

# Landscape and Heritage: Exploring the Trans-sectoral Connections and their Role in Participatory Governance

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## Thesis Abstract

The research examined the potential of the “landscape-as-heritage” to become a driver for trans-sectoral participatory governance. It employed qualitative methods, based on a case study of the heritage and landscape governance system in England. The primary data was gathered through a documentation study and in-depth semi-structured interviews complemented with an ethnographic approach.

Thematic qualitative analysis of the collected data assisted to identify legal, policy, and institutional mechanisms supporting trans-sectoral integration and participatory decision-making. Critical discourse analysis was employed to understand the data in the context, establish cross-sectoral thematic links, and interpret the results.

The research highlighted that the “landscape-as-heritage” concept, in its broadest and informal understanding, carries an inclusive and cohesive potential, and as such, also benefits social-ecological justice and sustainability. It also revealed that instrumentalizing “landscape-as-heritage” for progressive democratic governance requires a closer look at social inequalities. A social class approach was found helpful for critical reflection on the role of heritage in social inclusion and participation.

The research outcomes suggest that both - top-down and bottom-up approaches are important for trans-sectoral integration and participatory governance. Different scales and disciplinary realms interlock in the process of spatial and strategic planning, where sharing information and responsibility are fundamental. ‘Landscapes as heritage’ can be seen as a platform to accommodate such integration, nurture a vision of a shared living environment, and promote sustainable use of spaces embedded in the global social-ecological system.

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## List of Abbreviations

ACRE	Action with Communities in Rural England
AHD	Authorized Heritage Discourse
AONB	Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty
CIL	Community Infrastructure Levy
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DCMS	The Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
DEFRA	The Department for Environment, Forestry and Rural Affairs
DLUHC	The Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities
ELC	European Landscape Convention
FPTP	First-past-the-post system
HEF	Historic Environment Forum
HER	Historic Environment Record
HLC	Historic Landscape Characterisation
IHBC	Institute for Historic Building Conservation
LEP	Local Enterprise Partnership
MHCLG	Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government
NAO	National Audit Office
NCC	Natural Capital Committee
NNPA	Northumberland National Park
NNR	National Nature Reserve
NPA	National Park
NPM	New Public Management
NPPF	National Planning Policy Framework
LGA	Local Government Association
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
ONS	Office for National Statistics

UKELA	The United Kingdom Environmental Law Association
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program
UNESCO	United Nations Education Science and Culture Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
RDA	Regional Development Agency
RSPB	Royal Society for Protection of Birds
RTPI	Royal Town Planning Institute
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDNPA	South Downs National Park
SSSI	Site of Special Scientific Interest
TCPI	Town and Country Planning Institute

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1. The research context

Over the past few decades, the “landscape-as-heritage” concept has acquired broad recognition in Western heritage philosophy and management practice. A growing body of academic research has been looking into the value systems, socioeconomic characteristics and other features acquired through human intervention and non-intervention in the environment. A range of sectoral experiences, policy tools and implementation mechanisms dwelling on the ‘landscapes as heritage’ concept has also been built up. Yet, the interpretation of the “landscape-as-heritage” concept can still be seen as framed by disciplinary boundaries. In theory and practice, there is an array of nature and culture-centric, conservation and development-led approaches to landscapes, which can sometimes be contrasting and challenging to reconcile in governance decision-making. There is still an insufficient theoretical understanding and practical application of the integrative potential of the “landscape-as-heritage” concept in relation to broader governance questions - in which ways the “landscape-as-heritage” could foster more democratic governance across sectoral silos, governance scales and perspectives.

Dwelling on the theoretical and empirical frameworks in the domains of heritage, landscape and governance, this research aimed to understand the potential of the “landscape-as-heritage” concept as a ground for cross-sectoral integration and for joining bottom-up and top-down strands of governance.

The subsequent sections provide a more detailed overview of the research, introducing the background and context, the research problem, aims, objectives and questions, and setting the research scope and limitations.

## 1.2. The problem statement: development of the “landscape-as-heritage”

The proliferation of postmodern philosophy in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century has brought about transformative changes in every field of theory and practice, including heritage, landscapes and governance. The last few decades have seen the expansion and diversification of the heritage concept and the increasingly prevalent spatiality of the heritage dimension. The understanding of heritage has been enriched and augmented through the lens of the landscape and space, its intangible aspects and the inherent nature of continuous re-making and re-invention (Jacques, 1994; Mitchell, 2003; Olwig, 2005; Taylor and Lennon, 2011; Harvey, 2015a; and others). Heritage has been recognised as a subjective representation of symbolic values placed upon objects by people who view them through a series of lenses such as nationality, religion, ethnicity, class, wealth, gender or personal history (Howard and Graham, 2008). One of the most sophisticated recent definitions of heritage (Harrison, 2015) further advances the understanding of heritage as a property that emerges in the process of caring for and attending to the past in the present. From this perspective, heritage can be understood as a window into the future, an active future-making agent, rather than a souvenir from the past.

International environmental and social movements cross-fertilised the developments in heritage philosophy in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They stimulated the exploration of nature and culture interconnections and the implications of heritage for social identity, resilience and cohesion. The broadened scope of heritage and development of critical scholarship in human geography and cultural studies emphasised socio-cultural and symbolic meanings and an understanding of material landscape as a subject of individual interpretation through the complex medium of culture (Cosgrove, 1983; Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Mitchell, 1995; Williams, 1958; 1983). Landscape studies have been addressed from various disciplinary strands, from cultural geography to sociology and urbanism, exploring their geographic, political and administrative arrangements on multiple scales (Harvey, 2015b; Howard *et al.*, 2019; Smith, M.J. *et al.*, 2019). Landscape studies, infused with cultural concepts, have actively sought synergies between nature and culture (Pilgrim and Pretty, 2013; Taylor and Francis, 2014), advancing ideas such as biocultural heritage or socio-ecological systems (Colding and Barthel, 2019; Lindholm and Ekblom,

2019; Poole, 2018; Sterling, 2020) and setting new avenues for their understanding (Skrede, 2020; Waterton, 2019).

These parallel developments can be seen to have assisted the now common mutual recognition of spatiality in heritage and temporality in landscape and shaped a joined-up view of culture and nature. The cultural landscapes, cultural diversity and value of heritage for society have emerged as universally adopted concepts and guiding principles, which found their way into international and national policies of various kinds.

These theoretical evolutions can also be seen to support more intensive use of heritage and cultural landscapes in place-making and branding, planning and economic development, environmental preservation and social well-being (Bertacchini, 2020; Dicks, 2000; Wijesuriya, Thompson and Court, 2016). However, the experiences built up in heritage-led development also fostered a critical reflection on its contested nature and relation to power. As a social process, heritage-making has been revealed to have a strong political dimension. It is the process where the right to assign values is always highly contested (Baird, 2014; Gentry and Smith, 2019; Harrison *et al.*, 2020; Smith, 2006; Winter, 2013). Nonetheless, heritage was also recognised to have significant qualities to assist cohesion within social groups and communities. The influence of Ostrom's (1990) work on governing and managing commons spurred further critical investigation of the integrative properties of heritage as common resources (Gould, 2017; Lekakis, 2020; and others).

Like heritage and landscape theories, governance theories underwent a considerable change in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. In Western countries, more decentered, networked governance concepts became influential along with the new public management tools and methods (Bevir, 2009; Rhodes, 2007). In one way, these developments could be seen as a response to accommodate bottom-up civic movements and informal elements of self-governance into formal government and policy infrastructures. However, critical reflections on the subject make clear that decentered governance may not directly equate to more democratic politics (Purcell, 2003; 2006; Russel, 2019; Sassen, 2018; Swyngedouw, 2005). The inquiries into social stratification have highlighted that social inequality can regenerate in diverse forms (Bennet *et al.*, 2009; Bourdieu, 1989; Savage,

2015; Standing, 2016). Understanding and addressing social inequality at all levels of social organisation seems to be the ultimate challenge for landscape and heritage governance.

Despite the parallel development and integration of the disciplines, it can be observed that the visions, theories, policy, and institutional frameworks for governing “landscape-as-heritage” are still organised mainly into sectoral silos and framed by disciplinary boundaries. Collaborative academic, administrative and professional assemblages in project work have become a common approach to bridge the related sectors. However, a significant part of such collaborative effort and the associated literature can be seen to focus on place-based particularities, lacking momentum for more generalised conclusions to emerge.

There is also a lack of cross-sectoral research that views and analyses heritage and landscapes specifically in light of the pressing challenges in the field of governance. This means that there is a reduced potential for knowledge transfer among the three domains and a lack of development of critical discourses focusing on “landscape-as-heritage”, which might lead to the emergence of new ideas, practices and policies. Understanding the prerequisites for cross-sectoral integration seems vital for making sense of the potential role of “landscape-as-heritage” in governance and its possible contribution to integration across trans-local landscapes.

Furthermore, there is a gap in knowledge relating to how the contest over heritage could be directed towards social cohesion or whether historic landscapes could offer a spatial framework for governance. Only a small amount of research in the heritage field uses socioeconomic analysis of local communities to understand tensions of inequality of access and representation and conflicts behind participatory governance (Berger, Dicks and Fontaine, 2020; Dicks, 2015; Markopoulos, 2020; Miles, 2013).

### 1.3. Aim and objectives of the research

The research was conducted as part of the HERILAND - a network for heritage and landscape research and training, established in the frame of the European Union-funded project (Maria Sklodowska-Curie Grant Agreement #813883). The network brought together six universities from the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Israel, with 15 early-stage researchers

exploring heritage and landscapes in relation to key societal issues: shifting demographics and contested identities, digital transformations, the Spatial turn, changing environments and democratisation. The concept of this research stemmed from one of the project components, the key objectives of which were to assess the impact of sectoral fragmentation in heritage and landscape governance, to identify ways for using landscape and heritage for more robust sectoral integration and democratic participation and to make landscape and heritage more visible as drivers in social, political and economic change. The project objectives served as a starting point to define the research scope, aim, and main research question.

The review of literature, as described above, assisted in further specifying the research question and sub-questions. It streamlined the research focus on the conditions of trans-sectoral integration and participatory governance. Such a focus implied understanding the “landscape-as-heritage” institutional and policy networks on various governance scales and assessing the engagement of different social groups.

The aim of the research was, thus, set to explore the potential and conditions of the “landscape-as-heritage” to trigger and contribute to trans-sectoral participatory governance. The research objectives were to analyse existing theories that link heritage and landscapes and to explore governance concepts with particular attention to participation, social inclusion and the role of “landscape-as-heritage” in governance.

The research design was set to address the main research question: “What are the potential and conditions of the “landscape-as-heritage” concept to become a driver and a connecting platform for trans-sectoral participatory governance?”. The subject was further scrutinised through the sub-questions that emerged from the literature review. The sub-questions focus on identifying the determinants for the transition to a “landscape-as-heritage” thinking (RQ1), the integration of the “landscape-as-heritage” concept in national and local governance systems (RQ2) and characteristics and conditions of trans-sectoral participatory governance (RQ3). These sub-questions structured the reflection on the main domains of research: heritage, landscape and governance. With such a cross-sectoral framework, the research attempted to contribute to the theory and practice of governing ‘landscape-as-heritage’. The research outcomes are expected to inform management decision-making, professional practice, and future scholarly research in heritage and landscape fields.

## 1.4. Research Design

The research design was determined by the research questions and the general limitations of the PhD research framework. It was defined as interpretive, exploratory and inductive, based on a case study of the heritage and landscape governance system in England, using qualitative data collection and analysis methods. Such a strategy was used to allow an in-depth understanding of the state of the arts of heritage and landscape integration in governance process, the respective challenges and perspectives. The landscape and heritage governance system in England was selected as the case study. The selection was determined by several arguments: the experience of institutional and policy frameworks in heritage and landscape fields, a high degree of scholarship, and a robust background in instrumentalising various theories in practice were considered essential advantages, together with the availability and accessibility of data. Further explanation and a detailed description of the research design can be found in Chapter 3.

## 1.5. Limitations

The scope and depth of the study were framed by several factors. In the first place, the Heriland project scope and milestones served as key precepts. Furthermore, the individual nature and timeframe of the Ph.D. program served as a critical limitation for the research. The complex subject of landscape and heritage governance, covering several sectors and disciplines, would require a multidisciplinary team to scrutinise it adequately. Therefore, the scope and depth of the research, particularly the fieldwork, was narrowed according to the abovementioned prerequisites. The objective was to maintain the cross-sectoral nature of the study while ensuring that the research could be completed in the timeframe available.

The restrictions during the Covid-19 pandemic provided considerable challenges to the data collection process as originally conceived for the research. The formal restrictions limited the possibilities for travel, communication and direct fieldwork and observation. They also reduced the opportunities for engaging in academic discussions on the research topic. Modifying the research design and the timetable and using online communication tools have helped to a certain degree to overcome these challenges.

## 1.6. Structural outline

This thesis is structured in seven chapters, with the Abstract and bibliographic references. Chapter One presents the research context and design and introduces aims, objectives and research questions. Chapter Two provides a review of the literature and existing knowledge relating to the

subject and outlines the theoretical framework used in the study. Chapter Three provides a detailed explanation of the research strategy and methodology. Chapter Four introduces the case study of the heritage and landscape governance system in England, based on the study of documentation. Chapter Five presents the findings and analysis of the qualitative interviews as part of the case study, highlighting the challenges of the heritage and landscape governance system in England. Chapter Six discusses the outcomes of the documentation study and qualitative interviews in light of the reviewed literature. Finally, Chapter Seven presents the conclusions of the research and outlines elements for future cross-sectoral studies in landscape and heritage governance.

## Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

### 2.1. The conceptual framework and methodological approach to literature scoping

The research was conceived to explore the potential role and conditions of the “landscape-as-heritage” to contribute to trans-sectoral participatory governance. Stemming from this premise, it attempts to embrace the topics of heritage, landscape and governance framed by the principles of democracy using social justice, participation and inclusion as main features of reference.

Literature review forms the principal tool for unlocking the meanings, concepts, issues and perspectives in heritage, landscape and governance domains, for understanding critical discourses and knowledge about them. The further scoping through the combination of keywords, stemming from the research questions, allowed focus on the debates on democracy, inclusion and participation, social justice and social stratification in relation to heritage and landscape governance.



Figure 1. Main domains of the literature review.

The temporal span of the searched literature was mainly the period between 2015 and 2022 to observe the most recent developments in heritage, landscape and governance theories. At the same time, the review incorporates and draws on the seminal theories of earlier periods.

From the disciplinary point of view, the literature review brought together a broad range of texts from the fields of heritage, anthropology, human geography, sociology, spatial planning, landscape, and political economy. The selection was based on relevance to one of the three research themes mentioned above, or a combination of them, with the scope focused on the Western, predominantly European liberal democratic context and discourse. Special consideration was given to the critical approaches developed by the authors for situating the present-day interpretations of space, place, time, history, identity, and power in the context of the real-life challenges to heritage and landscape governance as well as in the perspective of heritage and landscape futures.

The review was based on the resources offered by different publishers and catalogues of scientific literature: Web of Science, Jstor, Elsevier, Google Scholar, Taylor and Francis, Research Gate, Routledge, Sage, etc. The combination of keywords such as “heritage”, “landscape”, “space”, “rights” and “social class” returned a large number of research papers and publications. The priority was given to the publications which were relevant simultaneously to several keywords, for example “heritage” and “landscape”, “heritage” and “social class”, etc. This way the review prioritized to narrow the focus specifically to the literature that covered more than one sector.

The following sections cover the review of literature connecting three themes: heritage, landscape and governance identified above. Section 2.2. presents the critical aspects of conceptual evolution of ‘landscape-as-heritage’ discourse. Section 2.3. presents the parallel process from the heritage point. The following sections review the governance discourses, identifying the overall framework where the heritage and landscape governance is embedded and present the topics that are found particularly relevant for interlinking landscape and heritage with governance: Localist movements, Commons and social class.

## 2.2. 'landscape-as-heritage': the critical aspects of conceptual evolution

The integration of heritage and landscape concepts can be observed in present-day heritage and landscape scholarly research as well as in respective policy discourses. Following the ideas of Friedrich Ratzel and Carl Sauer in the late 19<sup>th</sup>-early 20<sup>th</sup> century, landscape, as a product of human intervention in nature, where culture is the agent and nature is the medium, has been widely adopted in geography. However, already at that time, the approach which differentiated culture and nature received criticism. Richard Hartshorne's idea of total landscape (Hartshorne, 1939) denied the division between man-made and *primaeval* landscapes. Hartshorne's vision was closer to today's mainstream approach to interlocking nature and culture, preceding the post-structuralist theorisation of landscapes, where the notion of pure nature is considered a colonial, Eurocentric understanding (Fowler, 2004), which emphasises cognitive or mental properties of landscapes, where even natural features of the landscape are culturally interpreted (Waterton, 2005).

The culture-driven approaches to 'landscape-as-heritage' became dominant towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century following decades of positivist explorations in environmental modelling, hypothesis testing and structuring landscapes in broad spatial patterns. The critical emphasis on the cultural aspects of landscapes and reconceptualisation of culture itself emerged as the new cultural geography with the seminal works of Denis Cosgrove (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987), Peter Jackson and others (Harvey D.C., 2015; , Wylie, 2016). Polyvocality, fragmentation, symbolism and temporality in the notion of landscape stimulated the exploration of links between material landscape, its meaning and identity to reveal the infinite combinations of material and symbolic landscape patterns in space and time. The research focusing on the cognitive properties of landscapes brought new insights to the divisive view of nature and culture. As identified by Cosgrove:

"Landscapes can be equally natural or cultural landscapes depending of the questions we ask of them and the processes we choose to examine in relation to them" (Cosgrove, 2000, p.139).

The new culturalist approach received its share of criticism for the excessive use of culture as an explanation and an excuse to smooth important social, political and economic issues of the material world, thus losing its political relevance (Nash, 2002). Scholars like Nigel Thrift, Don Mitchell, Neil Smith, and Clive Barnett called for a renewed, sharpened focus on material, practical aspects of 'landscape-as-heritage' without losing sight of overarching social and political issues. This did not imply the denial of symbolic meanings but a more critical questioning of the production of these meanings in the context of the existing inequalities of social structures.

” The analysis of culture might be better pursued by foregrounding the social structuration and the differential distribution of capacities to produce meanings” (Barnett, 1998, p. 634).

This call for more critical thinking and open, inclusive, creative and personal engagement resounded in the critique of the expert culture (Holst and Molander, 2017; Hølleland, and Skrede, 2019) as well as critical approaches that have become commonplace in heritage studies in the following decades (Harrison, 2013; Harrison, 2015; Waterton, 2005; Winter, 2013 and others).

The concept of landscape as a culturally shaped environment has been further scrutinised and elaborated through an array of different considerations, deconstructing the abstract idea of culture itself (Mitchell, 1995; 2000), persisting critique of landscape and power relations (Harvey, 1996; Mitchell, 2000; 2003; Smith, 1990), inviting a non-Western, post-colonial understanding of nature-culture and acknowledging indigenous knowledge systems (Harvey, D.C. 2015; Waterton, 2005), searching for a non-reductionist, non-representational avenues for understanding landscapes (Thrift, 2008; Waterton, 2014; Waterton and Watson, 2013), etc.

Thus, the scholarly approach has distanced itself from understanding landscapes as static products of cultural forces, a “cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings” (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988, p.1), or in other words, an “artefact of human habits and habitation” (Rowntree, 1996, p. 129 quoted in Jones, 2003, p. 35) to a more comprehensive concept of landscape as a dynamic social process led by power contestation, “a nexus of community, justice, nature and environmental equity” (Olwig, 1996, p.631), where non-human actors also have a significant role to play (Howard and Graham, 2016).

Today, in cultural geography and heritage studies the “landscape-as-heritage” is largely approached and discussed as a continuous process of becoming, creation and meaning-making, where the temporal dimensions are closely intertwined with the spatial but also performative and affective qualities.

To a great extent, ‘landscape-as-heritage’ thus remains transient and ephemeral, subject to individual interpretation, a lived experience (Wylie, 2016; Atha, cited in Howard *et al.*, 2019). Thus understood, change is an inherent feature of landscapes, and hence, adaptation and resilience - are constant forces at play (Roe and Taylor, 2014). The understanding of change as an inevitable process introduced important management questions.

“... change is inevitable, but ... it is the speed of change and the ‘from what to what’ that is important to consider. In relation to cultural landscapes, the key question is, do existing management methods, local knowledge and ability of the landscape to support communities (as well as other species) change so quickly and to such an extent that knowledge and understanding, meanings, associations as well as physical features are lost?” (Roe and Tylor, 2014, p.10)

As Peter Howard (2011) noted, the entanglement of ideas and the richness of subjective interpretation make it impossible to confine landscape within a single definition, although this needs to be seen as an opportunity. Recent literature suggests that landscape contains in itself both nature and culture and therefore supports the use of the term landscape instead of the cultural landscape, that is considered to be a small but important step towards this reconciliation (Egberts, 2019).

These theoretical explorations, have made it possible for much more complex and nuanced approaches to people's relationships with natural processes to emerge in the literature – those which bridge nature and culture, material, representational structural features and non-representational, affective, phenomenological aspects of landscapes (Harvey, 2015; Johnson, 2012; Waterton and Watson, 2013; Howard *et al.*, 2019). At the same time, a different platform for critique has emerged in the form of questioning the expert culture itself as an elitist, biased

undertaking. The reflection on the role of experts and the reconciliation of expert-laymen positions in understanding and governing heritage landscapes has penetrated the critical discourses in heritage as well as landscape studies (Holst and Molander, 2017; Hølleland, and Skrede, 2019; Meskell, 2010). Along with the appealing idea of democratisation, the prospect of “professional suicide” (Hølleland, and Skrede, 2019) has created some uneasiness among experts, forcing them to look for a consensual way of accommodating expert-laymen positions through ‘co-creation’.

An important domain where the theoretical developments in human geography and cultural and environmental studies discussed above has been crystalised is international policy. The concise formal set of definitions and guidelines adopted by the European and international institutions in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century reflects the decades-long theorisation of concepts and pioneering local and national-scale experiments in the “landscape-as-heritage” valorisation and management. The formalisation of the cultural landscape concept by UNESCO in the 1990s (Fowler, 2003) was followed by a broader, more holistic landscape approach by the Council of Europe (The Council of Europe, 2000), which overcomes the classification into outstanding, everyday or degraded landscapes, calling the member states to recognise all landscapes as perceived by people, as an essential component of their surroundings, “an expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity” (The Council of Europe, 2000, art 2). The “landscape-as-heritage” concept was further strengthened with the holistic definition of cultural heritage in the Faro Convention, which stated that cultural heritage “includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time” (The Council of Europe, 2005, art 2a). The adoption and application of these policy tools have contributed to an advance in technical or methodological aspects of surveying, studying, interpreting or managing heritage landscapes, building a collection of case studies from various parts of the world (Benson and Roe, 2007; Fowler, 2003; Jørgensen *et al.*, 2016; Han, 2018; Olwig and Mitchell, 2007; Roe and Taylor, 2014). These developments aligned with and facilitated the formation of specific thematic recommendations for historic urban landscapes, which has grown into a wide-ranging international program for the last ten years (Pereira-Roders, 2019).

Along with these policy developments, scholarly research has pushed the discourse frontiers to the new still more interconnected understanding of landscape and heritage that is yet to be absorbed by the future standard-setting frameworks. The concepts like social-ecological systems, and more particularly, the biocultural heritage, developed in environmental studies, embedded all three themes of interest of this research: heritage, landscape and governance into a single notion (Eriksson, 2018; Lindholm and Ekblom, 2019; Poole, 2018; Sarmiento-Mateos *et al.*, 2019; Swiderska, 2017). Biocultural heritage “comprises local ecological knowledge and practices, and associated ecosystems and biological resources (from genetic variation and species biodiversity), to the formation of landscape features and cultural landscapes, as well as the heritage, memory and living practices of the humanly built or managed environments” (Lindholm and Ekblom, 2019, p.2). As such, this concept has brought together natural and cultural heritage conservation, community participation, and rural and urban development with an aim to overcome the gap between the persisting culture and nature, conservation and development dichotomies in ‘landscape-as-heritage’ theory, policy and practice. Lindholm and Ekblom (2019) offered a concise and practical model for using the biocultural heritage concept in environmental management and local development. Instead of development, they adhere to the idea of active stewardship and change based on integrated landscape analysis and extensive ecosystem, landscape and place-based memory study. According to the authors, the integration of ecosystem, landscape and place-based memories reveals hotspots, the areas with larger concentrations of memories and long-term socio-ecological practices. As demonstrated by the case study in Ängersjö, Sweden, despite some limitations, the hotspot approach can assist in landscape management (Lindholm and Ekblom, 2019).

The concept of stewardship has been increasingly contested recently, relating it to the ontological separation between human and non-human species and anthropocentric, utilitarian attitude to the environment (Tyler, 2023). At the same time, the ideas of nature and culture integration positively resonate in many different concepts, studies and works. For example, Alexandra Poole (2018) is convinced that integrative concepts such as biocultural heritage should play a central role in local landscape management but also in the global sustainability discourses, agendas and standard-setting documents. For Poole, the biocultural approach “provides an articulation of the

co-constitutive interrelation between biological and cultural diversity, and articulates explicitly the legitimacy of local and traditional ecological knowledge systems and the important role situated knowledge plays in forming engaged and self-determining communities when it comes to land management practices “(Poole, 2018, p.60). The author admits that unless the loss of local ecological knowledge and biocultural heritage is recognised as an underlying factor in the ecosystem change, the existing local and international policy will remain ineffective in reversing the environmental degradation and climate crisis. Reviewing direct and indirect drivers of environmental change, such as educational policies, agricultural practices, patterns of consumption and production, techno-scientific innovations, etc., Poole called for a more intensive interdisciplinary study of drivers to assist the understanding of what a sustainable society of the 21<sup>st</sup> century could be.

“Drivers have the potential to shape human activities and steer society towards certain goals. Therefore, developing an understanding of the socio-ecological dynamics and infrastructural forces underlying sustainable societies must be at the forefront in the development of new structures for sustainable living in the twenty-first century” (Poole, 2018, p.62).

The literature indicates that the understanding of biocultural heritage stems from the concept of social-ecological systems, which are linked systems of biophysical and social factors that interact at several spatial, temporal, and organisational scales by complex dynamics (Colding and Barthel, 2019; Sarmiento-Mateos *et al.*, 2019). Analysing the evolution of the concept over the last decades and its application in environmental diagnostic and modelling, Colding and Bartel (2019) note the growing interest in this interdisciplinary area, although, at the same time, they admit the need for a clear definition of the concept and terms. Similar to the concept of biocultural heritage, the concepts of social-ecological systems (SES) have emerged through increasing interdisciplinary working, particularly between the fields of natural sciences and humanities. As authors admit, the interdisciplinary nature of SES requires further alignment of disciplinary approaches and tools to enable useful comparisons and overarching analysis (Colding and Barthel, 2019).

The application of the interdisciplinary approaches was examined by Sarmiento-Martines *et al.* in their study of protected areas within the broader cultural landscape of the Madrid region in Spain (Sarmiento-Mateos *et al.*, 2019). The authors developed a comprehensive methodological framework for the assessment of regulatory mechanisms of the two overlapping protected areas. Based on their findings, they argue that despite overall policy reorientation towards more interactive landscape management, the system remains focused on nature conservation and is restrictive to “culturalness”: traditional uses, public access and local development. Promoting cultural values and sustainable development is formally inscribed in the national policy framework, although the park regulations largely promote rural abandonment and limit traditional grazing, which leads to a decrease in biocultural diversity. Furthermore, the restrictive approach discharges development pressure outside the boundaries of the designated territory, leading to radically different conditions across the divided landscape.

“...it has been found that conservation based on the declaration of isolated spaces is insufficient. Currently, conservation requires not only the establishment of protected areas specifically dedicated to the conservation of biodiversity but also the integration of those spaces into land planning and policies for the management of land uses and natural resources, as well as establishing ecological networks that connect them functionally, ensuring the conservation of natural resources and social-ecological systems inside and outside the limits of PAs” (Sarmiento-Mateos *et al.* 2019, p. 12).

The explorations in socio-ecological systems reconnect with the well-established planning discourses on the intrinsic relations of different geographies, which articulate and stress the interconnectedness of the landscapes into the complex socio-political and economic networks. Some of these theories have focused on cities and their metropolitan regions (Jacobs, 1985), others – have assembled regions into nation-states and global core-peripheric clusters of the world (Wallerstein, 2004), and still others – have deconstructed the notions of space into constantly changing spatial patterns and places (Massey, 2005). Some scholars, like Saskia Sassen (2006), took the discussion further by revisiting the understanding of global and local spatial-temporal assemblages in the context of the development of digital technologies. This body of

scholarship may focus on a man-made aspect of the socio-ecological system, but it plays a vital role in its survival.

The reviewed literature suggests that work on geographically identifiable territorial units like landscapes is inevitably linked with broader networks and assemblages to which they belong regarding their economic, sociocultural, and ecologic relations. It takes more intensive collaboration between urban and rural, tangible and intangible, cultural and natural, etc. realms to build a common knowledge frame about landscapes from the fragmented disciplinary pools. A shared language is considered a necessary condition for achieving these objectives.

The above review of the literature in human geography, cultural and environmental studies reveals the potential of landscapes to contain the complexity of both natural and cultural realms, with their intangible and tangible spatiotemporal nuances. Landscapes are considered to have a distinct place in the hierarchy of geographic scales, allowing the connection and transitioning between various levels of this hierarchy. The literature defines landscapes as a continuous process of becoming, creation and meaning-making, that is capable to embrace change and, at the same time, guide it through carrying forward its performative and affective qualities.

### 2.3. Heritage landscape: the critical aspects of conceptual evolution

Heritage as a distinct field of study has emerged at the crossroads of humanities and science. While the material artefacts of the past had been the subject of interest in different periods of history, it was not until the Enlightenment era that “the past and its monuments became intellectualised and valorised” (Glendening, 2013, p. 46). The development of heritage theory has facilitated the complex technological specialisation within the conservation discipline over the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but at the same time, due to its cross-sectoral nature, heritage has provided fertile ground for the integration of theories and practices from different disciplines.

Theoretical explorations in human geography, sociology, anthropology, and cultural and environmental studies have contributed significantly to the evolution and formation of critical heritage discourse as we know it today, and the growing interest in the heritage and power

relations, the social meaning of heritage, heritage justice, and rights to heritage (Harrison, 2010; 2013; 2015; Harvey, 2001; Hewison, 1987; Logan, 2012; Lekakis, 2020; Lowenthal, 1985; 2005; Pendlebury, 2009; 2013; Samuel, 1994; Smith 2006; Smith and Campbell, 2017; Waterton, 2005). These considerations would be more challenging without revising the understanding of and the relationship to the past (Harvey, 2016). The post-structuralist thinking, becoming dominant by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, has embedded a pluralistic approach to the past, which is elusive and non-existent, invented or imagined from the present (Harrison, 2015; Harvey, 2016; McDowell, 2016).

However, the discourse of this period also makes clear that the past should not only be discovered but explained and linked with the present and future. Some historians like Eric Hobsbawm adhered to the idea that this task could be achieved through a linear understanding of the past as it reflects the rationale for the development and vital question for humanity - “what are the drivers which define the change in one specific direction?” (Hobsbawm, 1997, p.151). This understanding renders heritage a medium between the past and the future and an active future-making agent. Heritage scholars such as Rodney Harrison, Cornelius Holtorf, and Anders Högberg (Harrison, 2015; Harrison *et al.*, 2020; Holtorf and Högberg, 2015) have explored the heritage’s future-making agency, perceiving heritage valorisation and management as a “futuristic activity because to a large extent, it is motivated by the present-day desire to preserve the remains of the past for the future” (Holtorf and Högberg, 2015, p.510). Also, in Harrison’s words:

“‘Heritage’ has very little to do with the past but actually involves practices which are fundamentally concerned with assembling and designing the future - heritage involves working with the tangible and intangible traces of the past to both materially and discursively remake both ourselves and the world in the present in anticipation of an outcome that will help constitute a specific (social, economic, or ecological) resource in and for the future” (Harrison, 2015, p.36).

In the process of widening its scope, heritage studies have gradually adopted a broad spatial dimension in the form of cultural landscapes, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter. Heritage discourse has also successfully absorbed critical social and economic debates on human

rights, inequality, and sustainable development. At the same time, reflection on heritage's social and economic features has also revealed and emphasized its political agency. The intensive theorisation of power relations and its impact on space and everyday life by leading critical thinkers of the mid-late 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as Henry Lefebvre, Frederic Jameson, David Harvey, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault and others, infiltrated the scholarly discourses related to heritage in the 1980s. In Britain, the critical writings of Patrick Wright, Robert Hewison and David Lowenthal debated the museumification of Western culture and the use of history as “a weapon of social control and a means of generating consensus and legitimisation of the status quo by reference to a mythologised version of the past” (Gentry, 2015, p. 569).

In contrast with today's critical heritage theories, these critics considered heritage primarily as a backwards-looking concept, evidence of a “sick society” incapable of building a better future through innovation. On the other hand, authors like Raphael Samuel and Laurajane Smith explored the potential of insurgent heritage and highlighted its potential to act as a catalyst for political struggle. The bold counterarguments offered by Raphael Samuel, one of the proponents of the “history from below”<sup>1</sup>, promoted heritage as a politically charged social construct, able to build resilience against the cultural hegemony of the elites. Dwelling on this idea, in their work on nostalgia and heritage, Smith and Campbell (2017) proposed a concept of “progressive nostalgia” that embraces the affective properties of heritage as well as its political agency.

“What we see as ‘progressive nostalgia’ is a particular and unashamedly overtly emotional way of remembering that actively and self-consciously aims to use the past to contextualise the achievements and gains of the present-day living and working conditions and to set a politically progressive agenda for the future. This process of remembering contains not simply an understanding that the past was not perfect, but rather an explicit understanding that it was hard, difficult and inequitable” (Smith and Campbell, 2017, p.613).

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<sup>1</sup> The term largely established by Georges Lefebvre in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (Hobsbawm, 1997).

The contradictory, dual nature of heritage - conservative, authoritarian, private, elitist, exclusive as well as emancipatory, innovative, popular and shared can be traced throughout the literature of the later decades up to the present day, presented in this chapter.

The solid theoretical background and growing empirical evidence have led to heritage and power relations becoming a centre point of heritage debates of the new millennium. The Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), introduced by Laurajane Smith in 2006, set the much-needed framework for the critical reconsideration of heritage theory and practice and provided a formula for the interpretation of heritagization processes. The AHD, and soon afterwards the establishment of Critical Heritage Studies as an independent research platform, has contributed significantly to expanding interest in broader socio-political aspects of heritage, in knowledge production about the past and its political implications (Gentry and Smith, 2019). The 20<sup>th</sup>-century conservation movement and its flagship institutions, such as UNESCO, have become more often criticised for holding onto a finely selected imagery of the past, defined by the elites, and for the appropriation of heritage for soft political control through selection, filtering, branding and marketing of locales, timespans, lifestyles (Bertaccini, *et al.*, 2016; Harrison, 2010; 2013; Fairclough, 2020; Waterton and Smith, 2010). As Sophia Labadi (2022) admitted:

“At international, national, and local levels, different heritages are not necessarily given equal value or legitimacy, often depending on whom they belong to. The World Heritage List is surely the most visible example of this difference in valuation. The fact that almost 50 per cent of the sites on the list are in Europe and North America and that less than 10 per cent are in sub-Saharan Africa (as has been the case for the past forty years) is a clear political sign that Westerners (who have dominated the World Heritage Committee) value their heritage the most highly and consider it to be most worthy of associated socioeconomic development” (Labadi, 2022, p. 15).

John Pendlebury (2013), considering Authorised Heritage Discourse a “useful concept”, referred to it while developing his concept of conservation-planning assemblage based on Manuel Delanda’s assemblage theory (DeLanda, 2006). At the same time, he admitted the need for widening the focus to external forces, which have a role in forming the AHD:

“Smith is correct to distinguish between the AHD and other heritage possibilities and to highlight the AHD as a way of controlling the definition of heritage that receives official sanction and its management. However, a focus on conceptions of value internally generated amongst the heritage elite potentially underplays other forces within the conservation-planning assemblage. It allows little recognition of external forces that might shape conservation values or the AHD, whether they be broader social movements or explicit tactical responses of the AHD-formers to external pressures.” (Pendlebury, 2013, p.8).

The critical reflection on these “external forces” and their potential to influence the AHD can be observed in the works of several contemporary authors. There is a great diversity of research about the heritage processes at various scales, the resistance to hegemonic culture, and the “heritage from below”: places, communities, identities and local values. Some of the recent literature from Berger, Dicks and Fontaine (2020), Dicks, (2017), Grey and Kuokkanen (2019), Hammond (2018), Lekakis and Dragouni (2020), Lekakis (2020), Novoa (2018), Veldpaus *et al.* (2021) highlight the cases where the local community identity and political awareness were strengthened through local heritage valorisation and the interconnection of the concepts of community and heritage at various scales. The heritage commons approach, adopted by some of the abovementioned authors, attempts to embed the pluralistic, people-centred understanding of heritage into the democratic governance discourse (Gould, 2018; Lekakis, 2020). However, the interest in local scale and community heritage seems to have its disciplinary limits. For example, Lyn Meskell (2010), while exploring the concept of heritage in relation to the Universal Human Rights, based on her ethnographic research of conflictual heritage in post-Apartheid South Africa, concluded that heritage rights can be seen as secondary to the more pressing claims of land, livelihood, healthcare, education enshrined in the Universal Human Rights Declaration and that for heritage to pay, it must answer these needs first and foremost. At the same time, she pointed to the role of heritage experts as “conduits and facilitators, rather than arbiters”, who can enable local communities to direct the process and the outcomes they need. This line of thought has been taken further in the later works on the role of heritage experts and using non-representational approaches to heritage. Authors like Herdis Hølleland and Joar Skrede (2019) consider non-

representational theories suitable for democratic ideals, as they emphasise “peoples’ right to feel and articulate heritage through feelings, without any expert telling them what to value” (Hølleland and Skrede, 2019, p.827). They empower each individual to decide upon their heritage. Feelings are ‘genuine’; thus, “no expert can say that our feelings are ‘wrong’ or ‘false’” (*ibid*).

These reflections seem critical in the context of the aforementioned interest of heritage scholars in “heritage from below” and international policies and programs promoting “people-centred” and “rights-based” approaches to heritage. According to authors such as John Schofield (2014), who analyse the subject from the point of various places and identities, it can be argued that the growing diversity of case studies, fragmented into places or “scapes”,<sup>2</sup> makes it challenging to relate “heritage from below” to broader socio-political and geographical patterns. The overarching multi-scalar issues, such as inequality, reduce to background information and the philosophical contemplation of plurality and temporalities of connections. This challenge was highlighted in the critique of Critical Heritage Studies by Tim Winter, who suggested that heritage research should take a post-Western perspective and, beyond heritage, should embrace “the array of issues heritage is now enmeshed in, such as poverty reduction, climate change, sustainability, human rights, democracy, the future of the state” (Winter, 2013, p.542). According to Winter, the critical heritage theory should do “more than revel in problems or complexity” and more directly engage with “issues-based research” (Winter, 2013, p.542).

In natural heritage or landscape discourses, the socio-economic issues and, particularly, the right to heritage have been often discussed in the context of indigenous peoples. In the cultural heritage and “landscape-as-heritage” discourses, many authors have focused their studies on the ‘heritage from below’ in the post-industrial communities in the West (Dicks, 2000; 2015; Mason and Damjanovic, 2018; Smith and Campbell, 2017) and the post-Communist societies in the former Soviet bloc (Diener and Hagen, 2013; Hatherley, 2015; Sadowy and Lisiecky, 2019). The literature review revealed that even in these contexts, there has not been much analysis going beyond the local community as a point of reference and viewing heritage rights, heritage landscapes or governance issues through finer lenses of social stratification. Few authors like Bella Dicks, Andrew

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<sup>2</sup> For example “Taskscape” by Tim Ingold (1993) or “Smellscape” by Davis and Thys-Senocak, (2017), Miguel Trancozo Trevino (2020), etc.

