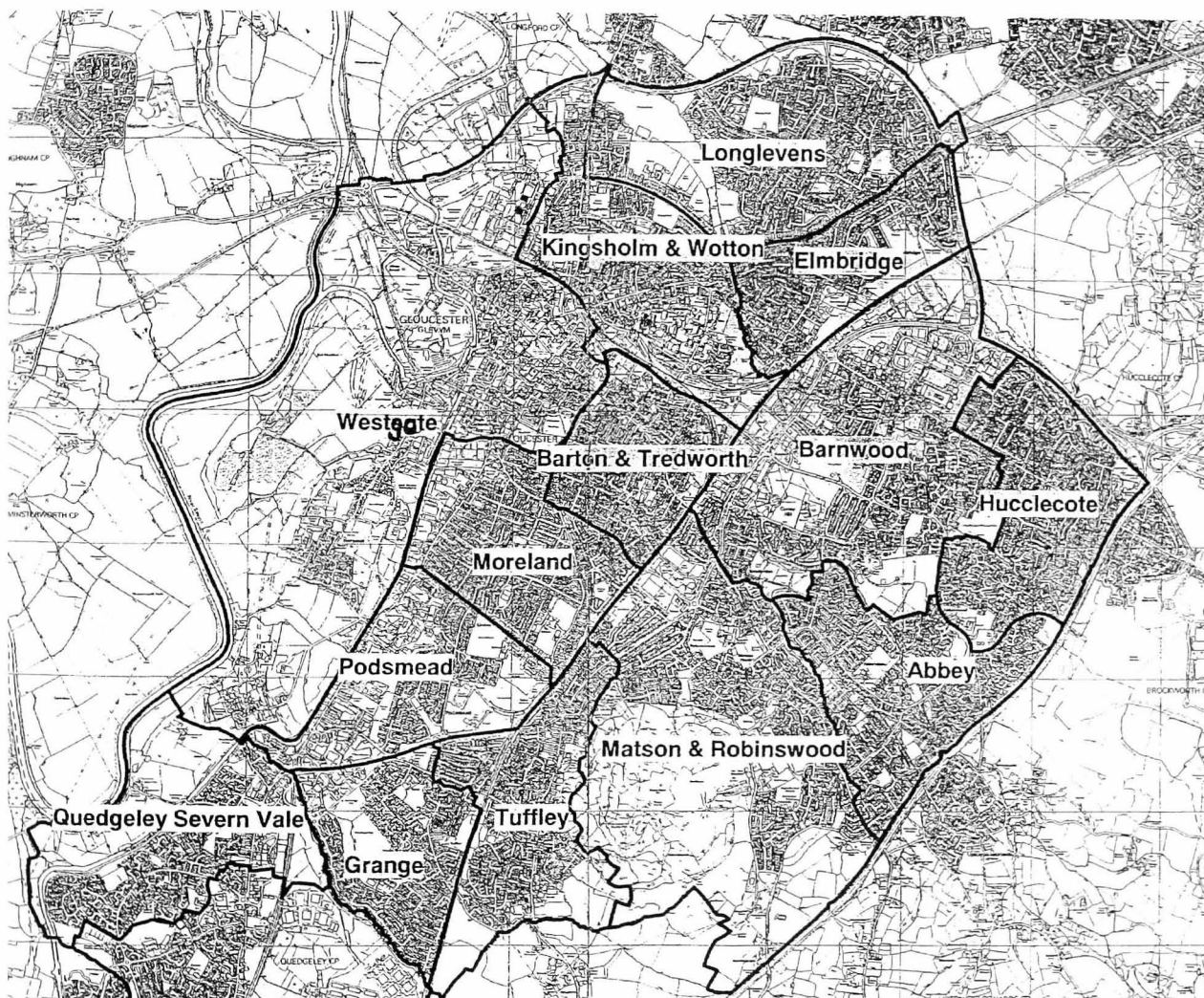


Figure 8: Ward boundaries in Gloucester (source: Gloucester City Council)

Gloucestershire, and the sixth most deprived in the South West. Of its 15 wards (see Fig. 8 above), the Barton and Tredworth wards are within the 10 % most deprived in

<sup>16</sup> DCLG, 2004, Indices of Multiple Deprivation for Wards in England, Neighbourhood Statistics, <http://www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1128442>, accessed 30/09/03. See also GCC's Crime Reduction Strategy 2002-2006, available online at [www.gloscrimereduction.org.uk/strategy.aspx](http://www.gloscrimereduction.org.uk/strategy.aspx) - 10k

England, being ranked 518 out of 8418.<sup>17</sup> A further four wards are in the 25 % most deprived.

The age structure of the population is similar to that of England and Wales as a whole, with 32.08% of the population of Gloucester being under 25 and 14.96% being over 65. There is also a broad range of incomes among the city's inhabitants, with relatively poor districts such as Barton and Tredworth neighbouring more prosperous areas of Robinswood and Quedgeley. Unemployment in the city stands at 3.4%, which is high compared to the county average of 1.8% but similar to unemployment in England and Wales overall (see table below).

Economic activity among resident population aged 16 to 74 (percentage)		
	Gloucester	England and Wales
Employed	65.3	60.6
Unemployed	3.4	3.4
Economically active full time students	2.3	2.6
Retired	12.5	13.6
Economically inactive students	2.7	4.7
Looking after home/family	5.8	6.5
Permanently ill/disabled	5.0	5.5

**Table 2: The economic activity of Gloucester's resident population as a percentage analysis (Source: 2001 Census)**

Levels of crime are high in Gloucester. As the table below shows, particular problems are car and violent crime, though sexual offences and robbery within the city are above the national rate.

<sup>17</sup> DTLGR, 2000, Indices of Multiple Deprivation and DCLG, 2004, Indices of Multiple Deprivation for Wards in England: <http://www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1128442> accessed 30/09/04. See also National Statistics Online 2001Census website: [www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001](http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001), accessed 21/07/03



	Violence against the person	Sexual offences	Robbery	Burglary from a dwelling	Theft of a motor vehicle	Theft from a motor vehicle
Total number of offences recorded Gloucester	1,694	103	220	762	536	2,127
Rate per 1,000 population Gloucester	15.5	0.9	2.0	7.0	4.9	19.5
Rate per 1,000 population England and Wales	11.4	0.7	1.8	7.6	6.4	11.9

**Table 3: Number of notifiable offences recorded April 2000 - March 2001 (Source: 2001 Census)**

Politically, Gloucester has always been a marginal constituency. It swung to Labour in 1997 and has remained so. Labour's majority is 3,880.<sup>18</sup>

### 5.4.2 Cultural Diversity in Gloucester

Gloucester is a multicultural city with a population of 109,885 ranging from Ukrainian Catholic to Irish to Muslim and comprising 45,765 households.<sup>19</sup> As a proportion of its population, the BME community in Gloucester is fractionally smaller than for England as a whole, with 7.5 % of residents from BME groups.<sup>20</sup> However, Gloucester supports the largest proportion of BME communities in the region, with these being geographically concentrated in the Barton and Tredworth wards where they account for almost 30% of the population.<sup>21</sup> In terms of the city's BME profile, the largest group is Asian or Asian British, which includes Indian, Pakistani,

<sup>18</sup> The constituency remained with Labour, following the May 2005 General Election, despite some predicting a 4.1 % swing to the Tories

<sup>19</sup> GCC Race Equality Scheme 2003-2006: *Promoting Race Equality & Diversity in Gloucester*, Gloucester: Gloucester City Council

<sup>20</sup> The figure for England is 7.8%: See National Statistics Online – Ethnicity <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=273>, accessed 17/04/04; Office for National Statistics (ONS), *Social Focus in Brief: Ethnicity*, 2002, London: HMSO. See also 2001 Census website op. cit

<sup>21</sup> ONS *Social Focus in Brief: Ethnicity*, 2002, ibid



Bangladeshi and ‘Other Asian’.<sup>22</sup> The smallest group within the BME population is Chinese or Other Ethnic Groups. Cultural diversity is reflected in the religious following of residents. Other than Christianity, the largest religious following within Gloucester is Islam.<sup>23</sup> This is borne out in the built environment, where mosques feature among the 19<sup>th</sup> century terraces of an otherwise archetypal English townscape.

### 5.4.3 Community Cohesion

Sufficient access to research participants demands a degree of stability within the community. Political sensitivities since the disturbances of 2001 in the northern towns of Oldham, Burnley and Bradford resulted in governmental directives aimed at encouraging cohesive communities. In a 2003 survey in Gloucester, 59.1% of people questioned thought that tension existed between people from different socio-economic groups.<sup>24</sup> This compares with a figure of 85.8% of people who felt there was either ‘some’, or ‘a lot of tension’ between people from different ethnic groups.

Additionally, the majority of those questioned (92%) felt that racial prejudice existed in Gloucester. However, in a somewhat contradictory vein, 81.3% of those surveyed believed that people in Gloucester respected ethnic differences. Despite contrary evidence, these figures suggest that, while not extreme, tensions between people from different backgrounds exist, reflecting feelings of prejudice and lack of assimilation. This point is corroborated by 98% of respondents to the same survey who thought that people from different cultures and faiths lead separate lives in Gloucester.

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<sup>22</sup> Definitions according to 2001 Census, op. cit.

<sup>23</sup> National Statistics Online – Gloucester, <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/profiles/23ue.asp>, accessed 21/08/03

<sup>24</sup> *Baseline Research and Facilitation for Gloucester Partnership Community Cohesion Strategy, Final Report*, 2003, op. cit.

## 5.5 Heritage Sector Activity

Gloucester has suffered fluctuations in its social tone comparable with that of English seaside resorts.<sup>25</sup> Growing port trade in the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought with it increased crime, drunkenness and prostitution, along with the philanthropist and missionary attempts to alleviate the problem. Chapels and former school buildings remain testament to this today. Furthermore, just as Bristol dominated the city commercially, Gloucester's social prominence in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century declined in the shadow of more prestigious Cheltenham.<sup>26</sup> However, under urban regeneration schemes of the 1980s, the potential of heritage as a driver for economic and social renewal became recognised.

There has been extensive regeneration activity across the city in recent years. As EH's Urban Panel, including representatives of the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) noted in 2003, the city is 'awash with development potential'.<sup>27</sup> With a wealth of brownfield urban capacity, however, pressure on the city's historic fabric is intense, with a number of sites released to unsympathetic but currently fashionable forms of development. Consequently, Gloucester shares with many other cities the problem of exclusive regenerative development, resulting in area gentrification of little benefit to the local community.

In this respect, regenerative focus has been on peripheral areas, including the railway triangle and waterside, deflecting attention from the city's historic core. However,

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<sup>25</sup> See e.g. Walton J K, 1983, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750-1914*, Leicester: University Press; Urry J, 'Cultural Change and the Seaside Resort', in Shaw G, Williams A 1997 (eds). *The Rise and Fall of British Coastal Resorts: Cultural and Economic Perspectives*, London: Cassell.

<sup>26</sup> Similarly, today a number of major retailers are unwilling to have stores in what they see as one retail centre, opting for the more socially and economically vibrant Cheltenham.

<sup>27</sup> Joint EH and CABE Urban Panel Report, May 2003, p.3

more recent moves, in line with the Government's White Paper '*Our Towns and Cities: The Future, Delivering an Urban Renaissance*', return focus to the city centre.<sup>28</sup> In February 2004 ODPM gave the go-ahead for a Heritage Urban Regeneration Company (HURC) to be established in Gloucester.<sup>29</sup> The HURC will be centred on the city's built heritage, in what EH cites as 'a unique opportunity to ensure the historic environment plays a central role in restoring vitality to Gloucester'.<sup>30</sup>

Emphasis on its regenerative role exemplifies the commodification of heritage as an economic driver at an official level. Similarly, as part of a coordinated move towards its policy aspirations, GCC has produced an Urban Design Strategy. It identifies existing heritage assets within the city's central area, and seeks to link these as a 'constellation of stars' (see Fig. 9 overleaf). The Strategy promotes what it considers the under-exploited value of the city's architectural heritage as an underpinning framework for leisure, commercial and residential purposes. In so doing, it also proffers a readily identifiable core of official CBH 'sites' seen as contributing to the essence of Gloucester.

## 5.6 Practical Criteria – A Suitable Basis for Research

With research often driven by the needs of a sponsor or research department, case studies are regularly selected for their typicality. Gloucester is different to the norm and its selection highlights dynamics that inform those differences.<sup>31</sup> This allows

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<sup>28</sup> Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions, 2000, *Our Towns and Cities: The Future, Delivering an Urban Renaissance*, (The Urban White Paper), London: TSO

<sup>29</sup> Gloucester Heritage URC is to be funded by the South West Regional Development Agency, English Partnerships, GCC and Gloucestershire County Council.

<sup>30</sup> Chris Smith, EH's Assistant Regional Director, South West Region, February 2004, op. cit

<sup>31</sup> Existing work focused on BME groups' concentrates on major urban centres or Northern industrial towns with more obvious BME populations.



issues to be heightened that would otherwise be overlooked by more stereotypical methods and locales.

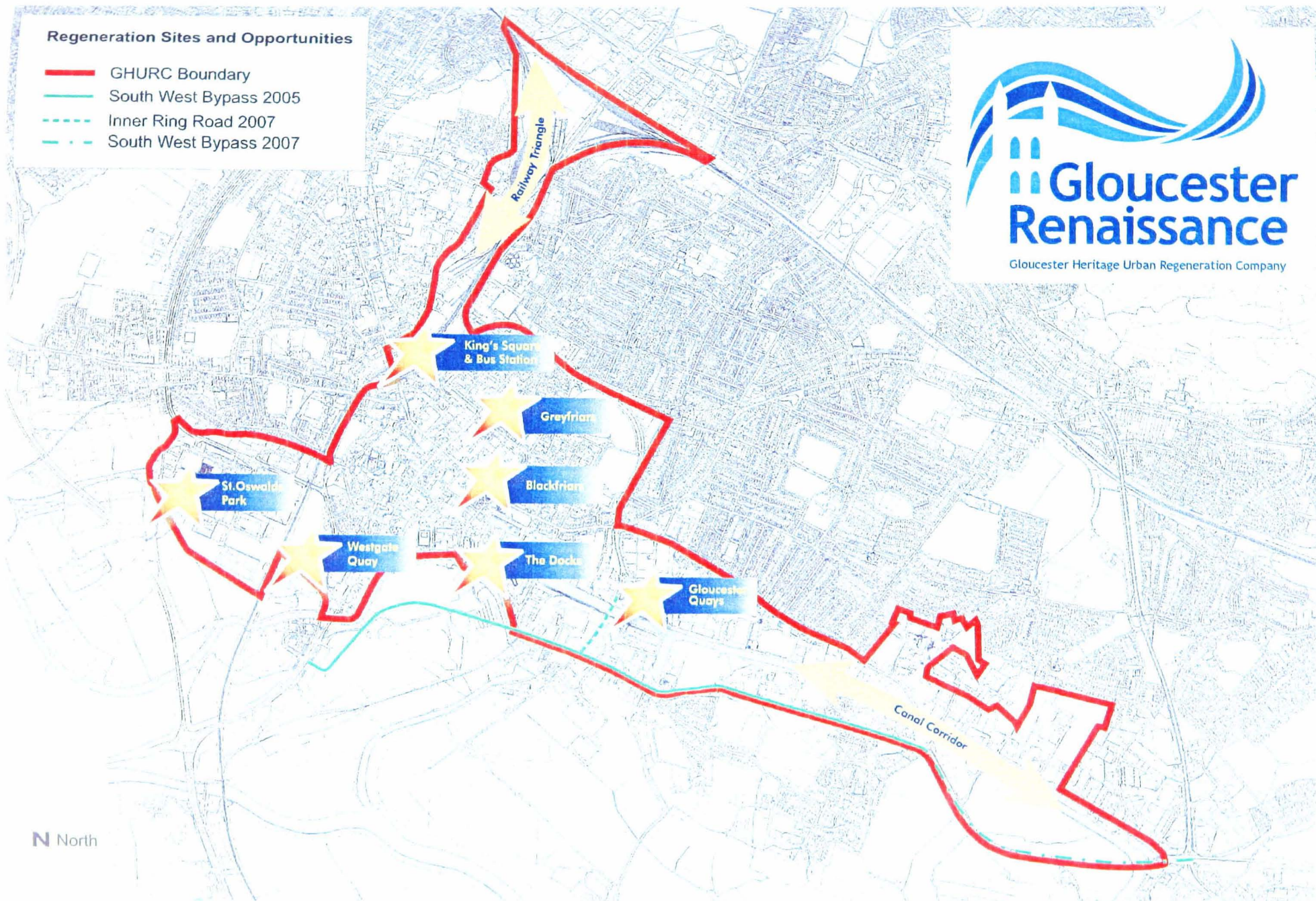


Figure 9: Sites identified as central to Gloucester's heritage-led regeneration strategy (source: Gloucester City Council)

In its long history, varying fortunes and rich architectural legacy, Gloucester offers a fitting basis for this investigation. The city's socio-cultural profile is indicative of a high level of diversity among participants – a fitting platform from which to explore the value and meaning of heritage. With its rich heritage, manageable spatial scale and readily definable city wards, Gloucester facilitates cross-cultural research that engages the community. It lends itself to addressing opportunities and choices surrounding heritage available to, and socially constructed by individuals within a culturally diverse community.

Having affirmed its suitability for the research aims and objectives, it is to the socio-spatial selection of the research sample within the city that the thesis now turns.

Forming the specific study 'site' from which data has been produced, the following chapter explains how the research sample was arrived at and provides a summary of quantitative data relating to participants.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **THE CASE STUDY**

## CHAPTER 6: THE CASE STUDY

### 6.1 Selection of the Research Setting: its Spatial and Cultural Definition

Just as the selection of Gloucester as a case study locale formed an integral part of the research, so did the definitive choice of a setting for participant engagement within the city. The project's aims and objectives – and consequently its specific data requirements – were key determinants in deriving an appropriate socio-spatial basis for this empirical work. These required qualitative depth through a small-scale, thick-description rather than area-wide survey type approach.<sup>1</sup> This thesis deconstructs the heritage process, exploring how CBH is defined, given meaning and contested. Deriving an account of these processes in the context of a multicultural, pluralist England demands a specific participant profile. Therefore a research setting with a concentrated, culturally diverse community structure was necessary to yield satisfactory results.

With these central criteria defined, the city's wards provided a suitable basis for spatial and cultural definition of the research setting. The use of statistical analysis helped delineate site typologies among wards suited to the project's specific data requirements. With these typologies derived according to their socio-cultural as well as physical characteristics, this provided a uniform basis for their potential use as the research setting. As May reflects, given their susceptibility to political manipulation, there are a number of limitations to the use of socially constructed statistical data as indicators of socio-cultural phenomena.<sup>2</sup> However, with these limitations acknowledged, the critical approach adopted for this research justified their inclusion,

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<sup>1</sup> A city- or area-wide approach, whilst likely to yield useful information, was not within the requirements of this research.

<sup>2</sup> May T, 2001, *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*, Buckingham: OU Press, pp. 80-87



along with exploratory fieldwork, as a tool to assist spatial and cultural definition of the research setting.

This chapter outlines the strategy and procedures undertaken in defining this cultural unit. It provides the platform for moving from description of how the work was carried out to explaining in Chapter 7 what was discovered. The first section positions the empirical investigation in its socio-spatial context. Secondly, and moving from the general to the particular, a character appraisal of the selected site is provided. Included here are summaries of its physical and cultural attributes, based on the results of exploratory fieldwork. This provides a platform for explicating the research sample and its selection, along with an indication of the practical limitations imposed. Finally, in moving from the particular to the specific, the chapter provides a quantitative profile of the research sample.

## **6.2 The Context for Empirical Investigation**

As a research resource, Gloucester offered a range of stakeholder communities, suited to the project needs. In terms of its qualitative engagement, it was felt that the research sample would best be derived from a location in which traditionally defined CBH at least in part formed a backdrop to everyday lived experience. This spatial ‘attachment’ would more readily facilitate evaluation of participants’ levels of identification and engagement with established conceptions of CBH than would a more geographically detached sample.

As a piece of testing-out research, it was necessary to delineate a balanced, inclusive research sample encapsulating social and cultural plurality; this would enable alleged



limitations surrounding the inclusiveness of CBH to be demonstrated. In this, from an intellectual perspective, ethnicity is just one of a network of wider social and cultural dimensions through which attitudes to heritage are informed. However, to explore and interpret those attitudes against current heritage policy frameworks, a proportionately high BME presence within the research sample was required.

Despite their cultural polarisation, the geographical concentration of Gloucester's BME communities within particular wards was beneficial from a research perspective. In particular, their concentration within the Barton and Tredworth ward, where they comprise almost 30% of the population, pointed to its suitability to fulfil the research objectives. Furthermore, its location, immediately adjacent to the heritage-rich and economically active city centre, was in this regard particularly salient.

### **6.2.1 Physical Attributes of the Research Setting**

Located to the immediate south east of the city centre, Barton and Tredworth is an inner city suburb of mainly 19<sup>th</sup> century terraced housing arranged in a gridiron layout. The wards' north and east borders are defined by the railway lines, and its south and west by the Tredworth Road, Midland Road and A430 (Fig. 10 overleaf). The main thoroughfare running through the area is Barton Street, lined with shops for much of its length and leading directly to the city centre and the historic city cross via Eastgate Street.

With a distinct identity in their own right, the wards' built environment serves as a reminder of the city's growing industrialisation and social change during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Today their 19<sup>th</sup> century terraces are interspersed with semi-detached houses



**Figure 10: Gloucester's Barton and Tredworth ward boundary shown in relation to the city centre (source: Gloucester City Council)**

of the 1920s and 30s, the 1950s' social housing and private and housing association dwellings built recently. Other buildings include churches and chapels with, among the latter, examples built as philanthropic attempts to alleviate social problems of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Today, the presence of mosques signifies the growing presence of BME communities, established in the ward since the 1950s (see Fig.11 overleaf). In this respect, the area's attributes characterise Barton and Tredworth as a distinctive



cultural built landscape,<sup>3</sup> giving it its heritage dimension. However, such distinctions derive from perceptions rather than absolutes. For example, a self-administered heritage audit showed it to have few officially designated CBH assets, these being limited to a number of church buildings (some re- or disused) and public houses of grade II listed status. The only site within the wards to be officially marketed as a visitor attraction is St James City Farm, situated at the heart of the area on Albany Street.



Figure 11: Ryecroft Street, Barton and Tredworth (source: author's collection)

### 6.2.2 Cultural Attributes and Social Tone of the Research Setting

Upon an examination of its cultural attributes, a number of notable characteristics were evident upon exploring the area on foot. For example, within its cultural built landscape, the vagaries of economic fortuity were in evidence. A number of retail outlets and businesses exist among brick-built terraces, many of these catering

<sup>3</sup> See Fowler P, 'Cultural Landscapes in Britain': *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2000, pp. 201-212

specifically to the needs of BME groups long established in the ward. These include e.g. shops, catering establishments, travel agencies and insurance brokers. At the same time, the Barton Street area in particular also retains a number of small retail outlets and business premises operated by members of the white community. Despite the statistical levels of deprivation noted in the previous chapter, the exploratory observational research gave an overall impression of the wards having a variable social tone. Whilst typical signs of urban decay are evident in boarded-up houses, derelict cars, litter and graffiti, they are interspersed with an occasional well-tended house frontage, and expensive new cars are in evidence. In essence, as a social space the wards' community structure encapsulates a microcosm of relative diversity, wealth and poverty. This is in part borne out by the area's demographics, as shown below.

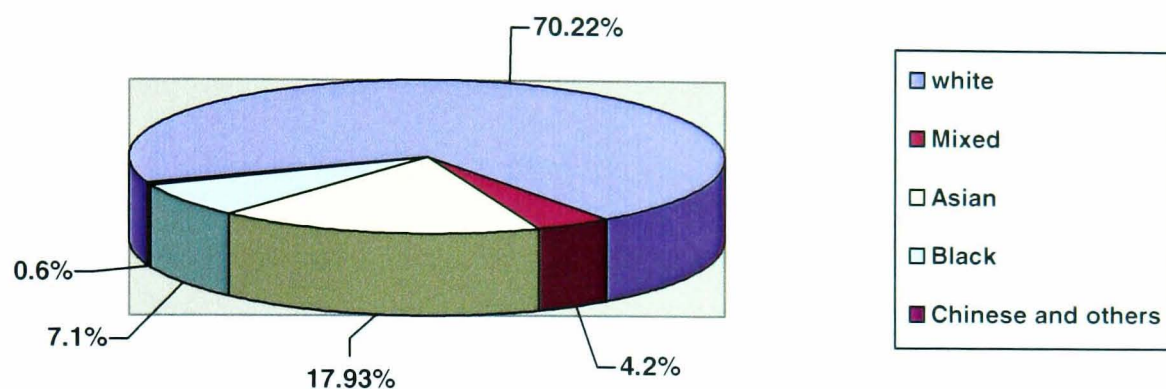
Total population: 10,327		Total number of households: 4225	
Total men	Total women	Total population of socio-economic classification 1 - 4 <sup>4</sup>	Total population of socio-economic classification 5 - 8
5173	5154	2428	7899

**Table 4: Demographic profile of the Barton and Tredworth study area (source: Office for National Statistics (ONS) and Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), University of Essex)**

The above is indicative of a wider distribution of socio-economic groupings within the wards than Indices of Multiple Deprivation statistics might suggest. For example, whilst at 5.9% unemployment is high, home ownership is comparatively high, with

<sup>4</sup> From 2001 the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS-SEC) has been used for all official statistics and surveys. It replaces Social Class based on Occupation (SC, formerly Registrar General's Social Class) and Socio-economic Groups (SEG). The National Statistician agreed this change following a major review of government social classifications commissioned in 1994 by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (now the Office for National Statistics) and carried out by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC); for further information see The National Statistics Socio-economic Classification website at [http://www.statistics.gov.uk/methods\\_quality/ns\\_sec/default.asp](http://www.statistics.gov.uk/methods_quality/ns_sec/default.asp), accessed 28/05/03

63.27% of Barton and Tredworth residents owning their own home. This compares with the figure for home ownership in England and Wales, which stands at 68.86%.<sup>5</sup> This point highlights the limitations of statistical data when correlating ethnicity with quality of life indices. As a whole, Gloucester's proportion of BME residents largely mirrors the national figure (standing at 7.5% and 7.8% of the population respectively), as shown below:



**Figure 12: Ethnic profile of Barton and Tredworth wards shown as a percentage analysis**  
(source: Statistics UK, London: HMSO)

Although the city's BME communities are concentrated in Barton and Tredworth, the population nevertheless remains predominantly white British and, directly or indirectly, as subjected to the effects of social deprivation as BME communities. This point reiterates the many contradictions between discourses on heritage, multiculturalism and social inclusion examined in Chapter 2.