Miles, Laurajane Smith, Gary Campbell have deepened analysis into socioeconomic structures of heritage, such as social class. However, in most heritage and “landscape-as-heritage” research social class has been viewed as a remote concept from the past, of little relevance in the present complex networked and layered world (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019; Gadsby and Chidester, 2011; Hammamy and Uzer, 2018; Novoa, 2018; Robertson, 2016; West, 2010; Wray, 2011). Based on the reviewed literature, it can be argued that the ‘landscape-as-heritage’ discourse has adopted the view of social classes, particularly the working class, as historical artefacts, where the discussion predominantly focuses on whether or why they deserve to be on display and in which way and by whom such representation is suitable to be done (Sham, 2015; Smith and Campbell, 2017). For example, the authors studying post-industrial communities believe that, as the AHD favours the heritage of elites, the presentation of working-class heritage could contribute to social justice and help to rebuild the dignity of these communities. At the same time, there is little or no reflection on how such an earnest presentation of the working-class past would relate to the transformed class structures of the post-industrial communities today. Delving into the social transformations in the post-industrial communities, observing the working-class decay, Marc Morell (2011) went as far as to suggest that the working-class heritage is “something pretty much impossible if not an oxymoron” (Morell, 2011, p. 298). Being sceptical about the new heritage forms emerging with the expanding uses of the AHD, Morell claimed that in liberal capitalist economies, heritagezation leads to taming, erasure and eviction of the presence of whatever is left as a working class in its original sense.

Despite these differences, still, most of the critical heritage literature, having focused on unfolding heritage and power relations through AHD, has come into agreement that heritage has the necessary potential to contribute to a progressive political agenda for the future (Pendlebury, 2009; Smith and Campbell, 2017; Winter, 2013). Even if there is no single clear path to instrumentalising heritage for political struggle, still, such a possibility seems to have inspired academic research, policy experimentation and civic action across the world. Focusing the research on heritage and social class relations could help to fill a significant knowledge gap and make actions more precise to activate such a potential of heritage.

Another domain where heritage research has focused in the past few years is digital technologies. In heritage and landscape governance, many processes, from everyday maintenance to planning and development decision-making, have been performed and managed with the help of digital technologies. As they have become increasingly embedded in everyday life and the socioeconomic organization of societies worldwide, the research on their use and potential has also grown from many different standpoints<sup>3</sup>. In the heritage field, the subject appears to be studied primarily to advance tools in the survey and documentation and enable scientific modelling for the conservation, interpretation and presentation of heritage. Few authors, like David C. Harvey (2016), attempted to go beyond these technical aspects and offer a more substantial analysis of the impact and use of technological development on the heritage field. According to Harvey, the development of technologies has reflected and followed the heritage production and consumption patterns. He, therefore, emphasized that the sense of purpose of technologies and access to them should be a central issue in their development and application.

“We have seen how developments in technology – and the control of this technology – went hand in hand with developments over how heritage was produced and consumed. And we have seen huge changes in the politics of that production and consumption, with questions of access to the means to promote, display and enjoy heritage playing a crucial role. In all of this, a sense of purpose is critical. At present, this purpose is often found in educational benefits and community leadership, policies of social inclusion and even economic regeneration – goals which, on the face of it, seem a long way from the heritage agendas of the past” (Harvey, 2016, p. 32).

Could technologies offer a response to theoretical advancements in heritage and “landscape-as-heritage” fields? The cutting-edge research in these domains considers multiple pasts, the complexity of historical layers and the plurality of meanings. A great part of heritage studies has focused on the social process of heritage production and re-production (Fairclough *et al.*, 2018; Harvey, 2016; Landesmaki *et al.*, 2019; Lekakis and Dragouni, 2020; McDowell, 2016), nature and

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<sup>3</sup> for example, Aaron Benanav on the automation and the future of work (Benanav, 2019), or European Commission Joint Research Centre report on digital transformation (Craglia, *et al.* 2021)

culture links (Egberts, 2019), etc. Some of the most recent works go as far as to project the ‘post-Anthropocene’ future (Sterling, 2020) or to propose alternative preservation approaches, such as ‘managed retreat’ (DeSilvey, 2012). On the other hand, heritage practice seems to remain enmeshed with routine challenges of identification, protection and management of designated heritage, requiring immediate decisions to be made in time-place-bound social, economic and political environments.

As the literature review revealed, one of these commonplace challenges, pressing for immediate action, remains the harmonious accommodation of conservation and development needs, where socioeconomic improvement is set as a political target or where the market forces trigger real estate development. Much of the discourse in recent decades, at least in Europe, has attempted to bind these two concepts together in the sustainability and circular economy frameworks (Sykes and Ludwig, 2015). The aspiration towards sustainable development, which has acquired dominance since its inception in the 1990s (UNCED, 1992), has nowadays grown into even broader climate agendas of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (see, for example, the European Green Deal (European Commission, 2019), the UN Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2015), the report of heritage resilience for climate change (European Commission, 2022), etc.). However, as the literature review suggests, despite a substantial theoretical and policy shift towards more sustainable, heritage-led approaches, conservation and development have still been practised mainly in their mutually exclusive sense (Rodwell, 2014).

The heritage sector seems to strive to overcome this dichotomy and, with the help of international cooperation platforms like New European Bauhaus, to integrate within the global sustainable development challenge. Promoting conservation, maintenance and reuse as crucial steps in the circular economy has strengthened the role of culture and heritage, including indigenous knowledge in achieving social sustainability, food security, biodiversity conservation and many other objectives enshrined in international treaties and declarations (Potts, 2021).

In heritage research, authors like Caitline DeSilvey attempt to interpret these pressing environmental challenges from the heritage point of view, transforming this challenge into pioneering approaches like “managed retreat” or concepts like “anticipatory history”. These

concepts resolutely part from the conservation of material remains as an objective and open new avenues for aligning with broader environmental management, climate resilience and adaptation needs. Following the research on coastal heritage sites in England and reconnecting to Kevin Lynch's reflections on the permanence of environmental change (Lynch, 2014) DeSilvey offered acceptance of decay as a strategy (DeSilvey, 2012; 2021). Such an approach seems closely linked with the aforementioned exploration of heritage futures in the posthumanist or post-Anthropocene perspective, where humans and non-humans have an equal share and stake in creating heritage. As Sterling (2020) explains, heritage in the posthumanist sense means questioning human stewardship at its core.

“The very concept of human stewardship must be called into question, relying as it does on a form of pastoral care that separates the moral human subject from the naturalised object of care” (Sterling, 2020, p.12).

Respectively, the posthumanist understanding of heritage calls for a fundamental redefinition of conservation strategies to accommodate planetary care.

At the same time, many authors acknowledge that the blurring of the boundaries between nature and culture in a posthumanist manner would not bring positive outcomes if the conditions which have led to the planetary crisis remain in place. “Driven by the logics of insatiable consumption, advanced capitalism is just as liable to blur the boundaries between nature and culture as posthumanist theory, displacing the uniqueness of the *Anthropos* through a functional form of post-anthropocentrism that spuriously unifies all species under the imperative of the market” (Sterling, 2020, p.11, citing Braidotti, 2019). Other critics of posthumanist approach like Andreas Malm insisted that “an analytical separation of society and nature (or human and non-human) is essential for any political project” (Sterling, 2020, p.5 citing Malm, 2018).

While one part of the scholarly discourse is entangled in the action/non-action dialectics on a planetary scale, a large body of scholarship continues to focus on development in line with the aforementioned logic of advanced capitalism. This logic dictates the understanding of tangible as well as intangible forms of heritage as a source of income and the accumulation of capital. Authors like Gregory Ashworth have viewed heritage as a development option rather than its opposing

factor. The conflict between the two may relate to external factors like political and socioeconomic agendas in play.

“If heritage is whatever the present selects from imagined pasts to satisfy contemporary needs, then not only is there no contradiction between heritage and development, but heritage is a development option. As an option, there is no compulsion or inevitability. No place is either permanently excluded from this possibility or inevitably locked into it through a pre-set heritage resource endowment” (Ashworth, 2014, p. 8).

The place and destination-making, commodification and cultural production for the ‘experience economy’ through heritage-making have been addressed from different disciplinary platforms and locales. However, Ashworth noted that heritage professionals are generally reluctant to think in economic terms and operate in economic contexts for which they are untrained but also ‘unsympathetic’ (Ashworth, 2014, p.8). The literature review yielded an array of research more directly engaged in critical analysis of the impact of heritagization on the environment and communities, highlighting issues such as gentrification, change of social structures, over-tourism, etc. in different spatial and socioeconomic contexts (Aalbers, 2019; Baird, 2014; Booyens and Rogerson, 2016; Chan *et al.*, 2016; González-Pérez, 2020; Grevstad – Nordbrock and Vojnovic, 2019; Hammami and Uzer, 2018; Howard, 2011; Howard *et al.*, 2019; Joy, 2020; Labadi and Logan, 2015; Lees and Philips, 2018; Milano, Novelli and Cheer, 2019; Nofre *et al.*, 2018; Pendlebury and Porfyriou, 2017; Skoll and Korstanje, 2014; Timothy, 2011)<sup>4</sup>. This body of literature pinpoints and scrutinises several challenges to heritage. At the same time, it demonstrates relatively little experience in addressing them.

For example, in her critical analysis of tourism-related gentrification, Augustin Cocola – Gant (2018) warned of a severe negative long-term impact of tourism. In her words, even though tourism brings consumers and investment, it threatens the displacement of the local community,

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<sup>4</sup> For earlier works, see also Zukin, 1987; Smith, 1982; Hackworth and Smith, 2001.

but more importantly, it also makes the tourist areas unattractive and unfit for any form of long-term habitation.

“The occurrence of displacement is not simply more intense than in classical processes of gentrification, but it may lead to a situation in which long-term residents would be replaced by transient consumers and tourism investors” (Cocola-Gant, 2018, p.290).

Similar worries, although in a very different context, were voiced by Melissa Baird in her study of the Mongolian Altai cultural landscape (Baird, 2014). Observing the practices of inclusion in the World Heritage designation of the local nomadic community, Baird regretfully admitted that “nation-states showcase and market heritage to not only increase their status, but also to bring in economic resources, which is welcomed by state and local governments, and tourism industries. But tourists will also encroach on summer pastures and impact local herders who already struggle with climate variability and insecure water sources” (Baird, 2014, p.144). According to Baird, the heritage of the Mongolian Altai largely represents the Western-centric aesthetic, archaeological, and material views, which interpret the region for a global audience, leaving no room for marginalised local voices.

Still more alarming evidence was presented by Booyens and Rogerson in their extensive overview of global slum tourism. Observing a popular “taste for slums” among Northern tourists travelling to the Global South, the authors saw a solution in transforming the “voyeuristic” experience of simply viewing poverty and struggle heritage with participatory creative tourism and contemporary urban cultural heritage more broadly (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). Another possibility to address the same problem put forward by Melissa Nisbett (2017) was nurturing political literacy and the educational role of slum tourism. Even viewing such a possibility, the author still concluded that “normalisation, romanticisation and depoliticisation of poverty legitimises social inequality and diverts attention away from the state and its responsibility for poverty reduction” (Nisbett, 2017, p. 44). This statement goes in line with the views of several other authors mentioned above, like Winter (2013), Smith and Campbell (2017), who promote political awareness in heritage practice and scholarship.

Despite the persisting problems highlighted by heritage research, tourism has been boldly promoted globally as a turnkey solution for local economic development. The UNWTO policy, UN SDGs, and the World Bank's main financial tools have all streamlined the use of tourism in improving the socioeconomic standing of deteriorated places and communities. As a global industry of instantaneous 'experiential' consumption (Harvey, 2020), supported by massive infrastructural investments, international policy frameworks and targeted research platforms<sup>5</sup>, tourism has demonstrated its vast economic potential but, at the same time, raised concerns about cultural exploitation, inequality and fair distribution of resources. Doubts about the positive economic impact of tourism have become particularly common with global events like wars, pandemics, natural disasters, and recurring global financial crises. The ethics and social effects of international tourism have equally been criticised in scholarly research. The studies on historic urban centres, coastal villages, post-industrial sites and even slums have highlighted that employing heritage as a basis for development does not bring equal opportunities for everyone (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019; Labadi, 2008; Labadi and Logan, 2015; Milano, Novelli and Cheer, 2019). The earnest intentions of local revitalisation can be overtaken by capital interests and even success stories, such as the heritage designation of the Blair Mountain mining landscape in West Virginia, the USA (Nida and Adkins, 2011) or the resistance to urban change and preservation strategies of Garda community in Gothenburg, Sweden (Hammami and Uzer, 2018) may fail against the long term market pressure in the context of liberal capitalist economies, characterised by the withdrawal of government involvement in many areas of public interest.

Thus, critical heritage research seems to have been inevitably confronted with the political aspects of heritage-making and its dialectical nature. While some authors consider heritage an essentially non-democratic project under liberal capitalism, others believe that heritage can act as a political claim of recognition and diversity, especially in societies where segregation drives the lack of self-esteem and despair. As Smith and Campbel (2017) explain, heritage may be perhaps nostalgic; however, it can also be progressive, radical and politically emancipatory, "a process of navigating social change and dissonance" among various forms of cultural and political identity, which "works

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<sup>5</sup> The journals such as Sustainable Tourism (since 1993) and Heritage Tourism (since 2006) provide the platform for scientific debates on the issue. The UNWTO was established in 1974.

to negotiate the social and political narratives and values that address the needs of the present“ (Smith and Campbell, 2017, p.616). Critical heritage studies have maintained and shared this optimism despite focusing predominantly on challenges. It seems that many authors have put their faith in the qualities of heritage as commons, the values that can reinforce community identity around a collective sense of self-esteem and provide the basis from which communities could agitate for social and political change (Lekakis, 2020).

Laurajane Smith is one of those heritage scholars who, having intensively studied post-industrial communities, has contributed to focusing critical heritage research on post-industrial societies and the heritagization of former industrial sites. The interest in industrial archaeology emerged back in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century in England, leading to the formal designation of former industrial assets (Hudson, 1963). In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, the mass deindustrialisation in Europe and the West, the social and economic changes and the respective transformation of landscapes produced the vast and immediate need to study and valorise the former industrial sites, settlements and towns from the heritage perspective. The anthropological research of former industrial communities was perceived as a way to assist social cohesion and economic regeneration of deprived towns and neighbourhoods. In more practical terms, remodelling so-called brownfields, former plants and warehouses for different purposes, such as creative hubs, loft living, museums and craft boutiques, has been adopted as a commonplace strategy over the past few decades. Through the identification and valorisation process, heritage scholars believed to contribute to rebuilding community pride, relying on heritage as a shared resource for community cohesion. However, this process has proved challenging in terms of achieving the balance between expert-led and community-led approaches and visions.

Furthermore, the “heritage from below” or “people-centred” research methods were to be complemented by understanding broader social and political frameworks that would allow for local memory and knowledge about the past to connect meaningfully to the present and the future. The literature review revealed that, for example, the narratives about post-industrial sites have been mainly about memories and their representation. Such focus has made it challenging to transform the nostalgic observation of the past into an optimistic discussion about the future.

The sceptical reflection also seems to relate to the aforementioned limitations of heritage-led economic development, which have demonstrated its fragile and competitive nature. These issues are further explored in the following sections of this chapter to deepen the analysis of the social-economic and political aspects of heritage in the context of “landscape-as-heritage” governance. In these sections, the focus is narrowed to the literature on heritage and social class as well as heritage as commons.

To summarise, the literature discussed in this section can be seen to position heritage mainly as a medium between the past and the future. In terms of philosophy, heritage is regarded as atemporal, even if the material objects through which it is manifested belong to certain timespans. However, in the attempt to materialise in the present, heritage also acquires political, social and economic agency. It can be conservative, authoritarian, private, elitist, exclusive as well as emancipatory, innovative, popular and shared, depending on the actors and frameworks in which it is constituted.

The research also revealed a persisting gap between theory and practice. The preservationist approaches seem to remain at the centrepiece of heritage and landscape governance practice, countering change or negotiating conditions for development that remain framed by the logic of neoliberal capitalism. Integrating heritage in global environmental action, sustainability, food security, biodiversity conservation, etc., earns heritage a better position in such negotiations. However, so far, heritage discourse does little to imagine the kind of future towards which acclaimed social and political change needs to be channelled.

## 2.4. Governance and democracy discourses: Framing ‘landscape-as-heritage’

The history of the organisation of human society, managing common affairs, accumulation and distribution of wealth and power have, from ancient times, inspired scholars, philosophers, and thinkers to reflect, analyse and propose ideas for the advancement of societal organisation systems. The formation of modern nations and nation-states, as sovereign entities uniting territory and population affiliated through common descent and language, is believed to be the result of struggles over power and territories, describing a particular stage of development of human

society (Hobsbawm, 1997; Adams, 1999). Scholars like Benedict Anderson place the origins of nations and nationalism in sociocultural affiliations and define it as a “cultural artefact of a particular kind” (Anderson, 2006, p.4) or as an imagined political community conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each. “Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings” (Anderson, 2006, p.7).

In the modern scholarly discourse, there has been much discussion about the limits of the nation-state model of socio-political organisation in times of globalised financial, political and operational networks. Emmanuel Wallerstein embedded the nation-states in a global economic and political system, that is, “a spatial/temporal zone which cuts across many political and cultural units, one that represents an integrated zone of activity and institutions which obey systemic rules” (Wallerstein, 2004, p.17). Saskia Sassen saw the weakening of the nation-state model as a rather common historical condition. She deconstructed the nation-state model into “situated territorial spaces” - operational territories that provide the material infrastructure necessary to sustain processes and conditions in a global system (Sassen, 2018). These spaces assemble a new cross-border, transnational geography of centrality that connects strategic spaces globally and can even set its own enclosures within formal national borders, evading the national legal frameworks and creating multiple systemic edges inside national sovereign territories. The study of these global networks has led Sassen to conclude that “the space of traditional governance is shrinking, even though it remains the most strategically important and powerful. What is expanding is a vast new zone of ambiguous rules and ruling orders” (Sassen, 2018, p.13).

The nation-states of the modern Western world have been organised according to democratic principles to various degrees. The prevalent model has been a representative democracy, equipped with representative, executive, and judiciary institutions that are intended to provide an environment in which citizens - sovereign members of the society - interact among themselves and participate in public affairs (Balibar, 2015). As a result of its wide adoption, Parliamentary Democracy, where the elected members legislate and govern through executive institutions on

behalf of the electorate, has become nearly synonymous with democracy. In the words of Giorgio Agamben, “Democracy designates both the form through which the power is legitimised and the manner in which it is exercised” (Agamben, 2011, p.1).

In more formal terms, governance in democratic societies has been described as the network of processes that are set to ensure accountable, transparent and effective functioning of institutions, legal and socioeconomic frameworks, as well as equitable and inclusive participation of citizens (UNESCO International Bureau of Education, no date).

Post-World War II Western democracy has embodied the key principles of freedom and equity, representing the ideological consensus between the ideals of Socialism and Liberalism - the two most influential political thoughts conceived or reconceptualised in the era of the European Enlightenment. The social, economic, and political developments in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century have eroded the balance to a rather ultra-liberal form of socioeconomic and political order, commonly referred to as neoliberal democracy. It is characterised by the deregulation of markets, marketisation of public services, and reducing the role of a state to the steering and facilitation of market-driven processes in partnership with the private sector and civil society. This new approach to the functioning of the state, piloted in Chile and the United Kingdom in the 1980s as New Public Management (NPM), has swept most parts of the world in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. It has been promoted and acclaimed for reducing bureaucracy and making governance more citizen-centric, receding hierarchy and making way for a contractual relationship between entrepreneurial government, markets, and society (Frederickson, 2007).

A typical feature of the NPM has been the separation of operational activity of public service provision from policymaking, detaching client and service provider roles to make room for competition between public and private providers. This is best illustrated by the formation of executive public agencies, carved out of the ministries, and operating them according to the corporate management logic using private sector techniques and practices in the public sector (Hood, 1989; Sharma, 2018). Thus, dismantling the state executive apparatus has been seen as one of the strategic steps in the neoliberal model of governance.

Intellectuals of various backgrounds have pointed to the multiple negative social, economic and political consequences associated with neoliberal governance. The legitimacy of this socioeconomic and political order has been still more broadly questioned after the global financial crisis of 2008 (OECD, 2013) and the growing awareness of the climate emergency<sup>6</sup>. One of the fundamental aspects of criticism has been the excessive promotion of individual independence as opposed to interdependence among individuals in society, which is the founding principle of democracy (Agamben, 2011; Balibar, 2015; Brown, 2019). Competition between individuals, as the dominant mode of socioeconomic relations, is thought to inhibit knowledge transfer in society as information is considered the ultimate commodity and key to success (Sennett, 2008).

The system of representation has also been criticized, claiming that it inherently implies the production and reproduction of an educated elite class that monopolises access to representation as well as to governance (Graeber, 2013). In Jaques Rancière's words:

“The representative system gradually became an affair for professionals, who then reproduced themselves. But in so doing, this system generated its own reverse, the mythical idea of a people not represented by these professionals and aspiring to provide itself with representatives who really do incarnate it. This is the piece of theatre — of constantly declining quality — that each election now reproduces” (Ranciere, 2017).

This scepticism is shared by a prominent contemporary philosopher, Alan Badiou. According to Badiou, democracy as a word has lost its value, but it remains a dominant political emblem. Dislodging this emblem is seen as a necessary step towards apprehending modern Western society and its highly exclusive and exploitative nature (Badiou, 2011). This view echoes a long tradition of left political thought and radical movements which sought alternatives to the capitalist system that was considered capable of eroding even the concept of democracy.

“If classes and individuals are deprived of the means of production and therefore dependent on others with a monopoly over those means, the so-called democratic system can only be a lie .... Such is democracy and such it always has been in a capitalist structure,

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<sup>6</sup> The term used by the UNEP, <https://www.unep.org/explore-topics/climate-change/facts-about-climate-emergency>

whatever form it takes, from constitutional monarchy to so-called direct rule” (Malatesta, 1926).

Some authors believe that the devaluation of democracy as a concept has been accelerated by the totalising impact of neoliberalism, which is observed to eliminate all other fields that are not harmonious with the imperative of capitalist accumulation. According to Wendy Brown (2015), neoliberalism has subordinated politics to economics, reducing sovereign citizens into market actors and governing every field of public or private life according to the market logic. In such circumstances, neoliberal democracies fail to prevent the abuse of power and growing “oligarchization” (Mouffe, 2019). The principle of equity is diluted under the reign of “Homo Economicus”.

“What now rules is individualist liberal vision that celebrates the consumer society and the freedom that markets offer” (Mouffe, 2019, p.18).

Observing the rise of right-populist movements in Europe, Chantal Mouffe insists on the need to break the “post-political consensus” and engage in radical reforms and agonistic debate to reclaim the political force of the society. At the same time, the outcome she sees forward is a disintegrated heterogenic system of an “uneven set of branches and functions, only relatively integrated for hegemonic practices to take place within it” (Mouffe, 2019, p. 47).

Populism has been considered a feature of representative politics that has considerably expanded in the Western world and particularly in Europe in recent decades (Taggart, 2004). In economic terms, a crisis is considered inherent to the nature of neoliberal capitalism, where the global financial and production-consumption networks generate systemic shocks time and again (Peck, Theodor and Brenner, 2010). Comparing the discourses on the crisis of democracy over the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Ercan and Gagnon (2014) argued that democracy, too, is prone to recurrent crises, although the underlying reasons change with broader societal transformations. Therefore, the authors called for “a more reflexive democracy - a type of democracy that continuously confronts its own limits and logics of exclusion” (Ercan and Gagnon, 2014, p.8).

Many other authors from various disciplines have shared and supported the critique of the hegemonic neoliberal governance arrangements. Some of them drew attention to the costs paid by the “third world” to sustain the growth and prosperity of the limited territories where the wealth is concentrated, while others highlighted the localised practices of direct action and progressive politics on local and global levels (Graeber, 2013; Davies, 2012; De Sousa Santos, *et al.* 2007; Featherstone, *et al.*, 2012; Russell, 2019). Authors like Jamie Peck, Nick Theodore and Neil Brenner tried to look beyond the crisis-driven neoliberal system only to find “silence” and a “vacuum” of alternative ideas.

“In light of these silences, could another crisis-driven makeover of neoliberalism be in the cards? The absence of a robust ideological counterweight to neoliberalism certainly raises this prospect, as indeed do the urgent efforts of dominant state and class forces to bring about some kind of reformist restoration” (Peck, Theodore and Brenner, 2010, p.103).

Based on the literature review, it can be assumed that such a “vacuum” of alternatives is partially attributed to the fact that the economic basis of capitalist production as well as the “emblem” of representative democracy, remains unchallenged. The advanced scholarship in political economy has been focused on the margins and limits of profit-making and ways of re-distributing wealth to reduce inequalities within nation-states through progressive policies (Raworth, 2017; Stiglitz, 2019). In terms of political organization, dual power or polycentric governance systems (Bookchin and Van Outryve, 2019; Ostrom, 2012; Russell, 2019) have been promoted to challenge the established nation-state power hierarchies. This approach, partly inspired by the Anarchist tradition, has empowered disadvantaged groups of society to self-organize and build bottom-up collective power at the local and municipal levels and form alliances to achieve sufficient political credibility on higher scales (see more detailed information in Section 2.5). Despite these theoretical and empirical advancements, neoliberal democracy has been observed to reproduce itself after each crisis. It has remained the framework in which governance arrangements continue to be considered today. At the same time, the critical discourses and insurgent processes have continued to stimulate innovative approaches that allow this reproduction in a reformist manner. Such is, for example, the development of the Governance Network Theory since the 1990s, which

has illustrated a gradual move from the NPM to more complex governance thinking (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012). It has been infused with post-structuralist thinking like the Actor-Network Theory developed by Bruno Latour and the Assemblage Theory put forward by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. Governance Network Theory considers the government as one of the many actors, along with the private sector and civil society, that works to accomplish the task of service delivery. This approach marks the fundamental shift from 'government' - a centralized hierarchical institution system with a top-down approach to administering public affairs to 'governance', where the informal authority of the markets and society blends with the formal authority of government institutions (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012; Mendoza and Vernis, 2008; Rhodes, 2017). In the words of Rhodes, in the networked governance system, "all patterns of rule arise as the contingent products of diverse actions and political struggles informed by the varied beliefs of situated agents" (Rhodes, 2017, p. 20).

The literature review on the subject of governance revealed increasing interest towards different aspects related to network governance: the definition of the term and its conceptual and operational underpinnings. The discourse on network governance can be seen as driven by the ideas of complexity, multiplicity of interdependent actors, and collaborative relationships between the state and non-state bodies. The state is no longer considered a monolithic 'other' vs 'civil society' - the two are the same entity interacting and interchanging within a single but multi-faceted social system (Bevir, 2009; 2011; Gjaltema, Biesbroek and Termeer, 2020; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012; Rhodes, 2007, 2017; Sharma, 2018; Torfing *et al.*, 2012). The proponents of these approaches have argued the shift to network governance could increase public control (Torfing *et al.*, 2012), although others have pointed out that with the new system, the state has increased control over civil society. These discussions, however, hardly take into account the essential differences between the actors in terms of access to recourses that, in reality, make it difficult for civil society to build sufficiently solid political agency within a governance network.

Many of the network governance advocates have elaborated on the particularities of the governance structures, mechanisms, and approaches. However, there remain disputed questions as to which extent the state shall reduce intervention in markets and public affairs and which forms of government of the complex networks allow sufficient steering without interfering in their

functioning. The established understanding and practice of network governance and meta-governance – that is, the governance of networks - instrumentalize them for the top-down, centralist state model. Other concepts, such as decentered governance, propose a bottom-up approach, that is, a decentralized negotiating style where the state sets a framework where networks operate at an arm's length from the government.

This research saw the abovementioned concept of meta-governance as of special interest, particularly for identifying patterns for the trans-sectoral connections in heritage and landscape governance. As summarized by Rhodes, meta-governance is “the return of the state by reinventing its governing role” (Rhodes, 2016, p.7). It implies a central role of the state in negotiation, diplomacy, and more informal modes of steering. This model has been put forward as an attempt to balance the autonomy of networks with hands-on interventions, which may involve redesigning markets, distributing resources, changing legal and constitutional frames, and rebalancing the governing structure mix. At the same time, hands-on interventions could also mean fostering meanings, beliefs, and identities among the relevant actors and influencing what actors think and do. In positive terms, meta-governance has been regarded as a solution to the failures of the governance networks as it implies enhancing accountability and transparency in governance networks, bridging the fragmentation where governance of shared resources requires an overarching approach (Gjaltema, Biesbroek and Termeer, 2020). Following a comprehensive literature review, Gjaltema, Biesbroek and Termeer identified four ideal types of meta-governance: network meta-governance, multilevel meta-governance, meta-governance of multiplicity, and meta-governance of modes. Analysing these four types, the authors conclude that:

“The concept of meta-governance moves beyond the ‘from government to governance’ thesis and brings government back in at a more central stage, thereby questioning the nature of governance as pure self-organizing networks in which governments fulfil a limited steering role” (Gjaltema, Biesbroek and Termeer, 2020, p. 1773).

Authors like Bevir and Rhodes (2010) projected further avenues away from such an interventionist governance approach towards a more anti-essentialist, complex, decentered concept. Such a

governance concept presents politics as a cultural practice and emphasizes a bottom-up analysis of the beliefs and practices of citizens, using storytelling instead of or as a supplement to policies and clear-cut rules (Bevir, 2011; Rhodes, 2017).

Marc Bevir (2011) supported the view that existing depictions of the state, among them meta-governance, are abstract reifications that cannot be understood independently of people's beliefs and practices. Instead, he viewed the state "as an aggregate descriptive term for a vast array of meaningful actions that coalesce into contingent, shifting, and contested practices. The state is stateless in that it has no essence, no structural quality, and no power to decide the actions of which it consists. These actions are explained instead by the beliefs actors inherit from traditions and then change for reasons of their own" (Bevir, 2011, p. 192).

The concepts of decentered and networked governance may be seen to resonate with an array of theoretical and practical approaches around the world, sharing the focus on the local knowledge and bottom-up organization of governance, aspiring to empower the disadvantaged and oppressed<sup>7</sup>. However, on the other hand, the decentered and networked governance concept can be viewed as an extreme version of the NPM. It seems to take the New Public Management spirit and ideal of small government to the next level, although its outcomes and impact on society are yet to be questioned and challenged.

To summarize the reviewed literature on modern governance approaches, it can be argued that discourse aspires to non-hierarchical, decentred, politically complex, and increasingly collaborative governance models. Some of these models, like meta-governance, emphasize accountability and transparency in governance networks and can be seen to overcome fragmentation where governance of shared resources requires an overarching approach. Nevertheless, the literature review also makes clear that the new governance arrangements are imagined and implemented mainly in the frame of neoliberal democracy, which may limit their transformative and progressive potential. These trends can also be traced in heritage and landscape theory and practice, showing that they directly influence how the heritage and

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<sup>7</sup> See for example New Municipalism (Thompson, 2021), Neocommunitarianism (Davies, 2012)

landscape governance systems are being transformed in response to sectoral, national or local objectives.

## 2.5. Governance, Localist movements and heritage as Commons

The network governance theory and practice have developed in the footsteps of a rich diversity of localist, anti-globalist and Municipalist movements worldwide. These movements have become increasingly popular subjects of research in recent decades. The growth of interest was, on the one hand, stimulated by the looming global environmental emergency and growing scholarship in the field of sustainable management of common environmental resources (Ostrom, 1990), development of technologies and the digital realm, as well as intensified political struggles against neoliberal reforms in many countries. These struggles have served as a laboratory and a melting pot of different inspirations and ideas, contributing to building an understanding of common issues and stimulating further theoretical development (Agamben *et al.*, 2011; Balibar, 2015; Brancaccio and Vercellone, 2019; Caffentzis and Federici, 2014; Dardot and Laval, 2019; De Angelis, 2017; Graeber, 2013; Hardt and Negri, 2012; Mouffe, 2019; Russell, 2019; Vázquez-Arroyo, 2017). Hardt and Negri (2012), in their political manifesto inspired by the ‘Squares Movements’<sup>8</sup> of 2011-2012, declared that “representation separates people from decision-makers” and, therefore, refusing representation, advocated for direct democracy, “exodus from the current political structures in order to prepare the basis for a new constituent power” (Hardt and Negri, 2012, p.4). This new constituent power, in their opinion, is the one that starts locally and operates through horizontal connections, where the necessary scale for political impact is achieved through the network of small movements and assemblies and which involves the creation of a new shared subjectivity, where decisions are made by the multitude.

As some authors point out, the theoretical advances and social movements of the turn of the century, including the urge for more citizen empowerment and direct democracy, have been interpreted and absorbed by the mainstream political establishment for their political objectives.

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<sup>8</sup> See more on Squares Movements in Varvarousis, Asara and Akbulut, 2014.

For example, in the sharp critique of social activism becoming a trend, Miguel Robles-Duran (2015) exposed the vulnerability of bottom-up movements towards external political and market forces.

“It is at the moment when the ‘real’ is replaced by the hegemony of the market that an unconscious disengagement with the ‘political’ occurs and the apolitical posture of the fashion pseudo-world thrives... Ultimately, fashion requires the replacement of social intelligence by the easiness of mediatised perceptual consensus... helping governments and private developers clean their bad image by masking it as ‘democratic’, ecological and socially responsible” (Robles-Duran, 2015, p. 98).

The adoption of the language of radical movements into mainstream politics could be observed in the United Kingdom, where Localism was formally enacted as a policy by the Conservative-Liberal coalition government from 2011 to 2015. Such top-down enforcement of bottom-up engagement was received with severe criticism (Featherstone *et al.*, 2012; Jones, 2016; Savage, 2015; Wills, 2016). On the other hand, in Spain, the election of the political activist Ada Colau as the mayor of Barcelona in 2015 has spurred hope in the potential of bottom-up localist action to achieve a change towards more just and democratic governance. Inspired by the Spanish Anarchist past and communalist experience and echoing the ideas of the anti-globalist World Social Forum, the Fearless Cities network, launched in 2017, marked the birth of the New-Municipalist Movement. The movement aims to build global solidarity from the bottom up, putting at its core the idea of “Commons”, which has inspired these alternative political movements, promoting more democratic forms of governance.

“These initiatives appear to be adopting the “municipal” as a strategic entry point for developing broader practices and theories of transformative social change... Rather than mistakenly valorising the capacities of municipal government - which, in any case, could not be generalised across a diversity of political, social and economic contexts - there is instead a focus on the municipality as a strategic site for developing transformative and prefigurative politics” (Russell, 2019, p. 991).

Whichever the ideological background, a common feature of localist politics has been the withdrawal of the state hierarchy in favour of a decentered, polycentric, horizontal system of

governance, where various actors - including citizens - have a role in the governing process and where the line between the state and the civil society is blurred. Authors like Mark Purcell, Bertie Russell, Eric Swyngedouw and David Featherstone pointed to several features that limit localist movements' potential to achieve sufficient political resonance and stability. Above all, they admitted the difficulty of scaling up from the local level. Failure to scale up threatens localist movements to remain trapped in "local particularism" with little overall impact on the mainstream governance regimes within established political and economic systems (Purcell, 2003; 2006; 2014; Russell, 2019). This challenge has also been acknowledged in earlier works on localist governance. As Eric Swyngedouw pointed out: "Maintaining or consolidating local power versus the danger of incorporation and compromise at a higher scale remains an eternal quandary for social movements" (Swyngedouw, 1997, p. 561). Some authors have also noted that the failure to upscale converts the local level into a strategic site for neoliberal experiments (Alonso Gonzalez, 2015; Loon *et al.*, 2019). A lot of thinking has been applied to this question in various disciplines and sociopolitical contexts. The onslaught on local governments through enforcing NPM and austerity measures has been manifesting disastrous effects in more than one country. There has been a shared doubt about the possibility of evading the risk of being co-opted and absorbed by "capitalism with a human face" (Caffentzis and Federici, 2014). However, authors like Bookchin and Van Outryve spur optimism, for example, by embracing Democratic Confederation, promoting a community of communities as a possible avenue for overcoming the 'local trap' (Bookchin and Van Outryve, 2019).

The literature review revealed the tendency of researchers and activists to attach inherently positive, more democratic, and just meaning to the local scale. "These initiatives are harnessing the potential of the urban scale through adopting a politics of proximity....in the activation of Municipalist political processes that have the capacity to produce new political subjectivities" (Russell, 2019, p. 1001). At the same time, the literature pointed to the risk of assigning political content a particular spatial form, warning that local scale does not automatically equal more democratic politics (Featherstone *et al.*, 2012; Massey, 2005; Purcell, 2005, 2006; The Symbiosis Research Collective, 2018). It may seem that staying free of existing ideological frameworks and "running ahead of theory" has assisted the localist movements to innovate and develop their own

language and practice tools, although, in such uninformed situations, the risk of the positive momentum of popular movements being hijacked by populist politics should not be overlooked. The critical reflection of the reviewed literature highlights that the municipal scale should remain a means but not an end to progressive politics.

Despite the abovementioned issues, the avant-garde of current critical scholarship on governance can be seen to favour experimenting with bottom-up, place-based approaches and adopt the 'local' or "municipal" concept, with an orientation towards cities and urban realm, as a strategic entry point for developing broader practices and theories of democratization. The tendency of urban areas to stir more intense conflict between public and private interests and resistance to the pressure of capital through communing and collective action has been the subject of scholarly interest for decades. Authors like Henry Lefevre and David Harvey have founded solid arguments for the socio-economic and political character of the urban realm as the hotspot of political consciousness and struggle, also pointing to the drastic socio-spatial stratification through capital accumulation, the factor, which is often understated and sidelined in the current academic or political discourses. The relationship of social structure, spatial context, and politicization process is rarely integrated under the research spotlight to characterize similarities and differences between the bottom-up movements led by urban middle-class intellectuals, rural subsistence farmers, traditional workers' unions, etc. This work seems to be indispensable for enabling the up-/re-scaling of the process beyond a given socio-spatial pattern, avoiding the 'local trap' in the spatial but also social context, unwrapping the community beyond an idealistic image of a robust, autonomous, self-organized and empowered organism, to make place-based politics productive in the long term (Gould, 2017; Marcopoulos, 2020; Waterton and Smith, 2010).

The academic discourses on network governance and localist politics are of utmost importance for locating modern heritage and landscape scholarship in a broad context. Both heritage and landscape have been closely linked with localist politics, as they are believed to play a role in defining a place and its community, from where the bottom-up movements start (Gould, 2017; Lekakis, 2020; Smith and Campbell, 2017). The idea that landscape and heritage contribute to community cohesion and, thus, democratizing localist politics has prevailed in the works of

different authors. This idea has also been nurtured by the Faro Framework Convention (The Council of Europe, 2005), which has formalized interest in heritage communities, people-centred approaches, and heritage as commons. On the one hand, such formalization has served as a great resource and inspiration for the local heritage communities. At the same time, it may have suggested a way for government establishments to channel the steam of the bottom-up movements into a smooth, convenient dialogue without imposing any obligations. Cultural and heritage commons have thus emerged at the heart of the diversified Municipalist movements, infusing locally flavoured cultural content into various political agendas.

To counter the ‘authorized’ version of heritage, promoting its ‘insurgent’ alternative, heritage scholars have emphasized its shared nature. Similarly, landscape and its physical features, regarded as a common good in the past, have been highlighted as a basis of collective identity and the spirit of place. Like the localist governance theories, heritage scholarship on commons has adopted the view that ‘local’ inevitably means ‘shared’ or ‘common’ and is the kernel for community cohesion. Some of the authors hoped that “...commons can emerge as a possible and realistic strategy for culture and heritage, establishing connections with other goods and giving rise to commons ecologies, towards a multi-modal commons-centric transition, where participants are a polity in action tending to a new world” (Lekakis, 2020, p. 262). However, little or no research has offered a sufficiently detailed analysis of those specific conditions of heritage and landscape that weld together highly polarized societies of the neoliberal world into a progressively-minded polity. Most reviewed research works have not embraced complex factors underlying social segregation between and within places in the modern world. The question thus remains whether elitist, authorized heritage generates a similar sense of ownership and identity across various social groups as their everyday heritage (Gould, 2017; Smith, 2006). The popular decolonization campaigns for removing the statues of some historical figures from public squares have demonstrated that society is not unanimous about the values of authorized heritage<sup>9</sup>. Global mobility, migration, and displacement add further tensions and risks to taking the ‘shared’ nature of the ‘local’ for granted.

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<sup>9</sup> More about the opposing arguments in Enslin, 2020; Younge, 2021.

The existing research suggests that commons imply some form of communal governance of the shared resource with corresponding systems of monitoring and enforcement of the communal rules (De Angelis, 2017). The prominent scholars studying the subject, such as Elinor Ostrom, have pointed to the exclusive nature of commons, where not everyone is entitled to partake in it and where “the members of clearly demarked groups have a legal right to exclude non-members of that group from using a resource” (Ostrom, 2000, p. 335). These limitations suggest the possible narrow profile of the heritage commons, whether elitist or community-based. However, these details have attracted only partial interest among heritage scholars. The dominant factors of concern have remained identification, valorisation, participation in decision-making and equal distribution of heritagization benefits, while heritage transversality in terms of scale or social class has so far received lesser attention.