### 6.2.3 Practicalities and Limitations of the Research Setting

The research objectives called for ease of access to a traditionally defined CBH environment during empirical work. Barton and Tredworth's proximity to the city's heritage core and compact dimensions (covering an area of 0.5 square miles),

<sup>5</sup> In Gloucester as a whole, home ownership stands at 74.68%, 2001 Census for Gloucestershire. *Information about Households and Housing in the County*, available online at <http://www.gloucestershire.gov.uk/index.cfm?articleid=1414>, accessed 18/10/03



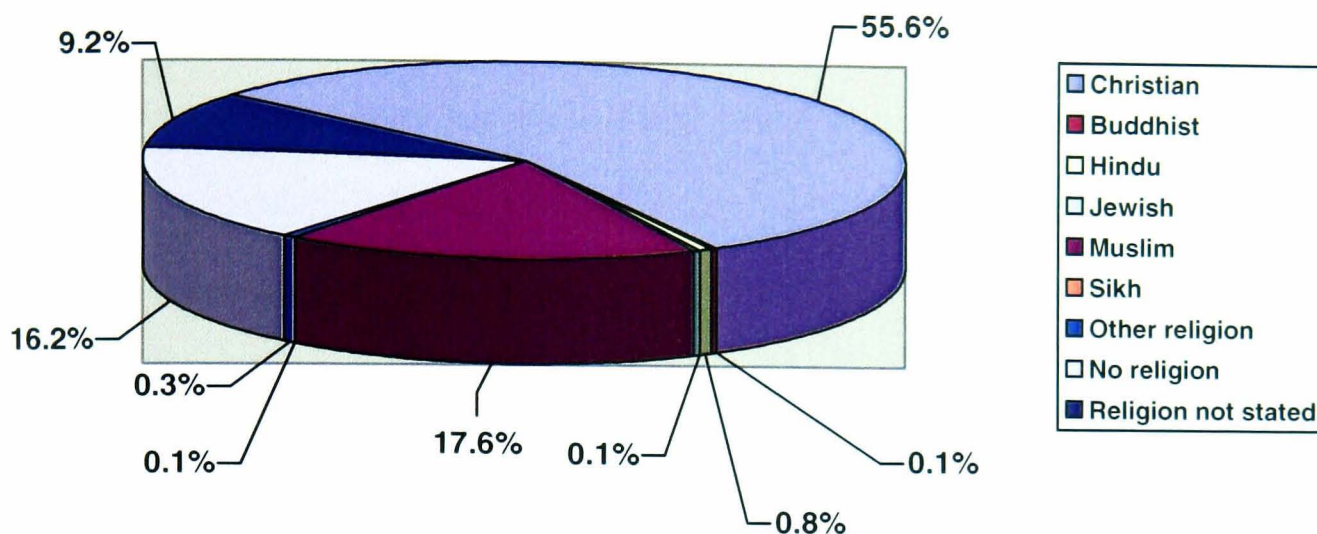
facilitate ease of access and exploration on foot. The outcomes of the exploratory fieldwork demonstrated that this factor would counter the shortage of more palpable heritage sites within the wards themselves. In exploring the extent to which participants identify or give meaning to the historic built environment, it was felt the immediacy of readily identifiable CBH sites might influence the opinions elicited. However, Barton and Tredworth's location allowed participants' access to traditionally defined CBH without their being overtly exposed to it at the outset. This would meet the objective of achieving qualitative depth within interviews by encouraging opinions communicated in the participants' own physical and cognitive frames of reference. In addition, other less officially recognised CBH forms and location may be identified, rendering the geographical boundaries of the study setting fluid rather than fixed.

The socio-cultural context of the empirical investigation rendered its implementation subject to practical complications. An awareness and understanding of these was necessary to limit their impact on the research process itself. Specifically, the culturally embedded nature of many BME groups served to underline potential tensions between the needs of the research and the role of the researcher. This issue proved topical in light of events unfolding during the preliminary stages of empirical research. Religious tension was heightened in late November 2003 when police raided three houses within the area and a Muslim man was arrested on terrorist charges.<sup>6</sup> Within the research process, this served to highlight the need for sensitivity towards the differing cultural and religious affiliations present, and the often-fragile

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<sup>6</sup> Explosives were found and the suspect Sajid Badat was subsequently charged with terrorist offences and links with Al-Qaeda. For further information see e.g. *The Guardian*, November 27, 2003, or available online at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/terrorism/story/0,12780,1094526,00.html>, accessed 03/12/03

interrelationships between these. Figure 13 below is provided to illustrate the various religious affiliations of Barton and Tredworth's resident population in percentage terms.



**Figure 13: Religious affiliation of population shown as a percentage analysis (source: Statistics UK, London: HMSO)**

In view of the community's ethnic make-up, those citing their religion as Christian unsurprisingly account for little over half of the ward's population. Similarly, combined with the 16.2% and 9.2% citing 'no religion' or 'religion not stated' respectively, these figures broadly correlate to those of the area's ethnic profile shown earlier in Figure 2. From a research perspective a culturally diverse research sample was always likely to yield similarly diverse religious affiliations. The potential impact of religious identity upon attitudes towards heritage was acknowledged and, under most circumstances thought unlikely to complicate the research process. However, an awareness of current events and sensitivities led to their having to be further 'factored in' to the empirical work. Hence, whilst acknowledging its potential to influence

attitudes towards heritage, religion was noted as a social, rather than qualitative dimension within the field setting.

### **6.3 The Research Sample**

As Howard reminds us, ‘every heritage development disinherits someone’.<sup>7</sup> Decisions surrounding the research process were no different in this respect. Attempts to delineate a research sample representative of all forms of diversity present were neither practicable nor implied. Rather, a sample adequately utilising the socio-cultural plurality present within the wards and conforming to the project’s intellectual and practical rationale was selected.

As the centre of the city’s BME population, community organisations and clubs catering to their needs are concentrated in Barton and Tredworth. Furthermore, its socially deprived status has led to a range of cross-cultural regenerative initiatives within the area. These and the community organisations offered a source of initial contact during preliminary stages of the research. Subsequently, exploratory fieldwork augmenting the project’s analytic framework served to establish communication networks without being prejudicial to the objectivity of the research sample chosen.

#### **6.3.1 Participant Profile**

In accordance with the process described in Chapter 4, access was initially negotiated to a total of 34 suitable participants. Of these, 30 were latterly decided upon as the basis of the research sample. Final selection was based on a process of further

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<sup>7</sup> Howard P, 2003, *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*, London: Continuum, p. 30



reduction taking place during the preliminary stages of research,<sup>8</sup> with the definitive research sample comprising 28 participants.

### 6.3.1.1 Geographic Distribution of Research Sample

In terms of its spatial definition, the setting for empirical research takes in the entire ward area. In respect of the specific location of the interviews, in the majority of instances anonymity was requested and assured. However, their spatial distribution in relation to the ward as a whole is shown on the map (Fig. 14), showing the following as sites for procuring participant engagement.

- Albany Street
- All Saints Road
- Barton Street
- Birchmore Road
- Derby Road
- Jersey Road
- Knowles Road
- Melbourne Street East
- Napier Street
- Ryecroft Street
- St James Street

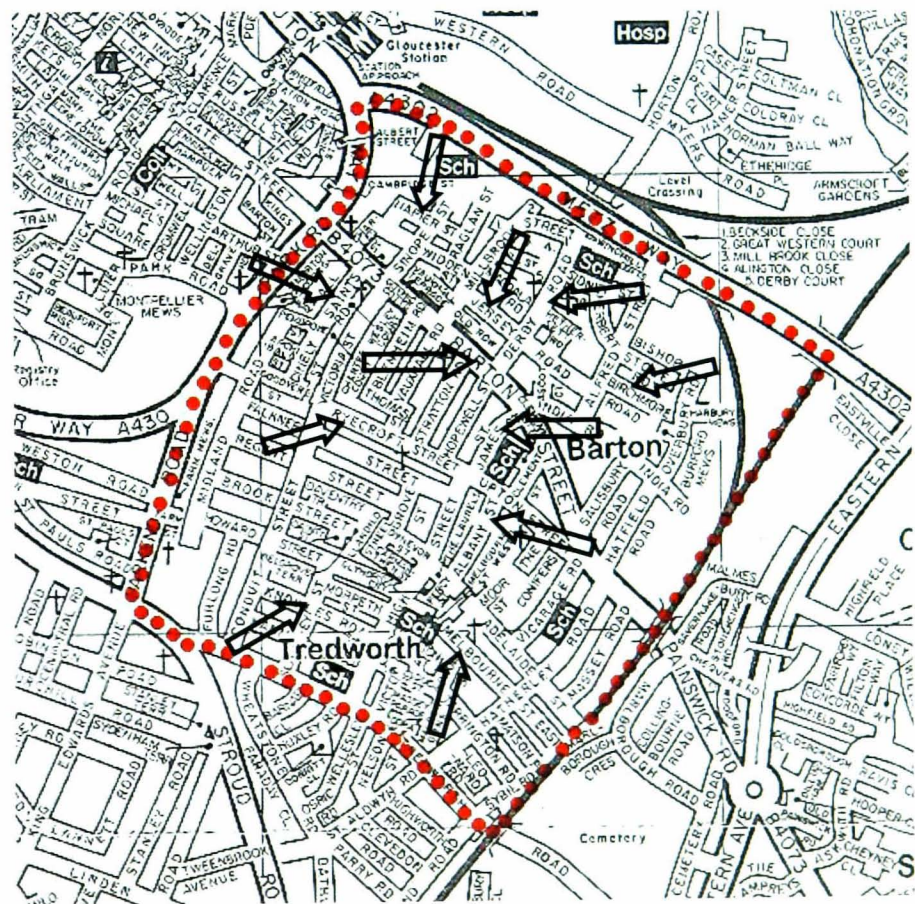


Figure 14: Research sample distribution within the study setting

These sites encompass a broad range in terms of e.g. owned and rented tenure, traditional and more modern housing types, and proximity to business premises and

<sup>8</sup> E.g. a degree of rhetorical bias emerged within opinions expressed by one respondent following the social tensions of November 2003.

schools. This diversity is reflected in the socio-cultural profile of the research sample chosen.

### 6.3.1.2 Age Profile of the Research Sample

The table below demonstrates the age profile of the research sample in relation to that of the ward as a whole:

Age	Barton and Tredworth	Research sample
Under 20	30%	11%
20-39	33%	28%
40-59	21%	29%
60-79	7%	25%
80+	8%	7%

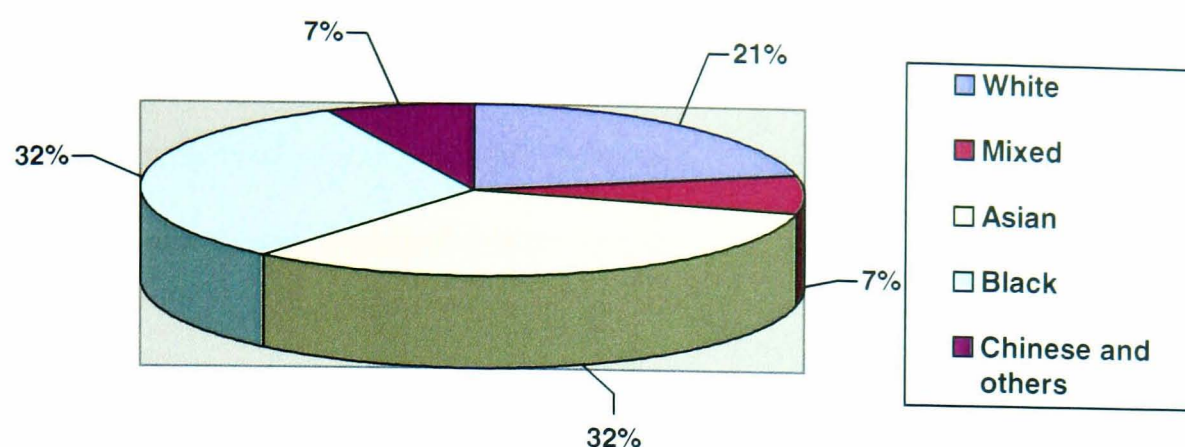
**Table 5: Age profile of resident population shown in relation to the research sample**

As can be seen, the sample has not been chosen to correlate precisely to that of the wider community, which has a disproportionately young age profile overall. The reason for this disparity is to retain greater balance and consistency within the research. For instance, the sample provides a broad age spectrum while giving precedence to those aged 20 years plus. As Chapter 3 has indicated, the latter age groupings as applied to the BME population comprise a priority target group for heritage sector policy reform.

### 6.3.1.3 Ethnic Profile in Relation to Age and Gender

As the principal focus of this research, members of the BME population constitute the highest proportion of participants. Statistically, as shown in Fig. 14 overleaf, this is a reverse of the ward profile as a whole.





**Figure 15: Ethnic profile of research sample shown as a percentage analysis**

BME groups account for 78% of the research sample; whilst given overall numerical precedence within the research, this is not wholly at the expense of the opinions of white community members. The following table provides a more detailed breakdown of the above percentage analyses. Presented this time in numerical terms, and with the addition of a gender profile (m = male, f = female), the combined age/ethnicity data sets are positioned in relation to their quantitative social dimension.

Age range and Gender	Ethnicity					Total
	White	Mixed	Asian	Black	Chinese and other	
Under 20	1 (f)	0	1 (f)	1 (m)	0	3
20-39	0	1 (m)	4 (2m, 2f)	2 (1m, 1f)	1 (m)	8
40-59	3 (1m, 2f)	0	3 (2m, 1f)	2 (m)	0	8
60-79	2 (1m, 1f)	1 (f)	1 (m)	2 (1m, 1f)	1 (f)	7
80+	0	0	0	2 (1m, 1f)	0	2
<b>Total</b>	6	2	9	9	2	28

**Table 6: Age and gender profile of participants in relation to their ethnic identity**

When added to the age and ethnicity profiles, the mix of male and female participants (standing at 15 and 13 respectively) serves to further illustrate the cross-cultural plurality of the research sample. This is not to suggest that attitudes towards heritage can be defined along simplistic binary divides; rather, that the transference of

intellectual discourses to the operational field setting calls for a compromise. Within the methodological framework chosen, this was essential in order to quickly formulate a workable means of research sample definition. Therefore the use of ethnicity, age and gender provided a simple but entirely appropriate starting point.

#### 6.3.1.4 Economic Activity

The degree to which participants see themselves as socially and culturally disadvantaged, and its effect on their attitudes towards CBH, provide an important investigative element. In this respect, directive questioning concerning e.g. economic activity status and housing tenure, offered the catalyst to more non-directive qualitative exploration as the study progressed.

Given the age profile of the research sample, it is not surprising to find their economic activity similarly wide-ranging. For ease of reference, the table below profiles these in numerical terms:

<b>Economic activity</b>	<b>Research sample</b>
Employed	8
Unemployed	4
Full-time students	2
Retired	6
Looking after home/family	6
Permanently sick or disabled	2
Other	0
Total	28

**Table 7: Economic activity of research sample**

As the above shows, the research sample covered a broad spectrum in terms of the economic activity of its members, rendering its correlation to other economic

indicators within the research sample problematic. For example, there appeared little to link economic activity with housing tenure.

### 6.3.1.5 Residency and Housing Tenure

The mix of housing in the research setting suggested an equivalent mix in terms of participants' status as homeowners or tenants, as well as variations in their period of residency within the area.

Housing tenure	Research sample
Owner occupied	16
Rented from Council	6
Rented from housing association or Registered social landlord	4
Privately rented or lived rent free	2
Total	28

**Table 8: Housing tenure of research sample**

With the ratio of owned and rented tenure equating to 59% and 41% respectively, the above serves to reiterate the balance maintained within the socio-cultural profile of participants. This extends to the final data set given, which relates to period of residency within the wards. The diversity of housing types and regenerative activity present hinted at a degree of transience within the lifestyle of some participants. Though strictly limited, this point is nevertheless borne out in Table 9 overleaf which provides a breakdown of the period of residency within the wards among the research sample.

Length of residency within the research setting	Research sample
Less than one year	1
1-2 year	1
2-3 years	2
3-5 years	4
Over 5 years	20
Total	28

**Table 9: Period of residency within the ward among research sample**

To understand how meanings and values attributed to CBH and its significance in the process of social identification evolve over time and between cultures, the opinions of longer and short-term residents must be considered. Period of residency reflects a significant social and identity dimension. At the same time it remains but one in a network of ‘visible’ quantifiable identities based e.g. on social category membership and more local affiliations.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

An area based study such as this, does allow useful conclusions to be drawn about its specific topic of focus, whilst at the same time examining wider socio-cultural patterns and trends. It is therefore entirely adequate in achieving the thesis’s stated aims and does not claim to produce more precise results.

This chapter concludes the methodological aspect of the thesis, which will now turn to the findings of the qualitative engagement and its analysis. More precisely, from describing the process, it now moves to the outcome via the central emergent themes. These are explained and reflected upon in the following chapter.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **RESEARCH FINDINGS**

## **CHAPTER 7: RESEARCH FINDINGS**

### **7.1 Introduction**

As Chapter 3 has shown, in following its reformist agenda recent EH policy interventions reflect a more socially directed and typically post-modern cultural turn. A traditional, technically based audit and inventory approach to measuring cultural value and significance is replaced with one in which the social contribution of CBH is foregrounded. From this perspective, the cultural significance attributed to England's CBH by ordinary people outside the normal conservation decision-making process is determined principally through its association and meaning to their lives.

This chapter describes the results of data analysis and interpretation which examined and decoded locally held notions of CBH based on its cultural significance among the research sample. Emergent issues revolved around how notions of English CBH were constructed, shared or disputed; what form its cultural value and significance took; what patterns emerged from ensuing chains of evidence; to what extent post-modern (cultural) concepts of CBH were evident among participant testimonies. Addressing these issues, the thesis adds a critical ethnographic layer to augment, challenge and animate established theoretical, technical or survey-based information.

#### **7.1.1 Analytic – Interpretative Framework**

Data were formulated from observation, opinion and narrative. Conceptual categories derived from emerging themes and responses to interview discussions led to the concepts



underlying the thesis's central strand. In line with the research objectives, these concepts took the form of themes, patterns and generalisations rather than distinct variables. In turn, further component analysis provided themes extracted from iterative (re)reading of the data; these have been organised to produce as coherent and consistent an interpretation of findings as possible. Marking the transition from empirical to abstract entities following completion of fieldwork was the move from substantive to formal theories. As a heritage studies thesis, analysis and interpretation were mediated through humanities and social science theory.<sup>1</sup>

In developing its thesis, the research has addressed two central questions. The first examines the extent to which Gloucester's CBH presents a common English heritage from the culturally and socially pluralist perspective of the research setting. The second explores the contribution of English CBH to participants' sense of cultural identity and belonging, based on its association and meaning to their lives. It is widely suggested that the cultural dimensions of heritage be expanded to take account of wider socio-historic perspectives. By positioning its enquiries at a local level, the research explores limits to such expansion. In developing local, evidence-based understanding of heritage, value and meaning, alternatives to existing narratives are offered. In doing so, questions are raised over whether CBH and its conservation are more socially inclusive than is widely perceived. Similarly, limitations upon heritage's role as an agent of social reform are brought under scrutiny.

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. May T, 2001, *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Processes*, Buckingham: OU Press, p. 152

### **7.1.2 Thematic Framework**

The rationale for conducting in-depth interviews is to explore insights that would not otherwise be available to the researcher; it is the quality of the insight that is important, rather than the number of respondents that share it. Not surprisingly, little outward uniformity was evident within the findings, with divergence between participant attitudes providing a central convergent category. For example, attitudes towards CBH were differently motivated, yet often with similar implications for the heritage sector. Values and meanings are complex and subjective and not readily defined or measured. Indeed, as Ashworth and Howard remind us, given the conflicts endemic to the nature of heritage, whenever we attempt to question ‘whose heritage’, we will always receive multiple answers.<sup>2</sup> Thus the socio-cultural diversity necessary within the research sample reflected the diversity of opinions elicited. Consequently, this offered a recurring theme – that of multifaceted interpretations of value and significance underpinning definitions of CBH, providing a degree of commonality and initial patterning to what initially appeared a diverse and difficult to interpret set of results. As such, it formed a foundational theme from which to extract and explore others.

With a central ‘thread’ stemming from the multiplicity of attitudes and opinions surrounding heritage, other key issues unpacked from those revolved around a series of related categories or themes. In summary, these are: the issue of community, or more precisely its apparent lack within the local research setting; that of heritage as a concept specific to time and place; that of perceived ownership of the past; and that of diversity ‘mainstreaming’ as democratic reform or disinheritance. The first of these issues or

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<sup>2</sup> Ashworth G, Howard P, 1999, *European Heritage Planning and Management*, Exeter: Intellect, p. 20

themes encompasses the role of personally constructed multiple identities and interpretations upon the cultural significance and meaning of CBH. The second addresses the existence and wide scale acknowledgement among participants of an overarching heritage ‘value’. The third is the question of cultural capital and alleged hegemony surrounding access and inclusion to CBH; and the fourth relates to the frames of reference with, and upon which EH’s national responsibilities are formulated.

These categories represent elements of definitional diversity and meaning surrounding CBH relevant to the study setting and participants. As these themes most specifically relate to the research problem, they are articulated in the following sections:

Section 1. Communities of interpretation – close or closed communities

Section 2. Who values heritage – seeking consensus – what CBH is and does

Section 3. Seeking claims of exclusion – evidence not forthcoming

Section 4. Broadening access and inclusion – opportunity or choice

Section 5. Models of resistance – heritage reform under scrutiny

Rather than a detailed discussion of each, this chapter is limited to presenting and providing a preliminary reflection upon these themes. In other words, the inferences and implications of the findings are not drawn out here. The following chapter will provide more detailed discussion, with themes examined in relation to the thesis’s intellectual context.

### **7.1.3 Chapter Structure**

The quantity of data produced necessitated its judicious reduction. Similarly, in the current chapter findings are presented in an abridged form. Detail provided is specific to conveying only the central outcomes, with no singular testimony fully representative of the research sample as a whole. In its presentation, however, the chapter follows the pattern adopted for the thesis as a whole: early sections provide the general thematic framework of the results; central sections examine particular issues fundamental to the investigation; then, moving from the particular to the specific, final sections provide greater analytic purchase to critical emergent themes.

Rather than use lengthy extracts of interview notes or transcripts, actual voice quotations illustrate key analytic points. The identification of themes and the selection of quotations to illustrate them raises a fundamental issue about the validity of research; as Silverman has noted, ‘the various forms of ethnography, through which attempts are made to describe social processes, share a single defect. The critical reader is forced to ponder whether the researcher has selected only those fragments of data which support his argument’.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, the application of quantitative criteria of validity to qualitative data is inappropriate. Hammersley makes this point, whilst acknowledging the need for critique, arguing that: ‘We have no grounds for dismissing the validity of participant understandings outright: indeed, they are a crucial source of knowledge, deriving as they do from experience of the social world. However, they are certainly not immune to assessment, nor to explanation. They must be treated in exactly the same manner as social

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<sup>3</sup> Silverman D, 1985, *Qualitative Methodology and Sociology*, Aldershot: Gower, p. 140

scientific accounts'.<sup>4</sup> Hence, the final analysis presented here is derived not exclusively from ethnographic data, but from oscillation between it and theoretical critique.

Ethnographic data was treated in the same manner as social science or humanities accounts. For example, as the thesis quotes the work of a particular social scientist or other theoretical perspective, it does so because of its explanatory power, not because it represents a commonly held view. Qualitative data has been subject to the same logic. Quotes used indicate the emergent patterns (i.e. the five key themes) outlined above and convey greater depth and analytic engagement on the part of both the researcher and the researched. This 'thick description'<sup>5</sup> technique makes best use of the chronological or 'developmental' approach to interviewing. A 'picture' is communicated of the findings, as they unfold through in-depth exploration and participants' elaboration.<sup>6</sup> Moving from general, through particular, to those testimonies specifically illustrating the essence of views articulated,<sup>7</sup> quotations are woven into the connecting narrative. As well as supporting the sequential mode of analysis and interpretation used, this approach was most suited to maintaining clarity, focus and concision.

## 7.2 The Research Findings

With its focus solely on testing perceptions of cultural (as opposed to e.g. economic, educational, resource, recreational or aesthetic) heritage value, the research explored the

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<sup>4</sup> Hammersley M, Atkinson P, 1983, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, London: Tavistock Publications, p. 234

<sup>5</sup> See Geertz C, 1993 (first published 1973), *The Interpretation of Cultures*, London: Fontana

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. May T, 2001, op. cit., p.139; Bourdieu 1999, *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 618

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Bell J, 2002, *Doing Your Research Project*, Buckingham: Open University Press, p. 138

role of CBH in helping to define a meaningful sense of cultural identity and place, and the extent to which this role reflects changing social and cultural conditions. Furthermore, the notion of heritage existing not in and of itself, but because of the values people attach to it, has become central to cultural heritage discourse. This ‘cultural’ model of heritage as a fluid process, unencumbered by fixed ideas or designations, was tested here. The dimensions of meaning, denoting what CBH signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses in the context of everyday life, were explored.

### **7.2.1 Community Interpretation of the Cultural Model**

- The theme addressed here is: the effect of community composition on perceptions of CBH and its contribution to identity and place.
- Category to which the theme was coded: community composition highlights social tensions.
- Research issue to which it refers: how have social changes affected local community structure and how does that affect heritage values and meanings?  
Under conditions of cultural diversity, how have meanings and values attributed to heritage, and its role in instilling a sense of place and identity been transformed, diffused or disappeared?
- Significance of findings to addressing the research problem: multiple interpretations not conducive to establishing spirit of consensus over CBH definitions and meanings.

Barton and Tredworth's socio-cultural diversity was fundamental to their use as the research setting. The fact that community structure was too fragmented under these conditions to instil a shared heritage provided a convergent category across the research sample. Testing the validity of post-modern CBH definitions indicated a range of underlying social tensions. Seeking consensus around its extrinsic value and meaning indicated instead limited cohesion around the intrinsic (public – symbolic) value ascribed to CBH. This does not imply that national values, meanings or ideologies were shared at a micro level. Indeed evidence does not suggest that meanings inscribed 'officially' correspond to personal 'readings' taken out by participants encountering CBH. Rather, in their conceptual interpretation of the heritage phenomenon, the essence of Gloucester correlated to one structured and reinforced by national administrative heritage bodies.

This highlights contradictions within the findings. In their perceptions participants indicated the culturally rooted characteristics of Gloucester's CBH. Theoretically too, 'place' is rooted in location.<sup>8</sup> Yet in the field, linkages made between heritage and a sense of belonging were at best nebulous. At their extreme they were manifest in the formation and interaction of distinct and conflicting identities. These provided the multiple lenses through which the research sample as 'community of interpretation' viewed the past. As such they reflected both the complexity of participants' interpersonal ties, and the spatial extent to which these occurred.<sup>9</sup> If, as Hayden suggests, identity is formed out of a sense of cultural belonging, evidence implies that CBH's contribution to that sensory experience is ambiguous.

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<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Tuan Y F, 'Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective', in Agnew J, Livingstone D N, Rogers A, 1999 (eds) *Human Geography: an Essential Anthology*, Oxford: Blackwell p. 447.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Tuan Y F, *ibid*, p. 432.

Cultural plurality and diversity within the research sample mirrored equivalent multiplicity in attitudes towards its cultural heritage. This brought under scrutiny how, at local level, identities present impacted upon local community structure. It also posed a question of how community composition affected the definition and meanings attributed to CBH and its role in instilling a sense of place and identity. Culturally embedded, much of heritage is linked to human settlement over time. Similarly, community based research is largely founded on the premise that there exists a community. Yet theoretical notions of community are many. Generically they tend to present their analyses from a spatial/physical or social/political perspective.<sup>10</sup> Rarely do the two discourses combine. Yet views elicited were indicative of an incohesive community structure reflecting statistical data evidenced in chapter 6. Illustrating this phenomenon, a participant commented:

‘Because we live here doesn’t mean we want English culture...we have our own culture, our own schools, stores and community providing everything for our own cultural needs...if people want old buildings there is nothing stopping them, but they shouldn’t be forced upon us’ (Asian female aged 40-59). See Fig.16 overleaf.

Thus, spatial propinquity – living within its presence – does not assure cognitive propinquity to heritage. This opinion in reference to local BME enterprise – institutions and businesses prevalent within the research setting – is indicative of clustering around

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<sup>10</sup> See e.g. Healey P, *Social Exclusion, Neighbourhood Life and Governance Capacity*, Paper for ENHR Housing Conference, Copenhagen, August 1996





**Figure 16: An ethnic mini-market in Barton and Tredworth (source: author's collection)**

distinct cultural identity affiliations. However, its resonance is extensive, hinting at social dimensions influencing attitudes to CBH. These include the extent of subconscious levels of attachment to place through sensory experience rather than its physical manifestations, the limitations of social networks and the degree to which cultural marginalisation is perceived as opportunity or choice. Theoretically, for Ley these facets represent the construction of contemporary urban social reality – ‘maintained intersubjectively in a semi-closed world of communication and shared symbolism’.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, though from an opposing viewpoint, came the following opinion:

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<sup>11</sup> Ley D, 1983, *A Social Geography of the City*, New York: Harper and Row, p. 203

‘Oh there’s plenty of them about all right, what with their mosques and goodness knows what...yet they make no effort whatsoever to fit in or integrate into our society’ (White male aged 60-79).



**Figure 27: Flags of St George next to a local mosque (source: author’s collection)**

These opposing views exemplify the existence of identifiable sub-groups within the research sample. As such, they illustrate the multiple identity representations present. One is manifest in resistance to Englishness, the other through a sense of mainstream social and cultural belonging. While outwardly polarized, both are culturally rooted, though with differing implications for community structure and perceptions of CBH. For example, clustering among BME participants, seemingly for cultural preservation or

mutual support, points to their self-segregation. This coherence around norms specific only to their own cultural interest is seen by others as antisocial.

Such disparate positions encapsulate underlying socio-cultural dynamics affecting community structure. Under such conditions any notion of community existing in the *gemeinschaft* tradition appears untenable. Yet traditional identity affiliations remain. However, their fragmented and diminished nature, rather than contributing to cohesive, collaborative relational environments, serves to indicate tensions between groups and individuals. As evidenced in the findings, the research setting lacked a cohesive community or neighbourhood structure – an issue offering consistency throughout the data and exemplified in the testimony of a BME participant who commented:

‘I wouldn’t say there’s any community here as such...blacks and whites...well, they seem OK...other groups...well, they’re too different and don’t mix – even among themselves at a street-by-street level...everyone has their own little community within a community and so it goes on...’ (Black male aged 20-39).

This and similar views indicated perceptible cultural fissures within local community structure. They also highlighted limits in the way distinct identify affiliations and values traversed established traditional cultural boundaries. This is a point ably summarized in the words of one participant for whom:



‘A community can only exist where people share common values...you talk about heritage but we don’t all share a heritage...you talk about community...we are Muslims but there is no Muslim community here...we don’t share even our neighbours’ values and heritages...’ (Asian male aged 20-39).

Understanding how such opinions impacted upon the meaning of CBH and its role in instilling a sense of place and identity emerged as a key point of the enquiry. Participants’ real-world levels of attachment to their local CBH environments appeared more dysfunctional than current intellectual and policy models implied and there was little evidence of coherence around a sense of shared history or culture. The extent to which identities present were shaped by assimilation into or absorption of a collective local or national psyche remained questionable. Interpretation or ‘readings’ of a national heritage ‘text’ were manifested as levels of attachment to collective cultural heritage values. In other words, locally held evocations of meaning signified cross-cultural difference or commonality. A BME participant, commenting on social fragmentation among ethnically defined groups noted:

‘...for too many people living here it’s as though anything different to their own culture is offensive...they will never accept England or its culture or heritage as meaningful...they prefer to exclude themselves from all that is British, including your buildings...yet, for everyone, accepting English culture is important...it’s important to our cultural and neighbourhood

stability. One culture is not better or worse than another...but all should be accepted and valued' (Asian male aged 40-59).

Whilst reflecting the participants' cultural specificity, this view exemplifies how the meaning of CBH appears bound in its national cultural significance; meaning stems from a present-centred interpretation of a time- and place-specific concept. At the same time, its interpretation or 'reading' is socio-historically, and therefore culturally, conditioned. In this guise, meanings evoked by CBH appear to traverse normative socio-cultural boundaries, a point further corroborated in the following testimony:

'Heritage is important to all cultures. To ensure continuity you have to belong culturally – and whether you accept buildings as one culture's heritage as your own or not, I think you should respect it when you live in its presence' (Black female aged 20-39).

This attitude towards Gloucester's CBH does not reflect its advocacy across the research sample. For other participants, despite their potential to traverse cultural boundaries, meanings served to mark opposition to culturally defined identity affiliations. This was evidenced as a rejection of CBH, deemed in a number of instances to be of no personal cultural relevance. This is a theme substantiated in the opinion of a participant who articulated:

‘I don’t feel buildings give me any sense of being part of English society or of belonging here. They are part of English culture, not mine. If people want to enjoy them then that’s their choice... they are free to do so...’ (Asian female aged 40-59).

Rather than contributing to social cohesion via a unified sense of cultural identity and place through its association with English culture, CBH evidently instils a sense of otherness. This was not unexpected. As in the example outlined earlier, attitudes to heritage appear culturally rooted. In the testimony above, the participant consciously identifies herself as ‘outside’ mainstream English cultural values. This appears a matter of choice rather than opportunity. In this context, to be externalised or integrated is seen in a negative or positive light, depending on cultural identity. Under these circumstances any sense of belonging is marked not by participants’ physical surroundings but other culture-specific heritage forms and preferences. As one participant conveyed in this regard:

‘...we need to protect ourselves and our children from outside interference.

Here, (England) our own culture and identity are threatened by non-traditional influences. Only cultural continuity binds our people and reinforces our identity – not buildings or Englishness...’ (Asian male aged 20-39).

This opinion substantiates the one given previously. Through its apparent rejection, Gloucester's CBH still acquires meaning. In these instances it is for the purpose of self-exclusion from mainstream cultural values. In other words, through its rejection, the city's CBH engenders identity and a sense of belonging, not to locally or nationally held norms, but to a distinctly non-English sub-culture.

These patterns of exclusion are not restricted to simplistic binary divides but subject to less visible markers of difference. Among BME participants identity affiliations appear fluid rather than fixed and encompass internal (insider) and external (outsider) forms. Constructed under the constraints of a diffused and fragmented community structure, identity itself appears fragmented, diffused and redefined – arguably a product of ideology and discourse rather than innate characteristics. In this context, the definition and meaning of CBH and its contribution to a sense of place and identity are not established and coherent. As values, they are instead constructed, communicated and sustained in ways that allow them to be re-imagined and defined to take account of their changing role and nature. In their reception or resistance to nationally inscribed heritage texts, participants' consumption or reading of those texts shows little coherence around shared values. Thus, Gloucester's CBH can be considered a common English heritage, albeit one with disparate meanings to participants' lives.

Socio-psychological aspects of heritage meaning are witnessed in contested loyalties; their association with a national, often resisted cultural identity being indicative of heritage's dissonant characteristics. Yet for many across the research sample that

dissonance was seen in a positive light; it facilitated externalisation or distancing from a culture with which they did not identify nor wished to be an integral part of. In this context, the prospects and, importantly, the justification for attempts to broaden access and participation to a cultural form with which many seek no closer alliance, need to be re-examined.

### 7.2.2 Testing the Cultural Model

- The theme addressed here is: universal qualities of CBH remain widely espoused.
- Category to which the theme was coded:<sup>12</sup> questioning the social contribution of CBH.
- Research issue to which it refers:<sup>13</sup> to what extent does the ‘cultural model’ traverse social and cultural diversity?
- Significance of findings to addressing the research problem: widespread acknowledgement of traditionally defined CBH – bringing under scrutiny post-modern intellectual and policy discourses surrounding the social contribution of CBH.

A key facet of post-modern cultural heritage models is their ability to instil a meaningful sense of identity and belonging. Recent intellectual and policy discourses have focused

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<sup>12</sup> For information on coding techniques and processes see e.g. Strauss A, 1988, *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*, Cambridge: University Press, p. 20-21; Seale C, 1999, *The Quality of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage, p. 104

<sup>13</sup> As Chapter 5 explained, as a qualitative study, research questions supplemented rather than displaced participants’ own meanings and interpretations. In other words, they provided an indication of areas of interest but were not the only areas discussed during interviews. See e.g. Perry C, Coote L, 1994, *Processes of Case Study Research Methodology: A Tool for Management Development?* Australia and New Zealand Association for Management Annual Conference, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand; Patton M Q, 1992, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, Newbury Park: Sage



on this factor, highlighting the potential of heritage as an agent of social reform.

However, the capacity of built heritage to contribute to greater levels of social inclusion and cohesion is considered unexploited. This research is an endeavour to test the actuality and extent of CBH's role in this respect, although without attempting to develop or deploy a heritage value typology. Indeed, as May reminds us, values change widely, both within and between societies and over time; we cannot therefore assume that societies under investigation are at any time 'characterised by something called "value consensus"'”<sup>14</sup> Under the conditions of cultural diversity this became readily apparent.

In terms of what it is and what it does, heritage unsurprisingly engendered diverse responses among participants. Yet, there appeared an overriding sense of 'heritage' deriving from its cultural setting. For example, in line with EH's *My Heritage* initiative initial attempts to decode notions of CBH revolved around places and forms considered significant in terms of individuals' own cultural heritage.<sup>15</sup> Here, despite its diverse cultural make-up, 92% of the research sample cited Gloucester's principal historic built environment (based on national statutory designations) as culturally significant heritage. This unexpected finding is evidenced in the testimony of one BME participant who explained:

‘...we recognize and value the city's heritage for what it is – a reminder of the past, people and traditions over centuries. That doesn't mean we want to

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<sup>14</sup> May T, 2001, op. cit., p. 52

<sup>15</sup> EH's *My Heritage* Initiative revolves around inviting culturally diverse groups and individuals to contact the organisation, telling them which places, buildings and landmarks are most important to them in terms of their cultural heritage and why. See *England's Heritage – Your Heritage*, information leaflet, London EH, 2003.

visit or take any closer interest...built heritage is important for its history.

Because it's not our history or one we may want to participate in doesn't lessen its value...' (Asian female aged 20-39).

This comment indicates how in its communication of meaning Gloucester's CBH conveys a national past or 'text'. Unsurprisingly, different social and cultural dimensions influence the interpretation of that text; not least, the interpreters' or 'readers'' own identity affiliations. Further illustrating this point in a similar vein is the following statement:

'All countries have their own heritage and cultural traditions. England's buildings are just that...part of this country's past. That isn't to say we don't respect them as heritage, but our own cultural heritage is more meaningful to us' (Asian male aged 20-39).

These expressions demonstrate contradictions in meanings engendered by CBH among participants. On the one hand, notions of CBH appear inextricably linked to the culture from which it evolves – based on its intrinsic characteristics and historically informed. On the other, there was little evidence to suggest cross-cultural coherence around a collective or national heritage 'text' at a more personal level. Consequently, a sense of feeling at home in its presence appeared limited, suggesting that definitions of heritage value and personal attachment are not synchronous constructs. In other words, heritage gains generic value as a national inheritance irrespective of its popularity or capacity to

foster cultural identity and belonging. At issue therefore is not the existence but the nature of that inheritance. This brought into question the extent of the ‘cultural’ heritage model. Under scrutiny in the field were its cultural dimensions – the degree to which it existed at a personal level, associated with participants’ own sense of place and belonging.

Gloucester as an urban space expresses the possession of a past through its historic built environment. At a conceptual level, the city offers a palimpsest reflecting the production of space through time and social change. Less evident empirically were the ‘place attachment’ aspects of heritage value derived from living within its presence. At issue was how participants’ levels of attachment and belonging to their local historic built environment corresponded to post-modern intellectual discourses and the policy mechanisms of recent heritage sector initiatives.

EH’s policy reforms centre on broadening inclusion and access to CBH among BME and other minority groups – allowing other voices to be heard. With heritage regarded a core contributor of identity and place, under scrutiny was the extent of its capacity to reflect changing social and cultural conditions and levels of engagement with access reform among people at whom this reform is aimed. Among BME participants, findings provided little to support notions of CBH instilling a collective sense of identity with mainstream English culture. At the same time, as their chronological accounts unfolded, this factor did not diminish the value of heritage seen generically as nationally

significant. The account of one BME participant posits this as an indication of the context- and culture-specific nature of heritage value construction:

‘I think you have to remember every country has its own peculiarities – by that I’m talking about its own national character...of its people. Those are a heritage in themselves. Now don’t you think it’s these that determine attitudes people have towards their own and other kinds of heritage – and I use the word (heritage) intentionally as I feel strongly that Gloucester’s historic buildings are a valuable heritage – they’re simply not necessarily my own but belong to the nation’ (Black male aged 60-79).

This comment again points to the role of CBH in conveying a national story or ‘text’. Rather than communicating cultural belonging, in this example the interpretation or ‘reading’ of that text appears based on perceived sense of cultural ownership of the past. The participant identifies himself culturally as ‘outside’ that ownership, yet this is not interpreted as an externalising force or as encoded social empowerment by a hegemonic cultural majority. Instead, along with value measures originally imbuing its significance, Gloucester’s CBH is deemed culturally embedded. This illustrates how, whilst broadly recognized, under the conditions of cultural diversity CBH’s personal legitimization is more evasive than cultural models imply.

Under such conditions, the capacity of CBH to instil a sense of identity and belonging and how that sense was manifest, remained debatable; indeed, evidence supporting this

social role was limited. Yet, as the background to everyday life, the asset characteristics of heritage did in a number of instances engender a sense of familiarity with participants' surroundings. On prompting, one BME participant expressed this as a sense of belonging:

'...the city's historic buildings do provide a sense of belonging...it's not that we necessarily prefer a particular architectural style or tradition, but we become used to the buildings that make up our everyday environment. I wouldn't say any individual buildings have more meaning than others but whether we like them or not, they can make us feel we're at home' (Asian male aged 40-59).

Or, in a similar vein:

'Its (Gloucester's) buildings are like a background to day-to-day life. They're the sort of thing that's always there...you tend to take them for granted and don't give them a lot of thought really...but if you're coming back and as soon as you see the Cathedral you know you're nearly home...so I reckon you'd miss them if they were gone' (Pakistani Asian female aged 20-39).

These testimonies indicate how the sense of belonging engendered by the city's CBH appears broadly defined. Here e.g. it is manifest as a spatially expressed rather than place- or identity-informed sense of 'feeling at home' in its presence. As such, these opinions reflect those cited earlier, the boundaries of what constitutes heritage appearing fluid in

terms of crossing traditional cultural demarcations. At the same time they remain context-specific. While the capacity of CBH to engender belonging is evident, the nature of that belonging and the levels at which it occurs remain less clear. This was an expected outcome. Personal legitimization of heritage is value-based and therefore difficult to measure or define.

Less anticipated upon testing was the limited way in which notions of value and meaning extended beyond asset characteristics (buildings as artefacts) to a sensory experience of place. In the evidence outlined above, definitions of CBH did not equate to participants' individual sense of national or local belonging. Despite valuing it as a national inheritance, a degree of 'otherness' was perceptible in accounts of their built surroundings. Although the existence of the 'cultural' heritage model was not in question, its ability to engender a sense of place – the feeling of affiliation derived from specific characteristics of their home territory – was less clear.

This brought into question the extent to which CBH factored in the participants' demarcation of personal identity and dimensions along which their sense of belonging was drawn. Heritage and society exist only in each other's presence. The nature of this relationship is based on the construction of values, which are in turn dependent upon the context in which they are formed. Here, findings point to the multivalent nature of heritage. Among participants value and meaning appeared structured across social, cultural and spatial layers. At the local heritage platform these layers were evidenced as multi-faceted cultural interpretations of a national heritage 'text'. The 'readings'

produced suggest that CBH is likely to highlight cross-cultural difference over commonality in the consciousness of culturally diverse individuals. This issue, offering underlying consistency throughout the data, is exemplified in the opinion of one BME participant, for whom:

‘I don’t see how you can say our cultures are interwoven...just because a certain culture happens to be geographically based somewhere outside its original home doesn’t mean they adopt or adapt to the culture or tradition of their new geographical setting. Buildings are just material evidence of the past...different cultures and societies...they’re particular to England...or to wherever they happen to be situated. It doesn’t matter whether you’re first, second or third generation (immigrant) – you don’t share a history or belong culturally just because you live in the same country or same city...your cultural past is always where you belong and where your own identity lies. We all bring our own pasts and traditions with us and that’s what’s important as a cultural heritage, not something imposed from outside...no matter how much you may respect it... (Black female aged 60-79).

This dialogue, offered in response to discussion on EH’s *England’s Heritage – Your Heritage*<sup>16</sup> initiative, contradicts notions of CBH as a communicator of shared pasts. Here, while acknowledging its intrinsic value, the participant appears to identify culturally outside it. This finding reinforces that presented earlier regarding cultural ownership of the past. Here, however, pride in tradition is foregrounded and consequently

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<sup>16</sup> English Heritage, 2003, *English Heritage – Your Heritage*, London: EH

notions of CBH as a medium through which to convey a shared history are brought into question. This hints at the confined behavioural environments and limited social networks witnessed in the research setting. For many participants the interaction of their perceived 'self' in different contexts appeared minimal. As one participant taking an opposing view to the above commented:

'It's important to maintain your own cultural heritage and identity but not at the expense of your adopted country's heritage...we need both, not a choice of one or the other. We try to show our children the city's historic buildings...it's important they understand where they grow up geographically as well as culturally – yet there are communities here who never teach their children about white culture' (Asian male aged 30-49).

These themes illustrate how heritage meanings can traverse normative social cultural boundaries. These, rather than familiar binary divides, appear subject to complex subjectivities, social networks and subject positions.<sup>17</sup> Meanings ascribed to CBH can engender a sense of identity and belonging; a national heritage can also be seen as counter to individuality and pride in cultural tradition. In this guise, place-based affiliations are manifest as identity against or outside mainstream culture and society: in other words, a heritage-engendered sense of place can be a sense of being 'not at home' in its presence.

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<sup>17</sup> See e.g. Knox P, Pinch S, 2000, *Urban Social Geography: An Introduction*, London: Prentice Hall, pp. 56-57



Through testing the actuality of the cultural heritage model its existence is confirmed. Less certain under the conditions of cultural diversity is its ability to instil a meaningful sense of place and identity. Heritage is dependent upon the values that surround it, which in turn dictate heritage meanings. In other words, phenomenal representation of CBH in the consciousness of individuals is a social construct, bound in historic-cultural specificity.

### **7.2.3 Exclusionary Claims-making – Real or Perceived?**

- The theme addressed here is: claims of exclusion from ethnocentric, elite practices were not borne out by evidence.
- Category to which the theme was coded: problem – is there a problem?
- Research issue to which it refers: are heritage meanings and values perceived as established and coherent, or are they re-imagined and defined in ways that take account of their changing role and nature?
- Significance of findings to addressing the research problem: examines how efforts to mainstream diversity within conservation policy and practice are received at the local level, and raises questions concerning the basis upon which such efforts are grounded.

Values and meanings invested in Gloucester's CBH appear contested. Yet evidence did not support claims of exclusionary or ethnocentric conservation practices. This finding suggests that the notion of CBH is not readily definable. In their physical manifestation,

Gloucester's buildings designated as heritage represent its official legitimised expression and also provide the essence of CBH as defined by the research sample. Rather than material presence, however, democratic CBH models comprise a series of values. Evidence points to those not as autonomous and independent of wider socio-cultural dimensions, but bound in the society from which they stem. Moreover, CBH is multivalent; its role in constructing and transmitting identity renders it a marker of socio-cultural and spatial stratification. Under conditions of cultural diversity this is not surprising: as Borsay reminds us, identities 'destroy as much as they create, since by definition they exclude as well as include'.<sup>18</sup>

In terms of participants' perceived relationship with CBH no evidence emerged to support claims of exclusion from an ethnocentric conservation philosophy. CBH was not considered a significant part of everyday lives. Instead, it existed at a perfunctory level in the psyche of participants – as a backdrop to daily life, rather than an arena for social resistance. Its capacity to engender an externalised sense of identity – of not belonging – did not bring about negative perceptions of CBH. As implied earlier, heritage is not automatically devalued by not experiencing a sense of personal attachment or being at home in its presence. This being so, identifying 'outside' Englishness was judged by participants to be neither problematic nor detrimental to their interests. The following statement from one BME participant suitably illustrates this theme:

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<sup>18</sup> Borsay P, 2000, *The Image of Georgian Bath, 1700-2000: Towns, Heritage, and History*, Oxford: University Press, p. 379

‘I think it’s a mistake to overstate what heritage can contribute to people’s lives or to making them feel they belong. Just because people might not consider themselves English doesn’t mean they’d suddenly feel happier or more at home by being more attached to their built surroundings. We all have different values rooted in our own past and evolving over time...buildings can be as meaningful for telling us what or who we are not, as for telling us what or who we are. It doesn’t matter what type of building you define as heritage, people and their backgrounds are too different for it ever to be valued in the same way’ (Black male aged 20-39).