Some authors, like Dimitris Markopoulos, conclude that “the adoption of horizontal structures and institutions of direct democracy should always develop together with a deep questioning of the existing social conditions” (Markopoulos, 2020, p. 256). The discourses in the fields of human geography or political economy have offered broad theorization of these social conditions. The critical theories in these fields have called for changing the base of social relations through access to resources and not only to structures of governance, thus questioning the entire mode of present socio-economic organization (Caffentzis and Federici, 2014; De Angelis, 2017; Harvey and De Angelis, 2014, Olin Wright, 2015). These prospects invite heritage and landscape scholarship to explore and question the political agency of heritage landscapes across different scales and societal structures.

Authors like Stelios Lekakis (2020) remain confident that empowering the powerless through building collective consciousness based on common heritage may contribute towards equitable political and economic outcomes and just social transformations. Nevertheless, to support this claim, advanced heritage and landscape discourses seem to lack analysis in the context of the complex composition of the community and its internal social conflicts. The critical questions are yet to be answered: whether heritage could bridge the divide between the privileged and the exploited, where radical polarization and lack of social mobility manifest themselves at the global and local scales. In this context, research into modern social structures acquires great significance

for filling the knowledge gap. For example, it may be of special interest to have an insight into the relatively recent category of the 'Precariat' (Standing, 2015), as well as sub-structuring and changing aspirations within the middle class (Balibar, 1991; Bridge, 1995; Kurlantzik, 2013; Olin Wright, 1998; Savage *et al.*, 2013; Standing, 2015).

Based on the reviewed literature, it may be argued that the ideas for dual power, polycentral, or decentred governance are fragile when measured through social challenges across society. The authors, inspired by localist movements and commons, have admitted that shared understanding is vital. However, they also acknowledged that such sharing does happen within certain boundaries and, in most cases, only in narrowly defined groups or communities bonded with spatial or intangible – imaginary ties. The concept of commons is considered valuable, for it takes stock of complexity. However, it may be inclusive of complexity within equals, peers, and members of the same social group. Such a prospect leaves open the question of trans-local or trans-community modes of governance, reinvigorating the two centuries of debates about democratic governance and its underlying socio-economic structures, as mentioned in the previous Section.

The key takeaways for the research from the above discussion are the dialectics of top-down and bottom-up governance approaches with their inherent strengths and weaknesses. The reviewed literature demonstrates that the ideas for dual power, polycentral, or decentred governance should be assessed in the context of societal challenges. The research also makes visible the need for a better integrated trans-disciplinary analysis of socioeconomic, political and spatial structures of governance in order to avoid being trapped in specific sociospatial contexts.

The review of literature on governance helps to perceive and locate the modern heritage and landscape discourses in a broader context. The heritage and landscape seem to be essential ingredients of localist politics, but equally - in nationalist or populist politics. Therefore, their democratizing spirit should always be questioned against the complex factors underlying socio-spatial organization. The emphasis on the role of heritage in building community identity should be coupled with a critical analysis of socio-political and economic conditions, social hierarchies and conflicts.

## 2.6. Landscape, heritage and social class

The review of literature about heritage as commons has triggered further exploration of the approaches to the analysis of stratification or fragmentation of society. Social and political sciences have structured societal divisions in terms of classes – broader strata of the population determined primarily by their economic position - and social groups – where social and cultural aspects are given a better share. Throughout the twentieth century, these approaches have been elaborated and evolved through sociology, anthropology, philosophy, and political economy, and they determine modern thinking about societal structures. Some prominent thinkers founding and advancing this study area for the past two centuries were Karl Marx, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Claude Levy-Strauss, John Goldthorpe, Pierre Bourdieu and others. The critical discourses in the 20<sup>th</sup> century have contributed to the emphasis on culture as one of the social status factors – the view that has become widely adopted in social sciences. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, such fine-grain culture-based lenses for social analysis have become particularly useful for post-structuralist interest in the forms of social identities, such as gender, race, ethnicity, place and community. The social class approach, although becoming obsolete to some extent (Loveday, 2014), has maintained its validity and importance in analysing large-scale socioeconomic processes like, for example, the de-industrialization in Western economies. The interest in using social class as a method for social research has been reinvigorated since the turn of the millennium (Savage, 2000; Reay, 2005; Sayer, 2013; Manstead, 2018; Kraus et al., 2017). The soaring global socio-ecological inequalities and recurrent political and financial crises conditioned the attempts to re-assembling the mosaic of social groups and place communities into a holistic multi-scalar social order, tapping the local potential to bring about systemic change (Guinan and O'Neill, 2019).

Based on the reviewed literature, it can be argued that heritage theories have lacked attention to social class as a method of analysis and have been nested predominantly in the post-structuralist, anti-essentialist theoretical framework, almost exclusively focusing on place and local communities as a gateway to heritage or 'landscape-as-heritage' understanding. In heritage research, the social class reveals itself mostly through symbolic, idealized representations. For example, the working class has become a subject of study among heritage scholars as "industrious

upholders of communal values of solidarity, social cohesion, and collective ‘spirit’” (Dicks, 2015, p.370). Those heritage scholars, who have deepened their inquiry of the place-based heritage communities through the social class approach, mainly focused on post-industrial landscapes, offering a rich analysis of the impact of de-industrialization on the working class and former industrial landscapes and the relationship to the elitist, authorized forms of heritage (Hammond, 2018; Gadsby and Chidester, 2011; Ludwig, 2016; Novoa, 2018; Smith, 2006; Smith and Campbell, 2017; Smith, Campbell and Schakel, 2011; Waterton, 2011). The peculiarities of modern social stratification in post-industrial economies, emerging occupations, swelling Precariat, and the new forms of heritage-making that these processes entail have lacked attention from heritage and ‘landscape-as-heritage’ research.

Some authors, like Richard Courtney (2011) or Laurajane Smith and Garry Campbell (2017), noted that the social class approach activates the political agency of heritage, pointing to social inequality and injustice. Referring to Hayden (1997), Smith and Campbell have argued that “the power of knowing your social place is central to identity, but this does not imply that such understanding of one’s own place also implies acceptance of injustice or inequality, but rather becomes an important point from which individuals and communities position their understanding of themselves” (Smith and Campbell, 2017, p. 619). They also noted that such self-awareness may also be the source of dissonance and social conflict. Based on the study of the most deprived communities in Essex and how heritage was used to legitimise inclusion, Richard Courtney demonstrated the conflictual nature of heritage despite the overall multicultural policy approach (Courtney, 2011).

The literature review demonstrated that the knowledge gap in the area of heritage and social class is difficult to bridge with the studies in sociology. These studies rarely target heritage or historic environment specifically (Some of the authors focusing on heritage from the platform of social sciences are Bella Dicks, Stefan Berger, Iain Robertson and Peter Gould) and, in the best case, incorporate it as a sub-segment in cultural representation factors (see for example Miles, 2013 and Savage, 2015). The main interest of sociological research seems to be identifying patterns of cultural representation, consumption, and participation. These studies provide invaluable

information on cultural preferences and practices through the prism of social classes, enriched with references to gender, race, ethnicity, and other social markers. For example, they point to the cultural ‘omnivorousness’ of middle and upper classes, which consume both high and local culture, to the barriers in participation conditioned by the social and economic status of the lower and underclasses (Friedman *et al.*, 2015; Todd, 2021), the alternative and everyday cultural practices of non-participants in the elitist culture (Miles, 2013) and other issues important for ‘landscape-as-heritage’ governance discourse.

An important aspect highlighted by the review of these research works is that the lowest classes of the population, unless specifically targeted, rarely volunteer to participate in formal surveys or academic studies, thus leaving an information gap. For example, in the Great British Class Survey (GBCS) conducted in 2011, only 1% of participants belonged to the Precariat, and even these were considered downward mobile individuals (Savage, 2015). The visitor surveys that were undertaken by heritage professionals were likely missing the population beyond the orbit of attraction of formal cultural institutions, those who rarely visit or volunteer for formal heritage sites or museums. Thus, the assumptions derived from these surveys on community heritage and identity can be argued to be biased towards those segments of society which are *a priori* interested in formalized or organized cultural practices and experiences, whether bottom-up, like Durham’s workers’ alternative museum (Wray, 2011) or top-down like Beamish Museum, Ironbridge, and many others.

The research on contemporary culture in Manchester by Andrew Miles (2013) is one of those studies in cultural sociology which deliberately targeted the non-participants in formal culture and explored the social distribution of cultural engagement down to the lowest social groups. Having annual incomes of less than £10,000 and little or no educational qualifications, these groups were found disadvantaged in terms of participation in formal culture. The authors presented the range of cultural practices of these social classes, who were culturally disengaged from established high-profile cultural institutions. The research confirmed that participation in formal cultural practices, including museums and heritage sites, was a factor of social distinction in itself and was reinforced by the established cultural norms and the lack of affordability of such practices for the lower social classes. The author highlighted the shortcomings of indicator-based participation policies rooted

in the assumptions and technologies of market research and the New Public Management - they decontextualize and abstract participation. Furthermore, the top-down participation models are defined largely by government funding and follow the middle-class norms of authorized or 'legitimate' culture.

“By obscuring and discounting the practices and significance of the everyday realm, the outcome of this process is to re-affirm the official model of participation and the domination of the middle-class norms that underpin it” (Miles, 2013, p. 199).

The various population surveys in England, for example, the Taking Part survey of DCMS or Great British Class Survey of BBC, and surveys conducted in the early 2000s by Laurajane Smith or Bella Dicks provide supporting evidence to the above findings. Describing the experiences of visitors to English stately homes, Smith (2006) admitted that:

“People were learning their place – at one level their place as middle-class people was defined through possession of the cultural literacy or capital to read the aesthetic qualities of the house through the performance of visiting and their willingness to part with what were often quite high entrance fees” (Smith, 2006, p. 159).

Exploring the cultural practices of non-participants in formal culture, Miles (2013) has provided important observation of the meaning of culture for lower social classes, where it appeared to predominantly signify the diversity of community and way of life itself, centred on relationships and mundane activities such as watching TV, going to a pub, or window-shopping. Miles argued that non-participants in formal culture should not be viewed as excluded from culture but as having distinct cultural value systems and practices.

The approach suggested by Miles echoes the broader liberal discourse about representing disadvantaged and stigmatized social groups, claiming that these groups lack a civic voice to legitimize their educational, cultural, and social norms in a multicultural society. It also feeds in and reflects the 'democratization' trend in the field of heritage, with its emphasis on the everyday, personal, and intangible. It may be argued that such an approach re-positions the issue of

accessibility and affordability of formal culture from the domain of social justice to the domain of cultural diversity. It may be seen as aiming to undermine the cultural hegemony of the upper classes by creating a platform for alternative cultural representation to counter stigmatization by the hegemonic culture, strengthening the social confidence of non-participants in formal culture. However, it may also be argued that limiting the discussion to the just representation without challenging the segregation at its core risks weakening the cause for equal access, exposing fresh opportunities for cultural appropriation and exploitation by the ‘omnivorous’ upper classes. As mentioned above, understanding one’s social place should not lead to accepting injustice or inequality.

As presented in the previous sections of this chapter, there is rich evidence of cultural appropriation in the heritage field, gentrification being its most tangible and widely discussed form. Based on the reviewed literature, it may be argued that heritage-making entails the inevitable commodification of material or immaterial heritage resources, especially when predominantly geared towards consumers. The transformation of former industrial assets or social housing estates into high-end market properties has been perhaps the starkest example of such appropriation<sup>10</sup>. Numerous examples, coupled with little evidence of benefits trickling to the dispossessed segments of society, have made it challenging to maintain “Gramsci’s lively intellectual pessimism allied with an optimism of the will in the face of adversity” (Smith and Campbell, 2017, p.3).

Some authors, like Carol Ludwig (2016), see the solution in formally recognizing alternative heritage values and making Authorized Heritage more inclusive. It may be reasonable to think that elevating the status of ordinary culture/heritage empowers their bearer communities, social classes and groups to improve the value of their cultural capital and social standing in society, challenging the authorized heritage and hegemonic culture. However, such inclusion can also be a fast track for appropriation and commodification through promoting but also imposing restrictions on access as well as use. As Pendlebury, Townshend and Gilroy argue, assimilation

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<sup>10</sup> To name a few are: Balfron Tower, Tate Modern, Whitechapel Bell foundry in London, Ouseburn in Newcastle, England; Narkomfin building in Moscow, Russia.

does not change but instead reinforces power relations (Pendlebury, Townshend and Gilroy, 2004). The alienation of authentic bearers from their values eventually forces the bearers out of their former cultural domain (Wray, 2011). Thus, it could be argued that the promotion of everyday or alternative cultures and heritages may reinforce inequalities in the long term instead of alleviating them.

These assumptions are further reinforced by Sophia Labadi's observation of the impact of heritage-led development in different European cities (Labadi, 2008; Labadi and Logan, 2015). She observed that the beautification, excessive landscaping and restoration create sanitized spaces for visitors and new landscapes of consumption, erasing more negative aspects of the city, including its poverty or diversity, leading to gentrification with the arrival of wealthier residents. Labadi emphasized that the lack of systemic data collection facilitates overstating the positive impacts of heritage-led regeneration, while the cases she studied demonstrate that it is challenging to associate heritage-led regeneration with job creation for local low-income inhabitants.

These reflections, together with critical theories in the field of governance discussed in this chapter, cast a shadow on the acclaimed potential of place-based heritage commons for social cohesion and bottom-up development. Berger, Dicks, and Fontaine have provided a rare criticism of the concept of community in today's heritage studies based on German, French and British examples. The authors saw the threat in the 'inherent organicism' of the concept of community that it could "view people and place in homogenizing and totalizing ways" and "collectivize individualities". The authors believe it is possible to develop progressive, more open forms of community through the critical use of the concept. Their suggestion for British and American scholarship included "a more self-aware, self-reflective and critical use of the concept of 'community'", reinforcing an anti-essentialist, more representational approach, encouraging meta-reflections that "would problematise 'the good community' and instead ask who was constructing a sense of the 'good community' for which purpose and under which conditions? It would highlight the ongoing politics of 'community' instead of taking community for granted and glorifying it" (Berger, Dicks and Fontaine, 2020, p. 345).

Based on the literature review, it may be concluded that applying advanced social class categorization to the community-based approaches in planning and governing the historic environment could orient and make more productive research in heritage and 'landscape-as-heritage' fields. Establishing such a closer connection seems rather urgent. In the GBSC survey, only 14% of participants were traditional working-class representatives, and their average age was 66. The decline and ageing of the traditional working class in post-industrial societies invite the reflection on the heritages of emerging social classes and on how these forms of heritages can be acknowledged and employed for progressive social politics, using the social class approach to bridge different communities into a socially meaningful and politically operative assemblage.

The global COVID-19 pandemic has enormously challenged academic discourses in all disciplines and sectors in recent years. While on the one hand, the calls for sustainability and environmentally friendly practices of participation sounded more valid than ever, at the same time, the sharp social segregation has become more apparent. For some, the prolonged government restrictions meant the momentum for slowing down economic development to allow deeper human interactions for practising democracy (Elliot, 2020; Ghosh, 2020), while for others - the restrictions were the question of physical survival. Mass unemployment, displacement and migration have presented themselves in global crisis as commodities for exploitation in ever more inhuman and precarious conditions.

In such circumstances, where inequality manifests itself in a divided and polarized society, nationalist narratives and ideology have been seen to act as a bonding force. Peter Townsend, studying inequalities in Britain in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and observing poverty and social stratification, noted:

"The more divisive is inequality, the greater must be the bonds of nationalism, or of sanctions or rewards in favour of citizenship. Links between classes, common attitudes and even common activities have to be fostered. Through such mechanisms as occupational mobility, fostered aspirations for material goods and enforced participation in the national culture, social conformity is paradoxically superimposed upon social inequality." (Townsend, 1979, p.395).

The literature review raises concerns that without taking stock of inequalities and their political expressions, heritage and 'landscape-as-heritage' discourses may risk fuelling the polarization of societies by promoting ever-diversifying disputes over the past. The focus on future-making aspects of heritage that emerge in the heritage discourse is to be welcomed. However, the heritage and 'landscape-as-heritage' fields seem to require a better connection to societal challenges at various scales in an ever more integrated "uni-disciplinary" manner. Such a connection could perhaps facilitate the emergence of a holistic vision of the future based on a collection of disciplinary perspectives.

The literature reviewed in this section enriches the research with insight into heritage transversality in terms of social class. Placing social classes and groups alongside the community challenges the aspired cohesive potential of heritage and 'landscape-as-heritage'. The lack of research on heritage and social class and the lack of systemic data collection seems to facilitate overstating the positive impacts of heritage-led regeneration. Similarly, the indicator-based participation policies seem to decontextualize and abstract participation, obscuring the non-participation of the lowest social classes. As these also rarely volunteer to participate in formal surveys or academic studies, the participatory approaches in heritage and landscape fields seem to require more careful assessment. Based on the literature, it can be argued that the promotion of everyday or alternative cultures and heritages may reinforce inequalities in the long term instead of alleviating them. The research on heritage and social class, thus, could serve several purposes. On the one hand, it could empower disadvantaged social groups to be better represented in a multicultural society. On the other hand, self-awareness through heritage could also challenge stratification and segregation at its core.

## 2.7. Conclusion: The conceptual framework for the research

The literature review sets the conceptual framework of the research by defining the concepts of heritage, landscape and governance in line with the latest theoretical developments. The present understanding of these concepts dwells on the intellectual legacy of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century critical

thinkers and on experiences and evidence accumulated through the application of various theories in different socioeconomic and political contexts.

Thus, the concept of heritage employed by the research incorporates all diverse material and immaterial forms that bear witness to human history and carry authentic information on the past into the future in the permanent process of value creation and re-creation (Alonso González, 2015; Harvey, 2001; Lowenthal, 2005; Waterton and Watson, 2013). The research conceives heritage as a “contemporary product, shaped from history” (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, p. 20) and a representation of symbolic, spiritual and ideological values placed upon objects, landscapes, as well as practices, experiences and feelings by people who view them through lenses of nationality, religion, ethnicity, social class, gender or personal history (Howard and Graham, 2016; Lowenthal, 1998). Therefore, heritage-making is understood as an active social process where the right to assign values is highly contested and which demonstrates the power of dominant groups in society and the resistance to that power (Harrison *et al.*, 2020; Smith, 2006). The research also adopts the definition by Harrison (2015), who presents heritage not as a subject but as a property that emerges in the process of caring for and attending to the past in the present. From his perspective, heritage is conceived as a window into the future, an active future-making agent, rather than a souvenir from the past.

“As such, heritage functions toward assembling futures, and thus might be more productively connected with other pressing social, economic, political, and ecological issues of our time” (Harrison, 2015, p.1).

Such understanding, embodying the social and political agency of heritage as a process, is the basis for addressing its potential as a driving force and a connecting platform for trans-sectoral participatory governance.

Another core theme of the research - landscape - emerges partly as an outcome of the broadening scope of the heritage theory in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Lähdesmäki *et al.*, 2019) and partly of developments in human geography and cultural studies that emphasized socio-cultural and symbolic meanings of physical geographic features, leading to an understanding of material

landscape as a subject of individual interpretation through the complex medium of culture (Cosgrove, 1983; Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Mitchell, 1995; Williams, 1958; 1983). These parallel developments assisted the now common mutual recognition of spatiality in heritage and temporality in landscape (Harrison, 2015; Harvey, 2015a; Waterton, 2019), shaping the joined-up view of culture and nature (Pilgrim and Pretty, 2013; Taylor and Francis, 2014).

“We should recognize nature and culture as entwined components of landscape. The alternative of extracting humans is a distorted concept built on the Western paradigm of separating nature from human occupation and shaping of landscape” (Taylor and Francis, 2014, p. 26).

The concerns about environmental sustainability and the climate emergency that endangers all landscapes stimulate further integration of culture and nature domains into a comprehensive future-making process (Harrison, 2020).

The holistic approach to the human-nature relationship places landscapes at the heart of heritage discourse and, as such, underpins the “landscape-as-heritage” approach employed by the research.

The focus of the research on heritage landscape governance implies exploring the complexities of ‘landscape-as-heritage’, as discussed above, in light of the social-political and economic structures and processes that condition their use and transformation. Understanding governance implies understanding the complex network of actors that act upon each other and, through a permanent repositioning in the field of power shape material landscapes and symbolic values assigned to them.

The critical discourses on Western liberal democracy and neoliberal capitalism provide the framework for the research in its attempt to analyse heritage landscape governance. Taking stock of the critique of the individualist consumer society (Mouffe, 2019), the explorations of social arrangements for participatory, democratic systems (Graeber, 2013; Ostrom, 2021), the ideas of scale as a tool for domination and reconstruction of power hierarchies (Harvey and Mozafarri, 2019), explorations in social stratification (Bennet *et al.* 2009; Bourdieu, 1989; Dicks, 2015; 2017;

Savage, 2015), the research highlights participation as one of the central issues of heritage landscape governance, applying a social class perspective to refine the analysis.

## 2.8. Specific orientations for the research

Based on the conceptual framework outlined in this chapter, the research is streamlined to focus on the conditions that assist trans-sectoral integration and participatory governance of “landscape-as-heritage”. The analysis of existing theories suggests directing the research towards understanding the “landscape-as-heritage” governance system with its institutional and policy networks on various governance scales as well as understanding the values and meanings ascribed to the concept by different social groups and their engagement in decision-making. The research methodology is structured according to these premises and is presented in the following chapter.

## Chapter 3: Research Methodology

### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the research strategy and methodological approach and provides arguments for research design choices. It presents the units and levels as well as the specific methods for sampling, collection, processing and analysis of primary and secondary data.

### 3.2. Methodological approach and research strategy

The research design was developed to address the research questions according to the stages that allow the step-by-step definition of each aspect of the research, from broader philosophical orientation down to technical details (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2007). The research design solutions were determined by the research questions, as well as the limitations of the PhD research, which are set out in the final section of this chapter. Thus, in terms of research philosophy, the research can be defined as interpretive, as it has used direct observation and subjective interpretation of qualitative information. The exploratory, inductive approach was considered most relevant as it offers an in-depth understanding of the state of the arts of “landscape-as-heritage” integration in the governance process and the respective challenges and perspectives. Existing scholarship gathered through literature review allowed the interpretation and analysis of the information in light of advanced theories in the fields of heritage, landscape and governance.

The research strategy was based on a case study approach. It was considered most suitable for this research for several reasons. Ultimately, using a case study approach allowed for a thorough understanding of a time and place-specific context and an analysis of the theoretical framework through such a context. As Flyvbjerg noted, “...in the study of human affairs, there appears to exist only context-dependent knowledge” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 221). A case study can, thus, not only describe or explore a time-place-specific phenomenon but also lead to new knowledge and inform

further investigations on the subject as well as policy development. According to Flyvbjerg, a case study enriches universal scholarship, providing a unique piece of information and - as such - a stepping stone to further the knowledge on the subject. Apart from Flyvbjerg, the value of a case study approach has been considered from different perspectives by many other authors, among them Van Wynsberghe and Khan (2007), Thomas (2011), Yin (2009) and Morriceau (2010). Like Flyvbjerg, they supported the idea that a case study allows for discovering those specific conditions and contexts, which may be related to broader theory, and hence, can inform scholarship not only at the level of the evidence it generates but, more importantly, at the level of conditions, contexts, and generative mechanisms, which are fundamental for the interpretation of the case study outcomes.

The definition and the scope of the case to be studied varies depending on the research questions. For this research, the definition by Creswell was considered suitable as it presents the case study as “a problem to be studied, which will reveal an in-depth understanding of a ‘case’ or bounded system, which involves understanding an event, activity, process, or one or more individuals” (Creswell, 2002, p. 61, quoted in Van Wynsberghe and Khan, 2007, p. 81). Thus, the case studied by this research can be described as a landscape and heritage governance system within a defined spatial scope. The focus of the case study was, therefore, to explore that very specific point of cross-sectoral interaction where landscape and heritage merge within a holistic governance framework.

The complexity of the landscape and heritage governance, as presented in the literature review, defined such a system to transcend various spatial scales. The system can be observed and explored from local to global levels. However, for this research, the nation-state scale was considered the most relevant, as it offered a comprehensive view of the sovereign governance system with its executive and political structures established within a specific cultural context in the process of nation-building, that is, in the words of Benedict Anderson, an output of “a complex ‘crossing’ of discrete historical forces” (Anderson, 2006, p.4). The nation-state governance hierarchy can be disassembled down to the local scale to explore bottom-up and top-down governance processes within the system, or in other words – a governance network. As

demonstrated by the literature review, both top-down and bottom-up governance processes tap landscape and heritage integrative potential. Exploring the specific examples within the case study could assist the understanding of the potential and conditions of the “landscape-as-heritage” concept to become a driver and a connecting platform for trans-sectoral participatory governance as set in the main research question. Thus, the research strategy incorporated a focus on the local scale along with the national one, which allowed exploration of governance hierarchy from the bottom up and participation and inclusion practices in the ‘landscape-as-heritage’ governance. The case study approach thus enabled addressing the core of the research questions by providing empirical evidence of the way the national and local governance system integrates landscape and heritage/ ‘landscape-as-heritage’ concepts and of the socio-economic and political conditions and characteristics, which may support such integration as well as the participatory, inclusive character of such a system.

### 3.3. Arguments for the case study selection

The selection of England, the United Kingdom, as the case study for this research was based on several arguments, among them the socioeconomic and political characteristics, the high degree of scholarship in the fields of heritage and landscape and a robust experience in instrumentalizing various theories in practice, as well as the availability and accessibility of data.

In terms of socioeconomic and political characteristics, England epitomizes an advanced post-industrial economy at the centre of the world’s economic and financial system. It presents invaluable evidence of the turbulent and violent history of neoliberal transformation in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, the application of the NPM and reducing the state authority in favour of markets, as well as more consensus-driven Localist politics and devolved governance models at the turn of the millennium. These developments have been accompanied and supported by a diversity of legal, institutional, and fiscal mechanisms which allow tracing the trajectory of policy development, implementation, and amendment cycles along with changing political aspirations and economic climate. At the same time, it is important to note that the innovative governance approaches in the United Kingdom have coexisted with a system of constitutional monarchy, representing the dichotomy as well as the convergence of ancient and modern power systems. The United Kingdom

and England, in particular, also embody the conflicting legacy of the former British empire, manifested through nationalist populist politics, multiculturalist narratives, decolonisation movements and more. As such, exploring the heritage and landscape governance system in England encapsulates the reflection on the global socio-cultural, economic and political networks, thus having particular relevance for international scholarship on the subject.

England can be considered one of the earliest Western societies, which advanced heritage and landscape scholarship and gathered considerable experience in policy development as well as civic movements for heritage and landscape. The origins of the evolution of the concept of heritage, 'landscape-as-heritage', industrial heritage, etc., can be traced back here, as well as the formation and development of methods for historic landscape study, urban conservation, integrative and participatory planning, etc. The vast experience in these fields yields an array of information for the analysis of heritage and landscape governance and thus adds to the arguments for the selection of the case study.

Furthermore, the availability of data provided an ultimately important condition for the research. Advanced digital governance, as it is promoted and applied in England, implies that regularly updated government statistics, policy documents, reports and other sources of information are rendered accessible online in a digital format. These documentary resources enabled the analysis of the various aspects of heritage and landscape governance from a local to a national scale and the verification of outcomes at each stage of research.

The characteristics explained above render England a 'critical case', the outcomes of which are expected to have "strategic importance in relation to the general problem" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p.229). More specifically, the case study of the heritage and landscape governance system in England could provide evidence for answering the research sub-questions (RQ2 and RQ3) in line with the specific orientations that emerged through the literature review.

### 3.4. Time-scale and data collection methods

The research explored the landscape and heritage governance system in England from 2019 to 2023, although it tapped into the information from earlier periods to enable interpretation and

analysis of the research outcomes. The qualitative data was gathered through primary and secondary sources, the most important of which was the documentation review (Chapter 4) and in-depth semi-structured interviews (Chapter 5). Supporting information was collected using an autoethnographic approach through engagement in and direct observation of participation and inclusion practices at the local level in an uncontrolled, natural environment (Ellis, Adams and Bochner, 2011) presented in the Textboxes 2 and 3. The insights from such observation assisted in the interpretation and analysis of the outcomes from other primary sources such as interviews. Similarly, the direct observation of heritage and landscape governance processes during the secondment at Northumberland National Park undertaken in scopes of the Heriland project and attending academic and professional workshops and conferences supported critical reflection on various subjects related to the research questions.

Documentation review formed the core method for setting the ground for primary data collection, identifying and refining target groups for interviews, defining the scope and sampling approach, as well as interview topics and questions. The review included national policy documents and reports, legislation, official statistics and other government publications as well as reports, policy papers, and research documents by non-governmental organizations. The international standard-setting documents and recommendations of relevant international professional bodies were referred to as the guiding framework for initial orientation as well as in the process of analysis and critical reflection of the outcomes.

Due to the complexity of the heritage and landscape governance system, the documentation review was narrowed to the key institutional domains where these topics are interchangeably addressed: culture, environment and spatial planning. These domains were explored by examining respective institutional and policy frameworks and extracting information on main issues, challenges, plans and perspectives. The documentation was reviewed on national and local levels. The choices in the selection of specific areas for data collection are explained in section 3.5.1. of this chapter.

The core method for primary data collection was an in-depth semi-structured interview. This method allowed a more exploratory approach where the questions could be adapted to the

respondent's profile and experience, and conversation could be deepened as necessary. The interviews were considered most suitable to grasp various perspectives on the issues and challenges in heritage and landscape governance and allow critical reflection of the initial outcomes of the documentation review. Thus, interviews involved a broad range of actors and stakeholders in heritage and landscape governance systems: national and local government executives and politicians, professionals, representatives of non-state actors, and the local community. The key questions and interview guide were prepared in advance. The structure of the interviews and sampling approach is explained in detail in section 3.5.2. of this chapter.

The key research stages, including the data collection and analysis, are summarized in Figure 2.

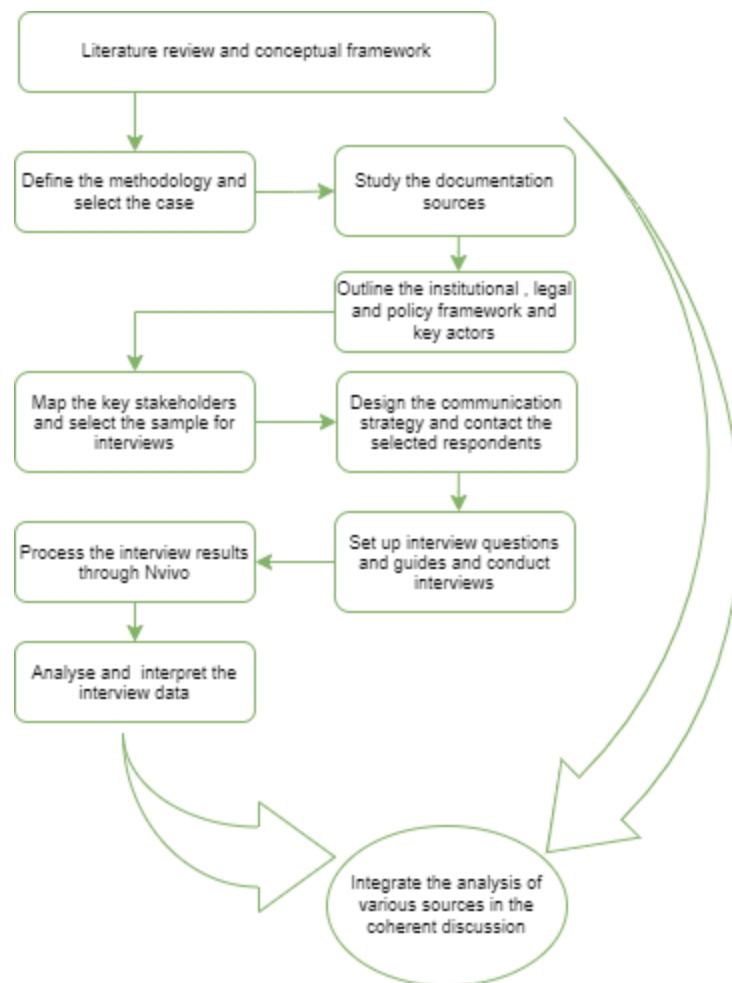


Figure 2. The key stages of the research.

### 3.5. Selection of sources and sampling strategy

The research design choices presented above determined the selection of sources for primary and secondary data as well as the sampling strategy for interviews. The cross-sectoral and multi-scalar arrangements that integrate heritage and landscape and allow participation and inclusion in decision-making did set the thematic strands for the selection and sampling of sources.

#### 3.5.1. Selection of documentary sources

The research questions determined that the collection of data was conducted mostly through non-probability sampling, more specifically - purposive sampling – focusing on specific documentary sources, as well as actors and stakeholders - related to landscape and heritage governance in England. Thus, to collect information on heritage and landscape governance and the application of the “landscape-as-heritage” concept, the research explored the crosspoint of culture, environment and spatial planning domains. These are the domains which set institutional, policy and funding frameworks for authorized cultural and natural heritage-making, designation and protection, as well as restrictions and incentives for tapping into the economic potential of cultural and natural resources for socio-economic development at the local and national scale. Based on these preliminary specifications, the research explored a range of documentary sources from these three domains - national and local government policies and strategies, guidelines, plans and legal acts, official statistics, reports, etc., which included references to integrated “landscape-as-heritage” concept, cross-sectoral co-operation, inclusion and participation practices as related to ‘landscape-as-heritage’. The publications from non-state actors were filtered similarly to explore the same issues from the non-governmental perspective and to assist in the analysis of challenges, inconsistencies and strategic directions.

At the start of the data collection process, the initial structure for data collection was verified based on the analysis of the Council of Europe information systems for cultural heritage and landscapes, such as the European Heritage Network (HEREIN), Compendium of Cultural Policies in Europe and Information System for European Landscape Convention. These information systems provide systematized and integrated resources on the institutional, legislative and fiscal

frameworks for heritage and landscape. For example, the information system for the European Landscape Convention provides a provisional list of sectors related to landscape management, while HEREIN describes the institutional and legal frameworks for heritage management. These initial observations set the point of reference for exploring the heritage and landscape governance system in England.

The sources considered by the research were accessed online in digital format. The data was retrieved from the official websites and online repositories of relevant state and non-state institutions to ensure the reliability and credibility of the information. The software tool Zotero was used to systematize and store the selected digital sources, with 230 entries compiled in the database.

### 3.5.2. Interview structure and sampling of respondents

The in-depth semi-structured interviews aimed to identify the perceptions and opinions of a diverse set of respondents on the main themes defined by the research sub-questions (RQ2 and RQ3) - the dimension of cross-sectoral and multi-scalar integration of the heritage and landscape governance system and the degree of participation and inclusiveness in decision-making.

The sampling of respondents was conducted using different approaches commonly used in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012; Flick, 2014). Namely, for exploring the dimension of cross-sectoral and multi-scalar integration of the heritage and landscape governance system, the main sampling method was purposive sampling. For identifying the *de facto* cross-sectoral and multi-scalar cooperation and partnership arrangements beyond formally established frameworks, snowball sampling was used. Snowball sampling allowed reaching those specifically critical respondents who were not included within the initial target group or could not be accessed through the standard communication method. The sampling level involved the case study area and the specific contexts identified within. The sampling of this group of respondents was thus determined by the institutional framework to incorporate at least one representative of those state and non-state actors who have a significant role in the heritage and landscape governance

in England (see Table 1 and Table 2). These representatives were reached through formal communication with the selected institutions.

The communication strategy with this group of respondents implied using an electronic mail address or a communication pane embedded in the formal website of an institution to establish initial contact. In case of a positive response, the communication was then followed up to reach a person designated by the institution to participate in the research interview. Such an approach was designed to assess the effectiveness of institutions in responding to general unfacilitated inquiries, to observe channels of communication within an institution as well as the perceptions of heritage and landscape in formal institutional settings.

The sampling methods for exploring the local community experiences and attitudes to participation in decision-making were convenience sampling, snowball sampling, and voluntary-response sampling. These methods were used in combination to approach place communities and to mitigate the bias commonly related to such sampling approaches (Maxwell, 2009; Patton, 2002; Tsuladze, 2020). The sampling level was defined by the areas selected for studying local governance contexts in the North-East and South-East of England. However, due to the limitations of the research, the final sample was narrowed to the accessible communities in Newcastle upon Tyne and Northumberland County. The size of this group was determined by the point of data saturation. This occurs when no significant new information is retrieved (Fusch and Ness, 2015).

To identify the initial set of respondents, the state and non-state actors in heritage, landscape, and planning sectors were grouped into several sub-groups: national and local government, interest community at the national and local levels, and place community. For government organizations, the political and executive branches were differentiated. The executive bodies were sampled according to their departmental and non-departmental status and included key arms-length organizations.

For this research, the national and local government tiers were defined as essential institutional assemblages equipped with the political mandate, the power for tax collection and decision-making over social and economic development, including spatial planning, environmental regulation and cultural and natural heritage designation.

Among the non-state actors, the research identified an ‘interest community’ as a network of organizations, groups, and individuals who share ideas, objectives, or professional interests. The actors of this community range from large charities, trusts and professional associations with a nationwide membership base to local-scale neighbourhood organizations and informal citizens’ initiatives. The organizations within this category were grouped into two categories - those with nationwide coverage and those with a specific local focus.

*Table 1: Structuring stakeholders in landscape and heritage governance in England.*

State Actors				Non-state Actors		
National Government		Local Government		Interest Community		Place Community
Political	Executive	Political	Executive	Nationwide	Local	local

The selection of the nationwide organizations within the ‘interest community’ category included charities and associations related to cultural and natural heritage and landscape. The local interest communities were targeted in the areas selected by the research to observe the diversity of such interest communities.

Place community was perceived as the group of respondents targeted specifically as residents of a particular locality, notwithstanding their interests, professional or other affiliation, and other social markers. These respondents may be at the same time part of different interest communities or government institutions; however, the research focused primarily on their personal experiences and opinions as residents, using other social characteristics as background information for analyzing the responses.

The sampling process was further narrowed by assessing the relative political, executive and cultural authority of various actors in heritage and landscape governance, the power of decision-making in authorized heritage, as well as influence over structuring the social and cultural norms and behaviours.

Thus, for the purpose of this research, political authority was considered as the legitimacy or representation obtained through electoral voting. It was assumed that the directly elected bodies of representation and the executives appointed by the parliament or local councils have the

highest degree of political authority. The lower degree of political authority was represented by the specialized public bodies or narrow-profile local non-state actors.

Economic authority was perceived as the capacity to accumulate and direct public and private funds and assets. The research considered that the highest-ranking under this category would be public bodies with taxing powers and those responsible for discharging public funds, as well as private investors, donors, and property owners; Lower degree of economic authority would be possessed by the bodies which only decide on the spending of the fixed budget and those which need to agree on spending decisions with donors or fundraise for fulfilling their mandate.

Furthermore, the state and non-state actors were differentiated by their executive mandate and the capacity to define and implement strategies and plans, provide public services, etc. The highest rank would involve the nationwide bodies with a large pool of human, budgetary and other resources, while those with fewer resources and localized in limited administrative boundaries would play a limited role.

Finally, the research considered cultural authority to identify those groups of stakeholders which influence government policies as well as broader socio-cultural practices of the society through knowledge production and opinion-making. The most influential of such a category were considered to be high-ranking academic and cultural institutions, the media industry, as well as large professional associations and membership organizations.

*Table 2: Categorization of actors in landscape and heritage governance network.*

Criteria for Selection	Possible Stakeholder Groups among State and non-state Actors
Political authority	Elected government bodies
Economic authority	Government, public and private industries, land and property owners
Executive authority	Government and arms-length institutions/ non-government agencies
Cultural authority	Academia, professional industry, media

The above categorization assisted in the identification of the specific set of actors who were suitable respondents for this research. The framework of the heritage and landscape governance system in England, identified based on documentation review and secondary sources, was thus

narrowed through purposive sampling to the politically influential and operationally vital government actors at national and local levels as well as the representative and influential representatives from the range of non-state actors (see Table 3).

### 3.5.3. Context sampling and data collection at the local level

The research narrowed the focus to selected administrative units in England to explore the issues at the local level. The local administrative hierarchy was viewed primarily through the interlocking landscape and heritage governance concept. It led to considering National Parks as a potentially interesting focus for this research, as they stand out as cross-disciplinary local-regional actors in landscape and heritage governance, endorsed with important mandates and decision-making powers. Local government hierarchy was explored together with National Parks to add a political dimension and complete a picture of the complex institutional framework of landscape and heritage governance at the local level. The local socioeconomic characteristics assisted in illuminating the conditions for landscape and heritage governance and participation in decision-making. The selected areas also provided a geographic range for sampling representatives for interviews across different locales.