This account gives some indication of the way participants legitimised their own definitions of CBH. Here, the acquisition of personal attachment or meaning is not a prerequisite. Far from being a mark of social disadvantage or passivity, the capacity of CBH to convey ‘otherness’ can render it meaningful in its own right. From this perspective, its dissonant characteristics appear almost a constructive factor, resistance to English CBH providing a form of sub-conscious cultural empowerment.

Locally held associations and meanings underpinning definitions of CBH within the research sample were subject to diverse cultural interpretation. At the same time evidence suggests that any dichotomy between personal (socio-psychological) and official (aesthetic-chronological) heritage value and meaning is less clearly defined than has previously been theorized. For participants, ‘cultural’ value indicators were applied to nationally symbolic CBH typologies irrespective of levels of personal attachment. The

inference is that these rather than less polite, more personal CBH forms constitute their definition of the inherited built past. Despite the democratic shift in the heritage agenda, participants appear not to have broadened their own definitions of CBH beyond those officially alleged as selective and socially exclusive.

This brings into question the extent of perceived cultural marginalisation among those who may not share any dominant notion of national heritage. Among the research sample perceptions of heritage value and meaning were based principally on national cultural significance; its social contribution e.g. to a shared sense of cultural identity or belonging appeared negligible. Yet evidence did not suggest a sense of exclusion either from CBH or from Englishness. Moreover, in practice greater access or inclusion to heritage appeared neither solicited nor sought. This issue is illustrated by the testimony of one BME participant who, during discussion on moves to reform definitions of CBH in line with its role in society, explained:

‘I don’t think anyone could say they are excluded from heritage...it’s all around and available to anyone if they’re interested. You must realize different cultures look at the past in different ways and don’t necessarily want another culture’s heritage or ideas pushed on them. We have to be allowed to make our own choices and it’s wrong to think we are excluded or unable to lead fulfilling lives just because we may not share a sense of your heritage being ours or of belonging here...’ (Asian female aged 40-59)

This and similar views brought into question the nature and extent of participants' self-perceived exclusion from CBH. Despite its multicultural, pluralist composition, the research sample gave no indication of feeling subject to a dominant heritage ideology. In asserting the validity of their own lifestyles and values, personal significance of CBH appeared rejected rather than its conceptual notions being challenged. While its universal quality transcends relativistic interpretation, in practice participants did not feel that CBH played a significant role in their lives. Moreover, this was not perceived as detrimental to their social or cultural well-being. The inference here is that claims of exclusion and marginalisation from CBH are social constructs. The extent and origin of these are more appropriately subject to discussion in the next chapter, as their blanket application in the research setting proved untenable.

It was evident from participants' testimonies that there was little comprehension of the use of heritage in terms of its contribution to an enhanced sense of common or shared cultural values. For example, CBH was not a concept readily equating to an agent of social reform. This factor is exemplified by a participant who, commenting on moves among conservation bodies to reform definitions of English CBH, explained:

'I don't know that heritage really has a role to play in society other than to mark that society's development through time. No matter what type of building you call heritage or how differently people from different cultures and backgrounds value it, it's (CBH) a physical reminder, isn't it...of all the layers of a society or culture's development over the years. That's its role. It's

part of that culture's heritage because people's idea of the past...their values and beliefs evolve over time. You can talk about heritage as values but you can't have values without a building to value in the first place...something physical you can apply that value to; and then the motivation for applying that value...well, that will always have its roots in a certain place in the past. Here, buildings are specific to Gloucester...or England really, I suppose...the development of English culture over time...Maybe you could think of any historic building as somebody's heritage, but I don't think you can play around with the past just to come up with more acceptable versions of it. Then you'd have to ask "more acceptable to who?"...Seems like trying to rewrite history, then you'd open a whole can of worms...' (Black female aged 20-39).

Whilst a more prosaic but equally legitimate opinion was that:

'It's not the place of buildings or conservation to influence how people live their lives or make them share the same values or beliefs...that's to say our culture and traditions are wrong and yours are better...' (Asian male aged 40-59).

The supposed universal qualities of CBH are again foregrounded in these statements. Its social contribution remains less distinct or definable. For participants, heritage and its conservation are evidently not widely associated with social reform. Furthermore, its

suitability for use in this role appears to be questioned. Perhaps more significantly, the potentially divisive nature of heritage reform is raised. The implication of the first statement is that reform may be driven less by pragmatic considerations over cultural value and significance, and more by political considerations over e.g. social inclusion. In the second, the implication is that reform itself may be exclusionary, bringing the validity of BME values into question through moves to construct a common national heritage they apparently do not seek. That this is recognized as an issue among participants points to the contentious nature of identity affiliations in the pluralist, multicultural context. Moreover, it indicates the delicate relationship existing under such conditions between people and the values and meanings they place on the historic built environment.

#### **7.2.4 Broadening Access – Opportunity or Choice?**

- The theme addressed here is: for participants, access and inclusion to CBH appears a question of choice rather than opportunity.
- Category to which it was coded: access and inclusion not sought.
- Research issue to which it refers: how widely are calls for a more inclusive, ‘joined up’ approach to defining and managing CBH shared at the local level
- Significance of findings to addressing the research problem: highlights ‘value-based’ nature of heritage definitions and indicated divisions between official and unofficial notions of what CBH is and does, i.e. its social contribution and use as an agent of reform. Brings under scrutiny the extent to which CBH can contribute to social inclusion and how this role can be developed and sustained.

For participants, the social contribution of CBH appears measured in purely subjective terms. Irrespective of its function, evidence suggests that CBH definitions remain constructed principally around ‘officially’ legitimated representations. More inclusive conceptions of what symbolises national heritage, compliant with the policy directives of national conservation agencies, are apparently not sought. Given the nature and rationale of this research, this was not an entirely predictable outcome. Whilst alleged at policy level, a sense of exclusion from national CBH among BME participants was less evident within the findings. The inference is that locally held CBH definitions are constructs relative to its significance to people’s everyday lives. Questions however, remained over the validity of the somewhat detached attitudes towards CBH: in particular, whether they were a legitimate reflection of the culturally conditioned values placed on a national built past or an indicator of a sense of being culturally marginalized. Under scrutiny was the extent to which self-perceived cultural differentiation constituted a cause or consequence of attitudes towards national CBH.

Though an issue for discussion in the next chapter, this was addressed thematically in the field and achieved by examining the rationality of moves to broaden access to CBH through its more inclusive definition. Given the participants’ refutation of claims that CBH definitions are socially exclusive constructs, the exclusionary potential of reform moves provided an unexpected convergent category across the research sample. Perceived ‘dimensions of division’ stemming from efforts to democratise CBH definitions were manifested among BME participants as a sense that democratic reform



in some way devalued or questioned the legitimacy of minority cultural affiliations. This is a view suitably exemplified by the following testimony:

‘It seems a bit patronising to suggest people are excluded because they don’t share the same cultural background. It’s like trying to educate us to accept a culture and tradition that isn’t ours. What’s wrong with the one we’ve got? What makes you think we want to be included? Not that we don’t respect and value buildings for what they are, but to suggest they should have any deeper meaning to people who are not English and are not brought up within an entirely English culture is flawed. They (buildings) have a landmark value and that’s all...’ (Asian male aged 40-59).

This again illustrates the significance of cultural identity affiliations in formulating attitudes to heritage. The implications of this mind-set, however, appear wide-ranging:

- firstly, they substantiate the notion that under conditions of multiculturalism CBH, irrespective of its definition, was not universally significant to participants’ everyday lives;
- secondly, that failure to acknowledge this potentially heightened BME participants’ sense that their lifestyle choices and values were less valid or under threat;

- thirdly, that in consequence cultural fragmentation and entrenchment may be reinforced, diminishing rather than heightening a shared sense of a national past.

Difference is itself subject to multiple interpretations; it is a matter of self-perceived identity. Social and cultural diversity appears detrimental to the formation of common identities, beliefs and values. As indicated earlier, any notion of a pluralist, multicultural ‘community’ was not evidenced in practice. Instead, the research sample comprised groups or individuals living together separately, seeking only their own (and their group) preferences, rather than a cohesive society with a common cause. The construction of CBH definitions and the meanings invested appeared similarly disparate. This was evidenced in accounts taking an opposing but equally legitimate stance to the one quoted above. The following statement, again from a BME participant commenting on moves to further democratise CBH, illustrates these views:

‘Doesn’t matter where you’re from or how long you live in a country, the fact that you’re in that country means you should accept its rules, its culture and traditions. Hang on to your own too, if you want, but keep them at home, don’t take them and expect to have them accommodated outside. If you don’t adapt to that culture or society, it’s like living in someone else’s house, you don’t tell the landlord how to run his house and expect him to change the way he does things to suit you – you accept the house rules. There’s one question no one ever stops to ask – and that’s what you have to ask yourself...it’s not

“whose heritage”, but “what country is this” – that’s your answer’ (Black male aged 40-59).

While seemingly polarised, this and the view offered earlier hold similar inferences. In both, access to heritage is deemed a matter of choice rather than opportunity. In the former, a more inclusive, democratically defined CBH was deemed detrimental to culturally distinct minority identity and traditions. It was, therefore, an opportunity offered but not sought. In the latter, democratic reform was perceived as unnecessary. National CBH was a place-specific cultural legacy available to all; its further democratisation was interpreted as identity-based privilege, detrimental to cultural integration. Both views are equally legitimate. Both are equally discordant with heritage reform moves, inferring that bottom-up reform is pseudo-democratic. Both offer significant ramifications for the heritage sector.

This brings into question the perceived role of conservation and its effect on locally held values and meanings underpinning attitudes to CBH. Reforms are not intended as an imposition – one culture favoured over another. Neither do they render it obligatory to visit or take interest in CBH. Merely, their aim is to encompass within definitions of nationally significant CBH a greater representation of contemporary society than traditional heritage models might suggest. Schisms evident within attitudes were again not subject to simple binary divides but complex subjectivities. What drew them together appeared to be indifference to the reformist heritage agenda. In participants’ consciousness, heritage conservation was not a phenomenon widely correlated to social

reform. In practice, the use and suitability of CBH in fulfilling this role was questioned.

As one BME participant commenting on the role and characteristics of heritage conservation in Gloucester expressed:

‘I don’t think it’s the place of heritage or heritage conservation to reform society. Built heritage is the physical remains of a culture’s evolution over time...its roots are in the country’s layers of history – you can’t rewrite the past just to suit some social or political ideal’ (Asian male aged 20-39).

Or, in a similar vein:

‘The question for conservation shouldn’t be whose heritage...buildings are a cultural not an individual legacy and people know perfectly well what their own heritage and cultures are. If you try to impose one culture’s heritage on another you won’t contribute to their sense of belonging, you’ll push them further away. Surely the most important thing is to find the best way to preserve buildings for people who are interested...not try and encourage more who aren’t...’ (Asian female aged 20-39).

The above views indicate that locally held perceptions of heritage conservation have not shifted in line with the sector’s broadening social agenda. Nor do democratic or populist definitions of CBH appear to have filtered into participants’ consciousness. Significantly, under conditions of cultural diversity the exclusionary potential of reform is again

highlighted. Herein it is not limited to access and inclusion reform, but extends to the association of CBH with a politically driven social agenda. This brings into question the social context in which CBH and its conservation operate. The inference is that heritage sector activities seem socially polarised and produce conflicting signals ('texts'). Interpretation of these 'texts' appeared inconsistent with the benefits ('readings') intended.

### **7.2.5 Models of Resistance**

- The theme addressed here is: under conditions of cultural diversity, efforts to include also have capacity to exclude.
- Category to which it was coded: heritage reform challenged rather than heritage definitions.
- Research issue to which it refers: can CBH be defined in accordance with the value systems of a pluralist, multicultural society?
- Significance of findings to addressing the research problem: highlights 'value-based' nature of CBH definitions and how official notions of heritage's societal role are not universally shared. Implies that heritage sector activities aimed at reform can potentially exclude through their 'blanket' implementation.

Given the socio-cultural context in which the research took place, multiple attitudes towards the definition of English CBH were anticipated. Less expected was the degree of scepticism shown by participants towards the heritage sectors moves for inclusive, democratic reform. As the previous sections illustrated, evidence did not support claims

of exclusion from established notions of CBH; nor apparently was greater access or a more inclusive CBH model sought. The indications are that these patterns of resistance stem from lacking a shared sense of ownership of the past. Yet for participants, ownership of the past appeared itself a matter of choice rather than opportunity; a sensory experience bound in the complexities of individual and group identity affiliations. Thus, the dimensions of difference and exclusion present were multifaceted.

In light of this, questions remained over how models of resistance were informed and motivated – specifically, how indifference shown towards reform affected values and meanings underpinning definitions of CBH. For example if, as participants claimed, CBH had little meaning to their lives, it would appear reasonable to assume that heritage reform would be rendered similarly irrelevant. This evidently was not the case. Therefore the reason why heritage reform met with resistance remained open to debate.

Arguably, one explanation lay in the cultural origins – extending to participants and place – still active in determining heritage value and meaning. To reiterate, locally held perceptions of heritage appear not to have shifted in line with the sector's broadening social agenda. The same apparently extends to notions of a shared, inclusive past represented through a redefined CBH. Theoretically, it could be assumed that sensory memory would arise from practical reclamation on the part of BME individuals. In practice, social reform appeared at odds with participants' views of the heritage sector's national responsibilities.

Evidence suggests that the heritage sector itself contributes to a sense of exclusion from CBH. Given that cultural diversity augments the national past, active, creative encounters with heritage (theoretically, at least) offer ethical relations to that past. Yet in practice CBH was not deemed a suitable medium through which to salvage, animate and convey both cultural artefacts and overlooked histories. Findings again point to a level of disparity between the proposed social benefits of reform and their reception in the field. This is illustrated in the testimony of one BME participant who noted:

‘People will always value the same piece of heritage in different ways. No matter what a building means on a personal or national level, its real value lies in the way it links people to the past. That’s the only common value that people can share and the only common definition of heritage. They might live closely together for years, generations even, but people from different cultural backgrounds don’t share a past. You can’t pretend they do. I don’t think you could celebrate all pasts through a more inclusive idea of built heritage’s significance...or any type. Different backgrounds mean different memories; they value things differently and define their own heritage through their own or their group memory. On the whole I don’t think people on the ground even look for a common or shared heritage...they just want their own and to be left alone to celebrate it...’ (Black female aged 20-39).

Though centred on individual meanings, this perspective retains as its frame of reference the perceived universal quality of heritage. Here, meaning appears inscribed not through a sense of personal attachment, nor as an objective, given right. Rather, its inscription

stems from the deference in which sensory experience linking people and their past is held. In this, CBH's contribution differed across the research sample. Patterning existed, however, in the conceptual underpinning of CBH definitions seemingly remaining outside the reformist heritage sphere. Regardless of its personal meaning, in the research setting definitions of CBH appeared not to move beyond perceptions of national 'public' significance. Given that notions of a shared past were not upheld by participants, it was perhaps not surprising that CBH's capacity to engender one was questioned.

Heritage access and inclusion reforms aim to broaden established notions of what constitutes nationally significant heritage. Yet these moves were incompatible with the way CBH was defined and given meaning among participants. An explanation of this was evidenced as a sense that reform brings into question established notions of CBH. Heritages are seen as culturally determined and similarly distinct, a view exemplified by the following statement:

'Every culture has their own heritage. Whether it's a physical heritage like buildings, or a spiritual one like religion, or a personal one like family. To know your own heritage is to know your own past and to know your own past is to know your own heritage. I think that's why it's important not to question the past. If you talk about changing or redefining built heritage, it gives the impression there's something wrong with the one you've got. After all, if you don't value it or know how to define it yourself, how can you expect anyone else to?' (Pakistani Asian female aged 20-39).



Similarities with findings relating to minority cultural interests presented in the previous section are evident here. The inference, too, is similar: moves towards democratic reform can in turn be perceived as questioning the legitimacy of existing cultural identities and heritages. For values and meanings invested in CBH, and hence its definition, the implications seem wide-ranging. It appears to be an issue of cognition, concerning the manner in which different cultures understand, perceive and value their own and other heritages. The testimony of a BME participant, elicited while discussing alleged ethnocentric conservation practice and the need for reform, suitably illustrates this point:

‘Well, I think you have to ask yourself where those views come from. You’ll always find someone claiming problems exist where there really are none. You see, nobody has some sort of inbuilt resistance to English culture or heritage. That resistance only comes from their own inner teachings and the influences they see and hear through wider society. If you continue to tell people they are marginalized they will believe it and feel aggrieved...Now, in my experience, most ethnic minorities view the English with utter contempt...to them they’re all degenerates, alcoholics or prostitutes...So you certainly won’t encourage common values by making concessions or adapting English values to suit different ones. You can only do that if you absorb differences, and that works for both sides’ (Pakistani Asian male aged 20-39).

Brought into question here are the motivation for social reform and its potential impact upon cultural unity. This view also reflects the sense that claims of ethnocentric

conservation practices are social, rather than ethnically encoded constructs. The following testimony similarly communicates these issues, along with their potential effect on perceptions of heritage:

‘One of the main problems – and one always overlooked by governments, is that for most ethnic minority groups, mainstream culture – that is, British white society – is so far removed culturally from their own traditions and beliefs. Whatever it might mean to individuals of different cultures personally, built heritage isn’t something you should question. It’s like questioning your own past in favour of someone else’s...it certainly isn’t seen as a positive thing to ethnic minority groups; it’s seen as a sign of weakness – as though you doubt your own identity and heritage which is something evolved over centuries. No ethnic minority would ever do it, you see’ (Black male aged 40-59).

This view exemplifies a divergence evident between characteristics of, the need for, and benefits of reform as perceived by the heritage sector, and the interpretation these received in practice. It was evident that reformist ideology and the values of culturally diverse participants were not complementary. In other words, the same heritage assumes very different value and meaning across public (official) and private (participant) spheres. This is an example of the way in which different articulations of value and meaning

amount to different expressions of the same qualities seen through a different set of lenses.<sup>19</sup>

As Ashworth and Howard remind us, heritage ‘...is almost always divisive’.<sup>20</sup> Under the conditions of cultural diversity sensitivities over traditional identity affiliations and heritages appear heightened. For participants, irrespective of its personal significance, values and meanings attributed to CBH were less passive or subject to social control than has been alleged. Opinions circulated around the perception that heritage has been over-politicised. As a result, heritage planning and management decisions are deemed to be influenced not by rational reason, but the need to comply with a politically driven agenda. This is illustrated by the testimony of a participant for whom:

‘People are best placed to identify their own heritage, not experts. They do a good job at preserving heritage but shouldn’t question whose heritage is being preserved. Once you tie heritage to political or commercial interests, it becomes meaningless to ordinary people. Broadening access is just another effort to be seen as liberal and tolerant. As a society we’re made to feel so ridden with guilt that we become apologists for the past and forget the way we live our lives in post-colonial societies should no longer be shaped by the past. Sensibilities were very different 200 years ago. Yet governments and their agencies are uninterested...to take anything but a liberal stance leaves them vulnerable to the race card. Cultural and social divisions you see around

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<sup>19</sup> Ashworth G, Howard P, 1999, op. cit., pp. 8-9

<sup>20</sup> Ashworth G, Howard P, 1999, *ibid*, p. 34

here are long-term problems, but politicians only want short-term solutions as they're in power for only 5 or 10 years. They don't want to do anything that smacks of unpopularity...' (Gujarati Asian male aged 60-79).

This opinion from a BME participant illustrates how heritage values can traverse cultural divides. Less apparent is the capacity of a more inclusive notion of CBH to do the same. The findings suggest that, under the conditions of cultural diversity, efforts at democratic heritage reform are contested and fraught with difficulty. In this context, evidenced dimensions of resistance appear as manifold as those of cultural difference. Resistance to reform is discernable along three interlinked dimensions:

- Firstly, the reformist conservation agenda is perceived as questioning the legitimacy of existing cultural value;
- Secondly, it is seen as susceptible to possible exploitation to meet social or political ends;
- Thirdly, it can be perceived as devaluing 'real' heritage, irrespective of the personal value placed upon it, in favour of a 'populist' ideology.

The inference is that within modern society questions over ownership of the past extend beyond concerns of cultural difference or subordinate/dominant group dynamics. On an ethical level, also entering this debate is the role and legitimacy of national heritage agencies to reflect and inform opinion. This finding exemplifies the role of values and

ethics – not just those elicited through data production, but also those forming part of the research process itself.

This thesis has not merely followed an uncritical agenda. Challenges identified appear aimed less at heritage as an elemental phenomenon than at EH's reformist conservation remit. Arising from an era of modernisation and current political preferences, heritage reform challenges established thinking. Yet participants' value judgements seem based on their beliefs and experiences in everyday life and are concerned with what they would prefer their experiences to be. Evidently, the broadening of CBH definitions from an historical legacy to an agent of social reform is not complete. Attempts to further democratise CBH can be interpreted as autocratic – one alleged dominant ideology replaced by another. As such, moves towards inclusiveness must recognise the fact and accept the reality that such projects also have the capacity to generate new forces of exclusion, which are in turn subject to democratic critique and reform.

As a critical study, these research findings have been derived from a synthesis of subjective participant testimonies with a broader structural and historical analysis. However, rather than accepting those outcomes at face value, in moving from findings to discussion they are in the following chapter subject to further critical examination.

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **DISCUSSION**

## CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION

### 8.1 Introduction

To explain the research findings, the previous chapter communicated and interpreted the results of data analysis. Moving from findings to discussion, that analysis and interpretation is further contextualised here, points of discussion are explored and their implications evaluated against the thesis's thematic and intellectual context.

### 8.2 Revisiting the Reform Agenda

The Government's social inclusion policy has extended to the historic built environment. As the DCMS's *People and Places* makes clear, 'developing these issues in the heritage sector may also lead to reconsidering what we mean by "heritage" in terms of whose past is being represented'.<sup>1</sup> Under the progressive canon of reform existing definitions of nationally significant CBH are deemed driven by a particular and narrow standard official narrative. The result has been the raft of recent policy documents suggesting more pluralistic definitions of heritage, as appraised in Chapter 3. These documents, as Pendlebury et al point out, do not overtly challenge the narrative found in existing definitions, which are seen as of continuing importance and validity.<sup>2</sup> Suggested instead is a more inclusive extension of existing definitions to encompass the values of BME groups.

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<sup>1</sup> Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2002, *People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for the Built and Historic Environment*, London: DCMS, p. 15

<sup>2</sup> Pendlebury J, Townshend T, Gilroy R, 'The Conservation of English Cultural Built Heritage: A Force for Social Inclusion?' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2004 p. 22; see also e.g. Department for Culture, Media and Sport & Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions, 2001, *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future*, London: DCMS & DTLGR, esp. pp. 4 and 8 and DCMS, 2002, *People and Places*, *ibid*, p. 4

However, as Pendlebury et al again remind us, it is unclear how this can be achieved.<sup>3</sup> For example, initiatives aimed at animating overlooked histories have operated in the heritage and museum sector for a number of years,<sup>4</sup> yet their translation to England's historic built environment is limited. This fact is reflected in much recent commentary which, as Jones argues, focuses on repeated references to a few stereotypical projects situated in urban metropolises and which have achieved almost iconic status.<sup>5</sup> The *Peopling of London* exhibition, *Hackney Building Exploratory* and Brick Lane Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme (HERS) are obvious examples. Similarly, MORI research commissioned by EH emphasised the irrelevance of much existing CBH for BME groups, many of whom identify with non-built cultural legacies.<sup>6</sup> Thereby, calls to celebrate the historical contribution of BME groups through CBH remain unrealised.<sup>7</sup> More significantly, the unifying potential of the historic built environment in this regard is not fully understood. Therefore, discriminatory practices surrounding access to CBH under conditions of cultural diversity, while alleged, remain largely unsubstantiated by qualitative academic work.

### 8.2.1 The Contested Basis of Reform

The political and intellectual terrain upon which heritage reform rests appears as riven with conflict as cultural claims over the hybrid or homogenous nature of Englishness. This extends to policy level where official heritage narratives, which for the DCMS

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<sup>3</sup> Pendlebury J et al, 2004, *ibid*, p. 22

<sup>4</sup> For example Moira Simpson has documented the long if sporadic history of radical projects in the museum sector. See Simpson M G, 2001, *Making Representation: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era*, London: Routledge. See also Hooper-Greenhill E, 1997 (ed), *Cultural Diversity: Developing Museum Audiences in Britain*, Leicester: Leicester University Press

<sup>5</sup> Jones S, 'Making Place, Resisting Displacement: Conflicting National and Local Identities in Scotland' in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacy of 'Race'*, London: Routledge, p. 112, note 2

<sup>6</sup> MORI, 2000, *Attitudes Towards the Heritage*, London: English Heritage, Preface, p. 1, accessible online at <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/default.asp?wci=WebItem&WCE=157>, accessed 22/10/02

<sup>7</sup> English Heritage, 2000, *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*, London: English Heritage, p. 23



reflect ‘the visible manifestation of society’s inherited values’<sup>8</sup> – for their policy group partners at the BEN signify ‘the domination of a mythical and exclusive monoculture...no longer relevant to the contemporary world’.<sup>9</sup>

### 8.2.1.1 The Conceptual Basis of Reform

Challenges to England’s official heritage narratives are symptomatic of post-modern political and intellectual discourse. At the political level these reflect the moral earnestness of a modernising government on one hand, and, under its administration, the mutating meaning of heritage on the other.<sup>10</sup> Taken together at a conceptual level, these discourses reflect a distinct ‘cultural turn’ derived not from traditional ‘superorganic’,<sup>11</sup> but anthropological notions of culture as a system of shared meanings. Much influenced by poststructuralist thinking, post-modern conceptions of CBH rest upon value judgements, positing felt-experiential values of groups and individuals above the more restrictive, aesthetic-chronological values informing earlier narratives. Consequently, notions of value give rise to the question ‘whose values?’<sup>12</sup> In short, existing CBH narratives are deemed incompatible with cultural diversity and the aspirations of different groups in society.

<sup>8</sup> DCMS, 2002, *People and Places*, op. cit., p. 4

<sup>9</sup> Black Environment Network, Ethnic Environmental Participation: *Access to the Historic Built Environment*, BEN, Key Article 4, 2002, p. 4

<sup>10</sup> For example Schwarz notes how the New Labour lexicon of ‘cool Britannia’ has tried to distance itself from history and the past: Schwarz B, ‘Afterword “Strolling Spectators” and “Practical Londoners”: Remembering the Imperial Past’ in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), op. cit., p. 222. In contrast, Tessa Jowell, Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, espouses the use of heritage protection as a democratic movement central to defining our national identity: *New Statesman*: Living History: The Present State of Our Past, special supplement, London: 2003, p, vi

<sup>11</sup> Duncan J S, ‘The Superorganic in American Cultural Geography’: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 1980, Vol. 70, pp. 31-98

<sup>12</sup> This point was exemplified recently at the ‘Capturing the Public Value of Heritage’ conference in which the question ‘Whose Values’ formed the foundation of the afternoon session: *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage*, Conference at the Royal Geographical Society, London, 25-26/01/06.

In contrast, a repositioned inclusive model extends those narratives, positing CBH as a medium through which to animate and convey overlooked histories. The essence of this ‘cultural’ CBH model is bound in the meanings that it conveys and their ability to instil a cross-cultural sense of identity and belonging.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, it is alleged, such relativism could bridge ‘...the gap that is the fact of Britain’s multicultural history and heritage’.<sup>14</sup> In practice, the actuality of CBH, defined along its extrinsic cultural dimensions and the axes along which those are drawn, remains ill defined.

Specifically, proposed blanket democratic heritage reform is based on the assumption that access to CBH constitutes a common cultural good. Yet we lack conceptual understanding of how values and meanings of culturally diverse groups and individuals are constructed with regards to CBH. The problem addressed by this research has been: how compliant with values underlying CBH access reforms are the values of groups and individuals at whom those reforms are aimed? By examining existing knowledge on the subject and testing its limitations, the research has explored how CBH is defined, given meaning and how and why is it contested under conditions of cultural diversity. The chapter now discusses the implications of the findings for the intellectual context in which the research is situated.

### **8.3 The Implications of Findings for Existing Knowledge**

#### **8.3.1 Community of Interpretation**

The complexity of contemporary society under conditions of cultural diversity underlies heritage’s shift to the social agenda. Specifically, ensuring the relevance of national CBH to these diverse societies gives rise to the ‘whose heritage’ debates,

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<sup>13</sup> See Ennen E, 1999, *Heritage in Fragments: The Meaning of Pasts for City Centre Residents*, Groningen: Nederlandse Geografische Studies, p. 72

<sup>14</sup> BEN, *Ethnic Environmental Participation* op. cit., p. 5

prompting access reform initiatives. However, underpinning this research has been the assumption that existing generalisations surrounding CBH's potential as an agent of social reform, while taken as a matter of faith, remain untested. Constructivist notions of heritage as a social process specific to time and place imply a metaphorical 'ecology' of heritage creation.<sup>15</sup> Yet the effect of cultural change on community structure and on the interpretation of heritage has received little critical engagement. In short, we have lacked understanding of the social context in which the implied ecology of heritage creation takes place.

### 8.3.1.1 The Effect of Community Structure on the Shaping of CBH

To eradicate discriminatory practice through reformist intervention requires an understanding of the nature of 'community' under conditions of cultural diversity. Calls for an inclusive CBH, redefined to encompass the values of BME groups, presuppose the existence of a BME community as a coherent entity. Yet evidence suggests that this is not unvaryingly the case. Hence, discriminatory practices are rendered more difficult to define and address than has previously been assumed.

This research has broadened insights into local community structure under conditions of cultural diversity, and more specifically its impact on attitudes to heritage. That structure, witnessed in the research setting, comprised groups and individuals 'living together separately' – seeking and adhering to their own distinct cultural affiliations – and whose attitudes to CBH appeared similarly fragmented and diffused. This fact brought into focus the extent to which the meaning of CBH was shaped by absorption or rejection of a collective local or national psyche. As such, the central point of

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<sup>15</sup> See Avrami A, Mason R, de la Torre M, *Values and Heritage Conservation*, Research Report for The Getty Conservation Institute (GCI), Los Angeles, 2000, p. 11

discussion concerns how CBH is situated in its social context – the level to which its community of interpretation shapes CBH and is in turn shaped by it.

EH's *Heritage Counts* proclaims: 'By its very nature the historic environment is multicultural. It represents the physical embodiment over time of the legacies of a diversity of different cultures and communities and their engagement with the landscape around them'.<sup>16</sup> Ostensibly, England's self-proclaimed status as a multicultural society constitutes an important discursive resource for BME groups, who can challenge the nation state by referring to its own aims and ideals. Yet the underlying point evidenced here was that although outwardly polarised, cultural identities, along with their associative values, appeared embedded in historical narratives. Thereby, notions of CBH were constructed and became an object of consciousness in accordance with a metaphorical sense of cultural ownership. In this sense 'ownership' – contrary to Agyeman's contention that 'separating out a purely "English" heritage, when Britain has, since Neolithic times been multicultural, is artificial, and doesn't help people's mental access' – appears conditional on association of CBH with a perceived sense of Englishness.<sup>17</sup> The inference is that the meaning of CBH is context-specific and bound in its representation of cultural continuity.

Notions of ownership give rise to the fundamental question of 'whose heritage' or, put another way, whose cultural continuity England's CBH represents. Evidence from findings contradicted post-national discourse. Indeed, contrary to this perspective –

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<sup>16</sup> English Heritage, 2003, *Heritage Counts: The State of England's Historic Environment*, London: English Heritage, p.75

<sup>17</sup> Agyeman J, *Environment, Heritage and Multiculturalism*, working paper for the Association for Heritage Interpretation (AHI), 2003, <http://www.heritageinterpretation.org.uk/journals/j1a-mult.html> accessed 01/10/2003

which e.g. sees Parekh espouse ‘the idea of a multicultural post-nation’<sup>18</sup> or from which Soysal views the nation state as increasingly ‘insignificant’ and ‘irrelevant’<sup>19</sup> – the nation state remained the central, almost exclusive frame of reference for both CBH and self-identification. Yet further value consensus was ill-defined. Indeed, identification with Englishness did not correlate to the collectively held values and norms associated e.g. with social capital and cohesion.<sup>20</sup> Instead, CBH’s perceived innate Englishness served as a measure of the participants’ cultural and cognitive attachment to or detachment from mainstream English culture. The underlying inference of this finding is that Britain’s multicultural pluralist approach to citizenship, which celebrates and actively sponsors difference over commonality, sits uneasily with the democratic ideals of socially inclusive reform.<sup>21</sup> Graham et al raise a corresponding point in their analysis of multicultural heritages, pointing to the paucity of successful efforts to adjust heritage to build what they term ‘multicultural bridges’ between immigrant and host communities.<sup>22</sup> From this perspective and on the basis of evidence, the reformist ideal of elevating the particular and pluralistic over the shared and universal meaning of CBH appears both overly simplistic and idealistic. For example, the DCMS’s *People and Places* asserts: ‘Engaging with the built environment allows people to feel connected to our culture and contributes to the

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<sup>18</sup> Parekh B, Runnymede Trust, Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, 2000, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: The Parekh Report*, London: Profile Books, pp, 38-39

<sup>19</sup> Soysal Y N, ‘Toward a Postnational Model of Membership’ in Shafir G, 1998 (ed), *The Citizenship Debates: A Reader*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp 208 and 211

<sup>20</sup> Forrest R, Kearns A, ‘Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood’, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 12, 2001, p. 2140

<sup>21</sup> See Koopmans R, Statham P, ‘Challenging the Liberal Nation-State? Postnationalism, Multiculturalism, and the Collective Claims Making of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in Britain and Germany’, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 105, No. 3, 1999; see also Fine R, Benign Nationalism? The Limits of the Civic Ideal, in Mortimer E, Fine R, 1999 (eds), *People, Nation & State: The Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, London: I B Tauris & Co

<sup>22</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, London: Arnold, p. 113

development of active citizenship'.<sup>23</sup> This premise clearly assumes an element of cultural and community cohesion not evidenced in practice. A more perceptive analysis of this thesis suggests that for many, the meaning of CBH under conditions of cultural diversity lies less in whose heritage it does represent than in the socio-psychological continuity it instils among those it does not.

The underlying point here is that rather than an innate feature of English CBH, dissonance appears diffused within the community and is reflected back in differing personal interpretations of the national CBH narrative. This suggestion bears parity with Graham's argument that as a condition of multicultural societies, dissonance can assume a constructive role in support of identities.<sup>24</sup> However, rather than the indifference, acceptance of difference, or mutuality suggested by Graham, evidence suggests that dissonance can, in and of itself, be interpreted as a positive attribute. Specifically, identifying with English CBH provided an expression of self-exclusion from – and hence self-identification in relation to – a national culture with which closer alliance was neither canvassed nor sought. Accordingly, the (re)constructive imagining of cultural identity was legitimated and reaffirmed in the eyes of the self-excluded.

Self-exclusionary practice on the part of groups or individuals can also serve to demarcate them as more or less anti-social in the eyes of others. As evidenced, this was subject to positive or negative interpretation, e.g. by other BME individuals aligning themselves closely to mainstream culture, and for whom the self-exclusion of others helped validate their own alliance and self-inclusion with a sense of

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<sup>23</sup> DCMS, 2002, *People and Places*, op. cit., p. 10

<sup>24</sup> Graham B, 'Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?' *Urban Studies*, Vol. 39, No's 5-6, 2002, p. 1005

Englishness. At the other extreme, BME and indigenous host community members perceived the self-exclusionary practices of others as contributing to socio-cultural fragmentation and incohesion. Between these extreme examples, levels of value and meaning attribution were manifold, supporting Graham's argument that 'if heritage is contested along several different axes...it also functions at a variety of scales in which the same objects may assume – or be attributed – different meaning'.<sup>25</sup> In short, while the nation state provides its defining frame of reference, interpretations of CBH under conditions of cultural diversity remain subject to complex and contested patterns of syncretism.<sup>26</sup>

Nowhere is this complexity more evident than in the espousal of national cultural continuity as CBH's defining facet and its simultaneous use to mediate a distinctly non-English sense of identity. In this capacity CBH assumes the properties of Bourdieu's cultural and social capital, although, as evidenced in the findings, in this instance not in pursuit of the cultural reproduction of a hegemonic elite.<sup>27</sup> Rather, it manifested itself as an inverse form of cultural capital, one structured by adherence to culturally distinct identity practices and mobilised through their restricted social networks. This suggests that for BME groups and individuals heritage did not unvaryingly acquire meaning – as EH argues – through conveying 'the heritage of different cultures...woven into our shared history over hundreds of years'.<sup>28</sup> Instead, and irrespective of its capacity to instil a sense of belonging, there is no conception of the meaning of CBH conveying anything beyond a distinct notion of Englishness.

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<sup>25</sup> Graham B, 2002, *ibid*, p1005

<sup>26</sup> Hall S, du Gay P, 1996 (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage, p.90

<sup>27</sup> Bourdieu P, 1984, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London: Routledge

<sup>28</sup> English Heritage, 2003, *English Heritage – Your Heritage*, London: EH, p. 2

Although a complex and atypical argument, with the Saidian discourse of ‘the other’ central to the concept of identity<sup>29</sup> it is unsurprising to find cultural specificity demarcating multiple and fragmented dimensions of meaning. The inference of this research is that cultural diversity can adversely affect community structure. Yet simultaneously within that community, traditional ethnic identity affiliations – though culturally and numerically fragmented – remain and are strengthened through cognitive engagement with CBH. This is not to suggest that those identities are fixed or cohere around common norms or values. Rather, CBH’s social role appears to lie in its ability to foster retention and expression of cross-cultural difference or commonality. This argument is supported by Short’s reassessment of globalisation, a phenomenon which he astutely suggests is ‘...bringing peoples closer apart and places further together’.<sup>30</sup>

Underlying the heritage reform agenda is the assumption that broadening CBH’s definition to mainstream BME values and so further social cohesion and belonging is a common cultural good. This research has explored and tested that assumption in the social context at which reform is aimed, i.e. in a culturally diverse community of interpretation. This section has discussed and drawn conclusions concerning this process or ‘ecology’ of CBH construction. The result reflects not the existence of a pluralist, multicultural ‘community’ but an arbitrary neighbourhood;<sup>31</sup> one in which CBH’s enduring historical specificity reinforced that of its members’ own historically specific yet fragmented identity affiliations.

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<sup>29</sup> Graham B, 2002, op. cit., p. 1008

<sup>30</sup> Short J R, 2001, *Global Dimension: Space, Place and the Contemporary World*, London: Reaktion, p. 19

<sup>31</sup> See e.g. Blowers A, 1973, ‘The Neighbourhood: Exploration of a Concept’, in *The City as a Social System*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press; Knox P, Pinch S, 2000, *Urban Social Geography: An Introduction*, London: Prentice Hall, p. 257



### 8.3.2 Exploring the Actuality and Extent of a ‘Cultural’ CBH Model

The inference of the above is that under cultural diversity and change, cultural identity itself remains less fluid. This section delimits that contradictory debate by concentrating specifically on the actuality and extent of post-modern ‘culturally’ defined CBH under conditions of cultural diversity.

#### 8.3.2.1 Heritage Value and Meaning – Fluid or Fixed?

In the findings, socio-psychological dimensions of meaning, like the identity affiliations from which they stemmed, appeared subject to complex and multiple interpretations. Definitions of CBH and its ascription with personal meaning were not synchronous constructs – participants equating CBH with a standard official narrative, whether identifying with it personally or not. This interpretation, based on the degree to which CBH’s value and meaning remained bound in its historic specificity, pointed to continuing espousal of non-relativistic ‘universal’ notions of CBH, thus highlighting contradictions within participants’ views. Translated to the heritage reform agenda, these offer a challenge to social constructivist notions of heritage. For example, the DCMS’s *The Historic Environment: A Force for Our Future* states: ‘...the inclusion agenda is not simply a matter of going to people and telling them what they ought to know; it is about listening to them and discovering what they themselves are interested in and consider important’.<sup>32</sup> Given the attitudes to CBH evidenced in this research, what people are interested in and what they consider important can appear discrete social constructs. To reiterate, there is little to suggest that the meaning of CBH extends beyond a perfunctory level – its socio-psychological legitimisation bound in its asset characteristics rather than a sensory experience of

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<sup>32</sup> Department for Culture, Media and Sport and Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions, 2001, *A Force for our Future*, op. cit., p. 30

place. Yet simultaneously those characteristics serve to legitimate a sense of identity manifest as conscious alliance or indifference towards notions of England and Englishness. Hence, though post-modern heritage debates are distinguished by cultural relativism and openly contentious identity politics, notions of CBH disaggregated from its national context appear, on the basis of evidence, unsubstantiated.

This assertion supports the one implied earlier, that the ‘whose heritage’ problem, while central to reformist debates, appears of less concern among a number of individuals at whom reforms are aimed. While CBH evidently has the capacity to invoke cross-cultural value consensus amidst otherwise disparate cultural identities, it is a dialectic, autonomist form of consensus, very different to that proposed by post-modern reformist ideals. Indeed, as evidenced in the research setting, CBH cannot be abstracted from its spatial-temporal context. These are personally held notions and as such are products of subjectively held values and beliefs; in this, they are a matter of individual choice – private opinions as specific to time and place and as valid as those moral and intellectual assertions underpinning reformist ideology. The inference is a blurring of distinctions between relativist and essential values upon which CBH is defined and given meaning.

Beyond the Aristotelian thesis, which recognises objects as having both essential (unchanging), and accidental (changing) characteristics, there is little existing research to draw on here.<sup>33</sup> Among the few Pearce, in her analysis of heritage construction,

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<sup>33</sup> See Jensen U J, ‘Cultural Heritage, Liberal Education and Human Flourishing’, in Avrami A, Mason R, de la Torre M, 2000, op.cit., pp. 38–43; Arizpe L, ‘Cultural Heritage and Globalization’, in Avrami A, Mason R, de la Torre M, 2000, ibid, pp. 32–37; Edson G, ‘Heritage: Pride or Passion, Product or Service?’ *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 4, September 2004, p. 340

argues: 'No social idea can exist without its physical manifestation...correspondingly, no physical manifestation lacks its ideological information'.<sup>34</sup> Applied to the findings, that ideological information did little to support the shaping of new multicultural identities among participants. Instead, a dialectic CBH variant has been identified which, through conveying the perceived spatio-temporal continuity of English culture, contributes to the socio-psychological continuity of distinct groups within its midst.

The cultural dimensions of such a variant remain subject to debate. For example, the synonymy of heritage definition and meaning ascription has long been taken as a matter of faith within heritage discourse.<sup>35</sup> However, given that notions of ownership or personal attachment do not appear a prerequisite to defining CBH, this research brings that synonymy into question. That the same heritage form can engender multiple different interpretations has earlier been acknowledged and is not in doubt. Less clear is the extent to which value systems and ideals underpinning culturally distinct constructions of CBH conform to the prerequisites of its post-modern, present-centred guise.

As Ennen reminds us, at its root the term 'heritage' assumes a legatee and an inheritance,<sup>36</sup> the latter of which, according to Ashworth, is in practice only definable in terms of the former as latent user.<sup>37</sup> On the basis of this research such assertions appear problematic: despite its capacity to traverse cultural barriers in the constructive

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<sup>34</sup> Pearce S, *The Making of Cultural Heritage* in Avrami A, Mason R, de la Torre M, 2000, *ibid*, p. 59

<sup>35</sup> The idea that heritage is defined by meaning is principally based on the notion of representation. In this, Hall's work on cultural production and exchange of meaning is influential and widely disseminated. See e.g. Hall S, 1997 (ed), *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, London: Sage

<sup>36</sup> Ennen E, 1999, *op. cit.*, p. 29

<sup>37</sup> Ashworth G J, 1994, 'From History to Heritage – From Heritage to Identity: In Search of Concepts and Models', in Ashworth G J, Larkham P J, 1994 (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 17

imagining of identity, CBH's definition did not unvaryingly correlate to a sensory experience of place or belonging. The underlying point here is that the sense of who the 'we' or 'our' are in expressions of CBH ownership is not a precondition to its definition and ascription with meaning. Indifference to or disassociation from its informatory narrative does not unavoidably devalue or infer denunciation of CBH's cultural significance.<sup>38</sup> At local community level, legitimization of a national CBH legacy does not appear conditional on its personal inheritance by a legatee.

This assertion challenges convictions, restated by MORI as part of EHs' *Power of Place* survey, concerning 'the primary importance of personal experience and relevance in the definition of heritage',<sup>39</sup> by bringing into question the assumption that a place-based sense of belonging is a prerequisite to identification with national heritage narratives. In the research setting the extent to which interpretations of the national past were shared in the construction of culturally distinct narratives of inclusion and exclusion was limited. Indeed, in legitimating the perceived self, engagement with CBH appeared subject to negligible cross-cultural interaction. Hence, irrespective of the nation's role as its defining frame of reference, the research offers little to suggest that CBH contributes to an inclusive, place-based sense of belonging. Instead, it provides the 'text' through which the distinctiveness of culturally embedded identity allegiances is discerned. The inference is that under cultural diversity CBH provides both text and context for daily life, in which

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<sup>38</sup> Here too, findings contradict established ideas. For example, whilst not directly comparable, Light and Prentice in their research on producers and consumers of heritage adhere to prevailing perspectives on heritage as a commercial consumer product. Commenting on matching heritage products with consumer expectations, they state that heritage products are inevitably 'consumer-defined; equally inevitably, what the consumers are not interested in or do not want to see will be omitted'. See Light D, Prentice R C, 1994, 'Who Consumes the Heritage Product? Implications for European Tourism', in Ashworth G J, Larkham P J, 1994 (eds). *ibid*, p. 99

<sup>39</sup> MORI, 2000, *op. cit.*

clustering for cultural preservation appears a greater imperative than national behavioural assimilation.<sup>40</sup> This assertion supports Knox and Pinch's argument that '...for many groups there exists an inherent desire to maintain (or develop) a distinctive cultural identity rather than become assimilated within the charter group'.<sup>41</sup>

In discussing the scope of an inclusive heritage, Ling Wong of the BEN considers the local environment in which people live 'the most testing of settings'.<sup>42</sup> As witnessed in this research, the present, far from being subjugated in that setting by the progressive doctrine of cultural relativism, remained informed by historically and culturally distinct values. This finding presents a challenge to Ashworth who sees the colonisation of the present by the values of the past as a threat to changing social priorities: 'the world could be seen as being in danger of being littered with the relict heritages of past generations much of which now mean little to contemporary societies'.<sup>43</sup> However, he seems to underestimate the fact that socio-psychological continuity, whether real or perceived, appears a central component of identity and to notions of heritage. In this sense, Rachman provides a useful reminder of the cultural specificity of identity affiliations: 'Cultural identity is often described as what expresses the singularity of "groups", people and societies, what forbids conflating them in a uniformity of thought and practice or purely and simply erasing the borders that separate them...'.<sup>44</sup> Rachman's point was qualified in this research. While no

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<sup>40</sup> Knox and Pinch refer to behavioural assimilation as the acquisition by minority groups of a cultural life in common with that of the charter group: Knox P, Pinch S, 2002, op. cit., p. 231

<sup>41</sup> Knox and Pinch refer to the charter group as 'the majority group within the dominant culture of a society': Knox P, Pinch S, 2000, *ibid*, p. 236; see also glossary p. 394

<sup>42</sup> Ling Wong J, *Who We Are: A Re-assessment of Cultural Identity and Social Inclusion*; in *Ethnic Environmental Participation*, Key Articles Vol. 4, Access to the Historic Built and Natural Environment, p. 3

<sup>43</sup> Ashworth G J, 'The Experience of Heritage Conservation: Outcomes and Futures', in Phelps A, Ashworth G J, Johansson B O H, 2002 (eds), *The Construction of Built Heritage: A North European Perspective on Policies, Practices and Outcomes*, Aldershot: Ashgate p. 257

<sup>44</sup> Rachman J, 1995 (ed), *The Identity in Question*, London: Routledge, p. 174

perspective on the past is absolute, among participants heritage (as a historically informed phenomenon) was viewed as a more stable entity for self-definition than culture itself. This argument is supported by Matarasso's assertion that heritage is a narrower concept than culture: 'One crucial distinction is that culture can be acquired: the idea of cultivation, development and acquisition embedded in the very concept'.<sup>45</sup> In contrast heritage, as evidenced, conveys a less fluid frame of self-reference, less susceptible to being politicised by ideology.

Mediated through CBH, the national past provides a metaphorical anchor by which cultural identity can be rendered less shifting than the cultural change taking place within wider society. This cultural identity/change distinction is significant, with Matarasso again providing an apt illustrative analogy: while we share much of our physical heritage legacy with the Victorians, little being added over the past century that fits commonly held conceptions of heritage, we ourselves are not Victorians and therefore view that legacy as differently as our respective cultures.<sup>46</sup> The same argument applies to the cultural values in a pluralist, multicultural England. As evidenced, there are limits to the extent to which pluralist values can be uniformly accommodated within a particular cultural form. This point supports Edson's assertion that '...what is arbitrary in heritage identification is that a specific manifestation of "heritage", and not another, is given a level or reality for a specific individual or group according to circumstances that are understood and appreciated by that individual or group only'.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Matarasso F, *The Rock of Change*, speech to EH Directors Meeting 13/05/03

<sup>46</sup> Matarasso F, 2003, *ibid*

<sup>47</sup> Edson G, 2004, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-339

The above serves to underline the context-specific subjectivity of cultural heritage experiences. Howard's reminder of the disputed nature of heritage and its use is pertinent to this discussion: 'A basic principle of heritage management is to seek the disinherited. With every heritage action some people will feel excluded or ignored. They need to be found'.<sup>48</sup> Yet this research suggests that the specificity of social conditions existent under cultural diversity renders the viability and perspicacity of a redefined, inclusive CBH model debatable. More importantly, the justification for blanket imposed access and participatory reform – assumed a common cultural 'good' – is not confirmed. As such, the viability of instrumental arguments employed for heritage's contribution to other kinds of good, i.e. the social inclusion agenda, appears questionable. Indeed, evidence presented so far suggests the limited extent to which post-modern reformist ideals comply with those of cultures at whom they are aimed. The result is dysfunction between what people locally (unofficially) express as their wants, and what nationally (officially) they are assumed to need. The inference here, linking directly to the research problem, is that exclusion from CBH can be addressed only when exclusionary claims-making is objectively and pragmatically understood.