The selected approach to context sampling was maximum variation sampling. Among the existing ten national parks in England, the two were identified as maximum variation cases: the Northumberland National Park in the North East and the South Downs National Park in the South of England. The Northumberland National Park is among the first and oldest National Parks, established in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. It is the most sparsely populated park, with only two persons per square km and a total of 1945 persons scattered over 1049 square km (NNPA, *no date*). The South Downs National Park, on the other hand, is the newest of all national parks in England, established in 2010, and is the most densely populated national park with 71 persons per square km and a total of 117 832 persons over 1627 square km (SDNPA, *no date*). Population density played a key role in selection as it may imply added stress to the preservation and resource utilization, yield conflicts of interest, and provide a more dynamic and diverse social realm. The location in the North and South was considered a possibility to study characteristics in relation to the places and regions that are socioeconomically most unequal ([Amin, 2022](#); [Office for National](#)

Statistics, 2018; Overman and Xu, 2022). Furthermore, while the older generation of National Parks carries an important legacy and experience, the newly established one was expected to supply information on innovative approaches and practices to landscape and heritage governance.

Respectively, the following local authorities in and around the selected National Parks were addressed in the research process: the single-tier authorities - Northumberland County and the city of Newcastle upon Tyne in the North-East of England and the East and West Sussex counties (upper-tier local authority), Chichester, Lewes districts, Eastbourne borrow and Seaford parish (lower-tier local authorities) in the South-East of England. Exploring the various tiers of local governance was considered necessary for understanding the functioning of the complex network of local government in relation to heritage and landscape governance, cross-sectoral and multi-scalar arrangements and participation and inclusion practices.

According to the above sampling specifications, the preliminary list of potential respondent organizations is presented in Table 3. The initial strategy implied reaching a diversity of respondents, including managerial, executive and professional roles within organizations and different socio-economic profiles among community representatives. The details about the actual respondents reached through the formal communication channels are given in Section 3.8.

*Table 3. The preliminary framework of potential respondents.*

State Actors					Non-state Actors			
National Government			Local Government		Interest Community		Place Community	
Political	Executive		Political	Executive		Nationwide	Local	
	Depart/Non-depart.		Councils	Services	National Parks			
Parliament	DCMS	National Lottery Heritage Fund	Newcastle upon Tyne		Northumberland	National Trust	Byker Community Trust	Lower Heaton, Newcastle upon Tyne
		Historic England	Northumberland			Joint Committee for National Amenities Societies	Steyning Downland scheme	Rothbury, Northumberland

	English Heritage Trust	West Sussex	South Downs	Council for British Archaeology	Lewes Priory Trust	Belford, Northumberland
DEFRA	Environment Agency	East Sussex		Landscape Institute	Chichester & District Archaeology Society	
	Forestry Commission	Chichester		Council for British Archaeology	Coquetdale community archaeology	
	Natural England	Lewes		Heritage Alliance		
MHCLG	Planning Inspectorate	Eastbourne		SAVE Britain's Heritage		
		Seaford		Newcastle University		
				TCPA		
				University of Chichester		
				RTPI		
				Cultura Trust		
				Civic Voice		

### 3.5.4. Interview guide and questions

Semi-structured interviews employed in the research combined structured and conversational approaches. An interview guide and preliminary list of questions were designed in advance for each stakeholder group, as defined in the section above, conditionally labelled as 'government', 'academia', 'industry', and 'local community'. Respectively, a series of broad themes derived from the research questions were identified to help direct the conversation.

The questions for institutional representatives and experts were designed to explore the experiences, perceptions, and expectations of the interviewees concerning the following themes: institutional framework, legal terms and policies, fiscal framework, and participation in decision-making. The issues and challenges in the respective sector as well as a vision for the future, were also included in questions to cross-check the previous responses and invite more free, out-of-the-box reflection (see Appendix 1). The questions for local community representatives were intended to understand the role of ordinary people in shaping their local living environment, the ways to partake in decision-making, the motivation and conditions for participation and respective problems and challenges (see Appendix 2).

The interview questions were open-ended and constructed in neutral language to avoid leading interviewee responses and resulting bias. The style and language of interview questions were adapted, using a more formal approach and sector-specific professional terminology with the representatives of institutions and experts and simplified terminology with the non-experts. The range of question types included introducing questions, follow-up and probing questions, direct and indirect questions, and structuring questions (Qu and Dumay, 2011). With these different questions, the semi-structured interviews offer an opportunity to produce thematic and situated accounts, particularly relevant when focusing on the local level and specific sectors.

During the interviews with local community representatives, background socio-demographic information was collected from each participant, including the age group, level of education, occupational field, income range, tenure situation and period of residence in a given neighbourhood (See Appendix 4).

The respondents were interviewed individually following the Covid-19 government regulations in place at the time of interviews. Thus, the majority of interviews were conducted online using Zoom software. The community interviews were conducted face-to-face mostly in an outdoor setting. Two pilot interviews were conducted to check for length, language, and other potential sources of bias.

### 3.6. Autoethnography and participant observation

The research employed an ethnographic approach to complement and enhance primary data collection and ensure the reliability and validity of the analysis. It implied observation of a local community in the researcher's immediate locality during the period of the research. The observation focused specifically on the cases of participation in decision-making about the neighbourhood. The two cases identified in the research period included the initiative for limiting traffic and the restriction of pavement parking in front of the local school and the protest against the unlawful occupation of the sidewalk by a local bar. In the first case, the observations were conducted with minimum participation, following the process over the research period as a community member: attending meetings and observing participants' behaviour, opinions, motivation and engagement. In the second case, a more engaged, autoethnographic approach was used – acting as an initiator of the formal appeal to the local council, following the formal procedures of participation and observing its outcomes (see Textbox 3).

### 3.7. Analytical approach: Methods for data analysis

#### 3.7.1. Analysis of documentary data

The documentation reviewed in the research process was analysed thematically according to the main categories derived from the research questions and used in the interview data analysis. Thus, the documentation analysis was primarily focused on identifying legal, policy and institutional mechanisms supporting cross-sectoral landscape and heritage integration and inclusive and participatory decision-making. Critical discourse analysis was employed to understand the documents in the context, establish cross-sectoral thematic links, and interpret the results together with the interview data outcomes.

#### 3.7.2. Analysis of interview results

The interview records were transcribed using the voice recognition software Otter.ai and revised and corrected manually. The sketch notes were also taken manually during the interviews to ensure the main points were grasped and interpreted correctly at the analysis stage.

According to the guidance in qualitative analysis (Bryman, 2012; Berg and Lune, 2017; Flick, 2014; Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2016; Skjott Linneberg and Korsgaard, 2019), to ensure a robust analysis of the interview data without losing the richness of information, the inductive explorative approach was employed in combination with a deductive approach. The inductive explorative approach implied formulating code categories from the text of the interview transcript, while the deductive approach worked through the material based on the pre-set categories formed from the main interview questions as related to the research questions.

At the initial stage of analysis, the interesting passages in the text were open-coded using *in vivo* codes. In the working process, these initial concepts, when recurrent within or across the interviews, were abstracted and aggregated into more generic higher-level thematic codes and nodes. In the process of analysis, the links between different codes and nodes were traced and analysed. The themes emerging from interviews were further analyzed in the context of the main interview topics and the research questions. The classification of community interview cases was

conducted according to socio-demographic data: age group, occupation, income range, time living in the neighbourhood, tenure situation and education level.

*Table 4: Classification of community interviews.*

Attribute variables	Values
Age group	18-24; 25-34; 35-44; 45-55; 56-65; 66+
Education level	Degree; Higher education below degree/ professional qualification; A-level/ equivalent; O – level/ GCSE A-C/Equivalent; CSE/ GCSE D-G/ equivalent; No qualification
Employment status	Employed; Not employed; Retired; Self-Employed; Other
Annual disposable income range	0-25 000; 25 000 – 50 000; 50 000 – 100 000; 100 000+
Time living in the neighbourhood	Less than one year; One to five years; Five to 10 years; More than ten years; two or more generations
Tenure situation	Land/ property owner; Tenant in the market rented sector; Tenant in the social rented sector

The classification of the interview cases with the representatives of organizations was conducted according to the following categories: location, type of organization, level of authority, position – job role and industry and professional background. *Table 5: Classification of interviews with institutional representatives.*

Attribute Variables	Values
Location	Region North; Region South; Nationwide, Not applicable
Type of organization	County council; National park authority; City/District council; Parish council; National government agency; Department ministry; Charity; Professional association; University; Not applicable
Level of authority	Local, National, Not Applicable
Job role	Executive managerial; Executive professional, Political - elected, Academic, Professional - industry, Not applicable
Industry –professional background <sup>11</sup>	Forestry - heritage; Heritage – archaeology; Heritage - conservation; Heritage - external relations; Heritage – museums and culture; Politics-development management; Planning; Heritage-landscapes; Not applicable

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<sup>11</sup> Industry denotes the sector where the respondent is employed, professional background refers to his/her job role and professional background.

These classifications allowed the analysis of the thematic patterns across attribute variables and respective sub-groups. The attributes and values were linked with data from the interviews to observe commonalities and differences of opinions and experiences, frequently mentioned ideas, as well as unique but important observations. The information was initially integrated locally under each code and aggregated under the respective thematic nodes to achieve such a comprehensive level of analysis. At the final stage, the broader inclusive analysis was conducted through the integration of various themes to allow the interpretation of outcomes leading to conclusions. The thematic analysis was aided by the combination of Nvivo software tools for mapping and logically organizing the information in the hierarchy of codes and nodes, as well as matrix coding, crosstab, and framework matrixes to identify the relations between codes and attribute values. Although the interview sample was relatively small, the frequencies of assigned categories in different groups were also noted down, which may be useful in understanding the dynamics across different groups and categories, and indicative for further research.

### 3.7.3. Coding Structures

The research questions served as a departure point for an initial set of codes for analysing interview results. Thus, the coding was aggregated to allow exploring the level of integration of landscape and heritage concepts within the government system and the respective institutional, fiscal and legal mechanisms (RQ2) and the conditions for trans-sectoral participatory governance (RQ 3).

The coding structure for the analysis of community interviews included the nodes built around the place values, experience in taking part and understanding of governance, as well as participation and volunteering (see Appendix 7).

The coding structure for the analysis of interviews with the institutional representatives included the following central nodes where codes were aggregated: funding, institutional, policy and legal, sectoral, participation and inclusion (see Appendix 8). Some of these nodes, such as participation and inclusion, also corresponded to the nodes aggregated in community interview results, allowing their joined-up analysis (see Figure 6). The issues and challenges as well as good practices

were coded separately but analysed in combination with other relevant codes through crosstab analysis and framework matrixes.

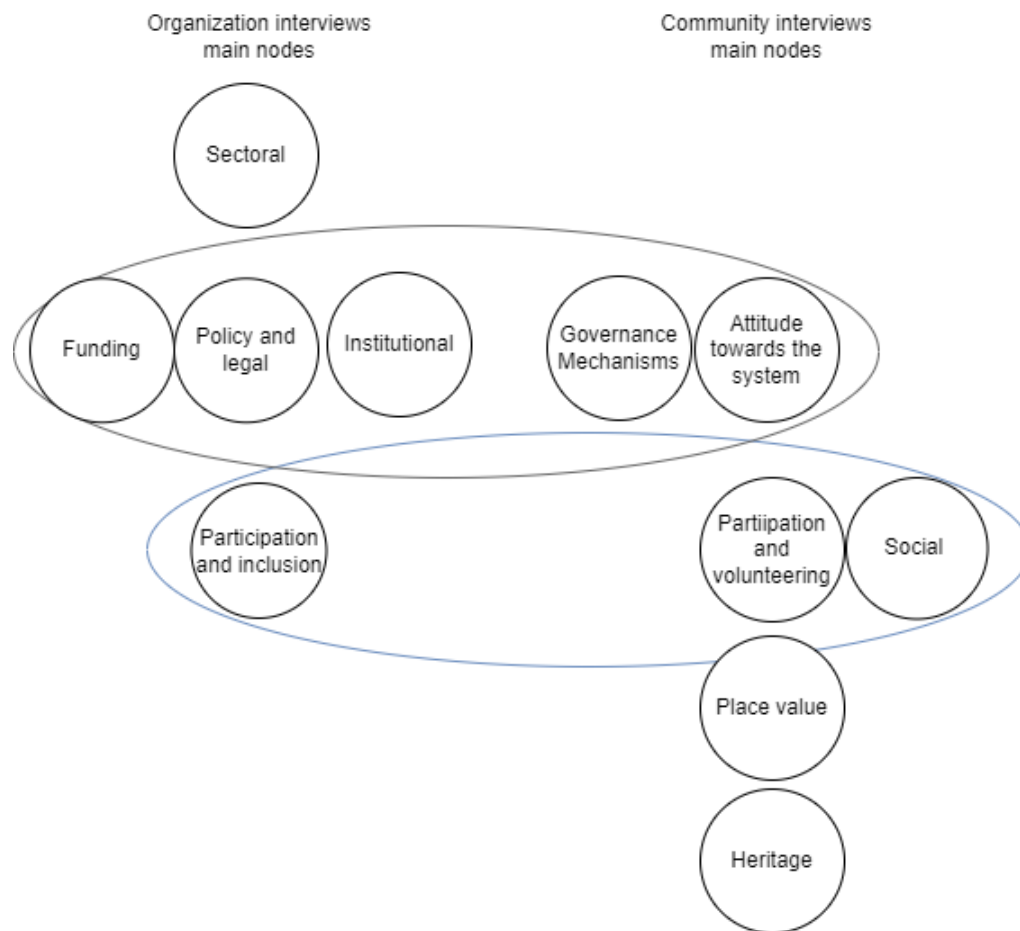


Figure 3. The key elements of the coding structure.

### 3.8. Outcomes of Respondent Sampling

#### 3.8.1. Respondents from Organizations

Following the lengthy communication process, the final sample of the interviews with organizations consisted of 21 respondents, representing a wide range of actors in England's heritage and landscape governance system (see Table 6).

*Table 6. Characteristics of respondents from institutions<sup>12</sup>.*

Personal Identifier	Industry	Level of authority	Location	Position	Type of organization
EXP.ACAD.01	Planning	Not Applicable	Nationwide	Academic	University
EXP.ACAD.02	Heritage: Conservation	Not Applicable	Nationwide	Academic	University
EXP.ACAD.03	Heritage: Conservation	Not Applicable	Nationwide	Academic	University
EXP.IND.01	Heritage: Archaeology	National	Nationwide	Professional (industry)	Professional Association
EXP.IND.02	Planning	National	Nationwide	Executive managerial	Professional Association
EXP.IND.03	Heritage: Landscape	National	Nationwide	Professional (industry)	Professional Association
LOC.COUNT.EXE.01	Heritage: Archaeology	Local	North-East	Executive professional	County Council
LOC.COUNT.EXE.02	Heritage: Archaeology	Local	South	Executive professional	County Council
LOC.NPA.EXE.01	Planning	Local	North-East	Executive managerial	NPA
LOC.NPA.EXE.02	Planning	Local	South	Executive managerial	NPA
LOC.NPA.EXE.03	Planning	Local	South	Executive managerial	NPA
LOC.NPA.EXE.04	Heritage: Archaeology	Local	North-East	Executive professional	NPA

<sup>12</sup> For more detailed information see Appendix 6.

LOC.NPA.EXE.05	Heritage: Museums and Culture	Local	South	Executive professional	NPA
LOC.NPA.EXE.06	Planning	Local	North-East	Executive managerial	NPA
LOC.TDS.EXE.01	Heritage: Archaeology	Local	North-East	Executive professional	City/District Council
LOC.TDS.EXE_02	Heritage: Conservation	Local	South	Executive professional	City/District Council
LOC.TDS.POL.01	Politics: Development Management	Local	North-East	Political: elected	City/District Council
NAT.EXE.01	Heritage: Archaeology	National	Nationwide	Executive managerial	National Agency
NAT.EXE.02	Forestry: Heritage	National	Nationwide	Executive professional	National Agency
NFP.01	Planning	National	Nationwide	Executive managerial	Charity
NFP.02	Heritage: External Relations	National	Nationwide	Executive managerial	Charity

The geographic distribution of respondents was relatively evenly spread among the selected focus areas in the South and North of England and the nationwide organizations from the selected sectors. Of the total 21 respondents, 30.4% (N=6) were from organizations in the North, 21.7% (N=5) from those in the South, and 47.8% (N=10) from nationwide bodies, such as thematic charities or national government agencies (see Figure 4).

The occupational distribution of respondents leaned toward executive professional and managerial positions, with executive managers 38.1% (N=8), executive professionals 33.3% (N=7), academics 14.3% (N=3), and professionals from industries 9.5% (N=2) and elected politicians 4.8% (N=1) (see Figure 5).

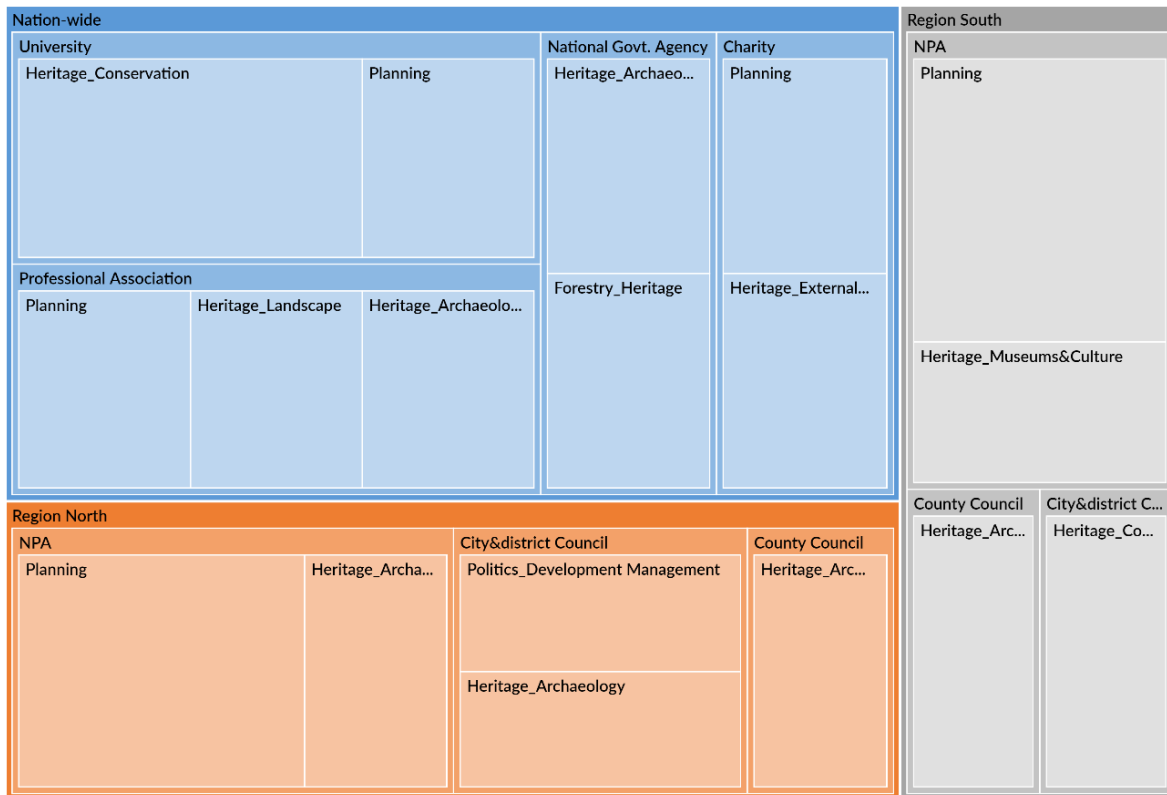


Figure 4. Institutional respondents across regions, organization types, and sectors.

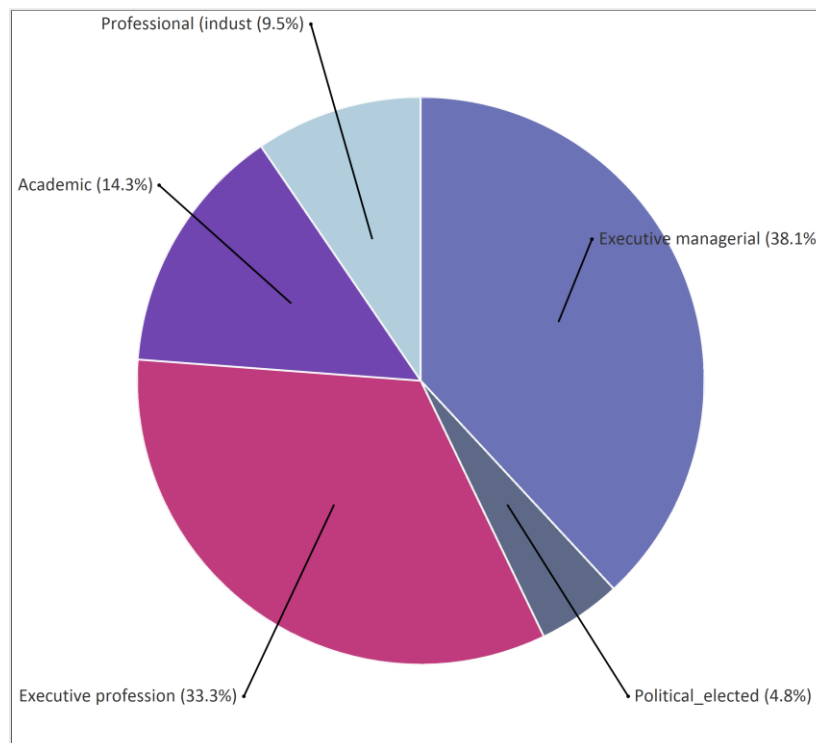


Figure 5. Occupational distribution of institutional respondents.

The respondents were from various qualification backgrounds and job roles in different sectors. The majority were from the heritage and planning sectors. Such a bias can be attributed to the research title, which commonly prompted the inquiry for an interview to be redirected to heritage or planning specialists. The routing of the inquiries can be considered an important indicator of how educational specializations are represented in sectoral organisational hierarchies, where heritage and landscape are seen as narrowly specialized functions.

The respondents from the heritage sector comprised more than half of the respondents (N=12). The majority of heritage professionals, 28.6% (N=6), were archaeologists, and some 14.3% (N=3) – were conservation architects and singular cases working on museums and culture, external relations in heritage organizations, or working on heritage within other sectors, like forestry. These respondents merit special attention as they represent the cross-sectoral niche of experts whose experience is particularly relevant to this research.

Planning was another dominant sector in the survey sample, with 33.3% (N=7), including planners from local authorities, heritage organizations, professional associations, and academia. The representatives from the environment sector were represented only through forestry; even there, the specialist assigned for the interview was a heritage professional. Other fields were represented only by singular cases of high-level executives or politicians with business and development management backgrounds. The sectoral distribution is summarized in Table 7.

*Table 7. Sectoral distribution of the respondents from institutions.*

Industry	Percentage of codes
Forestry: Heritage	4.76%
Heritage: Archaeology	28.57%
Heritage: Conservation	14.29%
Heritage: Museums and Culture	4.76%
Politics: Development Management	4.76%
Planning	33.33%
Heritage: External Relations	4.76%
Heritage: Landscape	4.76%

From the point of organization type, a significant number of respondents came from local authorities, such as town and district councils, county councils and national parks, a total of 52.4% (N=11). The national government was represented only through the sectoral agencies 9.5% (N=2). Other respondents represented the non-governmental sector: professional associations, charities and academia 38.1% (N=8) (See Figure 6).

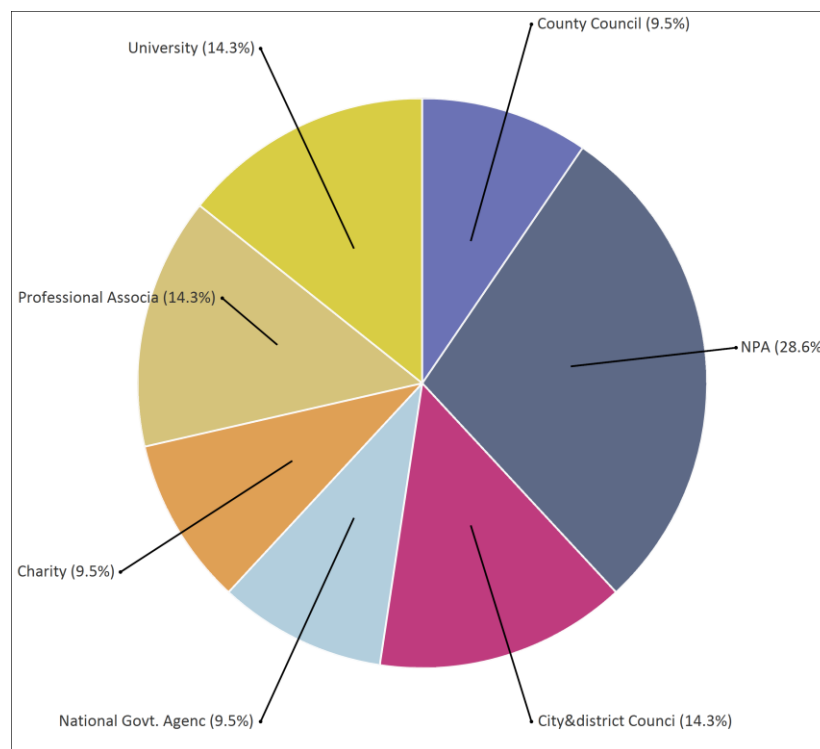


Figure 6. Distribution of respondents across organization types.

The attempts to access the national government departments did not turn out successful. Neither general inquiries nor personal emails yielded necessary feedback. Lack of access to these institutions made it difficult to investigate the cross-sectoral integration aspects at the highest levels of the governance hierarchy. At the same time, it demonstrated the highly bureaucratic character of communication among high-level government institutions and the general public. The hard-to-reach top layer of the governance system may be associated with an image of a fortress,

repelling communication streams towards the designated channels at the lower-level specialized bodies.

The difficulty of communication with government organizations can be partly attributed to the confidentiality of the personal details of individual staff members. A greater number of organizations allow contact only via a general e-mail/mail, a message box or an online chatbot embedded within the organization's website. Telephone inquiries are also automated and highly standardized. While a sent email can be referred to when following up with a reminder, there is no possibility of a direct follow-up in message boxes and online/telephone chatbots. In all these cases, the system commonly generates a standard response on behalf of a customer service team, which includes an acknowledgement of the inquiry and information on the standard timeframe for the actual answer. The impersonal character of communication also implies the random allocation of incoming e-mails and calls to the customer service staff, each time redirecting it to a different person to follow up.

The invitations for interviews were declined by national sectoral departments in all but one case. Even there, the preliminary agreement was given not for the interview but for a list of questions to be answered in written form. The reasons for declining the invitation were various, including the lack of human and budgetary resources. These responses commonly included advice to address lower-tier specialized organizations, however, without personalized contact details.

The impersonalized communication tools reinforce the image of an impregnable system that takes enormous effort, patience, and perseverance to break through. The drawbacks in formal access channels amplify the role of social networks and personal connections in successful communication with government organizations and large-scale institutions. This view is shared among the respondents from the community and organizations alike and is also confirmed through direct observation and autoethnography (see Textboxes 2 and 3).

### 3.8.2. Respondents from place community

The final sample of the community interviews was 14 respondents from communities in Newcastle upon Tyne and Gateshead, as well as from Rothbury and Belford in Northumberland. The majority of them were recruited from an urban area with a mix of deprived and affluent neighbourhoods in Heaton and Ouseburn wards in Newcastle Upon Tyne (MHCLG, *no date*). The focus on such a mixed area enabled access to a considerable diversity of social and economic profiles, age groups and occupational ranges despite the relatively small sample.

Half of the participants considered themselves to have a low or middle income, pointing to an annual average disposable income range below 25 000 pounds sterling or between 25 000-50 000 pounds sterling. Most respondents were employed or self-employed (43%; N=6). The vast majority of them were middle-aged people who had been living in the neighbourhood for more than 11 years. More than half of the participants were property owners, and some were tenants in the socially rented sector. The occupational range included a contrasting array of medical practitioners and social workers, shop attendants and welfare specialists, artists, domestic cleaners, retired engineers, police officers, bus drivers and more. Details of the sociodemographic characteristics of participants are summarized in Table 8.

*Table 8. Sociodemographic characteristics of local community respondents.*

Variable	N(%)
<b>Age group</b>	
18-24	1 (7)
25-34	2(14)
35-44	1(7)
45-55	3(21)
56-65	3(21)
66+	4(29)
<b>Employment</b>	
Employed	6(43)
Retired	5(36)
Self-Employed	3(21)
<b>Income group</b>	
High income	2(14)
Low income	7(50)
Middle income	5(36)
<b>Living in the area</b>	
0-5 years	1(7)

6-10 years	3(21)
11+ years	10(72)
<b>Tenure situation</b>	
Property owner	9(64)
Tenant in market rented sector	1(7)
Tenant in the social rented sector	4(28)

Communication with the community was conducted mainly with a snowball approach based on confidence-building through personal communication. Integration into the local community through social groups around the primary school and neighbourhood park, as well as in the process of shopping, gardening, etc., proved effective in recruiting respondents, but also to observe and take into due consideration the context in which the responses were generated.

An invitation to participate in the research interviews was also disseminated via the local primary school newsletter. Such a general call did not prove very helpful in recruiting volunteers for interviews, although it played a role in building trust and socializing with the community. The lack of broad interest in research interviews can also be attributed to the COVID-19 pandemic, related restrictions and the general preference to limit social interaction to an essential minimum.

Thus, while the emphasis on confidence-building required a considerable amount of time to set the ground and may have limited the number of possible respondents, at the same time, it has ensured the high-quality interaction and deep commitment necessary in the challenging context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

### 3.9. Validity and credibility of data

The different data sources and collection methods employed by the research complemented each other to verify and validate the research findings. The documentary sources from various state and non-state actors of the landscape and heritage governance system in England were complemented by the autoethnography and participant observation, and interview material collected from the diversity of respondents selected across the defined sectors and levels of governance as well as place communities.

The validity and credibility of the documentation review outcomes were ensured by the use of formal online repositories and websites. The validity and credibility of the information obtained through interviews were ensured by the representativeness of the sample, through sectoral, scalar and geographic coverage, as well as through representation of various occupational hierarchies among civil servants, the inclusion of relevant industry and academic institutions as well as the local community.

The credibility of the interview outcomes was also ensured via clearly set procedures, the interview guide as well as the structure of questions, which allowed cross-checking responses through differently phrased questions.

The use of voice recording equipment in face-to-face interviews and Zoom recording in online interviews and specialized software for transcribing - Otter.ai and analysing interview records - Nvivo12 assisted in increasing the credibility of interview outcomes. Furthermore, the credibility of interview results was facilitated by inductive coding of interview material, which allowed the linking of interview results to the research questions, tracing the analysis back to initial transcripts and assisting respondent validation of interview results.

The credibility of the analysis was ensured by the combination of methods. Namely, the combination of inductive and deductive thematic analysis of interviews was employed to identify thematic patterns and link at the level of data sets with the reflexive analysis of participant observation and autoethnography.

### 3.10. Ethical issues

At the initial stage of primary data collection, the research brief was prepared to inform target groups and interviewees about the purpose of the research (see Appendix 3). Based on the pre-designed template, a formal signed consent of a respondent was obtained before each interview (see Appendix 5). In the face-to-face interviews, consent was obtained as a hard copy, while digital signatures or scanned documents were accepted in online interviews.

The interviews were decided to remain anonymous to encourage open dialogue, especially in the case of organization representatives. Respectively, a specific code system was developed for referencing the interviewees in the research. The codes include the numerical and alphabetical characters - the abbreviation of the sub-group title and the number. In the community interviews, the respondents were approached as residents or a neighbourhood and not as representatives of institutions. Therefore, the codes were complemented with the first name to emphasize the personal character of the information.

No specific ethical issues were raised during the data collection, as the interviews did not include or target minors or any vulnerable or marginalized social groups.

The online interviews were recorded via the university Zoom account to ensure digital data protection. The records were deleted from the system in a standard manner one month after the interview, although the copies were stored on the personal computer and drive until the completion of the research. The face-to-face interviews were recorded on the smartphone, and records were stored similarly. The information about the personal data protection approach used by the research was included in the research brief provided to the participants.

### 3.11. Limitations of the research

Diverse limitations framed the scope and depth of the study. Ultimately, the timeframe of the Ph.D. program served as a key limitation for individual research on the complex subject as the cross-sectoral landscape and heritage governance. The timeframe was further challenged by the relocation to and back from the country of origin to the country of research, as well as the major government restrictions imposed in times of the COVID-19 pandemic. These restrictions significantly reduced the possibility for in-depth face-to-face engagement and direct observation and required adaptation of the research design solutions along the way. For example, the secondment at the Northumberland National Park in 2020 was conducted online as well as the majority of interviews. No visits were undertaken to the South Downs National Park, which made it difficult to access the pool of respondents in the local community. The use of digital communication methods took time for the adaptation of skills. On the other hand, online

communication proved invaluable in reaching the broadest possible pool of stakeholder groups from government, industry and academia. From the local community perspective, the COVID-19-related restrictions significantly limited the level of interaction with the potential respondents, as people would mostly avoid direct contact and would also be reluctant to volunteer for online communication. These circumstances conditioned the community sampling to be conducted mainly in a convenience, snowball and volunteer-response manner. Even though the data collection can be considered to achieve a saturation level, the research would benefit from a more diversified approach to sampling and broader geographic representation.

### 3.12. Conclusion

In summary, the research methodological approach was qualitative, exploratory and interpretive, based on a case study as a key research strategy. The methods used for data collection were a documentation review and an in-depth semi-structured interview complemented by participant observation and autoethnography. The primary method for data analysis was a thematic analysis, supported by critical discourse analysis to aid context-based interpretation and discussion of results.

## Chapter 4: Case Study: Documentation Review Results

### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the main subject of the case study - the landscape and heritage governance system in England, based on the documentation review. It is explored and presented by looking into the three key sectors, environment, culture and planning, where landscape and heritage are covered. Institutional, policy and funding frameworks are reviewed in each of these domains to identify the ways of cross-sectoral integration of heritage and landscape themes as well as the current framework for participation in decision-making. This chapter presents the outcomes of the documentation study. As explained in the research methodology, it draws on key government policy documents and official statistics, which are analysed together with the recommendations and critical comments from the non-state actors published online, including news reports and conference recordings. The interpretation of the documentation is assisted by critical discourse analysis to understand the various sources in the context.

### 4.2. The English statecraft

England is the largest country on the British Isles, with a population of over 56 million (Office for National Statistics, 2021). The territory has been inhabited since the Palaeolithic and underwent turbulent social and political transformations before it reached statehood in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. From the Middle Ages onwards, the once-peripheral island kingdom developed into a world-scale empire, accumulating wealth from all over the world, accompanied by extraordinary scientific and technological progress, which affirmed its role as the pioneer of industrialization and the centre of the capitalist world system.

Since the late Middle Ages, along with the expansion into the United Kingdom, England has established a representative governance model, merging the monarchy with representative institutions, such as the two-tier parliament composed of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. This mixed system, with relative modifications, continues up to date. Even though monarchy may seem somewhat archaic in the modern governance context, it is displayed as a

deeply embedded social and cultural phenomenon of Englishness. It can also be seen as a link to the former British Empire as well as the present Commonwealth states<sup>13</sup>. The rights to representation had been limited to the wealthier segment of society until universal suffrage was achieved in a series of incremental steps from 1832 to 1928 when women and men, regardless of their property situation, were allowed to vote (The National Archives, 2022).

The House of Commons and the local governments are elected with the first-past-the-post system (FPTP), a plurality voting system where a candidate with the most votes is elected in each constituency. Since the 1990s, a number of changes have been implemented aiming to modernize the system. For example, the number of hereditary peers in the House of Lords was significantly reduced, the fixed 5-year term was established for the parliament, etc. (UK Parliament, no date).

The executive government is composed of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, made up of senior members of the government, ministerial and non-ministerial government departments, executive agencies and civil services. The overview of the national institutional framework for heritage and landscapes is given in the sections below.

The complex judiciary system is another crucial component of the governance network. The system is particularly interesting for its specialised courts, such as the Planning Court, which is set up to consider specific administrative issues. The Planning Court provides judiciary review of planning decisions, including planning permissions and development consents, rights of way, as well as decisions under environmental legislation.

#### 4.2.1. Local governance

Local government in England is devolved into two main levels of authority: county/metropolitan county and districts/boroughs. In certain instances, the government is delivered by councils at both levels, with responsibilities divided between the two. In other cases, mostly in urban areas

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<sup>13</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica defines Commonwealth as an association of sovereign states, formerly (1931-1949) British Commonwealth of Nations, which is comprised of the United Kingdom and a number of its former dependencies, who have chosen to maintain cooperation and acknowledge the British monarch as symbolic head of their association (Zeidan, 2023).

and *Shires*,<sup>14</sup> there are single-tier or unitary authorities. At the lowest level, there are civil parishes with elected councils, although with a minor budget and responsibilities. The pattern of local government is complex, with varying functions depending on local arrangements. Councils make and carry out decisions on local services, including education, waste collection and disposal, housing, strategic and spatial planning and building permits. They also collect local taxes such as the Council Tax and Business Rates. Parish councils oversee a small number of local public services, such as allotments, public parks, etc. and have a consultative role in planning.

The main funding sources of the local governments in England are the government grants, distributed by the Department of Levelling Up, Housing and Communities and revenues from local property taxes from individuals (Council Tax) and businesses (Business Rates). However, only about 50% of the Business Rates remain in the Council budget. Overall, local governments in England collect only a small share of 7%-8% of all taxes (Paun and Cheung, 2018). As the tax revenues are insufficient to provide public services, which have increasingly been devolved to them from the national government, local councils heavily depend on central government funding.

The government hierarchy in England is complemented by regional administrations, which mostly serve statistical, economic planning, defence and other administrative purposes. The number and mandate of regional bodies have changed several times. The most recent initiative in the 1990s to consolidate administrative functions for economic development at the regional level included the establishment of regional government offices in 1994 and Regional Chambers and Regional Development Agencies (RDA) in 1998. The Chambers were constituted by the elected representatives of county and district councils, which mainly channelled opinions to the RDAs and acted as mediators between stakeholders. One of their important mandates handed over from the county councils was the mandate to develop spatial planning and transport strategies and thus harmonise spatial development at the regional scale.

These trends at the regional level also sparked initiatives for the consolidation of political power regionally. Along with the devolution of political powers to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland,

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<sup>14</sup> Historically a unit of administrative division in Britain, according to the definition by the Encyclopedia Britannica, *shire* was replaced by the the French term *county* after the Norman conquest, though continued in popular use and lasted in many official county names till today (Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2000).

there was an attempt to devolve the governance in England by introducing directly elected regional assemblies. However, the initiative was suspended at the very early stage following the rejection of the idea by the North East region in the referendum of 2004. The trend for the political and administrative power consolidation at the regional level was over with the change of political landscape in the country in 2010 and the preference of the coalition government towards the neoliberal small-state concept with a new Localist makeover. The Localism policy, enacted by the Localism Act 2011, implied the delegation of authorities from national to local governments in many areas previously handled at the national and regional levels (DCLG, 2011; Wills, 2016). This approach implied the dissolution of the regional assemblies in 2011. The nine regions have formally been retained till today, mainly for statistical purposes. However, the regions remain a platform for voluntary coordination and collaboration on cross-county issues among local government leaders.

Promising slogans like ‘Power to people’ and ‘Big Society’ and decentralization of functions to local governments were accompanied by a considerable decrease in national government grants. Since 2011, local governments in England have seen 38% of government funding cuts (Atkins and Hoddinott, 2020). Increased responsibilities and reduced budgets resulted in a far greater deterioration of local governance structures, increasing inequality and poverty and reducing access to decision-making than before (Caplan, 2016; Jones, 2016; Savage *et al.*, 2013). These trends of government policies and aspirations for change to more localized governance were also reflected in the political decision to leave the European Union, supported by the narrow majority referendum vote, that has pushed a wave of policy and regulation transformations in all sectors.