This section has explored and drawn conclusions concerning the cultural dimensions of national CBH at local community level. The result is a complex depiction in which CBH exists at a perfunctory level devoid of personal attachment, while simultaneously providing a frame of reference through which people mediate, articulate and adhere to their historically embedded and distinct cultural expressions. The inferred 'common' English heritage devoid of collective meaning adds a further dimension to debates concerning official and unofficial heritage. The next section

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<sup>48</sup> Howard P, 2003, *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*, London: Continuum, p. 212

defines that dimension. Evidence suggests that, while new criteria are developed for what constitutes national heritage at official institutional level, they are not unvaryingly shared locally. The central point of discussion here concerns the lack of exclusionary claims-making evidenced in individuals' personal legitimization of CBH.

### 8.3.3 Origin of Claims of Exclusion: Evidence Explored

This discussion brings into (re)focus an assumption implicit within post-modern heritage and social science discourse, namely that as a social construct heritage is user- or consumer-defined. In this, Ashworth argues: 'If heritage is consumer-defined, so also is its authenticity: the consumer authenticates the resource'.<sup>49</sup> While Ashworth's is a commercial heritage management viewpoint, the corollary of his argument translates to the current research. To reiterate, evidence did not support claims of exclusion from CBH. Nor was an impression that CBH represented a hegemonic, ethnocentric conservation philosophy witnessed in the findings. Contrary to prevailing belief, in this instance lack of personal socio-psychological (felt-experiential) attachment did not equate to a sense of exclusion or cultural debarment from CBH. So does this invalidate participants' own authentication or legitimization of CBH? On the basis of Ashworth's argument, evidently not. Suggested instead is a society/heritage nexus quite different to that presupposed by reformist ideology's invocation of social inclusion and diversity mainstreaming.<sup>50</sup> For example, in its discussion on broadening audiences and widening understanding, EH's *Power of Place* argues that the historic environment '...enriches people's lives...Access creates interest, interest stimulates understanding, understanding brings enjoyment,

<sup>49</sup> Ashworth G J, 'From History to Heritage – From Heritage to Identity: In Search of Concepts and Models', in Ashworth G J, Larkham P J, 1994 (eds), op. cit., p. 18

<sup>50</sup> See e.g. Littler J, 'Introduction: British Heritage and the Legacies of "Race"', in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), op. cit., p. 11



enjoyment leads to commitment. All contribute to the quality of life'.<sup>51</sup> This statement typifies the widely held assumption that, prompted by socio-psychological attachment, broader access and inclusion to CBH offers a common cultural 'good'. This in turn, implies an important role for CBH in people's lives. Yet, on the evidence of the research, this role bears little parity with that assumed by reformist ideals. The unifying potential of CBH – redefined to encompass and celebrate overlooked histories – presupposes a socially coordinating common cultural purpose neither witnessed nor sought in practice. Instead, evidence suggests that under cultural diversity, CBH in its personal legitimization can be as meaningful for informing people who they are not as for informing who they are. In either instance the nation provides the frame of reference, the 'whose heritage' question emerging as a means of legitimating and perpetuating one's own historically embedded identity, not as a demand for inclusion in an 'other', shared ownership of the past or greater cultural recognition. The underlying point here is that, as witnessed in the research setting, exclusion from national CBH on cultural grounds is not a universal given.

This argument clearly runs counter to prevailing theories concerning the primary aspects of national heritage's social construction. For example, Hall asserts that for BME groups and individuals, national heritage has to instil a sense of national belonging for it to become meaningful.<sup>52</sup> The evidence of this research suggests, on the contrary, that not seeing themselves 'reflected in its (the nation's) mirror'<sup>53</sup> neither infers exclusion from CBH, nor is deemed detrimental to the lives or social well-being of culturally distinct identity adherents. Rather than challenging conceptual CBH

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<sup>51</sup> English Heritage, 2000, *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*. London: EH, p. 25

<sup>52</sup> Hall S, 'Whose Heritage? Un-Settling "The Heritage"', Re-Imagining the Post-nation', in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), *op.cit*, p. 24

<sup>53</sup> Hall S, 'Whose Heritage? Un-Settling "The Heritage"', Re-Imagining the Post-nation', in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), *ibid*, p. 24

notions, the society/heritage nexus is one in which access or inclusion is not sought. This argument again contradicts prevailing thought, this time concerning the social benefits of access and inclusion to heritage. Here, Knox and Pinch, in their analysis of the social meaning of built environments, provide a useful reminder that ‘...much of the social meaning of the built environment depends on the audience’.<sup>54</sup> However, as they continue, ‘In turn the concept of audience held by the producers and managers of the built environment will help to determine the kinds of messages that are sent in the first place’.<sup>55</sup> Evidently, participants as the ‘audience’ in this research subscribe to neither the assumed benefits of nor perceived barriers to access, alleged by producers and managers of reformist heritage discourse.

This assertion brings into focus the actuality and extent of perceived inadequacies in CBH access provision. Heritage access and inclusion reforms are founded on the implicit assumption that cultural difference is a basis for exclusion and alienation among ethnic minorities.<sup>56</sup> That assumption, or more specifically its universal applicability, is clearly contradicted by this research. This is not to imply that exclusion along dimensions of cultural difference does not occur, as e.g. the MORI investigation for EH’s *Power of Place* survey has indicated.<sup>57</sup> Merely, evidence suggests that exclusion and alienation from national CBH is not an inherent by-product of cultural diversity. Accordingly, asserting the validity of distinct lifestyles

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<sup>54</sup> Knox P, Pinch S, 2000, op. cit., p. 269

<sup>55</sup> Knox P, Pinch S, 2000, ibid, p. 269

<sup>56</sup> See e.g. English Heritage, 2000, *Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment, Discussion Paper 1. Understanding*, London: EH, p. 9; also Jones, who reminds us how cultural difference underpins social exclusion reform for BME groups, while for the ‘white’ majority it is based on economic attributes: Jones S, ‘Making Place, Resisting Displacement: Conflicting National and Local Identities in Scotland’, in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005, op. cit., p. 95

<sup>57</sup> MORI, 2000, op. cit., see also MORI 2003, *Making Heritage Count*, accessible online at [http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/heritage\\_counts\\_newpdfs/MORI\\_report\\_Making\\_Heritage\\_Count.doc](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/heritage_counts_newpdfs/MORI_report_Making_Heritage_Count.doc) (accessed 04/08/04)

and values does not unconditionally render culturally diverse ‘audience’ groups resistant to a standard national CBH narrative. The inference is that within the research setting cultural identity expression does not comply with simplistic normative majority/minority binaries. Ashworth and Howard’s ‘Russian Dolls’ concept offers perhaps the most fundamental enlightenment here: ‘...identities are not alternatives...we do not often put one identity down and pick up another, we are all those things at once’.<sup>58</sup> Translated to this research, manifestations of identity and the sense of belonging they inform appear multiply held and culturally rather than hegemonically defined. Substantiating this argument Roy, in his analysis of cultural communities, argues: ‘To speak in terms of “minority” versus “majority” implies some symmetry in what defines both groups. This symmetry does not and cannot exist if we refer to “multiculturalism” in Western Europe’.<sup>59</sup> With contradiction of normative minority/majority stereotypes typifying its findings, such symmetry was clearly not evidenced in this research. To reiterate, lack of socio-psychological attachment to CBH undermines neither its value nor the social well-being of its valuer. Suggested instead is a locally held (unofficial) perspective on current inadequacies in CBH access provision, quite different to that of national (official) post-modern reformist discourse.

Thus, the research adds a new dimension to debates concerning official/unofficial heritage. These typically oscillate around concerns over the manipulation of heritage by political elites as a symbol of cultural hegemony,<sup>60</sup> in conflict with the values of subordinate groups. More specifically, Naidoo provides a reminder of current

<sup>58</sup> Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, op.cit., p. 9; see also Pearce S, *The Making of Cultural Heritage*, in Avrami A, Mason R, de la Torre M, 2000, op.cit., p. 60

<sup>59</sup> Roy O, ‘The Elusive Cultural Community’, in Mortimer E, Fine R, 1999 (eds), op. cit., p. 57

<sup>60</sup> Zhang C G, 2004, *Heritage Protection in an Evolving Planning Legislation*, unpublished PhD thesis. University of Newcastle upon Tyne, p. 5

reformist discourses founded on presupposed claims-making of ‘...politicised “minorities”...hungry for a more radical take on this nation’s history and keen to see themselves written into the story of Britain’.<sup>61</sup> Yet, elite/subordinate binary and more radicalised claims-making, while alleged, are clearly challenged by this research. Evidence suggests that, far from being mobilised in resistance, at the local level the social construction and, to revisit Ashworth, consumer authentication of CBH, can be formulated upon conservative, traditionalist notions. These, founded on CBH’s phenomenal representation rather than concerns over elevating ‘someone’s heritage at the expense of ‘others’, traverse cultural boundaries. Thus CBH is identified as a different phenomenon at official and unofficial levels. For the former it represents a present-centred product or instrument of social reform; for the latter, a past-specific representation of historically embedded cultural evolution. For one its value is future-oriented as a process to effect change, for the other – a brake against unwanted change.<sup>62</sup>

Rarely are these seemingly opposing discourses brought together. This is perhaps unsurprising; these are complex and atypical arguments and elicit little research upon which to draw. Jensen provides some contextual illumination; harking back to the Ruskinian tradition he reminds us how essentialist approaches to perceiving the past, though no longer widely shared ‘...are themselves part of our cultural heritage and embody different value systems’.<sup>63</sup> The same argument can be applied to the traditionalist (past-specific) attitudes witnessed in the findings. Whilst outwardly unfashionable when set against post-modern (present-centred) reformist ideologies,

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<sup>61</sup> Naidoo R, ‘Never Mind the Buzzwords: “Race”, Heritage and the Liberal Agenda’, in Littler J. Naidoo R, 2005, op. cit., p.36

<sup>62</sup> Avrami A, Mason R, de la Torre M, 2000, op. cit., p. 6

<sup>63</sup> Jensen U J, ‘Cultural Heritage, Liberal Education and Human Flourishing’, in Avrami A, Mason R, de la Torre M, 2000, *ibid*, p. 43

the participants' views are as legitimate as the expressions of exclusion more commonly given voice. Here, disparity between locally authenticated and official CBH construction is witnessed in BME groups who do not subscribe to notions of their invariable exclusion from national CBH. In other words, exclusionary claims-making, like perceived exclusion itself, is not inherent to cultural diversity.

The above reaffirms evidenced tensions in the synthesis of producer aims and consumer responses surrounding reformist cultural policy. In this, instrumentalist use of heritage to pursue social objectives rightly assumes the existence of different value measures within pluralist, multicultural communities. However, differences manifest in the research setting bore little correspondence to those alleged by policy and intellectual discourses. While reformist cultural policy addresses people en masse, CBH appears principally a construct of individual, private encounter. Drawing on the poststructuralist theorising of Laclau and Mouffe, it appears little more than a 'metanarrative delusion'<sup>64</sup> to suggest that any overarching reformist doctrine could comply with the values of culturally diverse society. Hence, whilst influential within national cultural policy and intellectual discourse, reformist voices do not speak on behalf of all they purport to represent.

To summarise, prevailing reformist belief presents a broadened definition of CBH, encompassing the values of BME groups, as a common cultural 'good'. In examining and drawing conclusions concerning the actuality and extent of exclusionary claims-making surrounding national CBH, this section has brought that belief into question. The result is an added dimension to debates surrounding official/unofficial heritage –

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<sup>64</sup> Edgar A, Sedgwick P, 1999, *Key Concepts in Cultural Theory*, London: Routledge, p. 302; see also Laclau E, Mouffe C, 1985, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, London: Verso

one in which reformist ideals of the redefined national heritage are not unvaryingly shared at the local level. Evidence suggests that access and inclusion to CBH under cultural diversity can be as much a matter of choice as of opportunity.

#### **8.3.4 A Socially Inclusive CBH: Opportunity or Choice?**

While few would question the potential of instrumentalist reform to generate desirable outcomes, its universal benefit cannot be taken as a matter of faith. In practice, tensions witnessed in the heritage construction process brought the democratic credentials of the reform agenda under scrutiny. Given participants' dismissal of exclusionary claims, it is unsurprising to find the role of CBH as a driver for social change similarly received: reformist efforts to broaden access and inclusion ran counter to the prerogative of culturally diverse individuals to assert their right not to belong.

As a user-defined construct, CBH becomes an object of consciousness through a process of people forming a conception of themselves existing in relation to that 'object'. By this means CBH enables culturally diverse groups and individuals to create, adhere to and perpetuate a sense of self in relation to others. In short, definition of CBH is also a definition of the self. The inference of this argument is that under cultural diversity, people's self-perception is both cause and consequence of their perception of national CBH. This assertion refocuses attention on the particularity of 'self' construction as mediated through English CBH. More specifically, and drawing on Storey, it highlights evidenced dysfunction between individuals' autobiographical self-narrative and that imposed biographically through inclusionary reformist

discourse,<sup>65</sup> where culturally distinct groups and individuals perceive themselves neither motivated in radicalised resistance, nor as passive victims socially marginalized or excluded by a hegemonic heritage culture.

That this is so underscores earlier-suggested shortcomings of existing instrumental and relativist research paradigms, both in terms of the utility of methodologies employed and the extent to which the results illuminate our understanding.<sup>66</sup> Whether manifest as essentially formulaic studies, undertaken in stereotypical urban locations, or as Favell asserts, through cultural studies' '...imperative to hitch academic work to the struggle against some oppression',<sup>67</sup> these tend to pigeonhole as excluded and subjugated groups and individuals falling within the ethnic minority 'umbrella'. The result is a recycling and reinforcement of stereotypes rather than acknowledgement or understanding that the idea of cultural diversity need not act as a barrier to equality and universalism. This argument points to a 'productionist' ideological preconception within socially progressive reformist discourse, incompilant with the lifestyle choices and cultural expressions of particular groups and individuals it seeks to represent. Moreover, based on the redefined criteria for what constitutes national CBH, evidence suggests that this preconception can extend to incorrectly objectifying culturally marginal identity adherents as socially excluded. Based on this reasoning, the 'whose heritage' question becomes a social construct rather than an indisputable problem, one based on ethical judgement specific to time and place.

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<sup>65</sup> Storey J, 2003, *Inventing Popular Culture*, Oxford: Blackwell, p. 80

<sup>66</sup> See e.g. Selwood S, 2002, 'The Politics of Data Collection', *Cultural Trends* 47, London: Policy Studies Institute

<sup>67</sup> Favell A, 'Multi-ethnic Britain: An Exception in Europe?' *Patterns of Prejudice*® Institute for Jewish Policy Research, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2001, p. 48. Favell's position reflects limited but persistent murmurings of dissent surrounding the legitimacy of radical cultural studies' dominance within intellectual and policy discourse; see e.g. Bourdieu P, Wacquant L, 'On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason': *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1999, pp. 41-58

Presupposed claims-making within reformist discourse similarly presupposes an inbuilt resistance to national CBH among culturally diverse individuals. This research clearly challenges that assumption. Placing this issue in a wider context, Harris, questioning Mac an Ghail's study of the English education system<sup>68</sup> notes a comparable point: 'Did the black girls... get their critique of the ethnocentricity of English schooling from an unmediated cultural legacy or from the social science texts we know they were reading at their college?'<sup>69</sup> Harris's line of reasoning illustrates the thesis's suggestion that, unless objectively founded on understanding of value and meaning construction and the social contexts in which this process takes place, efforts to redefine CBH according to demonstrable instrumental outcomes appear as pseudo-democratic as the ideologies they seek to replace.<sup>70</sup> Poole's geographical analogy illustrates this discord between reformist voices' notion of social practices within which diversity can flourish and those for whom the reforms are intended: 'As every geographer knows, mapping requires agreement as to co-ordinates, and the moral situation of the contemporary world is the progressive loss of agreement as to what these co-ordinates should be'.<sup>71</sup>

Nowhere is this loss of agreement more manifest than through challenges to the democratic credentials of reform evidenced in this research. That the same heritage artefacts are at any given time subject to multiple interpretation and 'consumption' is not in doubt. Moreover, this facet of heritage, as Ashworth and Howard assert,

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<sup>68</sup> Mac an Ghail M, 'Beyond the White Norm: The Use of Qualitative Methods in the Study of Black Youths' Schooling in England': In Woods P, Hammersley M, (1993 eds), *Gender and Ethnicity in Schools: Ethnographic Accounts*, London: Routledge, pp. 145-165

<sup>69</sup> Harris D, 1996, *A Society of Signs*, London: Routledge, p. 48

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. Cowling J (ed), 2004, *For Art's Sake: Society and Arts in the 21st Century*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR)

<sup>71</sup> Poole R, 1999, *Nation and Identity*, London: Routledge, p. 165



appears central to the need for its management.<sup>72</sup> This being so, findings reflect the miscalculation of strategically employing CBH to encompass and express BME group values without thorough understanding of how and why those values are constructed. The underlying point remains that value measures cannot be disaggregated from the context-specific ideological position of the valuer. Hence the aptness of Cohen's sociological adage that: 'What is real in the mind is real in the consequences'.<sup>73</sup> The suggestion is that reformist intervention aimed at diversity recognition can lack universal compliance with the subjective meanings people attribute to CBH to legitimise and assert their own lifestyle and cultural expressions. This argument finds theoretical substantiation in Habermas's analysis of the legitimation of culturally distinct identity practices: 'Cultural traditions have their own, vulnerable conditions of reproduction. They remain "living" as long as they take shape in an unplanned, nature-like manner, or are shaped with hermeneutic consciousnesses.'<sup>74</sup> Habermas is making the point that the value of cultural objects, appropriated to legitimate cultural continuity through self-identification, must be self-legitimated. That is to say, the value of objects and the cultures they support is undermined as soon as it is instrumentally appropriated and strategically employed. Translated to this thesis, the underlying point is that efforts to mainstream diversity can be interpreted as a challenge to individual and culturally distinct lifestyle choices. As evidenced, those choices are far from subjugated by a hegemonic heritage culture; rather they are perceived as being undermined by the reformist ideologies that seek to replace it.

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<sup>72</sup> Ashworth G J, Howard P, 1999, *European Heritage Planning and Management*, Exeter: Intellect, p. 94

<sup>73</sup> Cohen R, 'The Making of Ethnicity: A Modest Defence of Primordialism', in Mortimer E, Fine R, 1999 (eds), *op. cit.*, p.9

<sup>74</sup> Habermas J, 1976, *Legitimation Crisis*, London: Heinemann, p. 70. Habermas's reference to hermeneutics is in this context used – in contrast to the critical appropriation of tradition – to describe the scholarly interpretation and application of tradition having the peculiarity of breaking down the nature-like character of tradition as it is handed on, yet nevertheless of retaining it at a reflective level. The critical appropriation of tradition in contrast destroys this nature-like characteristic.

This being so, it is little surprise to find those for whom English CBH provides a marker of difference seeking no closer alliance to national culture. Moreover, in their cognition, questioning 'whose heritage' as a move towards democracy implies a further choice – one bringing their own lifestyle assertions into question and therefore not unvaryingly sought. More precisely, it is a choice already made and informed along people's own subjective and culturally embedded identity axes. This assertion supports Roy's critique of multiculturalism in which he argues that the official recognition of different cultural communities '...impinge(s) on individual freedom not so much by preventing choices as by making choice compulsory. Why should one be obliged to answer the question, who are you?'<sup>75</sup> The inference is that amidst those legitimately seeking recognition there are other, no less legitimate if seemingly irrational voices, seeking to be left alone.

On the basis of evidence it cannot be presupposed that culturally diverse groups and individuals consistently benefit from broadening notions of what constitutes national CBH. Rather, that benefit can exist only where perceived and experienced as both a necessity and a cultural 'good'. To suggest otherwise, appears on the evidence of this research at best patronising, at worst socially divisive. Hence, moves to reform definitions of CBH are subject to greater contestation than notions of CBH itself.

### 8.3.5 Models of Resistance

In their resistance to hybridisation, participants contest CBH less on grounds of its phenomenal form than on those of its management. This raises a dilemma concerning the way in which culturally diverse communities understand, perceive and value their

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<sup>75</sup> Roy O, 'The Elusive Cultural Community', in Mortimer E, Fine R, 1999, op. cit., p. 64

own and other heritages. Translated to the research problem, it concerns palpable dysfunction between values underlying heritage reform and those of BME groups and individuals at whom those reforms are aimed.

This is indicative of how heritage has become a mass market for both producers and consumers. Whilst earlier held notions of CBH as a ‘high cultural’ form rendered its ‘market’ small and elitist, today’s instrumentalisation as an economic and political resource renders it a multiply constructed, multi-sold mass medium. This is the market of Horkheimer and Adorno’s culture industry.<sup>76</sup> Here, under the new orthodoxy of socially inclusive reform, heritage commodities and their different consumers have to be treated as of equal worth. Hence, the democratisation and use of CBH to pursue social objectives makes its production along narrowly defined cultural axes not only socially unacceptable but also economically and politically unsustainable. Consequently, its connotations as a high cultural inheritance have to be neutralised to legitimate the imperative of commodification. Specifically, under the new orthodoxy of socially progressive reform, CBH has to reflect, animate and convey BME group values. On this basis, post-modern debates surrounding ‘whose heritage’ can be analysed by exploring how influential bodies adapt their understanding of culture and heritage to suit the situation of the ‘market’.

These conceptual adaptations do not occur in isolation. Nowhere is this more evident than in the influence of radically politicised discourse in contemporary cultural theory. A consequence is what Steinert astutely refers to as ‘...“social problems theory”, according to which everyone has the right to participate in the social struggle

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<sup>76</sup> Horkheimer M, Adorno T W, 1972 (first published 1944), *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, New York: Seabury; Adorno T W, 1963, ‘Culture Industry Reconsidered’, in Bernstein J M, 1991 (ed), *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, London: Routledge, pp. 85-92

in order to get their interests or moral preoccupations recognised as constituting a “social problem”, in other words in order to secure state resources’.<sup>77</sup> In a pluralist, multicultural England few would disagree that exclusion from participatory access to CBH on grounds of cultural difference was unjust. However, the findings highlight the way in which social problems can misguidedly be elevated as universal by ethical judgements specific to time and place. At issue here are not the rights or wrongs of a redefined CBH model, but the basis on which its inception is founded.

As witnessed, culturally diverse groups and individuals are mindful of the overt politicisation of heritage and consider it detrimental to their interpretation of the meaning of the past. Among participants, the value of CBH has been dependent on its capacity to convey cultural continuity; its cultural significance thereby lies in perpetuating a sensory link to the past, not to place. Accordingly, it is the place-bound specificity of England’s CBH that provides the sense of otherness, essential to BME groups’ self-definition. As a consequence, moves toward democratic heritage reform are paradoxically interpreted as questioning the legitimacy of BME cultural identity and lifestyle assertions. Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital is pertinent to this argument: the contestation of CBH appears a division between its appropriation and use as an inverse and overt form of cultural capital.<sup>78</sup> This is not, however, a simplistic bipartition, embedded e.g. in normative elite/marginal or high/low cultural positions. Nor does it comply with Bourdieu’s standard fields of restricted and large scale cultural production.<sup>79</sup> Rather, it is one manifesting pronounced differences in the cognitive frameworks through which social positions of heritage producers and

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<sup>77</sup> Steinert H, 2003, *Culture Industry*, Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 160

<sup>78</sup> Bourdieu P, ‘The Forms of Capital’, in Richardson J G, 1986 (ed), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York: Greenwood, pp. 241-258

<sup>79</sup> Bourdieu P, 1993, *The Field of Cultural Production*, Cambridge: Polity

consumers – and their organisational and cultural correlates – are perceived. In short, a practical consequence of its politicisation appears as self-imposed social detachment from reformist paradigms, rather than a sense of exclusion from heritage itself.

The above highlights limitations of reformist efforts to encapsulate the values of BME groups within notions of CBH without adequately understanding how those values are constructed in the first place. Hence today's reformist attempts to foster broader access and participation can be viewed as a miscalculation of how CBH as a cultural capital endowment is interpreted within and between cultures. Indeed, the social role of heritage and its conservation in contemporary society appear, in this sense, overstated. As cultural capital, CBH can only be understood with knowledge of the social context in which those groups and individuals exist. To overlook this is to neglect the fact that, as evidenced in this research, even at local community level that context bears the reflection of England's self-proclaimed multiculturalism. The consequence is the parallel existence of groups and individuals living together separately rather than sharing a sense of a common past.<sup>80</sup> Under these circumstances diversity mainstreaming is incompliant with the lifestyle assertions of those wishing to maintain identity affiliations far removed from the host community. Howard, who is close to Edson in this regard, provides a useful analogy for explaining these levels of 'insideness' and 'outsideness' witnessed in attitudes towards CBH – that is, as indicative of groups and individuals existing inside a paradigm in the company of others who are not.<sup>81</sup> Subsequently, among culturally distinct identity adherents CBH

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<sup>80</sup> Speaking in the week before his enthronement as Archbishop of York, John Sentamu voiced his concern that in Britain multiculturalism had '...betrayed the English...too many people were embarrassed about being English. Multiculturalism has seemed to imply, wrongly for me, let other cultures be allowed to express themselves but do not let the majority culture at all tell us its glories, its struggles, its joys, its pains...' *Times*, 22/11/2005, available online at <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2-1882591,00.html> accessed 19/12/05

<sup>81</sup> Howard P, 2003, op. cit., p. 114; Edson G, 2004 op, cit.

as a cultural capital resource is interpreted and appropriated through the force of their self-definition rather than common social membership.

CBH's contingency on a particular 'situated' interpretation of the national past brings its role into conflict with the canon of socially progressive reform. Legitimacy claims over 'whose heritage' take on some of the qualities of objectification by rendering traditional values uncertain, replacing them with ostensibly transparent 'common sense' models and understandings of the contemporary social world. However, in practice the latter are not unfailingly accepted at local community level. While Naidoo, in arguing against the 'exclusive xenophobia' of traditional narratives, calls for a '...profound ideological shift in our idea of national history',<sup>82</sup> such a move can, on the basis of evidence, be seen as an exercise in power – one informed by and lending itself to manipulation and exploitation by politicised ideologies. The inference is that questioning 'whose heritage' is deemed as a challenge to the legitimacy of individual, i.e. consumer-defined interpretations of the national past and hence, regardless of their cultural affiliation, to that of the nation's identity. Whilst this may not be an issue recognised by advocates of post-national discourse, the findings make it clear that post-modern relativism has not wholly replaced pride in cultural tradition at sub-national local community level. Clearly, there are limits to the extent to which such pride can be used to legitimate heritage practices, particularly where others deem those practices exclusive and discriminatory. We can hope to understand what those limits might be only by accepting rather than avoiding the reality that people can self-exclude themselves from CBH as well as be excluded from it.

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<sup>82</sup> Naidoo R, 'Never Mind the Buzzwords: "Race", Heritage and the Liberal Agenda', in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 48

### 8.3.6 Conclusion

Moves toward an inclusive heritage are a product of a particular set of values and ideals. Where the once dominant classes defined and protected CBH for their own exclusive benefit, today's new orthodoxy of socially progressive reform aims to provide access for all. Assumed a common cultural good, a major role of heritage is to strengthen cohesion and social ties as a measure of a society's degree of democracy. However, under conditions of cultural diversity, differences between official and unofficial notions of heritage have long been recognised as areas of potential discord. These differences are typically thought to stem from the hegemonic imposition of dominant values which conflict with those of subordinate groups. These dominant ideology theses, encapsulated by Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, comprise as Ashworth reminds us '...both the accumulated cultural productivity of society and also the criteria for selection and valuation of such products'.<sup>83</sup> Yet few have questioned at local community level the potential for discord occurring within and between elements of culturally diverse communities. As a result, potential for discrepancies between the CBH people seek and the one they are assumed to require is overlooked and the grounds upon which calls for reform are based remain unchallenged. The findings of this research suggest that 'whose heritage' claims-making over the cultural significance of national CBH among BME groups is less pronounced than that supposed in policy and intellectual reformist discourse. This outcome reflects the differing agendas of what Fine refers to as 'ethnic' and 'civic' nationalisms: '...in the latter case it is the state that defines the nation, while in the former it is the nation which defines the state'.<sup>84</sup> While evidence points to the participants' perception of meanings of national CBH as being bound in a

<sup>83</sup> Ashworth G J, Larkham P J, (eds) 1994, *Building a New Heritage: Tourism Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, London: Routledge, p. 20

<sup>84</sup> Mortimer E, Fine R, 1999 (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 152

homogenous, ethnically defined nation, repudiation of homogeneity in favour of rights-based multiculturalism inhibits further value consensus surrounding those meanings.

The above is indicative of Graham et al's argument that: 'The most pervasive source of heritage dissonance lies in the fundamental diversity of societies'.<sup>85</sup> The inference here is that the bases for reforms are bound in policy and intellectual ideals rather than pragmatic understanding. Yet evidence suggests that the use of CBH to pursue social objectives can be legitimated only with adequate understanding of its meaning to users and of the social contexts in which the 'ecology' of heritage creation takes place. Although cultural diversity has led to cultural fragmentation, it has also facilitated cultural consolidation: while numerically diffused, cultures, adhering to their own historically distinct values, appear less fluid than is widely assumed. Importantly, whilst mainstreaming diversity against this backdrop is undoubtedly fraught with complexity, questions remain over its universal necessity.

This chapter has discussed and reflected upon the implications of this research upon the existing body of knowledge. The final chapter summarises and concludes the thesis as a whole.

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<sup>85</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, op. cit., p. 93



## **CHAPTER 9**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

## **CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

### **9.1 Summary**

#### **9.1.1 Introduction**

This thesis has examined the construction of cultural built heritage at local community level in a pluralist multicultural England. Its principal aim has been to provide new insight into how, under conditions of cultural diversity, CBH is defined, given meaning and how and why it is contested. The research has contributed a conceptual framework to debates surrounding the definition and ownership of heritage which – driven by post-modern concerns over its relevance to contemporary society – argue that BME groups face exclusion from national heritage narratives they may not share. These debates in turn reflect a key conceptual shift, which posits heritage value as a social construct rather than one inherent to the historic built environment itself. This ‘cultural turn’ has led to questioning what constitutes value and whose heritage those values represent.

For the heritage sector the key area of focus has centred principally on the social benefits derived from heritage provision. Consequently, participation in heritage or, more precisely, the outcome of participation, is foregrounded as a measure of its social benefit. Nevertheless, while the role of CBH in national society has been subject to much recent debate, its meaning at local community level has remained little understood.

### 9.1.2 Summary of Methods

The methodology used in the thesis involved mapping the heritage process to conceptualise notions of CBH. From this was reached the premise that CBH is a social construct rather than a set of fixed ideas measurable through intrinsic criteria. Though much discussed in literature, this socially constructed model is approached chiefly as a dimension of heritage commodification.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, and mirroring the ‘cultural turn’, heritage is deemed central to a sense of identity and belonging. Yet the social role of heritage in this respect has been subject to little scholarly attention. To bridge that gap in existing knowledge, the theoretical cultural ‘process’ model was tested in a local community setting. A single, small-scale, in-depth area-based case study provided appropriate means by which to accomplish this, with Gloucester’s Barton and Tredworth ward providing a non-stereotypical, culturally diverse research setting. In keeping with the thesis’s critical approach and to ensure qualitative depth, the case study engaged participants through focused developmental interviews. Data production was carried out via coding and scoring of responses in accordance with theoretical categories. In addition to providing critical disengagement necessary to uphold academic rigour, this stage also led to evaluation of theoretical and practical implications of the research. Marked by transition from substantive to more formal theory, this was accomplished through discussion of findings in relation to the research problem and to the literature motivating the thesis.

### 9.1.3 Summary of Outcomes

The methodology applied provided a detailed interpretative account of the relationship between culturally diverse individuals, heritage and culture – one quite

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Tunbridge J E, Ashworth G J, 1996, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 6-14

different to that suggested in prevailing policy and intellectual discourse. The cultural dimensions along which CBH is defined and given meaning were identified as sitting uneasily with moves towards democratic heritage reform. On reflection, this is not surprising. As a social construct the values of CBH reflect the multiple ways in which it is perceived. In contrast, its conservation remains centralised around political and economic concerns. Under these circumstances, mainstreaming diversity through redefined notions of CBH appears questionable; moreover, it is not a prospect unvaryingly sought at local community level. Indeed, the research has rendered debatable the democratic credentials and unmitigated benefits of unilateral heritage reform. The thesis suggests that CBH deserves a more perceptive analysis than familiar binary divisions of e.g. right/wrong, majority/minority, dominant/subordinate can provide.

The main conclusions drawn from evidence and presented and discussed in detail in the previous chapter are summarized as follows:

- As a social construct, notions of CBH are specific to time and place – in other words, to a particular social context. Under conditions of cultural diversity that context appears fragmented and diffused. Yet attitudes to the past are historically informed, culturally embedded and less fluid than has previously been supposed. Foregrounding cultural continuity, values and meanings with regard to national CBH are constructed through people's conception of themselves existing in relation to it. In this sense, irrespective of a sense of belonging, the nation remains a central frame of reference for CBH and self-definition.

- The above points to the construction of CBH being subject to less clearly differentiated value measures than normative relativist/essentialist binaries imply. Instead, the research suggests a dialectic CBH variant in which ownership concerns over ‘whose heritage’ are not a prerequisite to its definition. Therefore, the legacy value of CBH is bound in its association with perceived English spatio-temporal continuity. Conversely, CBHs’ meaning is derived from its value as a medium through which culturally distinct identity affiliations are sustained.
- This is illustrative of an evidenced society/heritage nexus quite different to that supposed in reformist discourse. With perceived ownership or belonging not a prerequisite to CBH’s definition, it follows that exclusionary claims-making, like exclusion itself, is not inherent to cultural diversity. Instead we must acknowledge the fact and accept the reality that as a social construct CBH will animate certain identities more than others. Failure in this regard merely exacerbates a ‘productionist’ heritage hierarchy in which ‘official’ producer aims are incompliant with ‘unofficial’ consumer needs.
- This added dimension to official/unofficial heritage debates indicates that cultural diversity does not invariably render people resistant or passive with regards to standard heritage narratives. Instead, they make their own choices concerning participation and hence access and inclusion to CBH. In so doing, through their CBH and hence self-definition they also assert their own lifestyle and identity choices. Under these circumstances reformist efforts to broaden

participation can be perceived as questioning the legitimacy of those choices and hence the right of individuals not to belong.

- Exclusion from CBH is a problem only where perceived as such. Failure to acknowledge this is also a failure to recognize differing cognitive frameworks through which cultures understand, perceive and value their own and other heritages. In this, democratic reform is seen as an effort to neutralise difference through hybridisation. It is this hybridisation and hence the management of CBH that is contested, rather than its phenomenal form.

Drawn from evidence, these conclusions convey the solution to the problem motivating this research. There follows a brief evaluation of the implications of that solution for wider theoretical and practical fields of which this study forms part.

## 9.2 Conclusions

### 9.2.1 Contributory Evaluation

The thesis has contributed a number of deductions to aid understanding and explanation of the role of CBH and its conservation in contemporary society.

Underlying these is the universal question of ‘whose heritage’, central to recent heritage debates and implying a metaphorical sense of ownership of the past.<sup>2</sup> The research has not overtly disputed the centrality of this question nor doubted the difficulty of providing an answer. Rather, it has advanced the debate from passive acceptance that a universal problem exists to questioning its social construction. In so

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<sup>2</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, London: Arnold, p. 29; Hall S, ‘Un-Settling ‘The Heritage’: Re-Imaging the Post-Nation’ in Littler J, Naidoo R, 2005 (eds), *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of “Race”*, London: Routledge, pp. 23-35 (originally presented as keynote address at the London Arts Council conference *Whose Heritage?* 1-3/11/1999)

doing, it has emphasised the subjectivity of heritage value judgements and their dependence on beliefs and experiences in everyday life. If in defining what constitutes national CBH we are justly to allow other voices to be heard, we must also accept that they may not concur with our own. Just as reformist voices cannot speak for all they seek to empower, the lexicon of currently dominant intellectual and political discourse cannot provide exclusive grounds on which our participatory/exclusionary assumptions are formulated.

This creates a particular problem for the analysis and theorisation of heritage. For example, its significance as a manifestation of culture can be influenced by heritage's more readily demonstrable value as a social and economic commodity.<sup>3</sup> As evidenced, under cultural diversity CBH remains a significant and effective medium for the assertion and legitimation of distinct lifestyle choices. Under these circumstances, broadening notions of what constitutes national CBH can be interpreted as diminishing the legitimacy of values individuals ascribe to heritage. In extending previously untried analytic concepts to the notion of CBH, this research has shown BME groups and individuals to be possessive about their own personally legitimised heritages.<sup>4</sup> This identified disparity between (quantifiable) producer outcomes and (qualitative) consumer processes contributes new insights into the limits of using economic or policy-driven criteria for defining national CBH, which thus far have excluded pragmatic value judgments based on non-prescriptive, interpretative accounts at local community level. In short, future work needs to address not only 'whose heritage', but also by whom and on what grounds this question is being posed.

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<sup>3</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, *ibid*, p. 260

<sup>4</sup> Smith L, Morgan A, van der Meer A, 'Community Driven Research in Cultural Heritage Management: The Waanyi Women's History Project': *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 2003, pp. 65-80

Three factors emerging from evidence as inherent to the process of CBH construction are significant to this debate: culture, history and power. Firstly, different cultures having different values, it cannot be assumed that what is a problem to one cultural group or individual is inevitably a problem to another. Yet the assumption that ethnic and culturally defined barriers to heritage access and participation exist remains implicit to prevailing heritage discourse.<sup>5</sup> This thesis poses a challenge to the idea that this is an inevitable outcome of cultural diversity, since culturally diverse individuals through espousing national CBH narratives legitimate their own identity relative to it. This does not imply that values are shared across the full spectrum of cultural diversity (such statistical generalisation was not the point of this research). However, to be culturally different is not unavoidably to be in conflict with them.

Secondly, history evolves with the attitudes and values of those who shape and are part of it. The conditions that define social problems are therefore fluid rather than fixed. This has been illustrated in the research setting, where unofficial values have not kept pace with official reformist ones. Unsurprisingly, disparity occurs between the perceived benefits of reform and their reception at local community level. Where democratisation and hence ‘ownership’ of heritage was in the past an evolutionary, people-driven movement,<sup>6</sup> today’s reformist agenda is instrumentally driven.

Thirdly, this illustrates how power is unevenly distributed and indeed transferable between different social groups over time and cultural change. As reflected in this

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<sup>5</sup> Graham B, Ashworth G J, Tunbridge J E, 2000, op. cit., pp. 96-125; English Heritage, 2000, *Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment, Paper 1. Understanding*, p. 9; Jones S, ‘Making Place, Resisting Displacement: Conflicting National and Local Identities in Scotland’, in Littler J, Naidoo R 2005, (eds), op. cit., p. 95

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Howard P, 2003, *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*, London: Continuum, esp. pp.32-39 and Samuel R, 1996, *Theatres of Memory, Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, London: Verso, esp. pp. 242-253



research, the current balance of power points to a productionist bias adding to the hierarchy of official/unofficial heritage, in that the existence of a problem regarding exclusion from CBH depends principally on the authority of those who define the problem over those they define as excluded. If, as has been argued, CBH is a social construct, then so are many of the concerns surrounding its relevance and accessibility. The outcome – whether manifest through self-proclaimed leaders claiming to represent minority values,<sup>7</sup> the ‘situated’ and largely unchallenged lexicon of BBCS<sup>8</sup> or through the instrumental use of CBH to pursue social objectives – is analogous: the construction of a reformist ideology, seen under certain conditions as hegemonic and as pseudo-democratic as any that it seeks to replace.

This has significant implications for ‘whose heritage’ debates surrounding the definition and ownership of heritage. These, underpinned by dominant ideology theses, have in turn faced reconfiguration in line the ascension of post-modernity and the social-constructivist ‘cultural turn’. As a result, the intellectual and political arena has been dominated by the notion that cultural change renders the past less relevant to those not sharing its reflected values. Furthermore, the notion that to justify its existence heritage and its conservation should have demonstrable instrumental outcomes adds to an already complex web of alleged dissonance within the society/heritage nexus – one marked by contestation, claims and counter-claims over

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<sup>7</sup> Roy O, ‘The Elusive Cultural Community’ in Mortimer E, 1999 (ed), *People, Nation & State*, London: I B Tauris

<sup>8</sup> Favell A, ‘Multi-ethnic Britain: An Exception in Europe? *Patterns of Prejudice*’ © Institute for Jewish Policy Research, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2001, pp. 35-57; Bourdieu P, Wacquant L, ‘On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason’: *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1999, pp. 41-58. See also Sokal A D, *A Physicist Experiments with Cultural Studies*, in which Sokal describes submitting a spoof article, written as a parody of the cultural studies paradigm, to see if would be accepted for publication in a leading North American peer-reviewed journal. The article was accepted and published as: Sokal A, ‘Transgressing the Boundaries: Toward a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity’: *Social Text*, Vol.46/47, 1996, pp. 217-252 available online at [http://www.physics.nyu.edu/faculty/sokal/transgress\\_v2/transgress\\_v2\\_singlefile.html](http://www.physics.nyu.edu/faculty/sokal/transgress_v2/transgress_v2_singlefile.html) and [http://physics.nyu.edu/faculty/sokal/lingua\\_franca\\_v4/lingua\\_franca\\_v4.html](http://physics.nyu.edu/faculty/sokal/lingua_franca_v4/lingua_franca_v4.html), accessed 06/09/2006

what constitutes national heritage and whose heritage it is. Rather than being subject to contestation and resistance, as is widely supposed, the thesis has posited the national CBH process as being devoid of the elevation of ‘someone’s’ heritage at the expense of others. This illustrates how, as an expression of self-legitimation, heritage values are subject to divergent inherited meanings and rather than subjugating divergent cultural narratives, can mediate and pave the way for their subsistence.

The implication for Britain’s heritage and cultural sectors is that, given its potential for political exploitation, heritage decision-making cannot be left to ethical judgements alone. To do so would be a disservice to BME groups in that, under the pretext of democratic reform, discriminatory practices can in fact be perpetuated by time- and place-specific efforts to neutralise difference. Few would argue that national heritage should be available and accessible to all members of society – not least to legitimate its future conservation. Nevertheless, the ideal of a socially inclusive national CBH, of equivalent meaning to all, can only extend as far as to those who seek it. Groups and individuals who choose to adhere to an identity more in common with their own ethnic roots than with any sense of belonging they are alleged to seek through CBH, should not be labelled as excluded from England’s heritage. The idea that they ‘need’ special attention or that they unavoidably present a challenge to national heritage narratives is also unsustainable. Ultimately, over-compensatory reformist intervention has the capacity to provoke rather than assuage cultural divisions. Evidence suggests that while English cultural homogeneity may be an imaginary concept, so too are a number of socio-political grievances expressed as resistance and liberation from the oppression of hegemonic cultural elites. If we are to acknowledge BME groups as contributing to a pluralist, multicultural England rather

than merely embodying it, the genuinely excluded must speak for and define themselves.

### **9.2.2 Putting the Research into Perspective**

As with all research, this study has its limitations. Beyond those purposely set down in Chapter 1, these principally relate to the extensive nature of the subject and its unfolding topicality. At the outset of this research the doctrine of British multiculturalism stood largely unchallenged in social or intellectual discourse. That BME groups have legitimate grievances has long been accepted as a matter of faith, while questioning their validity ran the risk of being labelled as racist. Whilst this discursive impasse largely remains confined to intellectual circles, recent events outside the scope of this thesis have brought Britain's longstanding endorsement of multiculturalism under scrutiny. It has been neither necessary nor practicable to address these concerns directly in this thesis. Nevertheless, increasing acknowledgment that the promotion of difference in the name of diversity is incompatible with the ideal of equality for all highlights how the enquiry, dealing as it does with sensitive and ethical identity issues, is built on a rapidly shifting perceptual foundation. This has yet to be reflected in heritage sector policy, where the implications of the research are likely to be constrained by its critical approach. Despite contributing a conceptual framework for understanding and debate in a key evolving area of the heritage sector's activities, its effect will in all likelihood be limited to the development of ideas rather than forming a blueprint for action.

As the main focus of this research, the views of BME groups have been given precedence. This is not to suggest that 'white voices', and those defined by other

dimensions of difference, have been overlooked.<sup>9</sup> Rather, within the thesis's planned and emerging limitations, the quality of data produced has rendered their equal weighting untenable.

### 9.2.3 Recommendations for Further Research

While this thesis is a definitive work in its own right, it also provides a conceptual framework for a developing research agenda. Key issues arising from its findings draw together themes relevant both to foundational disciplinary fields of which the study is part, and to its specific subject matter.

A philosophical gulf exists between the arenas of heritage policy and practice and that of academic analysis. Nevertheless, the thesis has identified a need for further research into how discourses of difference and dissent among BME groups are constructed and sustained. Despite the shift towards a 'people centred', inclusive approach to defining and interpreting the past, in Britain cultural difference as a dimension of social inequality has received little attention beyond that provided by BBCS-inspired paradigms. These have been shown to have limited value when subjected to critical analysis under culturally diverse conditions. Future work needs to acknowledge and build on the precept that identity is not unavoidably linked to place or locality, nor that it is simply a matter of sentiment or in-built resistance to physical markers 'other' to those of one's own cultural origin. Rather, it is a process

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<sup>9</sup> Indeed, it is fully recognised that detachment from official institutional heritages is not limited to BME groups but potentially extends to the wider public. This is a situation highlighted by moves towards socially inclusive reform – the central thrust of which is towards recognising the rights of ethnic minority groups – so raising awareness among the wider white community of their own ethnicity, intensifying divisions and leading to what Malik, in his TV essay on the consequences of multiculturalism, describes as a form of apartheid in northern English towns. See *Disunited Kingdom*, Channel 4, 29 October 2003. See also e.g. Kymlicka W, 1995, *Multicultural Citizenship*, Oxford: University Press; Soysal Y, 1996, *Boundaries and Identity: Immigrants in Europe*, unpublished manuscript, p.7

constructed through individuals' ability to mobilise, communicate and manipulate those markers and construct their sense of self as existing in relation to them. Herein, Edson acknowledges how, as a core constituent of identity, the value of heritage '...may lie not so much in its convergence with individual or group identity, as in the identification of the immeasurable differences that separate one individual or group from others'.<sup>10</sup> Just as England's heritage cannot be expected to have equivalent meaning to all in society, influential voices insisting that perceived injustices of the past are addressed by contemporary conservation agendas do not speak for all they seek to empower. Only by moving beyond the rhetorical impasse toward examining the complex webs of history, culture and power through which notions of ethnocentricity are constructed and motivated, can we hope to reach agreement over the emancipatory needs of contemporary societies.

At a more subject-specific level there is a clear need for research which, while taking account of challenges and opportunities for a more inclusive interpretation of the national past, examines the extent to which interest in particular aspects of that past is subject to culture-specific inherited meanings. Just as the ascendance of heritage-mindedness in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century was largely a reflection of social change and reform, so too are today's calls for an inclusive interpretation of the national past. Yet, individuals and the meanings they ascribe to heritage are subject to diffuse and multiple minority interests. At the same time there is a universal quality to the concept of heritage, which – bound in time and place – exists regardless of whether the heritage resource in question is viewed as positive or negative cultural legacy (the heritage of atrocity and former Nazi party rally grounds in Nuremberg are

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<sup>10</sup> Edson G, 'Heritage: Pride or Passion, Product or Service?': *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 2004, p. 346

obvious examples of the latter).<sup>11</sup> Similarly, elitist cultural traditions founded on a culture of land ownership and class division are, like the predominance of white Christian values, part of England's heritage and cannot be dismissed because they run counter to 21<sup>st</sup> century sensibilities. If heritage is subject to inherited meanings intrinsic to culturally distinct ways of life, are we to respect and preserve minority cultural values as a heritage in themselves or bring them in line with reformist expectations? Values embodied in heritage co-exist rather than converge and if, as a measure of their continuation, we are to agree limits to pride in cultural tradition, those agreements must be based on pragmatic understanding of the social context in which those values are formulated.

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<sup>11</sup> See e.g. Tunbridge J E, Ashworth G J, 1996, op. cit; Macdonald S, '*Difficult Heritage: Identity and the Past in Nuremberg*', unpublished paper presented at the ESRC's Accessing Identity seminar, University of Stirling, 15/01/03

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30. *The Times* online website: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2-1882591,00.html>
31. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)  
website: <http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/>
32. Virtual Gloucester website: <http://www.softdata.co.uk/gloucester/19th.htm>

## **APPENDIX**

**Appendix 1:** List of local voluntary and community groups catering for the needs of Gloucester's BME communities

**AFRO-CARIBBEAN LADIES CIRCLE**

C/o Afro-Caribbean Association, 213 Barton Street, Gloucester, GL4 9HY

Telephone: 01452 387754

Aims: The aim of our group is to bring together women of Afro-Caribbean origin.

Sharing cultural ideas and support ventures in the Afro-Caribbean community.

Services: Visiting the sick in hospital or in their homes, helping out at Saturday School, helping out at Elders Luncheon Club and anything that may arise in the community that needs our support.

**AFRO-CARIBBEAN OUT OF SCHOOL 'KIDS CLUB'**

C/o 213 Barton Street, Gloucester, GL1 4HY

Telephone: 01452 387754

Aims: To provide culturally appropriate and affordable child-care.

Services: Provide after/out of School care.

**AFRO-CARIBBEAN 'SATURDAY SCHOOL'**

C/o 213 Barton Street, Gloucester, GL1 4HR

Telephone: 01452 387754

Aims: To advance cultural awareness and to promote a sense of cultural history and identity within context of the National Curriculum.

Services: Supplementary Saturday School to develop cultural understanding and identity within a community framework which embraces the ethos of the National Curriculum in general.

**AKWAABA ARTS Ltd**

Stark Hill Edge, Stroud

Gloucestershire, GL6 6NR

Telephone: 01452 812983

Aims: To develop knowledge of African culture through dance and drumming performances, workshops and lecture/demonstration.

Services: Performances in African drumming and dance workshops in schools and all aspects of the community which require our assistance and service.