Since the last few years, the trend for regional devolution has been re-emerging in British politics. The negotiations have been ongoing with the local government authorities across the country to unleash the ‘devolution revolution’<sup>15</sup> through an ambitious levelling-up programme presented by the government in 2022. The UK government strives to overcome regional disparities and

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<sup>15</sup> The devolution of political powers in England as presented by the RT Hon Chancellor George Osborn in 2015. The ‘devolution revolution’ was described as promoting growth and prosperity across the country, promising local governments to retain 100 per cent of local taxes by the end of the Parliament term (HM Treasury, 2015). The public criticism of the proposed devolution highlighted its top-down character (Easton, 2015). The academic research pointed to the gap between political rhetoric and reality, although admitting the perspectives for changing core-periphery relations (Ayres, Flinders and Sandford, 2018).

stimulate economic growth by providing infrastructure and funding while handing decision-making authority to regional Mayoral Combined Authorities (DLUHC, 2022a). While the outcomes of this process are yet to be seen in the forthcoming years, the experience of the last decade and the lack of transparency in decision-making (Transparency International UK, 2021) suggest that society should remain vigilant and politically active to obtain promised benefits (Ayres, Flinders and Sandford, 2018; Giovanni and Griggs, 2022; Hazeldine, 2022; Paun *et al.*, 2022).

#### 4.2.2. Citizens in governance

There are several different election systems in the UK at national and local levels. The most important ones to achieve public representation in governance are those used for the election of the parliament and local governments. The House of Commons, as well as the local councils in England, are elected with the FPTP system. The most common arguments against this system are that it tends to eliminate smaller parties from the political scene, effectively creating a two-party system and that the system does not reflect the actual preference of the majority of the population (Curtice, 2010; Prosser, 2018). It is not uncommon that voters are bound to vote either for the party they do not like or for the candidate they do not like. Therefore, they vote tactically, making strategic choices which may not correspond to their genuine preference. Despite these critical factors, many democratic states use the system for presidential or legislative elections. Some arguments in favour of the FPTP are that it best suits local preferences, even if it does not reflect the cumulative national preference. With this, the FPTP logically transcends into the Localism policy of the UK's government with its avowed aspiration of placing people in the lead in shaping their living environment.

An important aspect which impacts political representation is the division of constituencies. The boundaries of constituencies for local and national governments are delineated in a manner to ensure the same voting powers for all voters. The Boundary Commission for England is a non-departmental public body reviewing the boundaries of parliamentary constituencies for each election cycle. A similar public body is in charge of local government constituency boundary reviews. The recent attempts included the standardization of electoral units and the use of computational methods in redrawing the boundaries. However, it is argued that the outcomes of

the boundary reviews may not always be neutral, and parties may take advantage of the process, increasing their representation in the parliament or local councils (Johnston, 2015).

#### 4.2.3. Economic drivers

The UK's economy has been among the largest in the world. The country has transformed itself from a predominantly industry-oriented to a service-oriented economy as a result of the slow, long-term decline followed by radical deindustrialization in the 1980s. By 2021, the service sector accounted for 80% of the GVA (Hutton, 2023), although these activities have been traditionally concentrated in the capital and major urban areas (Hutton, 2023; Savage, 2015). Agriculture has been the smallest economic sector, although it has accounted for the management of over 70% of the country's landscapes (DEFRA, 2022a). These facts are important to understand the impact of the changing economy on land use, landscapes and the historic environment in general.

Despite the economic recession induced by Brexit and Covid-19 pandemic in recent years, the priority of the government has remained in the tertiary and quaternary sectors of the economy, namely in supporting innovation and placing science and technologies at the heart of the national economy (DLUHC, 2022b). While such a strategic drift from traditional industries may have relieved the pressure on the environment, it has posed new challenges to landscape and heritage, including the question of the reuse of former industrial properties and brownfields, re-wilding the historically farmed landscapes, the environmental impact of the new industries, etc.

The geographic distribution of employment is another important factor for consideration. Urban areas have attracted much of the labour force due to the high concentration of capital and service jobs. Therefore, the pressure has been very high on certain densely populated cities, as a result of which property prices increase and render neighbourhoods and regions more attractive and exclusive. At the same time, small settlements and towns in the peripheries, especially in relatively poorer regions, lacking investments and jobs, have been drained from the workforce, further exacerbating the deprivation and despair (Savage, 2015). An imbalance in job distribution has rendered some places derelict while concentrating excess development pressure on others. Both scenarios seem to negatively affect the "landscape-as-heritage" in the long term.

The national statistics indicate that the South-East of England is the wealthiest of all regions, with a median household total wealth of over twice the amount of wealth in households in the North-West (Office for National Statistics, 2018). Such differences may serve as important indicators in the “landscape-as-heritage” planning and management. The social stratification of the local communities and their economic aspirations, the situation of local job markets and employment opportunities, condition different interests and levels of involvement in culture and environment (Miles, 2013; Savage, 2015).

On the other hand, landscape, culture, heritage and environment are believed to support the creation of high-quality jobs in a variety of sectors and have been actively promoted by the government as drivers for local economic development (Historic England, 2020). Investments in Heritage Action Zones, the revitalization of historic high streets, and the reuse and rehabilitation of historic buildings and landscapes have been part of the large-scale government spending program, which considers culture and the historic environment as part of the national economy.

#### 4.2.4. Land(scape) ownership

In England, the private rights to land have historically been strong. Most of the country’s territory is privately owned, and the minority of large private landowners and corporations seem to own about a third of the land (Shrubsole, 2020). The state and the local councils possess only a portion of land, which has been significantly reduced through the waves of privatization of public assets since the 1980s. The town and country planning, in a way, emerged out of the need to reconcile those private property-owning interests (ownership, easements and covenants) with public interests of various types, for example, the rights of way. The patterns of land ownership and its dynamics provide invaluable information for pinpointing undercurrents in spatial planning, environment, landscape and heritage preservation, and local economic development. The private ownership seems to condition the government to rely on an incentive-based rather than restrictive approach in land use and development and in heritage and landscape preservation. Furthermore, land and property, as taxable assets, provide income for the public budget<sup>16</sup>. The

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<sup>16</sup> In England, it is the HM treasury which receives income from property taxes.

trajectories of these flows could significantly influence power relations and have always been contested and argued between national and local governments<sup>17</sup>.

The local governments and state organizations have been encouraged to release land and assets to reduce public spending and hand over the public service provision to the private sector and local communities. The government funding for the maintenance and re-development of public assets has continued to shrink. Despite these trends, national government, public bodies, as well as local governments have remained vital actors who can release public land for housing and important infrastructure projects and drive a large-scale change throughout landscapes with nationwide or local plans (The Infrastructure and Projects Authority, 2016). Also, they have been the key to negotiating and setting planning regulations for land use and development and statutory restrictions, including those for nature and heritage preservation.

### 4.3. Concepts and tools for heritage and landscape in England

#### 4.3.1. Historical background

Landscape as a distinct unit of the environment has long appeared in English literature, rights movements and policy narratives as a common good and a subject of public enjoinment. Imbued with the romantic image of the English countryside, in response to industrialization and urbanization, the demand for access to the countryside grew significantly by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Oosthoek, 2015; Trentman, 1994). However, due to the predominantly private land ownership and the hereditary powers of landowners exercised at all levels of governance, access to the countryside has been restricted for the general public. The first proposal for the legal provision of the historically common right to roam the countryside was put forward in 1884. However, it was not until the end of World War II and the change of government that a legal and institutional system for the protection and enjoyment of the natural environment was established. National parks were designated for the protection of nature and for providing managed public access for recreational purposes. The freedom to roam and right of way, which enable accessing some types

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<sup>17</sup> See for example the discussion in the previous section about the Business Rates collected by local government, which was promised to be retained in the local budgets but still at the time of the research the retained share has not exceeded 50%.

of public and private land in the countryside (down and moorland, heathland and coastal areas), whether through designated paths or freely, were introduced as legal rights only by 2000. Still, only about 8% of the land is accessible under this provision, and the campaign is ongoing to extend public access to the countryside, rivers and coasts of England (Right to Roam, no date).

Landscapes, seen predominantly as natural areas, have traditionally been part of the environmental policies, acts and institutional system in England. But it must be noted that the scenic beauty and restful quietude were conceived together with the landscapes' historical and archaeological interest and botanical and geological values. “Natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage” were set together already from the first set of policies and legal acts (*National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act*, 1949). Together with conservation, the objectives for enhancement, public access and enjoyment were made part of the duties of the responsible government authorities. Later, such a holistic vision found its way into the legal framework that joined landscape and heritage into an all-embracing concept of the historic environment. This concept transcends the sectoral silos as well as the divide between historically valuable and everyday landscapes. A similar vision can be found in the most advanced European and international policies, such as the European Landscape Convention.

The evolution of the concept of cultural heritage in England, to a great extent, also finds its roots in the Romantic Age. The ruins of the past creations embedded in the landscape were acknowledged to be protected, conserved and admired (Ruskin, 1849). Similar to the access to the countryside and nature preservation movements, the conservation movement in England got formalized by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century through the creation of the first conservation societies and charities. Organizations, like the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), the National Trust, the Society for the Protection of Birds, the Lake District Association, etc., have played a significant role in shaping an understanding of landscape and heritage values and establishment of the institutional and policy frameworks<sup>18</sup>. They have also leveraged funding for the conservation and research of important heritage and landscape assets and campaigned to increase public support for landscape and heritage preservation (Hernick *et al.*, 2017).

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<sup>18</sup> The first legal act for protection of ancient buildings was passed by the UK parliament in 1882.

These public movements, even representing more privileged segments of society, characterise the English landscape and heritage governance system as traditionally driven by public initiatives. The National Parks are perhaps the most tangible direct outcome of such efforts in terms of the preservation of the historic environment. The popular demand for the establishment of national parks, including radical actions such as the mass trespass of Kinder Scout in 1932 organized by the Young Communist League<sup>19</sup>, convinced the government to study the subject and eventually adopt the necessary legislative base in the late 1940s (Mair and Delafons, 2001; Ooesthoek, 2015). Similar to other public campaigns for cultural and natural heritage preservation, the campaign for the protection and enhancement of national parks still continues today. These non-state actors have acted as a lobby for landscape and heritage and played an important role in forming public attitudes and perceptions of heritage as a valuable component of social and cultural capital.

#### 4.3.2. National Parks: where landscape and heritage meet

The National Parks are the earliest of the legal and institutional mechanisms in England which serve the purpose of preservation of natural and cultural heritage, enhancing natural beauty, as well as for providing recreational opportunities for the public. Back in 1949, National Parks and Access to Countryside Act was the long-awaited government response to the decades-long demands from society for nature preservation and access to the countryside. The aims set out in the Act of Parliament sound strikingly modern and up-to-date, considering current trends for amalgamation of natural and cultural heritage into the more holistic landscape approaches, aligning preservation with sustainable resource utilization and public benefit.

In practice, the National Parks became independent authorities to fulfil their mission only in the late 1990s. The designation of the first National Parks took almost a decade. Seven out of ten National Parks in England were established in the 1950s<sup>20</sup>. Until the 1970s, they were managed by joint (in the case of transboundary) or single committees of the local authority representatives. Only since 1972 the National Parks have been equipped with some staff headed by appointed chief

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<sup>19</sup> Kinder Scout mass trespass is celebrated as a key momentum on the way to establishment of national parks in the UK. More information on the campaign for access to countryside and the Kinder Scout trespass can be found in Stephenson, 1989 and Hey, 2011.

<sup>20</sup> The most recent designation took place in 2010.

executives and tailored instruments such as management plans. Finally, the Environment Act of 1995 designated the National Parks as special-purpose local authorities with planning powers. Still, unlike the conventional local government bodies, the National Park boards are not elected by the local population. Instead, the managing boards are comprised of a diversity of local stakeholders, including the elected councillors of respective counties and districts.

*Table 9: The National Parks in England.*

Title	Year	Area km2	Population <sup>21</sup>
Lake District	1951	2292	40 284
Dartmoor	1951	953	34 787
Peak District	1951	1437	36 878
North York Moors	1952	1434	23 135
Exmoor	1954	694	10 284
Yorkshire Dales	1954	1769	23 711
Northumberland	1956	1049	1 959
Norfolk Broads	1989	303	6 573
New Forest	2005	570	35 459
South Downs	2010	1627	118 351

As of today, the ten National Parks in England cover 9.3% of the territory of the country (National Parks UK, 2023). However, as the most recent review reveals, despite decades-long development, there are still many deficiencies in their management and operation (DEFRA, 2019). The review highlights the lack of power of the National Park authorities to face the environmental challenges and calls for ambitious reform to enable a more holistic nationwide action and strong political influence at the national government level.

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<sup>21</sup> Office for National Statistics mid-2020 population estimates, (Office for National Statistics, 2021a)

It is important to note that due to the overwhelming private land ownership, the National Parks are heavily reliant on the goodwill of landowners to implement voluntary estate management plans to conserve the landscapes in their control. Most frequently, the needs of the landowners – whether that’s farming, forestry, mining or hunting – and nature conservation needs are conflicting. As some critics comment, the intensive management of agricultural land has by far the largest negative impact on nature across all habitats and species (RSPB, 2016). The situation is still more challenging due to the over-representation of the landowner’s interests in the National Park governing bodies. The governing members with land or farming interests received almost £1.3 million in farm subsidies in 2017. Hence, the critics point out that only 26% of Sites of Special Scientific interest by area within National Parks are in favourable condition, compared with 43.5% of those outside National Park boundaries (Shrubsole, 2019).

On the other hand, the formal evaluation of the performance of national parks implemented in 2010-2012 pointed to a good performance of national parks across a range of statutory functions. While conservation is not among the highest ranking, excellent performance is admitted in community engagement (Austin, Garrod and Thompson, 2016). The emphasis on service delivery, community engagement and local partnerships has been streamlined as a major policy since the 1990s (Austin and Garrod, 2018). Traditionally, due to the specific historical conditions of their establishment, public access and enjoyment have been a special focus of the National Park Authority’s tasks. However, the increased number of visitors and substantially altered nature of visitation, along with the widespread use of motorized vehicles, have led to a very different experience of the countryside than that of the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century ramblers (Kelly, 2015).

The so-called Sandford principle, laid down by the National Parks Policy Review Committee in 1974, originated from this very challenge of reconciling nature preservation and public enjoyment. It has set the limit to public enjoyment, allowing National Park authorities to decide in favour of conservation as a priority whenever the “irreconcilable conflict exists between conservation and public enjoyment” (National Park Policies Review Committee, 1974). Still, today, the decrease in biodiversity and the need for better nature conservation are highlighted by many state and non-state actors (Campaign for National Parks, 2018; RSPB, 2016). Whether the establishment of a National Landscape Service, as suggested by the Glover Review (DEFRA, 2019), can be a solution

to champion the National Parks conservation mission is yet to be scrutinized. Meanwhile, National Parks remain struggling for better outcomes with the existing skills and tools. These specific issues are the subject of a more in-depth inquiry of this research through interviews with the representatives of the landscape and heritage governance actors, including the representatives of the Northumberland and South Downs National Parks, selected for context sampling as maximum variation cases.

*Table 10: Key characteristics of the Northumberland and South Downs National Parks.*

	Northumberland National Park	South Downs National Park
Designation year	1956	2010
Area km <sup>2</sup>	1049	1627
Population estimate (ONS,2021)	1959	118351
Density	2 persons/km <sup>2</sup>	72 persons/km <sup>2</sup>
Listed buildings	229	<u>5203</u> <sup>22</sup>
Scheduled monuments	425	<u>575</u> <sup>23</sup>
Historic Environment Records	4000	Summary not available
Other designations	1 Conservation Area 6 Special Conservation Areas 3 National Nature Reserves 2 National Trails 31 Sites of Special Scientific Interest	166 Conservation Areas 1 Heritage Coast 29 registered historic parks and gardens 13 European Wildlife Sites
World Heritage	1 Hadrians Wall WHS	0
<u>Visitor days per year</u> <sup>24</sup> (mln)	1.7	39
Staff	More than 60	More than 120
Annual government grant (mln)	2.6 <sup>25</sup>	10.496 <sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> SDNPA, 2020

<sup>23</sup> SDNPA, 2018

<sup>24</sup> Data as of October 2014, available from the National Parks UK website.

<sup>25</sup> Lonsdale, 2022

<sup>26</sup> Beattie, 2022

Other funding collected in National Park Trusts (2021-2022) <sup>27</sup>	346 857	873 407
Local Plan	Adopted in 2020	Adopted in 2019
Neighbourhood Development Plan	2 adopted 4 pending	More than 50 adopted <sup>28</sup>
(Partnership) Management plan	Adopted for 2016-2021	Adopted for 2020-2025

A brief overview presented in Table 10 highlights some contrasting features of these two national park authorities in terms of their population density, the diversity and richness of cultural and natural heritage, varied funding and staffing levels and patterns of visitation. Historically, the more densely populated South Downs region has been more affluent in cultural heritage. However, it lacks outstanding world-scale attractions similar to the NNPA's Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site. In contrast, NNPA has been a predominantly natural landscape with only two persons per square kilometre. These sociospatial differences have conditioned different patterns of visitation and management practices in these parks. The proximity to the densely populated urban centres may be a factor for the high visitation rates to the SDNPA. At the same time, the high population density inside the park provides for vibrant local communities actively engaged in local planning, which is demonstrated by the high number of adopted Neighbourhood Plans (SDNPA, 2023). High population density can also be a factor for higher donation rates to the SDNPA trust, while the NNPA trust has been struggling to make ends meet, with expenditures well beyond the income rates (The Charity Commission for England and Wales, 2022a). The difference in the government grants to these parks results from the government funding formula. However, it is admitted that the funding is still insufficient to implement statutory duties, especially in the case of NNPA, which receives the least of all national parks in England. The difference in funding can be one of the reasons for the difference in staffing levels. Despite the funding and staffing challenges, the NNPA has the management and planning tools in place and updated.

The review of the documentary data highlights the lack of a consolidated data source about the national parks with all facts and figures. The UK National Parks website provides a learning

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<sup>27</sup> The Charity Commission for England and Wales, 2022

<sup>28</sup> SDNPA, 2023a

resource fact sheet with somewhat outdated information (e.g., the most recent data is from 2014 and 2016). Updated information is scattered across online repositories and webpages of different organizations, and even simple statistical information, such as the area and the population density, differs in various sources, is outdated or is not readily available (e.g., budget, staff, etc.).

#### 4.3.3. Landscape and heritage across governance scales and sectors

National Parks operate within a complex system of government administration, where the ministerial and non-ministerial departments are the highest-ranking national bodies in charge of policy development and control. Under their umbrella, the subordinate agencies are mandated with various tasks for policy implementation and the provision of services.

The main national authorities to oversee the heritage, landscape and territorial development in England are the Department for Environment, Forestry and Rural Affairs (DEFRA), the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and the Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (DLUHC). These departments work with the Houses of Parliament and a range of statutory actors on policy development and implement it with the help of about 100 subordinate agencies and public bodies. They also assist local authorities with national government grants as well as expertise in the implementation of their statutory duties with regard to heritage and landscapes.

The following sections of this chapter present a more detailed overview of the duties of national and local actors and an overview of the key policy in the environment, culture and planning sectors.

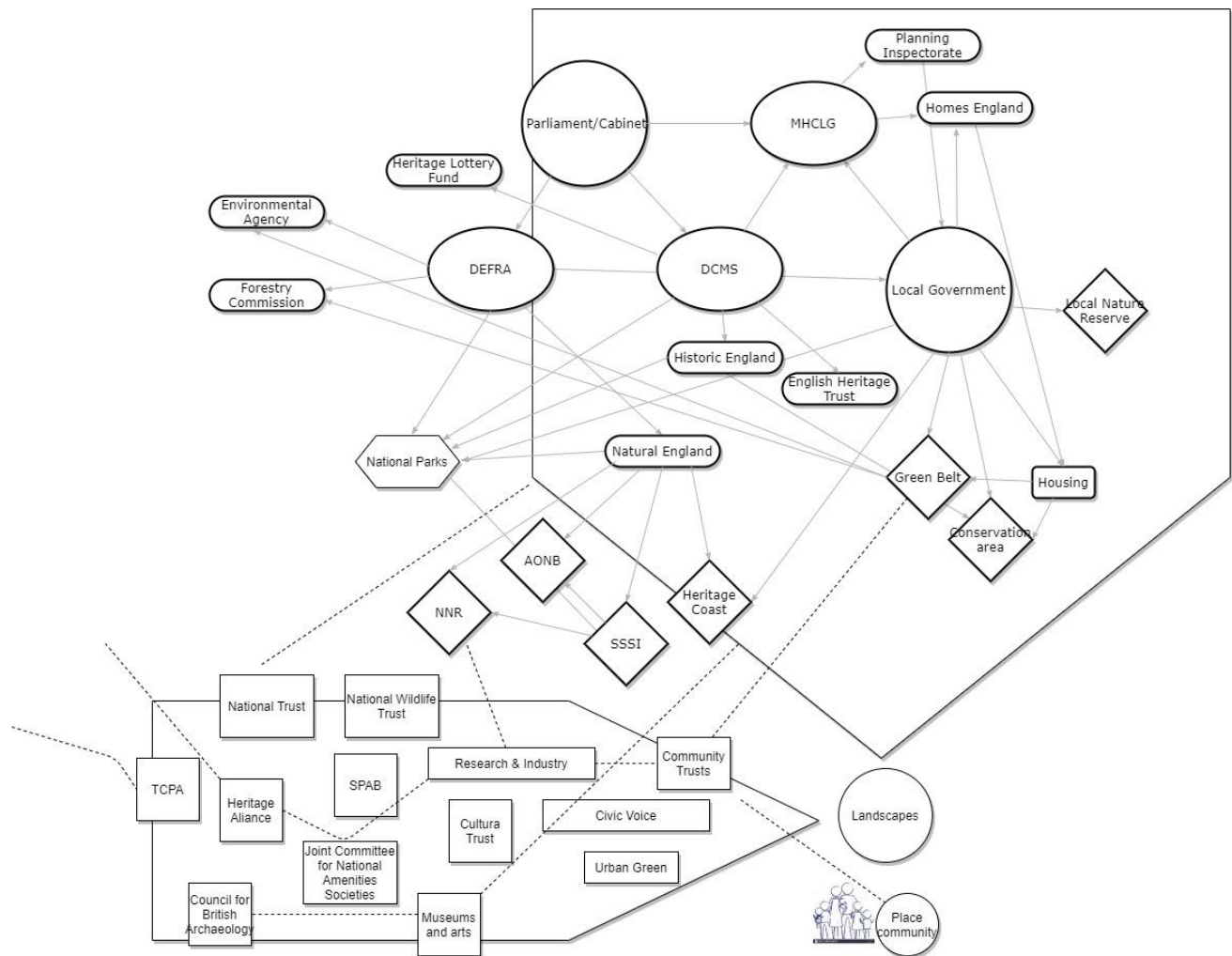


Figure 7. The state and non-state actors in landscape and heritage governance in England.

#### 4.4. Nature and environment: 'landscape-as-heritage'

##### 4.4.1. Institutional actors: the DEFRA group

DEFRA is a ministerial department responsible for several policy areas ranging from environmental protection, prevention of environmental hazards, and land management to supporting the rural economy and ensuring biosecurity. Some of DEFRA's key responsibilities include developing policies to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and adapt to the impacts of climate change, managing natural resources such as forests and water, and enforcing environmental regulations related to air and water quality, waste management, and biodiversity. Among the priorities, the safeguarding of the environment is at the top, which incorporates a broad understanding of the environment, including its natural and cultural perspectives. Such a broad definition allows the integration of many different economic activities, above all forestry and agriculture, as components of the environment, which are essential for the well-being of society as a whole and the local communities in particular (DEFRA, 2016).

DEFRA operates according to the Departmental Plan and policy documents such as the 25-Year Environmental Plan (DEFRA, 2018). The Plan sets the targets and indicators for the sectors of the DEFRA group alongside the Industrial Strategy and Clean Growth Strategy of the government. The department is governed by the Board of Ministers and employs over 22 thousand employees, including its core and the 33 agencies and public bodies under its umbrella.

DEFRA is the main government actor with regard to landscapes, providing the policy framework for landscape characterization and overseeing the National Parks and AONBs, which are the key agents for environmental and landscape protection, including historical landscapes. Thus, the historic environment at large falls under the mandate of DEFRA, even though the heritage as such is the domain of the DCMS.

DEFRA's three most important agencies, which have the largest share of responsibility for landscapes, are Natural England, the Environment Agency and the Forestry Commission.

## *Natural England*

Natural England was established by the Natural Environment and Rural Communities Act of 2006 as an executive non-departmental public body. It incorporated the functions of three different predecessor public bodies: the Countryside Agency (statutory non-departmental body overseeing rural environment, access to countryside and recreation, providing incentives for balanced rural social-economic development); the Rural Development Service (in charge of the Rural Development Program in England) and English Nature (government non-departmental agency dedicated to wildlife, biodiversity and geodiversity conservation, providing grants and issuing licenses, which also incorporated the English duties of the Nature Conservancy Council, formerly responsible for the nature conservation issues in the whole Great Britain and dissolved into national units in 1990).

Natural England is entitled to designate nature protection areas, such as the Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) and Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI), define Ancient Woodlands, manage certain National Nature Reserves (NNR)<sup>29</sup>, oversee access to the countryside and other recreation rights, issue licences for wildlife management and grants for enhancement and conservation of the natural environment. The organization has 12 regional offices and about 2000-person staff. In line with DEFRA priorities, the aims and objectives set for 2020-2025 include the formation of nature recovery networks across land and sea, better connectivity of people to the natural environment, nature-based solutions to the climate challenge and the improvement of natural capital for sustainable economic growth (Natural England, 2022). The Nature Recovery Strategies, Biodiversity Net Gain approach and other policy tools and incentives are employed to assist in achieving these objectives in partnership with a wide array of partners, among them Local Nature Partnerships, Catchment Partnerships, Local Enterprise Partnerships and other collaborative platforms.

Access to the landscapes remains a priority for Natural England through designating national paths, building coastal paths, identifying rights of ways, etc. The role of the statutory advisor in

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<sup>29</sup> There are 224 NNRs in England of 94000 ha designated for preservation of wildlife and restoration of wider ecosystems. Managed or co-managed by the Natural England and the designated bodies.

the planning system also makes it an actor in mitigating conflict between nature and the built environment, promoting sustainable development and green infrastructure.

Natural England also provides mandatory advice for dispatching subsidies under the Rural Development Program for the Countryside and Environmental Stewardship and other funding Schemes from the Rural Payments Agency of the DEFRA. While these schemes are predominately focused on nature, the restoration of historic buildings can also be funded in some circumstances.

### *Environment Agency*

Since its establishment in 1996, the Environment Agency has held a mandate to protect and improve the environment, with a particular focus on major industries and waste, treatment of contaminated land, improving water quality and managing water resources, managing fisheries, the inland river, estuary and harbour navigation as well as floods. Within its mandate, the Agency delivers a broad range of services, from collecting environmental taxes (e.g. Climate Change Levy, Carbon Price Support Rate, Landfill Tax) to providing reliefs and funding schemes (e.g. for energy efficient homes), licenses (fishing, boating, etc.), granting environmental permits (for waste disposal, etc.), regulating oil and nuclear industry, marine licenses and planning, supporting environmentally friendly farming (e.g. catchment sensitive farming), preventing and fighting the spread of invasive species, etc. The Agency has 10,600 employees across its head offices and 14 regional branches in England. Similar to Natural England, the Environment Agency provides planning advice to local authorities, communities and businesses in certain circumstances, such as land in flood zones, hazardous sites, waterbodies identified in river basin management plans, main rivers, groundwater and water quality, contaminated land ([Environment Agency, 2018](#)).

### *Forestry Commission*

One of the oldest institutions of the DEFRA group is the Forestry Commission, which manages publicly owned forests and regulates public and private forestry. Initially established in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Forestry Commission has grown into one of the largest landowners by acquiring rural land for re-forestation (3/4 of its forests, however, are located in Scotland). The Commission is supported by two executive agencies - Forestry England, which manages the public forests and timber production and Forest Research. The Commission adopts responsibility for improving

biodiversity across England's forests as well as for public access to forests for recreation, creating trails, camping sites and other holiday and leisure destinations. Balancing between profit-making and public service has not always been easy and successful. Since the 1980s, there have been recurring attempts by the government to privatize this national industry, and the legal grounds were prepared for the sale of the Commission's land through the Forestry Act (1981); however, as a result of the public protests, the Plan has not been realized, although the process is still ongoing (Jenkins, 2018).

In recent years, the Forestry Commission has introduced new initiatives aimed at promoting sustainable forest management and expanding forested areas in England. For example, the Commission has launched the England Woodland Creation Offer, which provides financial incentives for landowners to plant new forests and woodlands (Forestry Commission, 2021). The government's financial support to the private sector for sustainable woodland management and reforestation is distributed by the Rural Payments Agency upon the advice of the Forestry Commission.

Similar to other DEFRA bodies, the Forestry Commission also has a role to play in protecting and promoting the historic environment in England. The Commission manages a number of historic landscapes and sites within the forests and woodlands it oversees, including ancient woodland and historic parkland. The Commission also works with heritage organizations and local communities to protect and promote the historic environment in forested areas.

### *Designated bodies for nature and environment preservation*

The environmental protection system in England includes several designation tools which complement the system of national parks in the task of preserving and enhancing natural environment. The AONBs, SSSIs, National and Local Nature Reserves, and Heritage Coasts have been introduced in different periods and together account for the varied degree of preservation of about 26% of the country (RSPB, 2021). Some of these designations, such as AONBs, are predominantly focused on landscapes and natural beauty, while others, like SSSIs, are explicitly dedicated to the conservation of wildlife and the natural environment, including ancient woodland and trees. Preservation of cultural heritage is among the priorities for heritage coasts, although it

also provides for the conservation of wildlife and scenic view. All of these areas consider the economic and social needs of the communities and provide access to nature for recreation. Developments are controlled through national planning policy and secondary legislation, including Local Plans, which must have a special regard for the objectives defined by these designations (Butler, 2018).

*Table 11. Key Landscape and Heritage Protection Areas in England.*

	Legal enactment	Number	Focus	Management	Decision-making mandate
National Parks	<i>National Parks and Access to Countryside Act 1949</i>	10	Nature, cultural heritage conservation and public enjoyment, sustainable development	National Parks authorities	Full planning powers
AONB	<i>National Parks and Access to Countryside Act 1949 and Countryside and Right of Way Act 2000</i>	34	Natural beauty and landscapes, public enjoyment	AONB partnership board and Natural England	Local authorities, non-statutory advice from the AONB board
NNR	<i>National Parks and Access to Countryside Act 1949</i>	224	Nature conservation, public enjoyment	Natural England and other designated bodies	Natural England, other designated bodies, statutory advice from Natural England
LNR	<i>National Parks and Access to Countryside Act 1949</i>	Over 1500	Nature conservation, public enjoyment	Local authorities, designated bodies	Local authorities
SSSI	<i>Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981</i>	Over 4100	Nature conservation	No specific management body	Local authorities, statutory advice from Natural England
Heritage Coasts	<i>Countryside and Right of Way Act 2000</i>	32	Integrated nature, cultural heritage and landscapes	Natural England, local authorities and other non-state actors	Local authorities, statutory advice from Natural England

Other tools which provide for nature and landscape conservation are the special designations under the European Union law or UNESCO conventions, as well as local designations such as Green Belts, Country Parks, Village Greens and Commons<sup>30</sup>. Specific instruments and regulations apply to seascapes and marine preservation.

### *Non-state actors*

Apart from government organizations, there are several non-state actors operating in the field of environment in England, which play a crucial role in developing and implementing environmental policies, including the historic environment. They are also vital for enabling public participation in environmental governance and access of communities to various levels of decision-making. For example, the organizations such as Woodland Trust are actively engaged in the creation and management of Community Forests, which are large-scale environmental initiatives seen as important examples of partnership working and community engagement in environmental management.

#### 4.4.2. The policy and funding for the environment

The UK government has committed to achieving Net Zero emissions by 2050, set by the Climate Change Act 2008 and amended in 2021. Critics, however, argue that the policies and regulations in place are not sufficient to achieve this goal, particularly after Brexit and the loosening of the previously EU-regulated standards ([UKELA, 2017](#)). Experts also worry that the Environmental Act adopted in 2021 to strengthen environmental governance may weaken existing environmental regulations, especially those derived from the EU policy, making them more flexible and negotiable case by case. On the other hand, the Environmental Act sets legally binding long-term environmental targets and duties to be assisted by a new government body - the Office for Environmental Protection and an Environment Improvement Plan, which sets interim targets. The new framework complements the climate change legislative platform with enforcement functions

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<sup>30</sup> Commons are a particularly interesting form of land designation, rooted in the common ownership granted by the Magna Carta as early as 1215. They were commonly used for grazing by the local community entitled for the land. While great part of these lands were enclosed in private ownership over centuries, they still constitute about 3 % of land in England and are regulated by the Commons Act 2006. For more information see [Short, 2008](#).

delegated to the Office of Environmental Protection, which will work together with the Climate Change Committee to oversee the implementation of environmental targets. This new institutional architecture highlights an ascending hierarchy of control alongside the devolution trends mentioned in earlier sections of this chapter. While it may prove efficient for cross-sectoral integration, the question remains whether it may help balance powers among actors at the national level.

The policy framework for the environment is led by the 25-Year Environmental Plan, which projects the government's vision for environmental protection (DEFRA, 2018). It aims to deliver 'Green Brexit' through intensive nature recovery, sustainable agriculture, and improved waste and emissions control. The enhanced beauty, heritage and engagement with the natural environment are among the key objectives of the Plan to be achieved through the six key policy areas, all having a direct or indirect impact on heritage and landscapes. The progress report on the implementation of the Plan, however, highlights the fact that government falls behind in the implementation of its targets. The main strands for improvements are the alignment and coordination at all levels of governance and with better cross-sectoral engagement, updating data for evidence-driven decisions and an improved monitoring evaluation and learning framework (Office for Environmental Protection, 2023). Engaging farmers to deliver improvements is central to the success of the Plan; therefore, clearer and more accessible support mechanisms are seen as a way of moving forward (Bramley, 2022).

This complex policy framework is implemented with dedicated government funding provided through the DEFRA and the Rural Payments Agency in the form of direct programmatic funding but also via grant schemes, which encourage private actors to integrate environmental protection and care into their activities (DEFRA and Rural Payments Agency, 2021). These financial support systems are fundamental for rural England. The new environmental funding schemes such as Environmental Land Management Scheme<sup>31</sup>, the Nature for Climate Fund<sup>32</sup> and the Green Recovery

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<sup>31</sup> A new government-funded scheme designed to replace the existing Common Agricultural Policy and provide financial incentives to farmers and landowners to improve the environment, including soil health, biodiversity, and natural habitats.

<sup>32</sup> A new fund launched by the UK government in 2021 to support nature-based solutions to address climate change, support the restoration of peatlands, the creation of new woodlands, and the restoration of habitats.

Challenge Fund are established by the Government to improve the environment and access to nature, address climate change and create jobs. The concepts like Natural Capital and Biodiversity Net Gain<sup>33</sup> aim to accommodate the objectives of nature recovery within the logic of market-led development<sup>34</sup>. The incentives-based approaches are not new - the government has long subsidised landowners for sustainable agriculture, making nature preservation profitable and, this way, ensuring compliance with the set environmental objectives. However, the outcomes are debatable in various terms, as the state of nature, biodiversity and environment has continued to decline in England (DEFRA, 2018; Natural Capital Committee, 2020). The new funding schemes promise to overcome these challenges and, being results-oriented, deliver the expected improvements in achieving environmental targets.

Overall, these funding schemes and policies reflect a growing recognition of environmental challenges, the urgent need for recovery ecosystems, the sustainable use of natural resources and the long-term health of the environment. At the same time, they also incorporate cultural heritage as part of the holistic view of the environment. Most of these environmental programs and policies include measures to protect and enhance historic features and cultural heritage as they contribute to biodiversity by providing habitats for wildlife and have cultural value as sites of traditional land use and folklore. While these funding schemes and policies focus primarily on promoting natural capital and biodiversity, they recognize that cultural heritage and historic environment are important components of the natural environment and should be protected and enhanced in a sustainable manner (Natural England, 2020).

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<sup>33</sup> A new policy enforced by the Environmental Act 2021 that requires developers to deliver a 10% net gain in biodiversity on development sites. The developers must ensure that the biodiversity of a site is increased by at least 10% compared to the pre-development levels.

<sup>34</sup> The Natural Capital approach is criticized for being anthropocentric and reducing the natural environment to economic terms only. There are also practical difficulties in accurately quantifying the various benefits that ecosystems provide, ensuring equity and social justice. The emphasis on financial returns and cost-benefit analysis may encourage the exploitation of natural resources for immediate economic gain, rather than promoting sustainable practices that protect and enhance the natural environment for future generations ([Adams, 2019](#)).

## 4.5. Heritage landscapes: view from the culture sector

### 4.5.1. Institutional actors: the DCMS and its network

Driving and supporting economic growth has been the primary mission of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport<sup>35</sup> in the recent decade ([DCMS, 2021](#)). Established as a Department for National Heritage in 1992, it has ambitiously grown in its scope and mission, becoming a lead actor in developing the national economy through its contribution to digital technologies and innovation. The mandate for the digital sector has made DCMS the fastest-growing segment nationally, employing over 5.4 million people ([DCMS, 2020a](#)). The government's increasing priority on innovation and digital technologies has led to the establishment of a new special-purpose state department in 2023 that allowed streamlining the focus of the DCMS on culture, media and sport. As the reform took place at the final stage of this research, no data is available to analyse its impact on the research subject; thus, the reflections below are mainly based on the data from earlier years and estimates of the ongoing reform.

Throughout these institutional changes, the government's commitment to an inclusive economy and participation has remained visible ([DCMS, 2019; 2021](#)). Addressing inequalities in participation nationwide is among the top priority outcomes of the Department's 2021-2022 Plan. The DCMS strives to effectively deploy all its sectors to 'level up' underdeveloped areas in the country. DCMS's mission includes contributing to the cohesiveness of communities and young people through various tailored programs based on evidence and understanding of regional challenges and opportunities.

Heritage and landscapes have been woven into this framework from the outset, becoming essentially the components of tourism and creative industries, which are other significant drivers for the national economy ([DCMS, 2021](#)). To undertake its complex mandate, the DCMS is assisted by 45 agencies and public bodies, including the British Museum, the Arts Council, the National Lottery Community Fund, Historic England and the English Heritage Trust. Historic England and

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<sup>35</sup> Until February 2023 reform it was the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport.

English Heritage Trust are reviewed below as they are endorsed with the most duties in heritage and landscapes.

### *Historic England and English Heritage Trust*

The Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, commonly known as Historic England, is a DCMS subordinate public body with statutory powers for protecting and managing historic assets. Together with the English Heritage Trust, Historic England was created as a result of the government reform in 2015. These two new bodies have divided the roles of the former public executive agency – the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, commonly known as the English Heritage. Established in 1983 by the National Heritage Act, the English Heritage was one of the first pieces carved out of the central government, heralding an onset of the New Public Management approach, which has become pervasive since then. English Heritage led the national system of heritage protection, managed the state-owned historic properties and, from 1999 to 2015, also incorporated the National Monuments Record<sup>36</sup> and other functions of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME)<sup>37</sup> (Clark, 2019).

The 2015 reform divided the statutory powers and the asset management role and established the independent English Heritage Trust as a charity to operate more than 400 state-owned historic properties. Historic England, on the other hand, has inherited the mandate for research, identification, listing, de-listing<sup>38</sup> and monitoring of the cultural heritage properties and the governance of the heritage sector in general<sup>39</sup>. The so-called New Model of Management was

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<sup>36</sup> The National Buildings Record was established on a partially voluntary basis in 1940 as a survey. In 1963 was merged with the RCHME as a National Monuments Record and in 2012 was renamed the English Heritage Archive.

<sup>37</sup> government advisory body responsible for documenting buildings and monuments of archaeological, architectural and historical importance in England. established in 1908 and merged with English Heritage in 1999.

<sup>38</sup> The administration of the listed building system was transferred from DCMS to English Heritage in 2006. However, actual listing and scheduling decisions still remain the responsibility of the Secretary of State by the Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas Act 1990.

<sup>39</sup> Including the responsibility for historic wrecks and submerged landscapes, a national register of historic parks and gardens and a register for historic battlefields on which the decision is taken by the Historic England.

expected to reverse the deterioration of the national heritage and enable the charity to eventually become self-funded (English Heritage, 2014).