**ANGLO-ASIAN CULTURAL CENTRE**

91 Barton Street, Gloucester, GL1 4HR

Telephone: 01452 300323

Aims: Introduce Asian Cultures and Art in UK

Services: Courses, demonstrations, exhibits

**ASIAN ADVICE SERVICE ('THE AA')**

C/o 59 Victoria Street, Gloucester

Telephone: 01452 530337

Aims: To provide a free confidential and independent advice service on all subjects, especially Benefits, Immigration and Nationality, Discrimination and Employment, targeted at (not exclusive) to members of the Asian Community only. If we do not have the answer, we will find someone who does.

Services: Help with form filling, letters dealing with the Local Authority, Statutory and Non-Statutory Agencies, Employers, etc.

**ASIAN ELDERS**

c/o 81 Vauxhall Road, Gloucester

Aims: Provide social functions for Asian Elders, aged 55 and over. To increase awareness of statutory services towards needs and problems experienced by Asian elderly in the Gloucester area.

Services: Currently offering day care/drop-in centre provision, respite, meals, social get togethers, trips, information exchange and dissemination.

**ASIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT**

Islamic Academy, Sinope Street, Gloucester, GL1 4AN

Telephone: 01452 300465

Aims: To provide youth orientated activities indoor and outdoor within the parameters of Muslim culture and religion.

Services: As appropriate to meet the demands of the above.

**BANGLADESHI GLOUCESTERSHIRE ASSOCIATION**

6 Goodyere Street, Gloucester, GL1 4UG

Telephone: 01452 383921

Aims: To promote the welfare of the Bangladeshi Community in Gloucestershire by meeting their needs, economical, educational, social, cultural and religious, etc.

**BANGLADESHI WOMENS ASSOCIATION**

3 Southern Avenue, Tuffley, Gloucester, GL4 0AW

Telephone: 01453 520571

Aims: To meet the social, educational and cultural needs of Bangladeshi women in Gloucester. To make sure Bangladeshi women have equal access to information about health and social welfare services.

Services: We provide a wide range of services including, educational classes, language classes and other services as appropriate.

**BARTON AND TREDWORTH COMMUNITY TRUST**

The Trust Centre, Conduit Street, Tredworth, Gloucester, GL1 4XH

Telephone: 544933 Fax: 01452 546401

Aims: To help improve the quality of life for people living and / or working within the Barton and Tredworth wards in Gloucester City. Objectives: The objects for which the

Association is established are without distinction of colour, race, ethnic or national origin, sex or political, religious or other opinions:- To relieve poverty. To relieve elderly residents in need. To actively promote and to work towards the elimination of discrimination and disadvantage affecting members of the community relating to ethnic origin. To advance education (including training for employment or work) particularly by the provision of advice and information. To provide, for the public benefit and in the interest of social welfare, facilities for recreation or other leisure-time occupation with the object of: improving the conditions of life for persons needing those facilities by reason of their youth, age, infirmity or disablement, poverty or social and economic circumstances or improving the conditions of life for such members, or female members, of the public as they wish to avail themselves of the facilities, in particular (but without prejudice to the generality) for the benefit of inhabitants of the following areas namely The Barton and Tredworth wards of Gloucester. With special emphasis directed towards those parts of those areas in the vicinity of the Gloucester City Council's Barton and Tredworth Renewal Area. To secure for the public benefit the preservation, protection, development and improvement of features of historic or public interest in the "area of benefit".  
Services: Development of projects and programmes, either independently or in partnership with other organisations to achieve our aims. Description of Activities: Works with voluntary organisations to empower them in their delivery of services to the community. Sits on partnership boards with a view to influence decision-making. Accesses resources for the area in terms of employment, education, environment improvement and social well-being etc and hands on involvement with the Education Lifelong Learning Project. Charity No: 1089540

#### **BARTON ENTERPRISE CENTRE**

99 Barton Street, Gloucester, GL1 4HR

Telephone: Reception: 01452 544938

Fax: 01452 544936

Aims: To act as a focal point for a wide range of improvements to the economy of the Barton and Tredworth area in the City. It is run by local people who know the needs of the local community and works in partnership to achieve a common goal within that community.

Services: The Centre provides a range of services for the benefit of the local community, from business advice to training and community development initiatives.

#### **BLACK CARERS COMMUNITY NETWORK**

C/o Afro-Caribbean Association, 213 Barton Street, Gloucester, GL1 4HR

Telephone: 01452 387754

Aims: To provide information regarding social services provision, ie, home care, respite care, Afro Caribbean meals on wheels, befriending, advocacy, welfare benefits advice and a home visiting service.

Services: As above.



**BLACK ELDERS DAY CENTRE**

C/o 25 Lichfield Road, Barnwood, Gloucester, GL4 3AL

Telephone: 01452 414578

Aims: To promote the welfare of the aged.

Services: Lunch Club facilities for the aged.

**BLACK WRITERS GROUP**

16 Weavers Road Quedgeley, Gloucester, GL2 6WX

**CEMVO (South West)**

First Floor, Royal Oak House, Royal Oak Avenue, Bristol, BS1 4GB

Telephone: 0117 9897727

Aims: CEMVO is a national charity with a vision to "bring increased resources to the sector for the social regeneration of Black and Minority Ethnic Communities." These resources are cash resources from funding streams not yet tapped. Professionals becoming involved as donors, trustees, staff and volunteers. Securing policy table participation for people from the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) communities.

Services: CEMVO is the sister organisation of the Ethnic Minority Foundation (EMF) which was established to develop the resources for BME communities in the UK by setting up a £100m Endowment Fund which will be used to help fund BME groups in the short, medium and long term.

**CHINESE CHILDREN AND PARENTS ASSOCIATION OF GLOS**

Telephone: 01452 526170/614667 Mobile: 07720 637976

Aims: To advance the educational, recreational, linguistic and cultural issues for the children and young people of Chinese origin. To identify the unmet needs of the children from the mixed marriage with a Chinese parent. To encourage friendship and communication with races from different cultural backgrounds.

Services: Gloucestershire Mandarin School, educational projects, cultural projects and artistic projects.

**COMMUNITY SOCIAL WORK TEAM (SOCIAL SERVICES)**

C/o Quayside House, Quayside Wing, Shire Hall, Gloucester, GL1 2RH

Telephone: 01452 426074/426123

Aims: The Team specialise in covering the Asian, African, Caribbean and Chinese communities.

Services: The team provide advice, information and support pertaining to issues related to the communities the County Council serves and works towards Departmental targets.

**COOL RUNNINGS CHILDREN'S PROJECT**

City Works, Alfred Street., Gloucester, GL1 4DF

Telephone: 01452 541346

Aims: 'Cool Runnings' is a multi-cultural children's project which aims to provide quality, affordable child-care and play activities. Cool Runnings offers a range of

opportunities that include creative, cultural and educational activities.  
Services: After school kids club, holiday kids club, creative workshops for children, African-Caribbean Dance Project.

### **DAWN AFRICA**

68b Ryecroft Street, Gloucester  
Gloucestershire, GL1 4LY  
Telephone: 01452 542067

Aims: Skills, mental health, isolation, depression, community cohesion, housing, health, confidence building, self-esteem, information, advice and guidance, cultural issues

Services: 1. Skills 2. Referrals for IAG 3. Housing 4. Social contacts 5. Drama, arts and music

### **ETHNIC MINORITIES LOCAL HISTORY PROJECT**

Gloucester Library Brunswick Road, Gloucester, GL1 1HT  
Telephone: 01452 426985

Aims: To highlight Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi culture.

### **FILIPINO ASSOCIATION OF GLOUCESTER**

4 Milton Grove Bisley Old Road, Stroud  
Glos, GL5 1NP  
Telephone: 01452 312488

Aims: To promote the education, equal opportunity and welfare of Filipinos in Gloucester and the surrounding area. To provide opportunity to express Filipino culture and to encourage an awareness of and participation in Filipino culture in the children. To promote social activities.

Services: Telephone helpline. Bi-monthly newsletter with events and advice. Philippine folk dance.

### **FRIENDS OF ST CATHERINE COURT**

St Catherine Court, 2 Wheatstone Road, Gloucester, GL1 4PX  
Telephone: 01452 421755

Aims: To enable residents to enjoy quality time.

Services: Entertainment, Mobility, Catering and other activities.

### **FRIENDSHIP CAFE**

109-113 Barton Street, Gloucester, GL1 4HR  
Telephone: 01452 529461 or 07966 508402

Aims: The aim of the new project situated at the former 'Working Man's Club' in Barton Street is to provide a Youth and Community Cafe with a drop in facility, plus hiring out of the venue to any community group who wish to start an activity.

**GLOUCESTER & DISTRICT IRISH SOCIETY LTD**

Irish Club, Horton Road, Gloucester

Telephone: 01452 525728

Aims: To promote cultural activities / functions for the benefit of the club members.

Services: Skittles, snooker, pool, Irish dancing, golf society, fishing club, hurling and Gaelic football (GAA).

**GLOUCESTER F.M.**

The Trust Centre Conduit Street, Gloucester, GL1 4XH

Telephone: 01452 521693 Mobile: 07939 284 467

Aims: To provide a quality service adding value to the black and ethnic minority communities whilst addressing the inequalities and under representation which exist within the radio industry and society at large, keeping united through entertainment and communication to the maximum level. Invest in people that are involved in organisation, assessing, evaluating and customising training initiative to make it accessible and relevant to GFM presenters/operators when ever possible as follows:- Technical production and studio skills, Interviewing and presenting, Understanding radio, community and commercial.

Services: Provide a professional blend of music, which will ensure audience participation providing pleasure to the listener and an audience for prospective advertisers. Ensure a minimum of 5 places for presenters/operators between the ages of 16-25 who can go on and pursue a career in broadcasting. Endeavour to broadcast programmes that will empower listeners either through music played or information provided for our multi-cultural community. Provide helpline telephone numbers for Alcohol and drug abuse, aids helpline, careline, confidential counselling, rape crisis line, victims of crime, sickle cell and whatever may be deemed necessary to the community. GFM is committed to providing equality of opportunity; therefore our recruitment policy will endeavour to involve people from all ethnic backgrounds.

**GLOUCESTER HINDU ELDERS WELFARE GROUP**

C/o 1 Filbert Close Abbeydale, Gloucester, GL4 5EX

Telephone: Mobile: 07967 605155

Aims: Identifying the needs of the Hindu elderly community.

Services: Social interaction. Promoting welfare and needs of Hindu elders

**GLOUCESTER IRISH DANCERS**

Irish Club Horton Road, Gloucester

Telephone: 01452 520022/525076

Aims: To promote Irish Culture.

Services: Entertainment for all occasions and competitions.

**GLOUCESTER MUSLIM WELFARE ASSOCIATION Ltd**

44-46 Ryecroft Street, Gloucester, GL1 4LY

Website: [www.gmwa.org.uk](http://www.gmwa.org.uk)

Telephone: 01452 416830

Aims: To promote the welfare of all Muslims living in and around Gloucestershire.

Religious, Commercial, Political and every other aspect.  
Services: Prayer facilities, Visits to Mosque from schools, Madressah (Islamic School), Marriage, Burials, Counselling, Information, etc.

### **GLOUCESTER RACIST INCIDENTS GROUP (GRIG)**

The Trust Centre, Conduit Street, Tredworth  
Gloucester, GL1 4XH  
Telephone: 01452 525425

Aims: To work towards eradication of racially motivated incidents.  
Services: To provide sensitive, free and confidential service to victims of racist incidents. Help support victims to overcome fear, intimidation and stress resulting from victimisation. Work towards successful resolution of racist incidents by approaching appropriate agencies on behalf of clients. Undertake strategic work towards tackling racism by being part of Crime & Disorder Reduction Partnership.

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE ACTION FOR REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS (G.A.R.A.S)**

111 Barton Street, Gloucester, GL1 4HR  
Telephone: 01452 550528

Aims: To help asylum seekers, regardless of faith, nationality or colour, as they arrive in Gloucester City. Assistance is offered in accessing services and needs are raised with service providers.

Services: Drop in centre on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays - 10.00am - 4.00pm only. GARAS offers a drop in facility for refugees and asylum seekers in Gloucester and aims to liaise with other agencies regarding their welfare. Advice, information and advocacy are offered on a range of issues including immigration and welfare. The centre also provides basic refreshments, games and an expanding range of other activities is offered by youth volunteers and outside agencies (eg English, craft and computer classes).

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE AFRO-CARIBBEAN ASSOCIATION**

213 Barton Street, Gloucester, GL1 4HY  
Telephone: 01452 387754

Aims: To meet the needs and aspirations and promote the welfare of the Afro-Caribbean Community in Gloucestershire. To work in partnership with other BME groups in Gloucester and the South West region to achieve the above aim. To consolidate and maintain working relations with statutory agencies and government departments in Gloucestershire.

Services: Advice and advocacy, culturally appropriate low-cost child care, Luncheon Club and supplementary education for children and young people (5 - 16 years) within the Afro-Caribbean community.

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE BANGLADESHI YOUTH ORGANISATION**

14 Conduit Street, Gloucester  
Telephone: 01452 309447

Aims: To meet the needs of Bangladeshi youth and develop their social education

skills and cultural identity.  
Services: Youth Club

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE BLACK CARERS FORUM**

3 Pitt Street,, Gloucester, GL1 2BH

Telephone: 01452 386283

Aims: To identify black carers and raise awareness of their needs. To co-ordinate information about service provision. To seek to make services more accessible and responsive to the needs of black carers. To support the various black carer support groups and enable them to unite and speak with a collective voice on the needs of black carers.

Services: Regular meetings, exchange of information, training and collective action.

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE BLACK MENTAL HEALTH TEAM**

27 Worcester Street, Gloucester

Gloucestershire, GL1 3AJ

Aims: To develop an appropriate, adequate and accessible mental health and social care service to meet the needs of the African, Chinese, Asian and African - Caribbean communities of the county.

Services: Support, befriending, advocacy, guidance, drop in facilities, welfare rights, information on mental health issues, social and therapeutic activities with individuals and groups.

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE CHINESE COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION**

Hatherley Road Day Centre, Hatherley Road, Tredworth, Gloucester, Gloucestershire, GL1 4PN

Telephone: 01452 503094

Aims: To promote our culture and support members of our community. Charity Registered No 1092138.

Services: Advice and information, support for the elderly and support for children.

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE CHINESE WOMEN'S GUILD**

1st Floor 75 - 81 Eastgate Street, Gloucester, GL1 1PN

Telephone: Tel/Fax: 01452 332088 Tel: 01452 382886

Times Available: 9:00am-5:00pm. Emergency service available 24/7.

Aims: Home Visit Service: To visit all the women and their families to identify their needs, especially the elderly and frail individuals. To visit the Chinese people in residential and nursing homes. Advocacy Service: To speak on behalf of the Chinese women and their families. To provide transportation for the elderly and the frail to and from the doctor's surgeries, clinics, opticians, dentists, health centres and hospitals and even for their daily needs if necessary. Interpretation Service: To provide and act as a bridge for all the women and their families to authorities and local services, especially those who have difficulty in English language. Advice on Benefits: To give advice on and provide information for the potential benefits. To arrange appointments for families in need of benefits with local authorities, especially for the elderly and frail. Languages: Cantonese, Hakka, Mandarin and English.

Services: See above aims of organisation. Registered Company Number: 4040299  
Registered Charity Number: 1091416

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE COUNTY LIBRARY, ARTS AND MUSEUM SERVICE**

Learning and Literacy Services, Quayside House, Shire Hall, Gloucester, GL1 2HY

Fax No: 01452 425042

Telephone: 01452 425030

Aims: To provide a comprehensive library service, including services to families, children of lifelong learning. Free access to the Internet.

Services: As above.

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE ETHNIC MINORITY BUSINESS ASSOCIATION (GEMBA)**

Barton Enterprise Centre 99 Barton Street, Gloucester, GL1 4HR

Telephone: 01452 331664

Fax No: 01452 544936

Aims: To promote, encourage and support the development of the ethnic minority businesses in Gloucestershire, and enhance the understanding by the ethnic minority community of the business world, by disseminating information, providing business development training seminars, and rendering advice on all aspects of business.

Services: Small business advice and Counselling. Business Skills Training and Financial Assistance. Office Services ie Typing - Mailing address etc

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE INTERFAITH ACTION**

Barton Street Methodist Church, Barton Street, Gloucester, GL1 4EN

Telephone: 01452 530337 Fax: 01452 533888

Aims: Deals with matters and problems shared jointly by all faith groups.

Services: Education & school visits to places of worship. Advice work. Meetings and speakers from all over the world. International affairs advice.

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE ISLAMIC ACADEMY**

Widden Street, Gloucester, GL1 4AQ

Website: [www.gmwa.org.uk](http://www.gmwa.org.uk)

Telephone: Tel/Fax: 01452 300465

Aims: Information on Islam.

Services: See aims of organisation.

### **GLOUCESTERSHIRE PAKISTAN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SOCIETY**

Bed Makers 26 Worcester Street, Gloucester

Gloucestershire, GL1 3AA

Telephone: 01452 533668

Aims: To promote Pakistani culture and hence to increase mutual understanding between different communities living in the County. To arrange family outings and performing arts activities.

Services: Promotional services, family evenings, get together meals etc.

**GLOUCESTERSHIRE PUNJABI ASSOCIATION**

155 Barton Street, Gloucester, GL1 4HT

Telephone: 01452 524248

Aims: To promote cultural and social activities among different groups. To raise cultural awareness. To promote art and music, social gatherings, raise educational opportunities for children. To develop different language skills through cultural activities. Arrange visits and outings to broaden outlook.

**GYMNATION**

Quayside House Quayside Wing Shire Hall, Gloucester, GL1 2RH

Telephone: 01452 426074/308127

Aims: To raise the self-esteem of Asian men & women via exercise and health related programmes.

Services: Gym/exercise facility. Outdoor camping/development courses - team work/communications/trust and adventure activities. Visits from statutory and voluntary organisations e.g. Police/drugs project/youth and community & social services.

**GYPSY COUNCIL (Romani Kris) (est. 1966)**

Greenacres Caravan Park, Hapsford, Helsby

Frodsham, WA6 0JS

Telephone: Tel/Fax: 01928 723138/0208 9468928

Aims: Obtaining accommodation & education for gypsies

Services: Advice & assistance on site provision/management; liaison

**HINDU WELFARE AND CULTURAL ASSOCIATION**

C/o 57 Bittern Avenue Abbeydale, Gloucester, GL4 4WG

Telephone: 01453 755934

Aims: To promote and support the welfare and cultural development of the Asian community, in the inner city of Gloucester.

**HINDU YOUTH ASSOCIATION**

2 Osier Close Robinswood, Gloucester, GL4 6SP

Fax No: 01452 532537

Telephone: 01452 532537

Aims: Create an environment where the youths want to go to exchange views, create relationships, debate and air opinions, share a common interest, develop interests, help and support each other, create focus groups, create a greater understanding of Hindu culture and Hinduism, work together and enable their voice to be heard.

Services: Youth club open to all communities, as it is only by knowing each other that we learn to appreciate our differences. To enable further development of the arts within the Hindu community, formal instruction in Indian classical dance, Western dance, Indian musical instruments and Hindu culture.

**INDIAN ASSOCIATION**

Hindu Community Centre, 64 Swindon Road, Cheltenham  
Glos, GL51 4AY

Telephone: 01242 584250

Aims: To provide benefits to the Hindu community of Gloucestershire by the provision of facilities in recreation, social welfare, education in culture & languages, health and religion.

Services: General meeting place, Hindu Temple, teaching Hindi, Gujarati and English, teaching cultural dance and music, indoor recreational facilities and daily morning and evening mass prayers in the Temple.

**ISLAMIC TRUST**

Jama Mosque, All Saints Road, Gloucester  
Gloucestershire, GL1 4EE

Telephone: 01452 302033

Aims: To promote religious understanding and cultural awareness in the wider community.

Services: Support Arabic teaching and community development within the Muslim community.

**ISMAILI MUSLIM GROUP**

87 Howard Street, Tredworth, Gloucester  
Gloucestershire, GL1 4UX

Telephone: 01452 413734

Aims: To promote the Ismaili Muslim Community.

Services: To assist members of our community with advice, information and practical support.

**JAMAICAN SPORTS, SOCIAL CLUB AND COMMUNITY CENTRE**

61-63 Eastern Avenue, Chase Lane, Gloucester  
Gloucestershire, GL4 7PH

Telephone: 01452 414365

Aims: To meet the social, recreational needs of the black community. To support provisions which will assist the black community.

Services: Social and recreational pursuits.

**KHOJA SHIA ITHNAASHERI MUSLIM COMMUNITY OF GLOUCESTER**

69 'Wainsbridge' Bristol Road Quedgeley, Gloucester  
Gloucestershire, GL2 6NE

Telephone: 01452 530337

Aims: Religious Organisation. To bring other faiths and religious organisations closer together.

Services: We provide advice and information. We are open to any age group. We provide indoor sports and outdoor sports.



### **LINKING COMMUNITIES: A BLACK & MINORITY ETHNIC NETWORK**

177 Barton Street, Gloucester

Gloucestershire, GL1 5HY

Telephone: 01452 308448

Aims: To act as an umbrella organisation for all Black & minority ethnic community and voluntary groups in the City. To provide appropriate training and access sufficient funds to enhance the capacity of the sector's development. In addition the group aims to foster cross-cultural understanding and awareness of different cultural issues.

Services: The group provides training for Black & minority ethnic community and voluntary groups/organisations and acts as a vehicle for communication between statutory organisations and voluntary groups.

### **RACE EQUALITY COUNCIL FOR GLOUCESTERSHIRE (GlosREC)**

15 Brunswick Road, Gloucester, Gloucestershire, GL1 1HG

Telephone: 01452 301290

Aims: To work towards the elimination of racial discrimination. To promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups.

Services: Advice and assistance with race relations matters, legal advice, advocacy and training.

### **RENDEZVOUS SOCIETY aka 'GLOBAL FOOTSTEPS'**

16 Portland Street, Cheltenham

Glos, GL52 2PB

Telephone: 01242 577893

Aims: To promote environment and development education in the community. Foster understanding of overseas cultures and societies, encourage world citizenship among young people, linking Gloucestershire schools globally.

Services: Youth exchanges, overseas linking, friendship societies. + KISUMU (Kenya) + SOCHI (Russia), Torun (Poland)

### **RISING STAR YOUTH CLUB**

39 Stratton Road, Gloucester

Gloucestershire, GL1 4HD

Telephone: 01452 524428

Aims: The Rising Star Youth Club is the only Asian Youth Club for boys in Gloucester. This Youth Club was established in 1967 and is still running successfully. Keeps boys off the streets and helps with special needs and advice.

Services: Sports activities only at present.

### **ROSHNI WOMENS CENTRE**

The Old Co-op Site, 199 - 205 Barton Street, Gloucester

Gloucestershire, GL1 4HY

Telephone: 01452 331506

Aims: To establish a centre where women can come together to share their experiences, exchange ideas, and build their self-esteem by participating in a variety of activities provided within an environment that is culturally and religiously

appropriate, accessible and acceptable.

Services: Education and culturally appropriate training in information technology and book-keeping, etc. Employment and business start-up advice, workshops, child-care facilities, recreational and cultural activities, drop-in advice service for benefits, housing, health and other agencies and Sure Start.

### **STROUD ROAD GOLDEN YEARS LUNCHEON CLUB**

Church Hall, New Testament Church of God, Stroud Road,, Gloucester, GL1 4JH

Aims: To provide low-cost culturally appropriate meals for elderly members of the Afro-Caribbean community twice a week and combat social exclusion and isolation.

Services: Club provides a range of activities, including basic skills and education course and social trips/outings.

### **STROUD ROAD YOUTH GROUP**

C/o New Testament Church of God, Stroud Road, Gloucester, GL1 4JH

Telephone: 01452 536852

Aims: To provide youth provision to local young people

Services: Youth Club

### **TAPESTRY TRANSLATION & INTERPRETING SERVICE**

Corporate Personnel Services, Gloucester City Council, Herbert Warehouse, The Docks,, Gloucester

Gloucestershire, GL1 2EQ

Telephone: 01452 396909

Aims: To improve access to local services and information for local Asian and Chinese residents who are experiencing problems due to a language barrier.

Services: 'Tapestry' works with the public, voluntary, statutory and business organisations to provide translation and interpreting services to the public.

### **UNISSONS ASSOCIATION**

16 Grenadier Road, Cheltenham

Glos, GL51 0WB

Telephone: 01242 257780/01242 225151

Aims: To provide relief for all persons from Democratic Republic of Congo and their dependants in Gloucestershire who are in need.

Services: To advance the education and training of such persons so as to advance them in life and their rehabilitation.

### **WELFARE BENEFITS TAKE UP CAMPAIGN**

1st Floor, Herbert Warehouse, The Docks, Gloucester, GL1 2EQ

Telephone: 01452 396979

Aims: Raise awareness and promoting Welfare Benefits to the people of Gloucester.

Services: Disability Benefits, Pension Credit (Income Support), Tax Credit and free, confidential Benefit Health Checks. Providing talks to Groups about Welfare Benefits and basic awareness training to voluntary groups. Also help with completing forms

and home visits.

**YOUTH ADVENTURE AND TRAINING (YAT)**

P O Box 70, Gloucester

Gloucestershire, GL1 4AH

Times Available: Various Times

Aims: To promote and develop a positive identity for Asian and black young people, equality of opportunity and mobility in a European society.

Services: Information, support, training courses, exchanges and seminars, outdoor education, environmental issues, anti racism and rural issues.

**Source of information:** <http://www.glos-city.gov.uk/libraries>