While Historic England plays a vital role in implementing heritage policy in England, there are some challenges to be considered, including the potential controversy between its role in the conservation and management of historic places and its advisory role in planning and development management. The balance between conservation and commercial imperatives can be challenging to achieve in different cases. It is particularly problematic given the high demand for its services, especially the advice on planning applications. The 2020 performance review highlights the recognized benefits of Historic England's involvement in the planning casework, its impartiality and third-party perspective; however, only over half of the interviewed stakeholders agree that the delivery of the advice is effective and efficient (DCMS, 2020a). Main issues emerge with the Enhanced Advisory Services to developers and owners, provided by Historic England for a fee. While this helps to reduce the challenges to applications, it raises concerns about the neutrality and accessibility of the advice, creating barriers for smaller developers. Furthermore, inaccuracies in the National Heritage List, resulting from the sheer number of listed assets and lack of regular updates, carry a risk to the planning application process and the credibility of the data.

The 'Enriching the List' project, started in 2016, has offered an innovative, cost-effective and participatory solution to the problem of updating data. The project invited and encouraged all the public to contribute to the data update, with the condition that the entries are assessed and approved by Historic England. Overall, despite the commitment to public engagement, Historic England has admitted to the need to improve the transparency of the decision-making process (DCMS, 2020a).

The English Heritage Trust has also been the subject of some criticism, even though it has been successful in many ways. It is acknowledged to have increased visitor numbers to its sites and succeeded in its educational mission of engaging with schools and communities and ensuring diversity and inclusivity in the presentation of its sites. The organization was expected to become self-funding, so revenue generation and commercial use have been prioritized. In the post-pandemic period, the organization has been particularly successful in expanding its pool of

membership and visitor numbers (Downes, 2022). However, the issues with the cost of entry to its sites are admitted to remain a potential barrier for lower-income visitors (Webster, 2021).

### *National Lottery Heritage Fund*

A key actor in the heritage sector funding has been the National Lottery Heritage Fund<sup>40</sup> - a non-departmental public body that has provided funding for heritage projects and initiatives across the country. It operates together with the National Heritage Memorial Fund, which specifically targets heritage under the risk of loss. The fund has provided financial support to a wide range of heritage projects, from the restoration of historic buildings to the creation of new heritage trails and visitor centres. It claims to have been particularly effective in supporting community-based heritage projects, promoting engagement and ensuring the preservation of local heritage assets. However, the complex and bureaucratic application process has also been seen as a barrier to smaller community initiatives to acquire funding. The wide-ranging review undertaken by the Fund to understand and address these gaps has yielded a strategic move towards more inclusive funding and operation policy, promoting access to heritage for a wide range of audiences, including people from diverse backgrounds and those with disabilities (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2022).

### *Non-state actors*

The heritage sector in England is a diverse and complex ecosystem that includes a variety of non-state actors. One of the most important is the National Trust, which manages over 500 historic properties and landscapes. The Trust plays a crucial role in preserving and promoting heritage in England, working alongside government bodies to ensure that important heritage assets are protected and made accessible to the public. While it strives to employ cutting-edge approaches to heritage, the government does not always share its views and approaches. The 2020 report on the links of some heritage properties to slavery and empire has received criticism in Parliament, followed by a formal inquiry into the Trust breaching the Charity Law (Kendal Adams, 2021). The new legal safeguards introduced by the government against the removal of historical statues and

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<sup>40</sup> Until 2019 the Heritage Lottery Fund.

plaques in 2021 (MHCLG, 2021) echo the rupture between state and non-state visions of history (Museums Association, 2020).

There are many more thematically focused or place-based civic societies and heritage groups across England that work to preserve and protect local heritage assets. These groups are vital in promoting and advocating for heritage issues, including community engagement with heritage and inclusive heritage policy. For example, the Museums Association brings together about 1800 museums and 14000 individual members across the country. Being the oldest museum organization in the world, it has a solid base to critically engage with the government's initiatives, advocating for the autonomy of the museums and cultural institutions (Museums Association, 2020). Another significant umbrella body in the heritage sector in England is the Heritage Alliance, representing the independent heritage movement in all its diversity and acting as a policy watchdog in the sector, monitoring and regularly publishing the reviews of government plans and policies which concern the heritage sector. Its role was significant in scrutinizing the proposed planning policy changes in 2019 (Heritage Alliance, 2019) and highlighting the fiscal and funding priorities in 2021 (Heritage Alliance, 2021). Generally, the mechanisms for coordinated action among the heritage non-state actors are diverse and comprehensive. Apart from the umbrella organizations mentioned, the Historic Environment Forum is another long-established high-level platform that contributes to harmonized and coordinated action in the sector and aligns objectives through a Strategic Framework for Collaborative Action (Historic Environment Forum, 2020).

#### 4.5.2. The policy and funding for culture and heritage

The cultural heritage policy in England is a complex framework encompassing a range of legislation, regulations, and guidance documents. Despite the changes and developments in the sector over the recent decades, this framework is still primarily based on the legal acts enacted in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as the Ancient Buildings and Archaeological Areas Act, 1979 and Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act, 1990<sup>41</sup>. These acts define the statutory listing and

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<sup>41</sup> The update of heritage legislation was proposed through the Heritage Protection Bill in 2008. The proposed bill was positively received although did not succeed to be finally adopted, due to its incompleteness, lack of supporting secondary legislation, lack of human resources and other issues. Some of the important arguments are provided in the joint response of the professional bodies ([RTPI et al, 2008](#)) as well as in the government response (DCMS, [2008](#))

scheduling measures<sup>42</sup> and provide for area-based protection and restrictions to development through Conservation Areas.

Conservation Areas have played a particularly important role with regard to the preservation of landscapes of special architectural or historic interest. The mandate for the designation of Conservation Areas was placed on local government in the 1960s (*Civic Amenities Act*, 1967; *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act*, 1990), although the Secretary of State also retained the power to designate a conservation area in exceptional circumstances. The National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) (MHCLG, 2021a) considers Conservation Areas to achieve well-designed places, as they allow for tighter development control<sup>43</sup>, including special protection for trees and unlisted buildings, to respect local character and appearance. Despite several reforms in the sector, much of the legal framework for the Conservation Areas still rests on the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act of 1990, amended in 2009 and 2013<sup>44</sup>. This Act defines the procedures for the designation, management and protection of conservation areas, the use of Conservation Area Appraisals to guide decision-making on planning applications, the need for Management Plans which set out policies and actions for targeted enforcement, public realm improvements, and grants for building repairs. Other legal acts and regulations, such as the Town and Country Planning (Development Management Procedure) Order 2015, set out the procedural rules for dealing with planning applications in conservation areas, while the Localism Act 2011 gives local communities more say in the development of their local areas.

A large amount of Conservation Areas in England<sup>45</sup> suggests the effectiveness of this area-based protection tool. With over 12% of England's population living in Conservation Areas, the restrictions they impose on development are regarded positively by the majority. Furthermore, the evidence gathered by the Heritage Counts Survey 2017 demonstrates the increased economic

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<sup>42</sup> The merging of these two instruments was proposed in the Heritage Protection Bill, 2008 (Hewitson, 2008).

<sup>43</sup> Local planning authorities apply a range of planning controls, including Article 4 Directions, which remove permitted development rights, and the use of planning conditions, which can place restrictions on the types of alterations that can be made to buildings within the conservation area.

<sup>44</sup> The Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Act 2013 amended the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 to remove the requirement for local planning authorities to obtain ministerial approval before making Article 4 Directions.

<sup>45</sup> Historic England's website informs that by 2020 there were over 10 000 Conservation Areas in England.

performance and well-being standards in these areas (Historic England, 2017). Even though designation does not directly imply any major financial investment, the public connection with places creates a strong desire to protect and care for these places (National Trust, 2017).

While the Conservation Areas have been highly popular, there has also been a respective rise in market values and gentrification of these areas. For example, house prices in 2016 were, on average, 50% higher in town centre conservation areas compared to matched non-conservation areas, 33% higher in urban residential conservation areas, and 22% higher in rural conservation areas relative to comparable non-conservation areas (Historic England, 2018). On the positive side, conservation areas are believed to enhance the character of historic places and create a sense of community pride and identity.

Overall, the Conservation Area approach can be regarded as a predecessor to the place-based approaches at the turn of the millennium, spearheaded by English Heritage (English Heritage, 2000; Clark, 2019). The Places Strategy, adopted by Historic England in 2018, builds on this experience, taking it to a new level of inclusive place-making and sustainable growth (Historic England, 2018).

The policy and legal framework do not provide specific provisions regarding broader historic landscapes, although the historic battlefields, parks and gardens may be registered, which is a non-statutory protection mechanism. Specific legislation regulates the protection of underwater archaeology and enables the designation of protected zones around important shipwrecks.

The lack of statutory protection for wider historic landscapes has been assisted with overarching policy for the historic environment provided by the NPPF, which recognises the importance and emphasises the need to protect and enhance the special character and beauty of the countryside, historic buildings and landscapes. In this context, complex spatial information systems merit special attention. The Historic Landscape Characterization (HLC) programme spearheaded since the 1990s has assembled a pool of wide-ranging spatial and historical information for decision-making, including the ‘time-depth’ – the layers of historical data. The HLC can be seen as a landscape-scale equivalent to Historic Environment Record (HER), which is an information system containing data on designated and registered heritage assets. The HLC has contributed to and

developed in line with the European and global trends<sup>46</sup> towards more integrated approaches to heritage conservation, understanding that ‘red lines’ around parts of the historic places provide unequal opportunities and unsustainable solutions (Clark, Darlington and Fairclough, 2004). Similar thinking on the part of nature preservation has led to the adoption of the Landscape Character Assessment as a primary instrument for landscape decision-making (Tudor, 2014). Both of these instruments form part of the national effort to understand the qualities and potential contribution of diverse landscapes to the population's well-being and local socio-economic development.

The documentation review illustrates the shift towards place-based and value-led heritage policies in recent decades. The Conservation Principles by English Heritage (English Heritage, 2008) has replaced prescriptive decision-making with a more tailored, evidence-based process, focusing on economic and social values, long-term sustainability, connections between heritage and the broader context for heritage places and community perceptions. This policy found its reflection in the Faro Framework Convention (The Council of Europe, 2005) and later sectoral policies in land-use planning and economic development. The same principles continue to shape the government's vision for equality, diversity, and inclusion in the heritage field and to narrow the gap between nature and culture, integrating them into a holistic notion of the historic environment (Clark, 2019, a).

Implementing the complex policy in the heritage sector is funded mainly through government channels, such as DCMS, Historic England and NLHF. While there is some potential duplication of effort between these bodies or other concerns, such as application bureaucracy, they provide lifeline support to the sector, reaching beyond protected sites and monuments and encouraging communities to discover and preserve their stories and places. Assessment by Historic England claims that funding in the sector has had varied but overall positive benefits for different communities, bringing investment to historical high streets and Heritage Action Zones, improving commercial use and the restoration of heritage assets (Historic England, 2022). At the same time,

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<sup>46</sup> The Council of Europe European Landscape Convention in 2000, the World Heritage Convention integrating cultural Landscapes approach since 1993, the UNESCO Historic Urban Landscapes recommendation in 2011.

there are concerns that the focus on defined perimeters may compromise the needs of other sites of historical importance (DCMS, 2020a).

Despite the overall optimistic outlook on government spending in the sector, the statistics point to culture, including heritage, receiving a relatively small share of the annual government spending (HM Treasury, 2022). With this, the funding cuts and austerity policies over the last decade appear to have had a considerable negative impact on the sector. These measures seem to have left the local authorities short of capacity for implementing heritage projects and addressing the sector's needs at the local level (Historic England, 2021).

## 4.6. Planning framework for heritage and landscapes

### 4.6.1. The DLUHC and its network

The Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (DLUHC) is a government body endorsed with the liaison role between national and local governments. Its current mission is rooted in the political agenda of the Localism Act, which has been enforced since 2011. It prioritizes the devolution of powers for promoting local growth, strengthening communities and assisting local government in providing public services. The government's ambition for creating strong communities and a sense of place builds on the experience built up in the heritage sector and, in a way, also echoes the scholarly discourse in favour of place-based politics (DCLG, 2011).

One of the top priorities of the recently reformed Department<sup>47</sup> remains providing for housing supply and driving local economic growth, overseeing planning and building regulations, as well as community cohesion and resilience (National Audit Office, 2022). The Department controls spatial planning with the support of its executive agency - the Planning Inspectorate, which oversees and advises the planning process by local authorities, examines the compliance of local plans and other planning-related and specialist casework and considers planning appeals as well as national infrastructure planning applications.

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<sup>47</sup> The reform in 2021 implied the renewed emphasis on the balanced development across the country and support to the deprived regions and communities. The Levelling up policy was formally presented as the White Paper in 2022 (DLUHC, 2022b).

DLUHC is supported by other designated bodies, including professional and regulatory commissions, the Building Ombudsmen Office, development corporations and Homes England. The latter is a non-departmental public body reformed in 2018 to accelerate housing provision through various funding schemes, releasing public land to developers for housing construction and providing equity funds for potential buyers. Homes England works with local authorities to harmonise housing supply objectives with local spatial development needs through local planning (Homes England, 2018).

#### 4.6.2. Local planning authority

The key authority in the planning sector in England rests with the local government, which is not quite the same in the environmental and heritage sectors. The local governments are responsible for developing and implementing local spatial plans and strategies and granting consents for various developments. The Local Plans form the basis where all different interests of public and private stakeholders are merged and harmonized. The local governments also authorize Neighbourhood Plans, developed at the lowest tier of self-governance - Parish Councils, neighbourhood forums and community organizations.

It is mainly through their mandate for planning and development control that local government authorities take part in heritage and landscape governance. Above all, they are bound by the national policy and legal framework to act in compliance with the objectives for sustainable development, preservation of the special character of the local natural and cultural environment, ensuring public access to nature and countryside, etc. (MHCLG, 2021a; DEFRA, 2018; *Environment Act*, 2021). Local governments also have more direct duties with regard to heritage as well as landscape and nature and respective instruments for delivering these national policy objectives. For example, the local planning authorities have the power to set up lists of heritage assets of local interest, which are non-statutory but important complementary tools for the preservation and enhancement of local heritage (Historic England, 2021). Local authorities may as well issue a Building Preservation Notice, which is a temporary (6 months) protection instrument, before the decision is taken by the DCMS on the listing of the property (*Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act*, 1990). More importantly, the local authorities are mandated to designate

and enforce Conservation Areas (*Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act*, 1990), which are one of the most widely applied area-based heritage protection tools in the country. In terms of nature preservation, local authorities can designate Local Nature Reserves (*National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act*, 1949) and own and manage country parks, heritage coasts and other areas of natural significance.

The Localism Act emphasizes the duty of local authorities to cooperate, particularly on cross-boundary issues (*Localism Act*, 2011). Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEP) are created in different regions to assist such cooperation. The LEPs instrument replaced the pre-existing Regional Development Agencies, although it is a voluntary business-led partnership rather than a top-down government body. About 39 LEPs cover the whole of England, involving a range of public and private stakeholders, including academia, focusing on various functional economic areas (Institute for Government, 2021).

#### 4.6.3. Policy and funding in the planning sector

As the planning policy provides an essential framework for heritage and landscapes, the key points of its evolution are overviewed more closely before considering the present policy framework. The history of planning policy in England goes back to easements and covenants - early forms of agreements about the uses of the territory in the Middle Ages. The major development took place in the 20<sup>th</sup> century when a formal planning framework was gradually set up and put into operation. These included the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century acts<sup>48</sup> for housing and town planning as well as the post-WWII legislation, which ensured a more centralized, reinforced state role in town and country planning<sup>49</sup>. The mandatory planning permissions<sup>50</sup> significantly increased the local government's powers in shaping the environment according to national and local objectives. In this period, it was finally made possible to reserve extensive swathes of land for Green Belts to halt urban sprawl

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<sup>48</sup> The Housing and Town Planning Act 1909, the Housing and Town Planning Act 1919, the Town Planning Act 1925 and the Town and Country Planning Act 1932 were initial moves toward modern urban planning legislation.

<sup>49</sup> Among these through the acquisition of land for national land reserves, including the Forestry Commission.

<sup>50</sup> New Towns Act 1946 and the Town and Country Planning Act 1947. The 1947 Act consolidated the right to develop land in the state hands, through making planning permission mandatory. The system was further elaborated through Town and Country Planning Act and Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act in 1990 and Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act, 2004.

around the large cities (since 1955) and for National Parks (since 1949), which were established to protect the natural and historic environment and ensure public access to the countryside. These strategic decisions and respective planning frameworks have been followed in principle up to the present day, although political and socio-economic turbulences have left their mark on changing trends and approaches. Most visible of these fluctuations have been the successive waves of attempts to consolidate or disperse strategic planning powers according to mainstream political agendas. This way, for example, the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium saw an increased emphasis on regional administrations, representation, strategic planning and socio-economic development. In 2004, Regional Spatial Strategies were introduced to assist Regional Assemblies in defining the development needs and perspectives at the regional level, including housing and other targets set by the central government (*The Town and Country Planning (Local Planning) (England) Regulations, 2012*; DCLG, 2015). The former Structure Plans and Local Plans at the county and district levels were replaced with Local Development Frameworks. Following the change of political power in the national government, this system was dismissed in 2011 on the grounds that the centrally-driven approach to development was bureaucratic and undemocratic (DCLG, 2011). The Localist Act and the subsequent NPPF (MHCLG, 2012) did away with regional strategies, devolving greater powers to local authorities claiming to better promote economic development, support local businesses and make it easier for developers to deliver new housing and infrastructure projects. These measures were matched with strengthened accountability as well as control mechanisms<sup>51</sup>. As the new political vision was extensively built around the populist agenda of empowering people, the new generation of legal acts and amendments provided a formal possibility for local communities, led by Parish Councils or Neighbourhood Forums, to get involved in planning (DCLG, 2011). In addition to the more conventional Local Plans, Neighbourhood Plans<sup>52</sup> were introduced as the finest scale of spatial

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<sup>51</sup> For example, local authorities are required to hold referendums on issues such as council tax increase.

<sup>52</sup> The main framework for the Neighbourhood planning is provided by the Neighbourhood Planning Act 2017 and the Localism Act 2011. The Neighbourhood Planning Act provides guidance and incentives for communities to prepare and adopt neighbourhood plans, including the procedural requirements for the preparation, examination, and adoption of the plans, grants and technical assistance, etc. At the same time, it also amended the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 to allow higher fines for unauthorized works to listed buildings and in conservation areas.

planning, where communities were encouraged to lead the development, provided they complied with local strategic policies and national policies.

The pivotal role in territorial planning has remained with local government through their mandate for planning and building consents and elaboration and implementation of Local Plans. At the same time, the mandatory regional/county layer for strategic planning was dismissed. Instead, the new policy has emphasized the duty of the local governments to cooperate with all relevant stakeholders, *inter alia*, on cross-boundary issues and enforce integrated action through LEPs and various other partnership structures. All plans required proactive engagement of communities, local organizations, businesses, infrastructure providers and operators and statutory consultees (MHCLG, 2012). At the neighbourhood level, the Plans were required to pass an inspection stage and a local referendum to be adopted by the Neighbourhood Forums or Parish Councils. Once adopted, they were considered by the local planning authority as a part of the Local Plan and acquired statutory weight in the determination of planning applications. Later, the local planning authorities were granted the power to make small changes without a full review and consultation process.

Overall, devolving planning powers aimed to promote greater community involvement in decision-making and to encourage local planning to reflect better the needs and aspirations of local communities. The latest update of the NPPF in 2021 followed the same trend. As it forms the critical policy framework for the historic environment, its provisions for heritage and landscapes are considered in more detail below.

### *The National Planning Policy Framework*

The National Planning Policy Framework (MHCLG, 2021a) is positioned strategically towards sustainability, declaring that all planning policies should “be prepared with the objective of contributing to the achievement of sustainable development” (clause 16 (a)) and set out “a clear economic vision and strategy which positively and proactively encourages sustainable economic growth, having regard to Local Industrial Strategies and other local policies for economic development and regeneration”(clause 81 (a)). The planning policies should also include provisions for conserving and enhancing the natural, built and historic environment, including

landscapes and green infrastructure and planning measures to address climate change mitigation and adaptation. To aid state and non-state actors in addressing these issues, the NPPF provides the guiding principles set in separate chapters for the natural and historic environment, which, although not as detailed as the previous policy guidance documents, are still important for shaping and maintaining control of local development processes in relation to heritage and landscapes.

Namely, the local planning authorities are required to regularly update or have access to an updated Historic Environment Record in their respective area, be informed on the significance of these heritage assets and the contribution they make to their environment and predict the likelihood of the heritage assets to be discovered, valorised in the future (clause 192). The local planning authorities should decide upon the proposed development in full consideration of the (potential) impact of the development on the historic environment (clause 194).

Under the heading ‘historic environment’, the NPPF considers architectural and archaeological assets, while landscapes, as such, are discussed in the chapter on the natural environment. At the same time, the glossary of terms of the NPPF defines ‘landscape’ as part of a Heritage Asset. It may be a reflection of an embedded conceptual and institutional division between heritage as a predominantly cultural asset and landscape as a predominantly natural territory, as well as the dual character of landscapes which bear both cultural and natural values. The planning system, nevertheless, provides an effective melting pot where landscape and heritage meet in the process of holistic place-based thinking.

The NPPF provides an objective for the planning system to protect and enhance valued landscapes, recognise the intrinsic character and beauty of the countryside, as well as the broader economic and other benefits from natural capital and ecosystem services (clause 174 (a),(b)). Under these objectives, the NPPF calls for planning policies and decisions to be consistent with the special character of the area and its conservation values. The NPPF differentiates between Designated Heritage Assets (World Heritage Sites, Scheduled Monuments, Listed Buildings, Protected Wreck Sites, Registered Parks and Gardens, Registered Battlefields or Conservation Areas) and Historic Environment, the latter encompassing “All aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time, including all surviving physical remains of past human activity, whether visible, buried or submerged, and landscaped

and planted or managed flora” (MHCLG, 2021a, p. 67). The methodology for considering the historic environment in local planning documents is further specified in the guidance from Historic England on this topic (Historic England, 2015).

Overall, the NPPF has been valued for its increased flexibility and community involvement, as well as for its concise format, which is easier to understand and navigate for both developers and local authorities. However, there are concerns about the increased workload and responsibility on local authorities, while their human and budgetary resources have been progressively shrinking, as well as about the lack of provisions for affordable housing and environmental objectives (Cousins, 2021).

Also, despite the impressive number of Neighbourhood Plans in the process of elaboration, some issues were flagged up by the various actors. By 2021, 2800 local neighbourhood plans had been prepared, and nearly half had been endorsed as a local planning policy (Phillip, 2023). At the same time, there has been a higher take-up in more affluent rural and semi-rural areas with stable and active communities (Phillip, 2023). Getting through complex professional, legal and bureaucratic procedures of plan-making requires professionals, funds and, more importantly, well-informed, well-educated and committed voluntary leadership from the community representatives. Experts observe that the engagement is limited to those members of the community who have the time, skills, resources and motivation (Davoudi and Cowie, 2013; Parker, Salter and Dobson, 2018; Shuksmith, Brooks and Madanipur, 2021). These concerns need to be taken into due consideration, and special attention needs to be given to representing and engaging with ‘hard to reach’ groups (Parker, Salter and Dobson, 2018).

Critics also argue that too many technical requirements and procedures can deter local communities from engaging in the local planning process and that the local scale may not be effective for achieving national policy objectives, such as housing provision (Fitzpatrick, Pawson and Watts, 2020; Salter, Parker and Wargent, 2022). All these factors undermine the potential of neighbourhood planning and Localism in general and call for in-depth reflection.

### *Ongoing reforms and upcoming changes*

The growing awareness of the issues within the planning system has led to the government's proposal for radical reforms in the sector, proposing a bold move from discretionary planning decision-making to a simplified zoning and standardized design approach (MHCLG, 2020). While sharing concerns over the persisting issues, the professional community response to the proposal was largely critical, urging the government to retain development decision-making with the local authorities, reinforce public participation and consent in planning decisions and return to the strategic national and regional levels of planning (TCPA, 2020; RTPI, 2020). The vast number of critical responses to the consultation process (44000 responses received according to DLUHC, 2022c) and detailed parliamentary scrutiny have assisted in appropriate improvements to be incorporated in the Levelling Up and Regeneration Bill unveiled in May 2022. While the initially proposed zoning system has been dropped, the bill was promoted as to offer national strategic guidance for development, more flexible cross-boundary planning, more participatory neighbourhood-scale planning decisions, better revenue generation from development projects and more streamlined protection for heritage and landscapes (DLUHC, 2022c; 2022d).

The government claimed that introducing the National Development Management Policies would ensure a more efficient plan production, saving local planning authorities time and removing the need to repeat things that apply universally. In the same manner, the Local Design Codes, alongside the National Model Design Code, are proposed to guide the planning process, being endorsed with full weight in planning decisions. The government expects that prescribing standardized solutions at local and national levels would reduce the workload on local planning authorities and also make the planning process more transparent and accessible to the public (Local Government Association, 2023).

The call for improved community participation in planning, and the critique of complex process for elaborating Neighbourhood Development Plans<sup>53</sup> seem to be also considered in the revised bill. A new, planning tool - Neighbourhood Priorities Statement was promoted as more straightforward

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<sup>53</sup> While there is a large number of literature on the subject, the MHCLG commissioned report by the University of Reading (Parker, Dobson and Lynn, 2021) highlights some of them that are streamlined in the proposed bill.

and more accessible. It is conceived as a fast-track solution for the communities which find it challenging to produce a full-fledged Plan. The government's ambitious digital governance objectives are believed to positively impact and increase opportunities for public access to planning decision-making, including the preparation of Local Design Codes. Community participation is reinforced with the new 'street voting' mechanism, which will allow residents to propose and vote for developments on their streets (LGA, 2023).

The proposed changes also affect the Duty to Cooperate, replacing it with a more flexible 'alignment policy' to encourage cross-border planning between the local authorities, *inter alia*, through a joint Spatial Development Strategy.

The local revenue generation is proposed to be enhanced with a new Infrastructure Levy that shall replace the existing Community Infrastructure Levy with a better capture of the land value uplift through development. While the Planning Obligations are still maintained as a possibility for negotiation between planning authorities and developers, the scale is set to support the delivery of the large sites only, where the generated value should not be less than that paid through the Levy.

There are no equally radical changes proposed with regard to heritage and landscapes. Nevertheless, the proposed improvements, including the enhanced list of 'heritage assets' or statutory duty for local planning authorities for maintaining HERs, may remind us of a more substantial reform put forward through the Heritage Bill in 2008. The requirement to maintain and update the HERs is particularly welcomed by the heritage sector, as well as the reinforcement of the local authorities' mandate with the power to stop development through Temporary Stop Notices, removing mandatory compensation for the Building Preservation Notice, etc.<sup>54</sup> (Bell, 2022; Heritage Alliance, 2022).

The procedures for environmental impact assessments are simplified through common Environmental Outcome Reports, which include a cultural heritage component. The proposed changes are believed to comply with the Environment Act enacted in 2021 and assure its

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<sup>54</sup> Power to stop demolition of unlisted buildings. In case of unsuccessful listing application, local governments are liable to pay compensation to developer.

harmonious integration in the planning policy. However, critics point out that the definition of cultural heritage should also include built heritage (Heritage Alliance, 2022).

As the discussion is ongoing, it is only possible for this research to analyse the trends. At this stage, the impact of the reform on the historic environment, including on undesignated properties, is deemed favourable. While the heritage sector largely welcomes a better integration of heritage and landscapes under the proposed policy, there are still many details to be finetuned before the adoption of the Bill. Respective amendment of the National Planning Policy Framework for England will also follow. The proposed changes are indeed significant. However, the evidence to support the claims for effectiveness will take time to build up.

### *Sources of funding for planning*

The planning policy implementation is funded through fees charged to developers, government funding, and local authority revenue from other sources. The local authorities are encouraged to generate revenue from land sales, planning enforcement fees and the Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL), which helps to fund infrastructure projects such as new roads, schools or parks needed to support development (DLUHC, 2022e). The ongoing reform replaces the CIL with the Infrastructure Levy, as explained in the previous section, which is deemed to be a more effective tool for land-value-appropriate revenue generation.

In general terms, the current funding framework for planning can be considered a competition-based, private sector-driven system, where local governments compete over investments and jobs and seek innovative solutions for providing housing and quality social services with ever-shrinking budgets. The central government's funding approach is based on competition and performance. Different state funds, like the Levelling Up Fund, Community Renewal Fund and Community Ownership Fund, similar to any other targeted program, require conditions under sophisticated criteria and indicators (DLUHC, 2022b). A spirit of competition also penetrates the Special Planning

Obligation mechanism<sup>55</sup> that allows local authorities and developers to negotiate over the enabling conditions for otherwise unacceptable developments.

#### 4.7. Main findings: Concluding summary

The overview of the institutional, policy and legal mechanisms in planning, environment and culture sectors assisted in understanding the heritage and landscape governance in light of changing political agendas and policy and institutional development in England. Such an insight into the system also allowed to verify and branch out the Research Questions into more focused, in-depth sub-questions for primary data collection through interviews and the analysis.

Based on the documentation study, England's policy and institutional network can be considered a positive example of the cross-sectoral integration of heritage and landscape fields. These two concepts have traditionally been joined in the ideas of 'countryside' and, later, 'historic environment'. They have been long recognized and appropriated as a resource for place-based development and have been woven into local socio-economic strategies and spatial plans.

Transition to "landscape-as-heritage" or, in policy terms, 'historic environment' thinking can be related to the major socio-political transformations in England and Europe in the 20th century and, more specifically, in the post-WWII period. The movements for democratization, the right to the city and 'right of way', decolonization, and, more recently - the anti-globalist and climate movements have all contributed to the awareness of the environment in all diversity of tangible and intangible expressions as a shared resource and common heritage.

Despite some gaps and issues with fragmentation, the heritage and landscape policies are geared towards the all-inclusive objectives of the well-being of communities, economic growth, job creation and sustainable, inclusive and equitable development. The most recent policy initiatives seem to respond to the decades-long legacy of critical spatial as well as heritage discourse and intend to overcome socio-spatial inequalities by delivering growth opportunities to left-behind places.

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<sup>55</sup> Also known as Section 106 Agreements, introduced by the 1990 Towns and Country Planning Act, subject to planning obligations test introduced by the NPPF (clauses 55-58).

In terms of governance, the Localist policy in England can be seen to reflect the international Municipalist discourses, the theories of a decentred, networked governance as well as radical movements promoting the confederation of local governments. The ongoing devolution, including the increased taxing powers of local governments, makes a positive contribution to these Localist aspirations, promising to boost local government spending and investment in long-underfunded public sectors. However, even if the machinery of the governance system can be assumed to be evolving towards innovative models of governance, such evolution can be seen as framed by medieval and imperial power patterns entrenched in the country and subordinated to the workings of global politics and financial and production systems (see Chapters 2.4 and 2.5). The risks associated with the fragility of places to the external pressures bring the focus back to the meta-governance narratives. The power negotiations between national and local government assemblages in England can be seen as an illustration of the continuous power struggle through which a productive balance in the governance ecosystem is, at times, briefly established.

The cross-sectoral coordination is mostly performed at the highest levels of governance, in the national policy consultation and strategic cooperation, as well as at the local level, in the process of spatial planning and development decision-making. In these processes, the environment and culture sectors intertwine in specific place-based or issues-based situations. The working groups, alliances and partnerships among the state and non-state actors provide ad hoc cross-sectoral integration platforms as needed.

Apart from these, National Parks in England form a more permanent dedicated institutional and policy framework for landscape and heritage cross-sectoral integration. Established as independent planning authorities, they are streamlined for preservation and public enjoyment while lacking many of the local government powers and mandates. Such an incomplete, although quite authoritative, portfolio requires permanent negotiation with the government and other actors and may result in different outcomes in different cases. The issues persisting in National Park management can also be seen as related to uneven budgetary resources and funding in a market-driven and competitive environment.

Despite the austerity measures and the reduced state funding, the government can still be seen as the main source of funding for heritage and landscapes in England. The place-based funding by the heritage sector is complemented by the landscape-scale funding in the environment sector. The alignment of these sectoral funding streams requires regular coordination between the institutional actors in all domains.

In terms of administrative arrangement and operation, the institutional structure of heritage and landscape governance in England staunchly follows the NPM model. The role of national and local governments is reduced to steering, regulation, and stimulation of the private sector, while non-state actors are expected to supply the necessary expertise and implementation resources. Heritage, as well as environmental non-state organizations, can be observed to contribute to the delivery of public services and management of public and community assets. These actors can be described as professionally competent and representative to engage in governance on behalf of their members. However, their membership can also be seen as limited to a more privileged segment of society. The inequalities in social and cultural capital can be seen to influence uneven participation in governance (see Chapter 2.6).

England's heritage and landscape policy framework seems to reflect, albeit selectively, the most advanced international critical heritage discourses. The recent initiative from Historic England on 'everyday heritage' may be seen as a promise of diversified opportunities for engaging with heritage and landscape. Yet, in a highly stratified society, exploring new forms of heritage may also carry a risk of cultural appropriation by the middle-upper social classes. As suggested by the literature review, heritage can be socially exclusive, oppressive as well as inclusive and emancipatory, depending on the overall political and economic systems under which it is conceived and made (see Chapter 2.6).

It could be argued that a role in planning is perhaps one of the most visible expressions of public participation in heritage and landscape governance. The planning policy in England provides such opportunity, for example, through neighbourhood forums and neighbourhood plans, appeals and complaint procedures. The heritage and environmental sectors have also emphasized public participation, community ownership, access and co-management. The non-state actors working

with communities tend to point to an upward trend in public interest in the historic environment. However, this share still represents a relatively small and specific segment of society.

Based on the documentation, it can be questioned whether the existing policies and institutional systems take into account the complexity of social inequality in society. It may be suitable for large landowners and businesses, professionals and experts to better advocate their interests through direct representation in various boards and partnerships, obtain government subsidies and grants, organize themselves into multiple forums, and push their interests through the digital labyrinth of government bureaucracy. However, the same system may not be tailored to the preferences and capacities of all populations. Looking at the heritage and landscape governance through the social class analysis could thus provide important references about the structure of participation in decision-making.

A more detailed characterization and analysis of the heritage and landscape governance system in relation to the Research Questions is given in Table 12 below. The semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with a range of respondents from state and non-state actors as well as the representatives of communities to verify the outcomes of the documentation study and explore further the important questions raised from it. The results of the interviews are presented in Chapter 5.

Table 12. Main points for characterisation of the landscape and heritage governance system in England.

Governance actors	General comments	RQ2: In which way do governance systems reflect and address landscape and heritage integration?	RQ3: What are the key conditions for trans-sectoral participatory governance?	RQ 1: What are the main determinants for transitioning from heritage to a “landscape-as-heritage” concept?
National-level state actors	NPM-led design. Fragmentation of the institutional landscape. Statutory functions are carved out in the form of specialized agencies.	Heritage and landscapes are included in the environment, culture, planning policy, funding and institutional frameworks at the national level.	It is assumed that representative democracy, in principle, ensures participation and inclusiveness, although there are wide-ranging concerns and criticism. Some non-democratic forms of governance are still maintained.	England offers a rich experience, particularly in the form of the civic movements for national parks, that have had an impact on the transition to landscape thinking.
	Nationwide top-down coverage through regional branching of national agencies.	Heritage and landscape institutional assemblages in the environment and culture sectors are cross-fertilized through policy and funding schemes. Cross-sectoral cooperation is achieved through thematic, case-based work and focal points.	Social stratification may produce unequal opportunities for social classes to participate in governance. Social and cultural capital seem important in participation.	The early policies of post-WWII Britain, notably the 1949 <i>Countryside and National Parks Act</i> and the 1967 <i>Civic Amenities Act</i> , demonstrate the integration of heritage and landscapes in area-based approaches.
	Public institutions have reduced staff and mandate as a result of the austerity measures.	The policy and funding schemes have cross-sectoral references, although there are inconsistencies, e.g. Environmental Act includes a reference to heritage but not the built heritage. Heritage does not always imply nature, although climate objectives are included cross-sectorally.	The evidence of lack of participation and inclusion (Taking Part Survey) indicates possible limitations for lower classes and marginalized social groups.	Regulatory, area-based policy approaches (green belts, national parks and AONBs, Conservation Areas, planning permissions, etc.) can be seen as a reflection of the political aspirations of the post-WWII Labour government.

	Co-creation is promoted to save time and resources, although the process remains largely consultative.	Cooperation mainly implies cross-sectoral consultation and advice. However, formal and informal lobbying makes the consultations competitive.	The devolution of governance powers to places is accompanied by an overall effort towards greater inclusiveness and participation, although there is no sufficient evidence of whether these efforts go beyond Tokenism.	
		Place-based and evidence-led (HLC, HER) multi-scalar planning is the main instrument for cross-sectoral integration at the local and strategic planning levels.	Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) policies are adopted and followed by most government actors, although these are rather “target” programs that mitigate the effect of the existing social inequality. For example, the heritage assets open for free during Heritage Days.	
Local government	Devolution is the formal policy but reduced funding makes it challenging to cover the delegated responsibilities. Local governments are seen to reduce spending and rely on the private sector to deliver services.	Unequal opportunities in different areas. Even if devolution is the official policy, actual power transmission is subject to local conditions and negotiations between local and national power blocks. How equally are these deals negotiated? To which extent are they tailored to the needs of the places? Under which conditions are the local partnerships formed?	The neighbourhood and local plans can’t capture from the bottom up the broader picture and needs unless guided by the top-down policy, for example, in housing or infrastructure, although these broader objectives need to be based on local evidence.	The evidence accumulated through the use of Conservation Area designations by local authorities and their planning decisions contributed to landscape thinking in the urban realm.
	The devolution of taxing authority is ongoing. The business rates retention level is planned to increase.		The two-way bottom-up/top-down thinking can be observed in the proposed planning reform.	
	NPM-led design, statutory functions carved out in the form of agencies and delegating to community and private organizations to provide services.			

National Parks	Planning powers but no taxing powers, or direct representation of local communities.	National parks serve cross-sectoral integration of heritage and landscapes.	Closer to place communities through volunteering, but not necessarily in terms of elected representatives and accountability.	As institutionalised actors, national parks embody and operationalize the transition from heritage to 'landscape-as-heritage' thinking.
Non-state actors	Have a traditionally strong presence in the English heritage and landscape governance. They can be seen to seek cross-sectoral alliances. What advantages for the small-scale actors?	Historically evolved around sectoral and thematic interests, such as RSPB, etc., but increasingly seeking alliances within and across sectors, like Heritage Alliance.	They are important elements for the function of participatory and democratic systems. However, the representativity of these organizations may be questioned. With membership/entry fees being a barrier for low-income groups, these non-state actors may risk being exclusive.	Non-state actors have accumulated a scientific reflection on the subject through the critical scrutiny of the government's initiatives and actions.
			The poorer community organizations do not have a resource to scale up. The difficulty in neighbourhood planning can be seen as an example.	The non-state actors have been central to 'landscape-as-heritage' thinking through the social movements for the "right of way" and "access to the countryside", emphasizing the landscape as a common, shared resource.

## Chapter 5: Case Study: Qualitative Interview Results

### 5.1. Introduction

This chapter summarises the outcomes of the primary data collection through in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with organizations across a wide range of the spectrum as well as community members from rural and urban areas of Northumberland and Newcastle upon Tyne. As these two target groups were addressed for gathering information on the specific research questions, the interview guides and questions were tailored accordingly, and the analysis was also conducted separately, identifying the links through cross-cutting themes. This chapter presents the findings for organizations and community representatives which cross-fertilize the process of analysis, particularly with regard to Research Questions 2 and 3.

The approaches to sampling and analysis, interview guides and questions are described at greater length in Chapter 3. According to the set methodology, the thematic analysis was employed to code qualitative data inductively, while the initial set of codes was developed deductively based on the interview key questions. Based on the interview information, the codes were developed and aggregated throughout the coding process.

The attributes and values were linked with qualitative data to allow the analysis of the identified themes in the context of specific characteristics of respondents. The process was aided by the combination of tools such as matrix coding, crosstab, and framework matrixes to identify the relations between codes and attribute values.

## 5.2. Themes emerging from interviews with institutions

### 5.2.1. Integration across governance tiers

The respondents were asked to characterize the institutional and policy frameworks and describe the key partners and collaboration mechanisms. This information was expected to assist in understanding the level of cross-sectoral integration and issues and challenges in the process.

More than half of the respondents from organizations (N=12) pointed to power (dis-) balance or integration across sectors, and a similar number (N=13) to various forms of governance hierarchy on different scales. Many respondents (N=10) referred to National Parks as a form of geographic and sectoral integration. Most respondents described formal or informal collaboration networks (N=15) and the structure of delegation within and between organizations (N=8). A few of them (N=4) focused on the role of local elected representatives, and a minority (N=2) - on the role of non-governmental organizations.

Across the majority of the responses, the issue of territorial, scalar, and sectoral fragmentation emerged in a different manner and through various topics. The respondents talked about the devolution and diffusion of government responsibilities from national to local or sub-regional levels, without respective budgetary allocations, that has rendered local governments ineffective in meeting their statutory obligations (EXP.ACAD.02; LOC.TDS.POL.01). They also referred to the difficulty to cope with the complex governance network, where the government functions and responsibilities are delegated to a large number of subcontracted public and private bodies.

*“Really complex picture where you can potentially have four different tiers of local government intervention from parish, through town, through district, through county, residents to make sense of that. It's really, really hard” (LOC.TDS.EXE.02).*

*“You get these subcontracted out agencies like Historic England, and I never quite know, I don't know which agency is which, which is responsible for which... because they keep changing their names and all that sort of thing. So, it's a bit of a mysterious kind of set of things” (EXP.ACAD.01).*

The opinions on the role of bottom-up and top-down approaches to governance varied among the respondents from various organizations and industries. It was common for them to point to negative aspects of highly centralized decision-making while admitting that lower-tier localized decision-making has disadvantages, too. The local scale was not considered sufficient to address and solve broader problems (NFP.01; EXP.IND.03; EXP.ACAD.01). The lack of regional strategic spatial planning also made it challenging to achieve integrated development from the bottom up, especially in the situation when the conditions, resources and capacity are uneven across the country (LOC.NPA.EXE.02; LOC.TDS.EXE.02).

*“I think you can capture the problem, but you won't be able to solve it. You need I think you need a really top-down solution there because, for the amount of money and the legal requirements for changes, it is impossible to do that, I think at the local level” (EXP.ACAD.01).*

Some respondents (EXP.ACAD.01) saw the solution in delegating more regulatory and taxing powers to local authorities. They were convinced that it would help more local ideas to develop and have influence.

*“If we were less centralised, and if there was more power to regulate, and more power to raise money, and more power, there'll be more role or more local ideas to develop and have an influence” (EXP.ACAD.01).*

The respondents admitted that despite devolution and diffusion of some of its responsibilities, the central government had maintained a major role in steering institutional actors and integrating and controlling the sectoral and scalar dimensions for implementing its political agenda. Such a steering role, however, was mainly considered positive. The national government was considered to possess an integrative power to ensure just distribution and balanced development across the country.

*“Because the central government is so powerful, it controls the regulations. So, if the national government says, if anything that you do, you have to formally consult these stakeholders... they have a statutory responsibility to keep an eye on that everybody else is*

*paying attention to that need, you could say it's a form of integration by giving them the regulatory role to make a point. But it's kind of an... it's kind of an integration that is also centralized" (EXP.ACAD.01).*

*"It will help if a government said, you know, in order to, every park has to do an assessment, and within that assessment, you have to have issues about governance and social equity, I think that will really help. Because it will, you know, the moment you say governance and equity, then immediately you have to explore these issues; you can't avoid them" (EXP.ACAD.02).*

It can be observed that the respondents' personal opinions largely conform with the outcomes of the documentation study and the findings of the literature review. They point to the necessary balance between top-down and bottom-up governance approaches while admitting the risks, benefits and limitations of each of these approaches. These concerns can be observed to be shared by the authors cited in the literature review and the documentation analysis. These observations also confirm that the balance between the two governance approaches is shaped and influenced by many factors. Above all, these are the political and economic doctrines pursued by the ruling political parties (see Chapter 2.4).

### 5.2.2. Territorial fragmentation and cross-boundary cooperation

An important theme from the interviews was the fragmentation of landscapes across administrative boundaries and the need for more integrated spatial approaches. Because of the research interest, the integration was discussed mainly from the planning point of view. Among the respondents, there was a shared awareness of the need for better cooperation in planning between local government authorities. Planning at the sub-regional scale was admitted relevant, where areas can be 'recognizable' in terms of values and distinct features. The National Parks were admitted to be such sub-regional areas, as their boundaries were based on the values shared by people (LOC.NPA.EXE.02).

The respondents described National Parks as relatively well-resourced among the range of local authorities and better positioned to consolidate development visions, accumulate financial and human resources, and steer an array of stakeholders within their boundaries (LOC.COUNT.EXE.01, LOC.NPA.EXE.02).

*“I find national parks as the type of an authority which... has all these different facets, which ensures the integration around certain landscapes, territory, historic environment, qualities, plus development and sort of incorporates, exemplifies that integration that we are all talking about, in a way, it is an institutional model” (LOC.NPA.EXE.02).*

Some of the respondents, however, thought that such special-purpose institutional layers superimposed on the government hierarchy did not perform equally well in all cases, and they also risked consolidating too much power.

*“All these bodies, which are supposed to be so great, and they've turned out to be great for some, but not so great for others. So yeah, so we have those superimposed layers of government. And these national parks are really their own little kingdoms” (EXP.IND.03).*

While such a view was an exception among the respondents, it did voice important political concerns, such as whether a directly elected government should be overpowered by an institution that does not have a similar electoral base. As demonstrated by the documentation study, the National Park governing boards commonly include local council's elected representatives. For example, in the NNPA board six members represent Northumberland County Council, six parish members and six national members are appointed by the Secretary of State for the Environment. However, the advantage of integration achieved through top-down institutions, could be questioned from a political representation prism - whether convoluting the accountability and representation chain leads to distancing the representatives from the electorate. North-East England's referendum in the early 2000s and the resulting rejection of the government-imposed regional administration may indicate that the issue of political representation and accountability has been a widespread concern in the country.

Assessing other forms of regional and sub-regional territorial integration could provide additional evidence for reflection. The Combined Authorities with elected mayors or more operational assemblages, such as Local Enterprise Partnerships formed by public and private partners across administrative boundaries, could be observed as interesting examples.

The respondents from various authorities also positively mentioned more local *ad hoc* operational assemblages. The initiatives, like ‘farm clusters’ or estate meetings, parish conferences and many others, offer the platform for cross-boundary, multistakeholder and cross-sectoral integration. These different assemblages may also coexist and overlap on various scales; for example, the North of Tyne Combined Authority (since 2024 North-East Combined Authority<sup>56</sup>) and North-East Local Enterprise Partnership also include the NNPA, local Councils and many other lower-scale partnership clusters. The respondents admitted the difficulty in making sense of such a complex, multilayered governance network. Also, as different actors pursue their specific objectives, aligning visions for effective cooperation is challenging. The need for a holistic territorial vision emerged as a refrain in the vast majority of the responses. Some respondents pointed out that the lack of national and regional planning needed to be addressed from different sectoral perspectives and joined up in a development strategy at the country or regional level (NAT.EXE.01; EXP.IND.03; NFP.02; EXP.ACAD.01, LOC.NPA.EXE.02; others). Such bold steps were believed to require political will and strategic thinking beyond the short-lived electoral slogans. Also, it would require people who could take up leadership responsibility.

*“We need a national plan - big power station here, big new wind farms in this area because that's the..., big new HS2 corridor here, Newcastle now linked to Manchester, and there's*

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<sup>56</sup> North-East Combined Authority, led by an elected Mayor and Cabinet, covers the seven local authority areas of County Durham, Gateshead, Newcastle, North Tyneside, Northumberland, South Tyneside and Sunderland. It was created in 2024 following earlier attempt to consolidate governance in the region in the form of the North of Tyne Combined Authority, which included only three local councils Newcastle upon Tyne, North Tyneside and Northumberland.

*growth, so it's all there. Why is that no one ever puts it together? Because they're sh...t scared, it'll tell a story" (LOC.NPA.EXE.02).*

*"I think there is something about that strategic level that has just gone with regional planning. We know that was dismantled. And I think we are seeing fragmented delivery and fragmented solutions as a direct result of that. So, some kind of mechanism for that kind of a Pan-regional delivery" (NFP.02).*

The lack of an overarching strategic vision adds further stress to the fragmented institutional and policy ecosystem. In the area of landscapes, too, the national vision was admitted to be lacking. Such a lacuna of the national-level debate was mentioned to breed confusion.

*"Every type of landscape has its admirers. But we don't have a national plan to satisfy all these tastes. So, we live with confusion, or we will until there's a proper national debate." (EXP.IND.03)*

These concerns echo the spirit of the government-commissioned Landscape Review (DEFRA, 2019), which suggested setting up an umbrella organization to strengthen national park objectives' national delivery. Even if the governance actors did not support the suggestion, it did demonstrate the drawbacks of the fragmented system and stirred discussion about cross-sectoral, cross-boundary and multi-scalar integration.

While voicing these concerns, the respondents could not suggest ways to ensure that national and regional planning does not become another superimposed layer of centralized political and expert power. These worries reflect the observations from the documentation study and the literature review. These aspects will be analysed in more detail in the following sections.

### 5.2.3. Challenges in cross-sectoral integration

As far as cross-sectoral integration is concerned, the majority of respondents (N=15) did describe formal ways of collaboration across different sectors. Some of these (N=8) also stressed the importance of informal communication and personal contacts for successful collaboration. The majority of responses were coded from planning (N=9), heritage (N=8), and archaeology (N=7). Other responses referred to forestry (N=2), environment (N=3), or climate change issues (N=5).

Among the issues and challenges of cross-sectoral integration, several factors were outlined by the respondents during interviews: conflicting sectoral views (N=16), fragmentation of digital platforms (N=6), sectoral silos (N=12), deregulation (N=9), inequitable distribution of resources (N=5), changing policy trends (N=8), enforcement problems (N=5), politics (N=13).

#### *Formal and informal tactics*

Among the existing formal mechanisms of cross-sectoral collaboration, the respondents commonly mentioned joint working groups and committees. These were thematic or case-based working groups run by government organizations (typically, the ministerial departments) or other institutions or statutory consultation processes embedded within planning procedures. Local plan-making was highlighted as one of the core processes integrating a wide range of sectoral interests. The ministerial departments DEFRA and DCMS and their arm's length agencies were mentioned as the main nationwide actors involved in decision-making on heritage and landscapes bridging natural and cultural heritage, culture, forestry, rural development, environment, and other sectors.

On the other hand, informal communication, collaboration, and personal connections seemed to remain an important interlocking factor at work among different sectors, institutions, and within them. Several respondents (N=8) admitted that a degree of informality is quite helpful as it unfolds frank and open discussions and enables the aligning of positions before and during formal communication (LOC.COUNT.EXE.01).

*“Because on the whole, we tended to have... planning environment and nature conservation people in a different department. So even within that, you find you have to climb over the wall to get to talking, in the same building even. And there's not really any solution to it. Unless you had one massive department, obviously, which you can't, so you'd have to work around it. So, in the end, it comes down to personal connections, many cases, personal working connections, that can be difficult” (EXP.ACAD.03).*

*“The conversations are really, really important. Having good relationships with people in different organizations, and just keeping the conversations going to get to the good outcome is really important” (NAT.EXE.02).*

### *Conflicting sectoral positions*

Concerns about the conflicts between sectoral views have emerged more than once in the interviews. Most often, these were the conflicting development and conservation views that needed to be settled through the planning process. In the array of sectoral representation, the respondents pointed towards the economic development imperative, which is still imbued with prejudices against heritage.

*“We've worked with the heritage sector to push out a lot of research which shows the value of heritage and landscape to the economy. And yet, it still doesn't seem to be making the case” (NFP.01).*

*“I think there's still a disconnection between understanding the value of heritage and landscape to some of the economic sectors. So, I think that often heritage and landscape are seen as a blockage to growth and regeneration. ... So, at the moment, I feel that there is a ... there is a prejudice against heritage and landscape in some parts of the economic sector” (NFP.01).*

Curiously, such an attitude coexists with the positive assessment of formal integration at the policy level. The same respondents who worried about prejudice against heritage and landscape admitted that these components were very well represented in planning and that both national

and local policies dealt adequately with heritage and landscape (NFP.01). This may be an indicator of enforcement issues, which was also pinpointed across various interviews.

The respondents also pointed toward the dominance of the environmental sector, which sets the tone of the recent policy discourse and gets more extensive public funding. Also, more interestingly, the respondents admitted that, at times, environmental and cultural heritage priorities might be hard to reconcile and that the ecological or heritage plans may also be at odds with local community interests. One of the respondents, a representative of a National Park, described the long debates in the process of decision-making on the sea defence systems in the chalk landscape of Seven Sisters on the southern coast of England, where a special environmental interest in the historic landscape was to be weighed against the preservation of historic buildings and iconic scenery.

*“Those coast guard cottages are gradually falling into the sea just because of erosion - chalk erodes. And we had a planning application a few months ago to put sea defences at the bottom of it. And that really did split people because some people were saying, you know, from a cultural heritage point of view, these guard cottages are part of our cultural heritage. You know, they're from photos from World War One, from before. You know, that's what people associate with this view. And then there are other people saying, well, if you build these sea defences, you only delay the inevitable for 100 years. And you just, you, you destroy part, a small part of the site of Special Scientific Interest” (LOC.NPA.EXE.03).*



Figure 8. The cottages are known as a landmark and have been used in films (BBC, 2016).



Figure 9. Old sea defence wall and coastguard cottages at Cuckmere Haven, in place since 1947 (Hasson, 2022).

Textbox 1: Cultural and natural heritage preservation controversy at the Seven Sisters, SDNPA.

The Seven Sisters is a coastal geomorphological feature in East Sussex, characterized by a series of chalk cliffs formed through erosional processes and displaying distinct sedimentary layering. It has been protected as a SSSI for its wildlife and geology since 1953, as an AONB since 1966, and as the UK's first Heritage Coast since 1973. Seven Sisters Country Park is part of the South Downs National Park. Part of it is also and solid support networks a designated Marine Conservation Zone (Seven Sisters SDNPA, no date).

The view of the Seven Sisters cliffs and the coastguard cottages, from Seaford Head across the River Cuckmere is one of the most beloved coastal views of England. Due to the high erosion levels, the chalk coastline has always been unstable. The sea defence systems built successively from 1947 onwards have helped to mitigate the erosion to some extent, however, the iconic view is still facing irreversible change, with the defence walls under the increasing environmental pressure. The cottages are mostly used as holiday homes, nevertheless, their preservation has become a public concern (Cuckmere Haven SOS, no date). The government, for the last two decades, has followed a policy of minimum intervention, to return the coastline and Cuckmere estuary to its natural state, accepting the eventual negative impact on heritage assets within the estuary, in exchange of a positive impact on biodiversity. The engineering solutions were considered costly and ineffective against the imminent long-term impact of the erosion, expected to aggravate with the climate change (Environment Agency, 2007). As the Environment Agency withdrew from maintenance, and DIY efforts of the local residents did not prove effective, the application for more substantial strengthening sea defence walls was put forward by the local community in 2019. In 2021 the planning permission for this application (SDNPA, 2021) was revoked following the appeal by the Sussex wildlife Trust, which called for the Environmental Impact Assessment. The planned interventions were expected to provide only temporary protection for the coastguard cottages, while permanent damaging part of the protected marine habitat (Sussex Wildlife Trust, 2021). So far, the government's policy priority for the nature recovery and biodiversity protection, strengthened with the new legal framework, such as the Environment Act (2021), makes still more difficult to find alternative solutions for sustaining coastguard cottages in the long-term. The most recent government initiative of setting up a

country-wide Nature Recovery Network (DEFRA, 2024), also includes the Nature Recovery Project for Seven Sisters coastline and hinterland. With the promise of opportunities for local communities and recovering the unique biodiversity of chalk habitats, the project could also facilitate further studies to underpin consultations and negotiations between the mutually exclusive objectives of cultural or natural heritage preservation.

This case perhaps illustrates not so much the conflict between sectoral policies and positions but among the local community interest groups. The SDNPA planning decision demonstrates careful manoeuvring between the nationwide priority of nature recovery and the objective of the preservation of the cultural layers of the landscape. However, as the both interest groups have suitable policy references and solid support networks for advocating for their cause, the process may keep going on until the nature has its final say.

Such controversies are not uncommon when decisions about re-wilding or re-naturing are considered (see, for example, Sarmiento-Mateos, *et al.*, 2019). Apart from more theoretical questions on what renaturing stands for (NAT.EXE.01), there are more practical difficulties regarding where these measures affect community interests. Unlike the campaigns for nature preservation against development interventions, the communities are not equipped to oppose the nature-led changes which affect their living environment.

*“So, for example, now we have this rewilding or restoration that goes on. And, you know, there are parts of this community that are feeling threatened. ... suddenly you have these new things coming in, you know - make space for water, make space for nature. So, they feel like, what was kind of established for them, it will change”. (EXP.ACAD.02)*

*“Can you imagine what would happen if people said we want to put solar panels all over our mediaeval churches? That would be quite a big issue. So exactly what the compromise isn't at the moment, the compromise is going to weigh heavily towards climate change”. (EXP.ACAD.03)*

The respondents mentioned that the conservation lobby can be pretty prevalent (NFP.02) and that some local communities consider National Parks should act as barriers to any new developments (LOC.NPA.EXE.03). The community interviews, as well as broader literature, provide notable references on the characteristics and conditions that shape and differentiate community preferences – making some passionate preservationists and heritage/eco-volunteers and others more passive observers of public affairs. The aspects also reflect the scholarly discourses on social class and cultural participation and are discussed further in Chapter 6.

Even though respondents admitted that heritage and landscape are well-represented in the policy and legislation terms, they were mentioned to be included in national policy discussions as a secondary issue, under the lead of the broader environmental and economic development topics. At the same time, the respondents mentioned that with the expansion of the heritage concept, its potential to acquire the necessary scope, dynamism and influence increases. On the other hand, such evolution also allows the space to accept change as part of historical development (NAT.EXE.01; EXP.ACAD.03).

*“I tend to find that the heritage sector is it's getting better at understanding how it can have influence. So, I think the heritage sector, like maybe 10 or 15 years ago, was very, very focused on saving buildings. And there was a lot of sorts of focus on fundraising to set up trusts to look after buildings. And I think now my perception of the heritage sector is that they've realized that these wider partnerships give them more influence and ability to get the outcome in different ways” (EXP.IND.02).*

These responses may be seen as aligned with the broader theoretical discourses in the heritage and landscape fields presented in the literature review. Together with the findings of the documentation study, they also affirm the degree of influence of these theoretical developments on policy and practice. Such mutual influence might suggest the need for further alignment and cross-fertilization of academic and policy discourses. However, offering specific recommendations on the ways and tools for such alignment would require a more focused study of the research impact evidence and existing collaborative platforms.

## *Fragmented Datascape*

While describing sectoral fragmentation, several respondents referred to data integration as a factor of great importance for seamless cross-sectoral cooperation. The use of different software platforms and systems by institutions may hinder access to updated information. It is common to exchange updates between organizations annually. The process is cumbersome, as the updates need to be translated from system to system manually.

*“I use a database that's run by Exegesis<sup>57</sup> ... And many of the HLCs in the country use that system. So, this is nonsense, but then, if you try to send data over to someone in the Forestry Commission, they will be using a bespoke database, for example, which will not talk to our Microsoft Access version” (LOC.COUNT.EXE.02).*

The HERs and HLCs are essential ingredients for planning and development decision-making in the historic environment. While there have been attempts to consolidate data available within heritage and landscape sectors, still not everything is integrated into a single system within and across sectors. The fragmentation of data affects not only the efficacy of planning decisions but also funding decisions.

*“When I look at a grant application, I'm incredibly reliant on the information that the local authorities hold. So, I don't have access to Historic Environment Record data. I can go online, and I can use Heritage Gateway, or I can use an online HER, but by and large, they are filtered datasets; And so, they're incomplete datasets. And in some cases, the most sensitive or critical sites are hidden from view.... for me, it would be really useful to have direct access to [the data]” (NAT.EXE.02).*

The varying software and charges for the use of the information also make it challenging for public and private users to access the data.

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<sup>57</sup>In 2016, Natural England appointed Exegesis to compile a national [HLC dataset](#), drawing together the existing sub-regional HLC datasets and applying a common framework, structure and terminology to a new unified dataset. Exegesis has also provided service to English Heritage/Historic England and local authorities to build a web gateway for unified access to Historic Environment Records. [Heritage Gateway](#) brings together 45 local HERs where about 20 of them provide map-based information as well.

*“Every HER is very different in terms of what they charge, what database system they use and what their turnaround period is sending data out and it's all dependent on the local authority and the people who are running the databases” (LOC.COUNT.EXE.02).*

One of the reasons for the fragmented digital systems in the heritage and landscape sectors is mentioned to be the inconsistent grant-based funding with limited life cycles (LOC.COUNT.EXE.02). Funding inconsistency may be even more problematic where the data services are outsourced to profit-driven private providers. Observing the evidence and interview analysis may suggest that market-based solutions may not be entirely suitable for the strategic cross-sectoral integration of nationwide digital data. To sustain and make effective use of digital systems, a consistent commitment to the public budget and a consolidated national vision may be necessary. The move towards this direction can be seen in the recent establishment of a special ministerial department for digital matters. However, it is not yet evident whether it will bring necessary positive changes to the sector-specific heritage and landscape data systems and cross-sectoral integration of digital data.

### *Fragmented policy and legal frameworks*

The respondents mentioned that the tendency of fragmentation also infiltrated the policy and legal frameworks for heritage and landscape. The disintegration of laws into mushrooming guidance and annexes was admitted to make it challenging to trace amendments, even for experienced professionals. The respondents were concerned about the fact that putting together a planning or grant application nowadays requires the involvement of a specialized company.

*“It used to be easier. There's been a proliferation of both legislation and related guidance in the last nearly 20 years. So, when we started with archaeology PPG16, it was pretty straightforward and simple. And it's just the amount of documentation since then has mushroomed and just grown hugely. So, it's probably made the decision-making process a lot more complex” (LOC.TDS.EXE.01).*

A number of the respondents (N=9) brought up the deregulation and 'laissez-faire' attitude when discussing the fragmentation of policy and legal frameworks, admitting that such an approach has loosened the grip of authorities on the governance processes. The respondents also admitted that policy and legal improvements have become risky undertakings, where consultation and lobbying may redirect the initially envisaged improvements to a different outcome.

*"And by and large, our government since the 80s, have not been in favour of any form of legislation, if they can avoid it, they don't really like regulations anymore. And they'd like to deregulate whenever they can. So it's, it's a bit like a risk to try to add a new the new Act of Parliament because you can't predict exactly whether it leads, strengthening or weakening of what you've already managed to achieve since the 60s" (EXP.ACAD.03).*

Such uncertainty may be seen as an indicator of distrust towards the government in general rather than the procedural issues related to lengthy consultations. The consultations allow consideration and integration of broader public and professional opinion into legal and policy development. However, doubts over the outcomes prevail. Similar feelings towards the government were observed in the community interviews (see Section 5.5).

The diffusion of government responsibilities may be seen as encouraging place-specific policy frameworks, adding complexity to the sectorally fragmented picture. Nevertheless, place-based policies were generally considered positive as they enabled a more integrated approach locally. The National Character Areas, for example, were mentioned by some respondents as an opportunity to consider culture and nature together, providing proactive guidance rather than a restriction to planning and development.

*"The good thing about those [National Character Areas] from my point of view is that they have statements of environmental opportunity at the end of them. And that includes culture and nature. So, it's about place, and it's about how all of these things fit together. I would like to see those as a model for this landscape recovery going forward" (NAT.EXE.01).*

Some of the areas for improvement were suggested to be greater community engagement and value-based assessment to give more local flavour to these opportunities.

*“I suppose the problem with them [National Character Areas] is that they, they were developed quickly without a great deal of community engagement. So, the people that live in those places didn't really have a say in the statements themselves” (NAT.EXE.01).*

The planning tools, such as Local and Neighbourhood Plans, may be seen as an opportunity to fill the mentioned gap, as shown by the interviews as well as the documentation study.

### *Fragmented public funding*

The insufficient and unstable government core funding emerged in the interviews as a significant challenge. It was considered a critical constraint to cross-sectoral collaboration and implementing statutory duties regarding heritage and landscape. More than half of the respondents at all levels of government organizations (N=14) mentioned the need to top up their budget in one way or another to implement their statutory duties. Some (N=6) characterized public funding as driven by politics, competitive, complex, and unsustainable; Others (N=9) described the measures to generate alternative income through commercialising services, selling land, or joined-up investment.

The public funding ecosystem was admitted as highly complex and ‘incredibly confusing’ even for experienced actors such as nationwide well-established charities (NFP.01). The organizations were mentioned to require substantial effort to keep the grant-based income relatively stable. Those organizations which had dedicated fund-raising teams to deal with complex applications, were better connected to funding sources, ready for opportunities, and had greater visibility in the sector were admitted to be more likely to succeed in grant competitions (LOC.COUNT.EXE.01; NPF.01). Similar concern was voiced by the community representatives who happened to work in a small non-governmental organization (COM.NCL.04\_Jenny).

*“Here's also like just an absolute plethora of funding coming through .... All of which has a slightly different decision-making process slightly different criteria for how you access the money on why it conformed, it's incredibly time-consuming to pull together applications, which are then competitive. .... And a lot of the time, we end up just saying it's just not worth our time to go for this funding” (NFP.01).*

While the core national funding has been significantly reduced since 2010, the local governments also had to adopt project-based fund-raising strategies to deliver their statutory duties. The respondents from local government organizations referred to the difficulty of maintaining the annual budget in balance and admitted with regret that any initiative on top of the essential services they deliver through reduced staff requires an alternative income source. The grant-based fragmented funding made important multiannual projects challenging to plan and deliver. The Historic Environment Record was mentioned as one of such fundamental projects requiring sustainable long-term funding to harmonize, update and improve. The multiple channels of grant provision require breaking the processes up, making it challenging to follow a single long-term vision. Such fragmentation also absorbs more resources for the project application, management, reporting, etc.

*“The grant situation at the moment is incredibly complex...We have grants for planning and designing woodland, and then we have other grants for creating the woodland for delivering it for putting the trees in. And then other things for woodland management. So, in terms of planning and designing new woodland, there is the woodland creation planning grant, which someone wanting to create new woodland can apply for, and then it goes through a staged process... And the outcome will be an approved UK forestry standard-compliant design plan, which in theory, then the holder of that... can go ahead” (NAT.EXE.02).*

The respondents admitted that insufficient public funding pushes government institutions to commercialize public services (N=4). A city council representative (LOC.TDS.POL.01) expressed his frustration about the fact that some of the public services are not for commercial purposes. Those public services that may be fit for commercial purposes find the area already occupied by private providers and need to out-compete them.

*“There are certain services that local authorities provide that are much more appropriate to review us to making commercial there are others that simply are not commercial activities. And equally, a lot of the areas where there are potential commercial opportunities are already fairly busy in the private sector. So, you know, there's a question*

*that needs to be asked...Is it the role of the public sector to intervene where the market is already providing?" (LOC.TDS.POL.01).*

Government institutions also outsource public services to private companies. The respondents were generally not satisfied with the outcomes. It was mentioned that companies find it difficult to work on an agreed budget and marginal profit, which makes them less efficient in undertaking the delegated tasks. At the same time, the government gets reduced control over the process.

*"I think fundamentally the problem is that they have to do it on an agreed budget. So, they need to make a profit, obviously. Like...I think that the model is, is no different to any other public service to achieve that profit stuff. And as a result, they have either fewer staff or less experienced staff. So, the quality of the decision isn't necessarily any better. And the council doesn't have control of the service quite so well" (LOC.COUNT.EXE.01).*

*"We were given our grant, which enabled us to hire somebody who was that we specialized in neighbourhood plan advising, but she said it was very hard work. And the pay was low compared to other fees she could get" (EXP.ACAD.01).*

The positioning of government institutions in an income-generating mode was also said to raise the feeling of political and structural disconnection at national and local levels. The local governments were mentioned to have represented an arm of the central government in the past; however, such a consolidated vision of government has somewhat faded. The diffusion of public and private services was mentioned to result in the blurred boundary between the responsibilities of each agent involved in the system.

*"Every local authority is looking at different aspects of commercialization of services; how can they start and generate income? But historically, you know, it was always pictured as we were a local arm of the central government in delivering services. And I would suggest that that's not the case now" (LOC.TDS.POL.01).*

Some of the respondents from the non-governmental sector, which primarily relied on public grants and from local authorities (N=2), spoke about the funding trends driven by the political priorities of the day.

*“So, yes, there's that there is a kind of a huge sense of competition, but it's also politically motivated, driven, which is why at the moment, we, you know, we've had cuts to our, our funds, yeah, a lot of it due to austerity in the budget, political choice, to say, actually, you know, you need to be more efficient, you need to be leaner, and you need to look at being more commercially minded, as well” (LOC.NPA.EXE.04).*

*“My impression is that different bits of funding come out because a minister wants to make an announcement about some funding that they've managed to secure. And so, you end up with just...It's driven by a political desire to make an announcement rather than something that makes sense to the actual place” (NFP.01).*

In such a climate, it was admitted to be complicated to create stable long-term improvements. Respectively, project goals were set to enable ‘announcements’ and an array of success stories for the donors to claim ownership of. Adapting to donors’ requirements was thus becoming a matter of necessity for survival.

*“So, like, if you don't apply it, you know, if everyone sorts of said, well, it's too complicated, we're not going to apply! Well, the government would say - Well, we offered the heritage sector, you know, 500 million pounds, and nobody applied for it. So clearly, there's no need in the sector for that money” (NFP.01).*

The way the actors sway to follow grant opportunities may not always be what a community needs. Thus, actors in the governance network may not always react when communities address them for help but reach out when a funding opportunity emerges. Institutions with solid membership bases can also successfully lobby their interests at the policy and funding levels. How these interests align with cross-sectoral, national and local priorities merits further focused analysis.

A small number of the representatives of non-governmental organizations and local authorities

(N=3) spoke of donations and philanthropy as substantial income sources that help bridge the budget gaps. Such funding streams were mentioned to be accessible through dedicated grants for various causes. Similar information was retrieved from the documentation study, which showed that donations to the National Park funds could contribute to the implementation of projects. At the same time, it informed that access to the pool of such income may have been related to the overall socio-economic profile of the area. For example, the SDNPA received more than twice as many donations as NNPA. Such a difference could be the effect of a much denser and affluent population.

*“We get a lot of philanthropy. So, we get people donating ten, twenty, hundreds of thousands, either through corporate sponsorship or upon their death. So that's, and that helps us deliver our purposes and duty” (LOC.NPA.EXE.02).*

*“And then also, our National Park Foundation is there to go and actually bring, you know, the majority of funding that we have, since the National Lottery...is private donations. So, it's private donors that have been, I guess, through a sense of connections through the trustees of our foundation and our senior managers, seeing as they're investing in the kind of the future through capital heritage projects or through nature conservation projects. And that's a big source of our income there” (LOC.NPA.EXE.04).*

The local government representatives mentioned selling public land as a standard way topping up local budgets. This option may be used, even where land may be left undeveloped as developers wait for values to rise. Such solutions only provide short-lived relief to the local budget and may hamper the delivery of housing and infrastructure targets. A local political representative highlighted the risk of local authorities being unable to deliver balanced budgets. To mitigate the risk of insolvency, Newcastle upon Tyne local government adopted a three-year budget planning approach instead of the commonly used annual one.

*“So local government is systematically being held back. And there's, you know, it would not surprise me in the next couple of years. If we start to see local governments in different areas, like we did see in Northamptonshire, declaring themselves bankrupt, that they're not*

*able to deliver core services because their budget that the cost expenditure of service delivery will outweigh, the contribution that comes from local government grants, I think, I think we're close to that brink" (LOC.TDS.POL.01).*

On the other hand, land development opens opportunities to negotiate some public benefits. Several respondents (N=3) referred to Section 106 of the Planning Law as a tool for extracting benefits for communities even where the development added pressure to local areas. The ratio of these benefits was admitted to depend on the local authority representative's skills, experience and motivation for the well-being of local people. Thus, again, some local authorities could be more advantaged than others.

*"So again, hats off to the challenge that I do loads of Section 106 - it is the way to get money from development for good causes. I negotiate quite hard; I use all sorts of levers, soft and hard. It's quite opaque. I like to think I'm doing the right thing, and I'm obsessed with trying to get community benefit, but it is a bit opaque, and it's a bit hidden; how keen you are on it, and that's my passion, a different chief planner or director will have a different passion where we do excellent" (LOC.NPA.EXE.02).*

The recent amendments to the planning policy improved the clarity of the subject by introducing the condition that the negotiated benefits should be higher than the benefit received through the new Infrastructure Levy. This way, a standard threshold appeared in the policy that may prevent the abuse of public interest in the negotiation process.

Many respondents (N=8) admitted that the lack of funding has reduced staff and qualified human resources in the public sector. The respondents from local authorities spoke of the 'brain drain' from the public to the private sector and the general lack of job opportunities. It is common for the employees to work part-time or in shared teams for specialized service delivery (for example, Lewes and Eastbourne have a joint planning team). Another issue flagged up in the interviews was the job equalization reform, which resulted in equalizing the status and benefits of the senior and junior staff members and limiting opportunities for career development. Such unfavourable, undervalued and precarious employment affects professional motivation and creativity, leaving no time or motivation for activities beyond daily routine (LOC.COUNT.EXE.02).

The interviews highlighted that budget cuts affect activities such as public outreach and communication in the first place (LOC.TDS.POL.01, LOC.COUNT.EXE.02). With the reduced capacity to engage in communication, public consultations often become a formality. Such formality was noted by the community representatives, too, who reacted with anger and mistrust to the forms of 'fake participation' (see Section 5.5). The respondents concluded that the localist approach to governance was ineffective without respective funding and human resources to enable community-based solutions.

*"There's no other way to know about them [the local problems] unless you record them through these consultations. But as I said before, I don't think they have a lot of tools to address them. So, I think sometimes it feels like, yeah, we have recorded this, this and that. And then that's it. There's nothing we can do...So, again, I think it comes down to restrictions due to funding. This [localism] cannot be successful unless you provide the relevant funding" (EXP.ACAD.02).*

At the same time, the high-level executives were more inclined to think that the lack of funding should not be an excuse; instead, it should promote more creative thinking about the efficient use of available resources.

*"There's not enough money, but my answer isn't necessarily to chuck more money at it; my answer would be, what are the things we do that we don't need so much money to do or don't actually produce great, great results?" (LOC.NPA.EXE.02).*

Some respondents believed funding efficiency could be improved by creating tools to demonstrate investments' positive economic impact. Similar to social and economic return models for museums and cultural establishments, the socio-economic return model for landscapes could facilitate visualizing the multifaceted positive impact of investments and contribute to a more holistic approach to place-based development in historic landscapes (LOC.NPA.EXE.05). Others thought that it was through increased funding and resources for local solutions within a top-down established framework, that the improvement in landscape governance in England could become possible (EXP.ACAD.02).

The documentation study exposed the strategic government decisions towards increasing funding opportunities for local actions through tailored funds and devolution of taxing powers to local authorities. As these processes are very recent and ongoing, the outcomes of these decisions will yet be observed in the forthcoming years.

### *Disciplinary fragmentation and the role of planning*

Disciplinary fragmentation was almost unanimously mentioned as a challenge by the respondents (N=20). They felt confined in their professional silos, even if there were various formal and informal interactions across related sectors.

*“I worry that as things get more complex and difficult, people get more and more into silos. ... And what I learn is, and I am a planner by profession - part of that is you get so entrenched in your own profession, that you are not as understanding of other views. And we've got so busy because there is the lack of resources to the degree that you don't have the time to lift your head up and say, oh, I understand that point of view. So, I worry about that” (LOC.NPA.EXE.02).*

From the disciplinary perspective, spatial planning appeared to be the most common area where various sectors intersected, and decisions about physical changes in landscapes on multiple scales were being strategized. One of the main challenges mentioned was the design of a holistic vision of the ‘national space’ without losing sight of the specificities of places.

*“The planning system is supposed to have been about... trying to get a focus on place and spatial relationships. That's s what it's doing, which other bits are not doing. And it's always been very difficult in a highly centralized country, which tends to think about the National Space has difficult thinking about the regional and the district and the city space and even more so the local space because it's so far away from its particular focus” (EXP.ACAD.01).*

‘Understanding others’ views might not always lead to balanced solutions, as power patterns continually influence and shift the balance among sectors, actors and places. The changing nature of the planning profession in recent decades could be seen as an indicator of such power interplay.

Some respondents from the sector admitted that ‘pride of planning is lost’ (LOC.NPA.EXE.02) as planners have been put in the service of private developers rather than grand narratives, ‘which made things back in post-war Britain’ (EXP.IND.03). Working on a treadmill of planning applications was admitted to devalue the planning profession, diminish its cross-sectoral steering role and public character.

*"Most planners are on a treadmill of applications rather than being that, you know, external advocate for the profession and what it can deliver. I feel like it's a very kind of downtrodden and disillusioned profession at the moment. And I think there is a real opportunity not helped by the government by saying, you know, it's not fit for purpose, and it's the, you know, delay to everything, and it's bureaucratic. And I think, if we could tackle that, it would just help shift mindset about what planning can do" (NFP.02).*

Despite these drawbacks, the respondents saw that planning could be a tool and a platform to help settle various kinds of conflicts by regulating public and private relations over specific territories and upholding the public interest. One of the respondents, a national executive from the heritage sector, eloquently described the risks of being lost in sectoral obsessions without joining up development visions through the planning process.

*"We're obsessed with protecting, you know, little features, little heritage features, blobs on the map, we might extend to protecting them at the level of agricultural holdings, so a particular farm, but very rarely do we join all of it together, to look at the wider landscape, and how it all fits together, and how we want to achieve either sustain or to change these places" (NAT.EXE.01).*

Planning was described as serving as the platform for the engagement of various actors at the early stage. In situations where there are no planning processes or planning permission procedures in place, the engagement was mentioned to be reactive and spontaneous. Quite a lot of these might have the NIMBY<sup>58</sup> character (EXP.ACAD.03; EXP.IND.02).

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<sup>58</sup> Acronym for “Not in my Backyard” that refers to opposition by residents to proposed developments in their local area.

*“In the wider countryside, in the landscape, many of the things that affect heritage in particular fall outside the spatial planning process. So, you don't have to ask permission to do them. And so, there is no overall planning process that covers everything. If it's not development, you know, if you're not building something, then in many cases, there are... no, there's no discussion. There's no plan. There's no opportunity to influence it” (NAT.EXE.01).*

The areas with Local and Neighbourhood Plans adopted were admitted to be better prepared to invite and harmoniously accommodate development with balanced benefits.

#### 5.2.4. Ideas and suggestions

Apart from the challenges and issues, the respondents also gave their ideas, suggestions and visions on possibilities for cross-sectoral integration. They are summarized in the sections below.

##### *Role of academia*

While government employees were described as overwhelmed by the day-to-day routine, the academic realm was seen as better positioned to address cross-sectoral integration. Universities and research institutions were mentioned as enablers to train cross-sectorally-minded professionals for the future.

*“The skills and the capabilities that are needed for a planner have changed. And so, it's not just as straightforward as getting some more planners; it's getting the planners with the right skills. And I think there are actually some skills gaps. So, I think it is about fundament, it's also about skills, and it's also about training and the university courses, actually - Are they geared up for the direction of travel?... What are the future needs and capacities, and capabilities? And are we training people for that? Because I'm not sure we are” (NFP.02).*

The closer collaboration of universities and research institutions with authorities was seen as a possible way to help optimize government resources on the one hand and, on the other hand, make the academic output better aligned with the needs of the field of practice.

*“They could learn a lot from researchers because research has evolved quite a lot in the past decade on these topics. But it doesn't look like the practitioners have moved on with that. And I think that's because there's a lack of connection between the two” (EXP.ACAD.02).*

This information contributes to the reflection on possible avenues for theory-practice integration mentioned in Section 5.4.3.2. It may suggest that such integration needs to be achieved step-by-step at each level of education and also in the form of lifelong professional learning and development.

### *International regulation*

The interviews included questions regarding the international and European standard-setting documents in heritage and landscape fields. Based on the responses, the international regulatory framework could be considered to have a secondary role in the day-to-day work of professionals or government executives. The principles enshrined in these documents have been embedded into national regulations and standards, which were the primary instruments of operation. At the same time, the interest in international regulations was admitted to be reinvigorated in the context of the post-Brexit transition, setting up the UK-specific policy and funding frameworks, but also because it offered a sense of belonging to the broader international community.

*“So, in a post-Brexit context, the reason why the UK is so interested in the European Landscape Convention and sort of renewed interest is that it becomes the international policy framework. So, that's retained. We are still members of the Council of Europe” (NAT.EXE.01).*

*“I think we do probably rely on some of that [international conventions] quite a bit in terms of... because, actually, in a lot of cases, the policy is the... is the, the backstop, if you like, is that it's the things that underpin the principles. And I'd say perhaps more so, for our environmental work, because there's some really key environmental principles that we, you know, we can play very strongly on the heritage and planning side; I think we use a lot of*

*them, you know, we've tried to influence and use a lot of the planning legislation, like the NPPF, and things like that" (NFP.01).*

These observations show that the international level may be suitable for advocating some overarching principles down through the hierarchy of governance tiers. They can be particularly valid in discussing the role of international bodies such as UNESCO, which are frequently criticised nowadays (see Chapter 2.3). These points also assist in reflecting on the balance within governance networks and suggest carefully synthesising the bottom-up and top-down governance tactics.

### *Enforcement and behavioural change*

The analysis of the interviews pointed to the fact that together with a holistic view, cross-sectoral integration also requires sufficient power of enforcement. Some respondents suggested a national platform or an institution could interlock culture, climate change, and economic development to improve cross-sectoral thinking.

*"But I don't think the answer is simply to make Historic England bigger because there's too much of his time on planning issues rather than standing back and taking a bigger look at the cultural heritage and seeing how it can be integrated more effectively into many policies for everybody's benefit. It's that aspect that's completely missing. An organization that can look at cultural capital or the benefits culture delivers; try and make sensible proposals about how buildings can effectively contribute to climate change and all the rest of it. I mean, no one's doing that. And so, if somebody has got to deal with all those aspects in a positive way and one which catches the imagination and has, like, high profile because I think only if that happened, will it then be possible for these issues to be properly integrated into the big discussions that are going on" (EXP.ACAD.01).*

The same respondents concluded that the power of ideas was the main tool to enable integration as an outcome of perception and behavioural change rather than policy enforcement.

*“In the end, unless a policy idea gets picked up into people's ways of thinking about things across the board, without that, we're not going to get much integration, you're not going to get people starting off with these things in mind. If heritage wants to be seen as something more than a sector, it's got to do a lot of talks: why, where does that fit in with all the other things that we're concerning ourselves with at the moment - with climate change, with worries about place quality and open space, with worries about social justice, all these other things, and environmental sustainability” (EXP.ACAD.01).*

Such a frank opening on the dichotomy of the enforcement and the mindset change leads to far broader theoretical discussions. While the research focus did not allow to elaborate further on this topic, the critical ideas for reflection could be sourced from the more comprehensive literature review.

#### 5.2.5. Participation from the top-down perspective

The issue of communication between elected government and citizens was voiced recurrently throughout the interviews. These themes were covered through questions about public participation but also emerged in the responses to questions on government and sectoral hierarchies.

The responses voiced an important message about the disconnection of citizens from governments and professional realms. One of the respondents, the local elected representative, admitted that despite the promoted Localist slogans, the government was meaningless for many people. Such disconnection was partly a result of the withdrawal of government from many areas of public provision and the reduction of local government staff and funding.

*“There is an increasing disenfranchisement of people from the state. So, you know, that actually, probably 20 years ago, there weren't that many communities in certainly in Newcastle, where there wasn't someone who worked for the municipality, whereas now, that's much less so. So, that direct link to the Council of what it was, you know, everyone knew someone, someone's mom or dad worked for the Council” (LOC.TDS.POL.01).*

Once thriving employment in local government offered a net of palpable, everyday human links for the local community. The NPM policy, reduction of staff and the outsourcing of public services have significantly damaged or eradicated that net. In the recent decade, the process of alienation was further accelerated by the government's overarching policy to become 'digital by default' (UK Government Cabinet Office, 2012). The authorities have invested in digital tools that are anonymous and standardized: online and phone chatbots, websites, etc. However, their effectiveness can be questioned from various points - ultimately, from the point of social responsibility, solidarity and ethics, as well as from equity and social justice. Some respondents also raised concerns about the lack of technology access, which excludes some social groups from the processes. The concern over the digital divide in the population has become amplified during the Pandemic (Weerakkody, 2021).

*"I think there is a big agenda from central government and local government to use this expression to be digital by default. But, you know, what does that mean? And what about all those people who don't have access? Or don't understand the forms of technology? I think it has the danger of, while superficially presenting as being inclusive, could be very exclusive. So, I've got, I've got certainly reservations about it" (LOC.TDS.POL.01).*

*"County Councils and district councils are not always very good at coming back to people... Some of our... some of our parish councils are required a better kick from us, even if we're giving them money. So, I think you'll struggle with..." (LOC.NPA.EXE.03).*

The concerns about government access have been among the critical issues the community representatives raised. Communication challenges were also tangibly demonstrated in the process of personal observation and engagement with the local planning decision process in Newcastle Upon Tyne. All these observations highlighted that interaction between the community and government is essential to happen at the human level regularly. While the future may look predominantly 'digital', the governance process is mainly about the present, with all its 'imperfections', including the entrenched need for person-to-person interaction.

## *Elected representatives and citizens*

The general feeling of public disenfranchisement demonstrated in community interviews was also acutely felt by government representatives. Local government, which once 'offered hope' for people, has suffered the most from the 'draconian cuts' of resources and had to cope with various public complaints. It was mentioned that even where there was enthusiasm and dedication, it was difficult to inspire and empower citizens.

*"My role is to represent everyone who lives in .... irrespective of colour, creed, political persuasion, and social position. If someone raises an issue with me, I will deal with it. You know, we go out, and we do our surgeries across the whole of the ward. We engage. But, you know, I think there's something that says, I think increasingly, in the UK, people who feel that government is absolutely meaningless to them" (LOC.TDS.POL.01).*

The elected representative from Newcastle expressed regret that local governments were tainted as a result of failures at the central government level and that the general opinion portrayed elected representatives as corrupt.

*"It's a challenge for local government because, you know, as far as a lot of people are concerned, and probably because they all have a view of the central government, and they just hear the messages that, as a local representative, you know, you're all getting brown envelopes of people giving you money; You drive around with a Rolls Royce, and you're really rich. And actually, there may be a few people who do that, but the vast majority do this voluntarily because they care. But we're tarnished. And that is really,... you know, and it's hard work" (LOC.TDS.POL.01).*

The voluntary nature of the political representation work made it hard to concentrate on public duties. As elected representatives are only paid expenses, they depend on other sources of income, reducing the time for their public duties. The former parish councillor noted that finding volunteers for parish council positions in small villages was difficult. In such areas, the councillors were either retired people who had some income and time or people with particular personal

interests in power (EXP.IND.03). Formal lobbying practice further tainted the image of national and local governments (LOC.COUNT.EXE.01; EXP.ACAD.01; NFP.01).

*“There's that age-old question of, you know, pay people enough money and get the best people, as it is. Local government is set in a way that is probably very mixed. When you get big municipal cities like Newcastle, Manchester, etc., you probably get more people who are employed and do an hour of counselling as well. [In] smaller areas, the vast majority of [councillors] more likely to be retired...And yeah, if you didn't, you know, you couldn't afford it. I think it works out probably circa less than 1000 pounds a month. So, you wouldn't; you need some other income. If you weren't to the point where you were receiving a pension or if you had a partner whose income was sufficient?” (LOC.TDS.POL.01).*

*“Often, the problem with parish councillors is the people who push themselves forward are a certain type of person. They want self-promotion. They want to be powerful. They have funny ideas. The same as politics at every level, really” (EXP.IND.03).*

The community representatives also confirmed such an opinion. They named lack of time and longer working hours among the reasons why skilled people find it challenging to engage in the council's work.

*“To be honest, I could not tell you the single name of the person on the parish council; I do not know them. And I think, increasingly, parishes are finding it difficult to get people to take part in that democracy. I think, possibly, because people who are at work are working long hours. And whereas 20-30 years ago, they might have felt they had the time to give something back to the community. That doesn't happen so much now” (COM.NCL.13\_David).*

### *Executive professionals and citizens*

The respondents from local executive professional positions presented their work as routine-driven and ‘text-book-focused’, discouraged from innovation and initiative, with a limited budget

hardly stretching to cover their salaries. Most of them stated their reactive role, being involved in decision-making when asked to provide advice in planning consultations and having to cope with the workload while bearing high responsibility (LOC.TDS.EXE.01, LOC.COUNT.EXE.01, LOC.COUNT.EXE.02). There used to be more time and money for collaborative projects but also public outreach. However, due to the reduced budget, such projects now require fund-raising and are not systemic. The employees felt they lacked contact with citizens.

*“I would love to go back to the have the option to be able to do some outreach. Because I think it's not only good for the public, for example, to observe what we do, that they've got very little knowledge of what we do” (LOC.COUNT.EXE.02).*

The representatives of the academia shared this concern. They admitted that with the discredited government institutions, government employees have little motivation and resources to stand out.

*“No one likes going to work, where everyone says, “You're rubbish at what you do!”. So sometimes, it's better not to do anything for that. That's my feeling. No one has said that, but that's the picture I see sometimes” (EXP.ACAD.02).*

Such a working environment was seen as to deprive public sector employees of the opportunity to be thinkers, doers, and risk-takers. The relatively low pay for professional jobs in local councils was mentioned to further amplify the lack of professional opportunities and lead to the shortage of specialists in local public institutions. Some respondents (N=8) admitted that the shortage of employment opportunities in the heritage sector made it less attractive for young people. At the same time, many admitted that councils struggled to pay experienced professionals.

### *Outreach, engagement, and participation*

An important part of the interview questions was dedicated to public engagement, participation in decision-making and the outreach strategies of the organizations. Most respondents discussed the various mechanisms and tools for outreach and participation (N=17). From these, the National Park representatives provided the most information from the institutional actors. The majority of

the respondents from organizations (N=16) admitted having a positive public participation experience. During the interviews, one of the most intensively discussed subjects was the “motivation for engagement”, with more than 50% of the respondents providing their opinion (N=11). Unequal conditions for engagement and participation were flagged up by nearly all respondents (N=17). Valuable information about participation and engagement came from planning policy discussions, where several respondents (N=7) admitted the issues related to participation and inclusion in local plan-making.

A significant definition was given by one of the respondents on the overall commitment to heritage and landscape as part of the traditional British middle-class culture. This culture was said to render heritage an important political instrument and the ground for public engagement in heritage and landscape decision-making.

*“At a kind of a broad cultural level, heritage and landscape are very, very important in kind of a British cultural, a particular kind of bourgeois culture, middle-class culture, is deeply embedded going back centuries, really. So, that concept for landscape, one can unravel that and where that's all come from, but we're kind of nostalgic, backwards-looking. So, that means that supporting heritage investment and protecting heritage has a very important political dimension of support” (EXP.ACAD.01).*

This statement echoes the academic debates in England in the 1990s and after on heritage's backwards-looking, nostalgic character and the authorised heritage (see Chapter 2.4). Among the respondents, there was a shared awareness of the highly elitist nature of the authorized version of British culture. For example, the employees of National Parks, the representatives from the industry and academia - all were aware of the socio-economic barriers to enjoying National Parks, even if public enjoyment is their primary purpose. The documentation study and community interviews confirmed these concerns over equitable access to heritage and landscapes.

*“National parks have come to represent something that's quite elitist to some people. So, although their origins are very much born from public protest around access to land for recreation. You know, even the act of walking can now be seen as an elitist activity because people see that you have to have the right equipment” (LOC.NPA.EXE.05).*

Some respondents thought it was a matter of a shared understanding of values. They mentioned the ‘virtuous circle’ of understanding, valuing, and caring, promoted by English Heritage, as a helpful tool for raising awareness and improving the protection of national and local heritage.

*“If people understood something, they would value it more. If they valued it, they would care for it. So, with that kind of virtuous circle thing, which tends to be less used now. It's not really explicit at all in any of the policy documents, but it's still working on those kinds of principles for public benefit” (LOC.NPA.EXE.04).*

This principle, nevertheless, remains at the core of government outreach and participation strategies. Various outreach mechanisms, such as volunteering programs, thematic consultations, place-based clusters, school programs, etc., appear to be used by almost all interviewed organizations to foster the understanding, valuing, and caring of heritage. To a certain degree, these mechanisms could be seen as instruments for promoting authorized forms of heritage; however, they also offer a channel for bottom-up or cross-sectoral engagement and the diversity of values and perspectives.

The income-oriented policies seem to have added a further dimension to the outreach programs. Organizations' communication strategies are increasingly built around promotion and competition to attract members, customers, and donors. As one of the respondents highlighted, this process is driven by the reduction of the state, politically and the competition for funding, looking at the market forces and sources of funds, like philanthropy for environment and heritage (LOC.NPA.EXE.04).

### *Public consultations*

Public consultations form the basic type of outreach method. Consultations are required by policy and law and thus are embedded in most decision-making procedures. The respondents described the consultations as related to the planning field, pointing to the challenge of involving large and diverse swaths of the population. The engagement was mentioned to vary depending on the socioeconomic background and across age groups.

Public consultations were mentioned as more and more often accessible via digital platforms. The respondents spoke about actively using websites and social media platforms to enable more effortless engagement and communication for some interest groups. They also admitted that digital engagement was increasing in recent years (LOC.NPA.EXE.02). Experts in the field pointed out that more affluent and younger people tend to use digital social platforms as a way of engagement with authorities (ENP.IND.02; EXP.IND.01).

The challenge for the authorities was admitted to be reaching those social groups who do not engage in formal communication platforms. Heritage-related consultations were noted as of relatively low public interest. For example, in the small southern town of Lewes, the consultation on the planned Conservation Area extension returned only 20 comments.

*“Anything we do that has a policy imperative, that has an impact on communities, even things like extending conservation area boundaries, we always consult, and the issue is maybe more or as much, who responds to that consultation and how the consultations work because the numbers certainly in the case of conservation area extensions are decidedly low. So, I think in the case of one quite central conservation area extension, we probably only got 20 responses from a population that's quite significant. And I guess the question that exercises all of us in public authority is how do we reach the people that tend not to respond to consultations” (LOC.TDS.EXE.02).*

Interestingly, the subject of heritage has also received relatively little feedback in the community interviews. It may suggest the respondents’ general preoccupation with everyday routines and related challenges, which were not commonly associated with formal heritage. Historic England’s new program on Everyday Heritage further supports this observation, pinpointing the need to reach beyond formal heritage narratives and embrace those values that have not been included in the heritage discourses.

The representatives of the government organizations were, in general, aware of the limitations of public consultation, but they lacked the time and resources for alternative, more meaningful and productive ways of communication (LOC.COUNT.EXE.02). Such forms of communication require

dedicated teams to reach ‘over the heads’ of usual participants of public consultations. The representative from a coastal town in East Sussex described the experience of using such a consultation approach:

*“There was a team of people who were, not for COVID, would quite literally have knocked on doors in those affected streets, because of COVID, that direct face-to-face engagement was inhibited. But there was a whole series of online Zooms. There were some street meetings, I think, where that was possible. And I think that did extend beyond the usual suspects, as it were. And I think that is something we're very keen to do to reach over the heads of the usual [participants]. Not that their voices are not interesting” (LOC.TDS.EXE.02).*

The blended approach was considered effective in reaching mixed audiences. A representative of a National Park admitted that technologies are successful, but physical meetings were still necessary to carry the message and engage in debates with those who had less access or were less accustomed to digital communication.

*“It's sort of two sides of that coin. One is about reaching out to those people who don't necessarily have access to digital and social media. And in that sense, the strategy is still to physically meet a lot of people where we can in draughty old town halls and village halls, if necessary, produce paper, and we still provide paper copies of stuff. We don't advertise it. And we try not to, but clearly, if that's appropriate, we will do [it]. The other side is actually more interesting, which is how do we better utilize media, social media, to get our message across to young and old and in different ways” (LOC.NPA.EXE.02).*

Some government executives and elected representatives were more inclined to think that the representation ensured through consultations was sufficient and that communities were provided with the appropriate mechanisms to achieve their objectives and priorities.

*“Individuals attend [consultation meetings], but they represent networks. They represent farmer groups, landowning groups, all kinds of people, and communities. So, there is an*

*opportunity for them to shape what we do. So, yes, we came up with a proposal and even the initial proposal was based on their suggestions” (NAT.EXE.01).*

*“We have a lot of different social media, we have our surgeries, we have public meetings, we hold drop-in sessions, we do litter picks with groups, so we do quite a lot of activity on a very localized basis. So, I'd say that we're probably we're always available on emails, phones, etc. So, I would say that we're, we're, we're pretty tuned. And I think there's a reasonable two-way form of communication in a localized area. We, as a council, established something called Let's Talk a few years ago as a program of activity, which was a form of engagement and communication tool” (LOC.TDS.POL.01).*

Nevertheless, the respondents from institutions pointed out that the inclusion and participation practices largely remained limited to more affluent and educated social groups. More affluent areas also tend to have better local and neighbourhood plans and are well-prepared to protect their interests.

*“You tend to get good neighbourhood plans in affluent areas where people are engaged, intelligent, they're not excluded by the complexity of the planning system. And I think for me public engagement and participation shouldn't be reliant on that. We need to reach everyone. I don't think it will because I genuinely don't think it works across the board. I think it's really, really mixed” (NPF.01).*

*“And yeah, we get a lot of complaints, and it takes up a lot of officer time because, you know, people could do, I mean, they are very engaged in their community. They're very aware. They're very generally very educated, often affluent; they're prepared, they care about the area. So they will, yeah, they'll fight to protect it”(LOC.NPA.EXE.03).*

While the issue of unequal engagement of different social groups seemed to be known to most respondents from institutions, some accepted public consultation as a formal necessity, where someone, in the end, needs to make a decision (LOC.NPA.EXE.03). Only a few respondents described the experience of reaching marginal groups. Apart from the door-to-door approach

mentioned above, the schools were engaged to communicate with such groups (LOC.TDS.EXE.02; EXP.ACAD.01). These efforts largely depend on funding but, more importantly, on the understanding of the problem and institutional and personal commitment.

*“The question is how representative are any of these consultation processes when it comes to heritage, because, as we know how it, you know, certainly in Britain at the moment, but certainly in England, there is a huge tension over what cultural heritage is and who defines the narrative and I think when we talk about consultation of heritage, how do we do that consultation in a way that genuinely draws on the broadest definition of Community?” (LOC.NPA.EXE.05).*

*“So, you know, we pay! We have grant funding for some of the poorest schools to come out into the countryside. And, you know, we're trying to... We've got in the National Parks, got an initiative that every school child spends the night under the stars in the National Park”(LOC.NPA.EXE.03).*

Due to the research limitations, it was not possible to gather opinions on the mentioned cases from the point of view of the involved community. Nevertheless, community representatives' statements generally matched the opinions of institutional respondents on the socioeconomic conditioning for public engagement (see Section 5.3).

### *Nature of engagement*

Several respondents shared their thoughts about the characteristic features of public engagement. Most respondents admitted that commonly, the engagement was reactive to proposed changes and that people found it challenging to embrace upcoming changes until they started happening. Local political representatives, executives, and representatives from non-governmental sectors similarly confirmed that public engagement in policy-making was difficult. In their words, most of the time, local people did not know what was going on at the policy level, what were funding schemes, etc.

*“However much you try and engage people at the policymaking stage, if they can't see how*

*that's actually going to look, change the land, it's difficult to engage them” (LOC.NPA.EXE.02).*

*“I think that is my concern about the White Paper. I think this notion that everybody will suddenly become really engaged with a local plan in their area, I think is misguided because, in my experience, people won't become involved until it becomes tangible for them.... I think, actually, plans are quite abstract for people” (NFP.01).*

The community representatives generally confirmed the above statements. For example, the respondents described their involvement in the local council’s annual budget planning, admitting that making sense of the complex procedures and policy frameworks and meaningfully commenting on the abstract budget priorities was nearly impossible.

The respondents from the industry also expressed their worries about the proposed planning policy reforms in England, specifically from the engagement point of view. In their opinion, the proposed planning policy (MHCLG, 2020) risked reducing public engagement in planning for their environment as it required involvement at the early stage of the policy creation. They were too aware that policy-making was complicated for the general public to engage in, and local communities would likely miss the chance to promote their needs at the plan-making stage. They would also lose an opportunity to restrict or influence development case-by-case (NFP.01; EXP.IND.02 and others).

*“The government has done some assessments of the number of people involved in consultation; I think they say 5% for planning applications, they're not quite sure 5% of what, and 1% for the local plan, which is a bit easier to calculate, because you could say the plan is for districts or how many people in the district have responded to the plan. So on that basis, it's somewhat odd to suggest that we should just have local plans and not planning applications because that would reduce public engagement enormously” (EXP.IND.02).*

*“And people.... they don't like the planning bill. They think it will take away their control of what happens in that area. They won't be able to stop housing from being gone because of*

*that sort... So, there's a lot of NIMBY elements in .... And lots of distrust of government” (EXP.ACAD.03).*

Some heritage professionals pointed out similar gaps already existed in the current legislation. They admitted that planning permissions were not required for many interventions in rural areas and landscapes, which allowed these developments to go unnoticed and unmonitored. Once changes appeared, it was usually too late to reverse the process.

*“Many of the things that affect heritage, in particular, fall outside the spatial planning process. So, you don't have to ask permission to do them. And so there is no overall planning process that covers everything. If it's not development, you know, if you're not building something, then in many cases, there are no... there's no discussion. There's no plan. There's no opportunity to influence it” (NAT.EXE.01).*

Another necessary condition for public engagement mentioned by the respondents from institutions was the feeling of potential impact. They admitted that there was a lot of distrust and mistrust about the government and that people generally did not feel they had influence over the government.

*“My experience is, people tend to get involved when they're concerned about something, rather than feeling, I think there is a feeling that they can't have an impact. And so they tend to engage in a campaigning adversarial way to try and stop something” (LOC.NPA.EXE.03).*

In their view, the mistrust was often underpinned by the awareness of the government's position to back developers and big capital.

*“I think, probably, there's a general feeling that things get pushed through. Because the planning system is increasingly weighted towards development and developers. And if a project is refused, for some reason or the other, quite often, a developer will simply appeal against it and go to the next level up, and eventually, they'll win because they've got money and funding, and they'll keep on going. And then the government, the Secretary of State,*

*often takes their sides anyway, “...” and that's how the Planning Bill stands at the moment... And that's part of this feeling that people are powerless against the government structures” (EXP.ACAD.03).*

Developments in the physical landscape were mentioned to be what most often trigger the public response. It helps to consolidate and streamline local capacities and efforts, which, at times, can grow strong enough to change the political landscape. As an example, some respondents pointed to the construction of the high-speed rail HS2 route and planning policy reform. In their opinion, the controversies around these have made the Conservative Party lose by-elections in its traditional heartland constituencies in 2021 (EXP.ACAD.02, EXP.ACAD.03; Tapsfield, 2021).

*“I suppose it [the risk or a threat of change] helps focus people's minds, and people perhaps, then maybe appreciate their own environment more so than they would have done before. You take it for granted, don't you? And you know, it's not that they don't genuinely care about it. They just didn't think it was at risk” (LOC.COUNT.EXE.01).*

These observations help to clarify the critical characteristics of public engagement in decision-making over their living environment as reactive, instantaneous and case-specific. The planning policies, therefore, should enable room for reaction and adjustment where public interest prevails. At the same time, to encourage community engagement in planning, it seems that more time should be invested in different participatory planning tactics. These tactics should explain and establish links between the historic environment's abstract complexity and the everyday challenges of living in a place. Without such a connection, the governance and planning decision-making risks being trapped in local particularities or imposing larger-scale priorities without considering the local issues.

### *Bottom-up engagement opportunities*

The institutional respondents discussed a range of bottom-up tools for engagement in the historic environment. Neighbourhood Plans were discussed at greater length, as they are embedded in the policy framework. They were commonly admitted to be valuable instruments for community

participation in planning as it gave them a much-needed formal platform to voice their needs and work together to put forward their interests and claims. They were thought essential to go beyond individual decision-making routines and bring up new places-related information.

“There are lots of... lots of places where the locals know all about the archaeology; they know about things that aren't on the record” (LOC.COUNT.EXE.01).

The respondents from institutions have mentioned other bottom-up ways for place-specific information to emerge. For example, the Community Heritage Lists, even if not officially registered, were mentioned to assist local authorities in managing the territory in coherence with local community interests (LOC.NPA.EXE.05).

Similar to community interviews, the issue of social inequality also emerged in the discussions over bottom-up public engagement, featuring the divide between people who ‘can put pen to paper’ and others who are less skilled in articulating their demands, as well as the divide between more affluent and less affluent neighbourhoods. However, the process of drawing up the Neighbourhood Plans was said to offer convenient ways of communication between the members of the local community (EXP.ACAD.01), especially because their adoption is based on a local referendum (EXP.IND.02). Thus, the possibility to express the opinion was admitted to be available to all community members.

*“So, there's always that kind of reaching out to test whether our discussions were going off by themselves, or we're continuously grounded in community. And that wasn't something that I suggested or cultivated; it was something that was there by people's sense of a terrific responsibility that they had working like that” (EXP.ACAD.01).*

The representatives of institutions were aware of the pride and the desire of communities to be regarded as equal citizens regardless of location or social status.

*“Nobody wants to be pitied if you like; they want to feel that their status is being rewarded, or at least acknowledged, that I think any project you're involved in has to take account of that. They don't want charity” (EXP.IND.01).*

Thus, the essential questions that emerged through interviews were how to strengthen communities to enable them 'to push themselves for what they want' and how to ameliorate conditions for inclusive decision-making, even where the outcomes may not be satisfactory to everyone.

*"It's very difficult to capture that [inequality]. And we don't have enough evidence to understand exactly how unequal things are... There's no way you can satisfy everyone. So I don't think there's a solution. But definitely, the benefits and the costs are not distributed equally" (EXP.ACAD.02).*

Some respondents pointed out that education could be a tool for empowerment. National Parks were mentioned to offer a good platform for such educational engagement and learning. These practices seemed to resonate with the policy of the 'virtuous cycle' of understanding, valuing and caring, mentioned earlier, but also with a more critical discussion on the authorized heritage and expert culture highlighted in the reviewed literature.

### *Success Stories, visions and a way forward*

Institutional respondents referred to various kinds of success stories on good public engagement practices and local community participation (N=9). Most of these were place-based initiatives, for example working with rural communities on the preservation of historic farm buildings (NAT.EXE.01), preservation of historic street pavement (LOC.TDS.EXE.02), digital interpretation for a scheduled monument (LOC.NPA.EXE.05), installation of sea defence systems in historic coastal landscape (LOC.NPA.EXE.03), high street rehabilitation (LOC.TDS.EXE.02), preservation of trees (NFP.02), working on the Neighbourhood Plan (EXP.ACAD.01), etc.

On a broader landscape and regional scale, the successful collaboration and engagement projects were the collaboration for the Dark Skies project, organizing farm clusters (LOC.NPA.EXE.03; LOC.NPA.EXE.02), setting up a citizen's panel, assistance to local small and medium-sized businesses in adaptation during COVID-19 pandemic (LOC.NPA.EXE.05).

A national government representative referred to improved administration of the government funding for the regeneration of towns, which emphasizes cross-sectoral collaboration between

business and community groups ‘to reflect the overall ambitions for that particular place’ (NAT.EXE.01). Other important nationwide initiatives were mentioned to be the work of DEFRA on landscape recovery in the scope of long-term environmental land management schemes for enhancing the environment (NAT.EXE.01). Training provided by the Forestry Commission for local councils’ archaeologists was highlighted to be successful specifically in terms of cross-sectoral awareness-raising (NAT.EXE.02).

Overall, it was observed that the cases of successful cross-sectoral and community communication were relatively modest in comparison with the more negative experiences. The academics, national executives and higher-profile managerial staff were more inclined to talk about improvements and success stories, while local council employees and professionals from the industry did not seem to be equally enthusiastic.

About half of the respondents (N=10) shared their views on steps and actions to tackle the issues they raised during the interviews. These actions mostly referred to the powers and responsibilities of the national government: setting up a fund for digital planning, establishing industry standards (EXP.IND.02), simplifying the planning system and increasing public engagement at the plan-making stage (LOCA.NPA.EXE.02), harmonizing natural and cultural capital approach, incorporating values of landscape and heritage (NAT.EXE.01), providing cross-sectoral training of executive staff of government organizations (NAT.EXE.02), streamlining calls for funding applications (NFP.01), strengthening government’s enforcement power against unauthorized or inappropriate developments, improving the quality and availability of data and making digital systems consistent and accessible, enabling real-time information for more efficient public engagement (NFP.02).

While some respondents prioritized simplified planning procedures, others preferred to reduce the permitted development rights. However, even they admitted that the current decision-making system is ‘report-heavy’. A different, innovative method for decision-making was deemed necessary, which should be more accessible to people.

*“I think we need to be really innovative and change the information we have and how it's displayed and how it's accessed actually, to make it more accessible for people” (NFP.02).*

Most respondents considered that strategic planning at the national and regional levels was needed to handle the environmental and socio-economic challenges while providing a robust framework for local decision-making.

*“Given the climate and environment challenges that we have, I think there is something around strategic level planning that is missing. And we're seeing, you know, some unitary authorities and joint local plans and authorities are recognizing this kind of beyond-your-boundaries notion, actually. We can't deliver this in isolation” (NFP02).*

The number of respondents also reflected on the responsibility of decision-making in the context of the future heritage, calling for a bolder vision and actions.

*“So imagine if we put up a whacking great big office in the middle of the countryside that isn't designated because that's the modern cathedrals. And then grew a town in a really planned careful way with biodiversity. Zero carbon sustainable, low water usage, and nutrient neutrality. We know we need that bolder vision. And then we can both conserve and enhance our cultural heritage and create a new one” (LOC.NPA.EXE.02).*

Ultimately, the interviews emphasised the need to return to meta-narratives and the resurgence of planning as a positive instrument for place-making and sustainability.

*“The most powerful thing that could help the planning system is it being seen as something positive, as it being seen as the profession about placemaking and sustainability actually, you know, and when it's working at its very best, the benefits it can bring to everyone you know, to the economic growth of the area, to well-being, to the how it looks to housing and jobs and actually planners can do that” (NFP.02).*

These observations, too, seem to support the above reflections on the transversal links through various governance scales. Overall, the interviews with experts and institutional representatives highlighted that planning for a historic environment could bear the potential for embedding place-specific and overarching issues, being reflective of individual and public interests and being sensitive to the past while making decisions for the future.

### 5.3. Themes emerging from community interviews

The respondents from the community could be described as people with solid social and political consciousness. The vast majority of the participants (N=10) knew who were their neighbourhood's political representatives to the local council or national government. Most of them could name them or knew where to find the names and contacts if needed. A few knew the local elected representatives informally through local social circles. Others mentioned meeting them during local election campaigns or other formal community consultations.

#### 5.3.1. Bottom-up view of government

Although most respondents reported having some experience in participating in local decision-making, only a few stated that the process had a positive outcome. In their words, these outcomes were earned through perseverance, hard work, and, in some cases, through teaming up with a larger group of interested community members and other actors.

*"Local government runs at a snail's pace, and it takes years to get anything through, and I kept having a go: "Any news? Any news? Any news?" you know, constant emails I was sending, and eventually, we got through, but it took four years" (COM.NCL.09\_Sylvia).*

*"My neighbours have a little boy who is now five, and we laughed that he would be off to university by the time [the local government responds] ... and that he would not get the benefit of the quiet street, but they did do it in the end" (COM.NCL.04\_Jenny).*

The majority of the respondents viewed local government as not helpful and untrustworthy structure. They found communication with the local government frustrating and time-consuming. Retired people with low income were more inclined to see the system as not helpful, partly because they compared the present and past situations and pointed to the shrinkage of local government funding and resources in recent decades. Understanding this situation made some respondents more tolerant towards local governments' failures in providing good quality public services.

*“They do respond, you know, they do respond as best they can. But I think there are, they have had... local councils have had... financial... it's been difficult for them. Not that I'm trying to make excuses. But I think it has had an impact on, I mean, they've got rid of so many, I know, staff, that lost their jobs and stuff like that, you know, they've got less people to do this. And they're looking for ways of saving money to do that” (COM.NCL.08\_Lynne).*

The employed people with middle income were observed to mention local government more positively, although in a rather personalized manner - they may have liked a specific councillor but not necessarily be happy with the local government, pointing to a lack of competence or being sceptical about the work of the council in general. They were also more cautious in voicing personal opinions, although at times, they found it challenging to keep the neutral language.

*“Yeah, I am sceptical as well. There is a lot of...like...deadwood” (COM.NCL.02\_Bethan).*

The obstacles in communication with the local government were easier to overcome when having personal contacts and good social networks. Several respondents admitted that social networks mattered in achieving what you wanted.

*“Because I was in with the council, I, I could literally pick up the phone to the right person ... And then say, “Look, we want to do this. Can we do it?” And, you know, this is where it broke down barriers. And we were, you know, well placed to work to take it on” (COM.NCL.14\_Brian).*

*“I think you get soon realize, particularly in our field, that it is who you know if you get somewhere, so that you can slug away...” (COM.NCL.01\_Trícia).*

The respondents admitted that the personal qualities of individual employees or councillors were very important to the local government's image. Some identified poor performance councils (Newcastle upon Tyne) compared to others (North Tyneside, Stockport). The positive attitude was mainly derived from the experience of having timely and constructive responses from individuals in charge and a feeling that their problems were considered and help was provided to them in finding the way into the system, especially where the system failed to respond. In other cases, it

was the personalities of local politicians that were considered impressive. An emphasis on personal communication supported the observations presented in Section 5.2.4 on the importance and quality of human-scale interaction in governance networks as well as the personal observations through the autoethnographic study (see Textboxes 2 and 3).

The respondents were inclined to think that the positive outcomes in communication could be associated with pre-election periods. A respondent from Gateshead recalled the street was cleaned up immediately after the request and related the prompt reaction to upcoming elections.

*“So, I know that my last complaint got the street cleaned. So, (Laughing out loud) before the elections, that makes a difference! That was amazing! I’ve never seen it swept before for ten years, and it was swept” (COM.NCL.08\_Lynne).*

The lack of capacity and resources of the parish councils was a particular concern in rural areas, although here, too, the personal qualities were noted to make a difference.

*“It probably depends on what type of person you’ve got in the Parish Council, whether he succeeds and becomes the, the top layer of the village and things, or whether is bypassed and, I think for a while, although we look to the Parish Council, I think, you know, people just bypass it” (COM.NCL.14\_Brian).*

### 5.3.2. Engaging with governance network

The respondents spoke about the existing governance arrangements and their experience in finding their way into the system. They mentioned the difficulty of understanding the governance network, as many of the former local government functions got outsourced to semi-public agencies or private and non-profit actors who acted on behalf of the government, providing various community services. Such a diffused governance system was difficult to cope with as different actors are responsible only for a part of the issue. Therefore, it became nearly impossible to solve a problem, or it took a very long time and great effort to get the problem solved. These opinions were similar to the concerns expressed by the representatives of organizations on the

diffusion of government duties and responsibilities.

*"We never got back to this because basically, what he [the representative of the company spraying weedkillers in the neighbourhood] said is - "This is what we'll do, this is why we do it, that's the way it is!" And I said - "Yes, but you're not answering these health concerns I've got!" Because obviously, it's at a much higher level than him replying. It's somebody else who needs to take all these things! But it just stopped! Now, I could have escalated this. And say I'm not willing to accept no answer. But you know, if you take that for every issue that you might have, or you might want to consult about, got to feel quite passionate to have the energy behind it"... " You know what I mean? And the average person isn't going to get upset... the kids, go shopping and get the work, clean up,...with a partner, sort things out... upset about that... COVID kicks in... and... your passion for an issue kind of wilts. And I'm sure that's kind of what most politicians, whatever level, are kind of hopeful, that it might just fizzle out"(COM.NCL.08\_Lynne).*

The distrust towards the government commonly resurfaced when describing the issues with engaging with the governance network. As voiced by Lynne in the comment above, the government actors are imagined as hostile 'others' vs. the community of 'us'. These descriptions are similar to the image of an impenetrable fortress that emerged through the personal experience of communication with formal government institutions in an attempt to gather the respondents for interviews.

A particularly interesting experience was shared by one of the older age respondents, who happened to participate in the Scrutiny Involvement Panel for Council Tenants (SIFT) set up as an opportunity for them to improve the council services. As a lower-income person, she was frustrated that the council was paying a 'fortune' to an outsourced facilitator without actually improving communication or services.

*"It turned out that this same woman who was supposedly our liaison [for the SIFT committee]. She did not belong to the council. She'd been paid by the council to do what she was doing with us. But she was also paid by the council to do other things, which I think is a bit dodgy because, I mean, I found out that she had all these groups, maybe about six*

*or seven groups that she looked after, and she'd get paid a fortune for..." (COM.NCL.03\_Jo).*

Sieving public funds through the layers of private providers seemed to frustrate the community representatives, who were well aware of the overall reduction of local government spending. Furthermore, tucking these additional layers in the communication chain seemed unjust, making it nearly impossible to track down the responsibility for a particular issue.

The respondents admitted the poor communication within local government structures, such as planning, waste collection, roads department, etc. The sub-governmental agencies were characterized as donor-oriented and competing for funding, which made it hard to sustain effective actions from year to year. Several participants reported having pointless communication with them. These responses were also verified through personal observation and participation in local council planning application procedures.

### 5.3.3. Participation from the bottom-up perspective

Twelve out of 14 respondents reported participating in the local government decision-making process in one way or another. Most of them (N=7) spoke about their experience of receiving local government invitations for participation in different local affairs via a letter through the door or online.

Even though the sample was relatively small, the analysis of the community interview responses suggested a possible link between participation in decision-making, income and years lived in the neighbourhood. The respondents at the lowest or highest income margins seemed more likely to participate in various public affairs than middle-income ones. Also, those living in the area for a long time (more than ten years) were more engaged in local neighbourhood issues and more actively participated in decision-making.

Participants admitted that engagement patterns differed among the age groups. Some respondents, for example, regretted that young people nowadays were not as actively involved in civic affairs as it was generations ago. At the same time, they were aware that those supporting mechanisms, which allowed for broader public mobilisation, have changed or vanished. There was also an understanding that the young generation may use different engagement ways and

methods.

*“People now don’t realize what that generation put in to get to where they are, you know, and that, I mean... but you had back up then, you had the Unions, you had the marches, you had lots of things going on, and that’s all stuck, people have lost some... I don’t think they’ve lost interest. I think they do it in a different way” (COM.NCL.01\_Trícia).*

The interviews with young respondents supported their opinions. The youth showed relatively little interest in neighbourhood issues but more in general charitable or political campaigns. When age groups were compared in terms of civic activism, young respondents were very unlikely to have experience participating in local decision-making. However, it should be noted that the young participants were significantly underrepresented in the sample, and the sample size did not make it possible to explore these age-specific characteristics in more detail. The young generation’s motivations and practices of engaging in governance could be the subject of a more focused, in-depth study.

#### 5.3.4. Subject, motivation and conditions for engagement

The community respondents recalled participating in consultations or engaging in issues regarding street traffic, waste collection, playground, general environmental issues and local council administration and budgeting. The most concerning topics for respondents seemed to be the traffic (closure of streets for traffic, placing bumps, cycle routes, parking) and waste collection (clean up, recycling, bins). Such a scope of interests was also confirmed by the outcomes of regular observation and analysis of the local government website, dedicated to public consultations <https://www.letstalknewcastle.co.uk/> and the monthly bulletin posted through the door by one of the locally elected councillors. Traffic, waste collection, recycling and public space clean-up were recurring topics here.

The community respondents also mentioned broader political and socio-economic issues as motivators to engage in or initiate public action. They saw the main drivers for being active and involved in local public affairs in personal qualities: having the capacity to see and articulate the problems, a passion for change and belief in democracy and people’s power.

*“Probably the prime [trigger] would be seeing the things are wrong. Because if I didn't see things are wrong, then I wouldn't bother, would I?” (COM.NCL.08\_Lynne).*

*“I believe in people's power! I feel sad that people are losing that power, but it is important that you don't! Because that's the only way you gonna get change. It's the only way you gonna get... by people coming together” (COM.NCL.01\_Trícia).*

The community respondents, who shared their stories on how they got committed to recycling, mentioned that the concern for the environment and climate crisis was the factor which drove them into action.

*“I mean, for me, I'm getting old so, the planet, I'll still see the, to my death, the planet, but my grandson, my daughter, I do all of this because of them. I've been lucky enough to enjoy the planet as it is. But when I go, it's going to start to deteriorate. And we're going to have more floods and more famine. And you know, and that's the frightening thing. But making a small change makes a big difference sometimes” (COM.NCL.07\_Kendra).*

However, the ultimate condition for the motivation to turn into action was admitted to be sufficient free time. Most community respondents stated that lack of time prevented them from actively participating in local decision-making or volunteering for their neighbourhood.

Engagement with public affairs was described by most participants as a time-consuming and energy-draining action, which limits the involvement of many people in the processes. Some respondents observed that the same people have participated in campaigns and voluntary activities year after year.

*“I am trying to be honest about it. Some people can't be bothered to get involved, some people have not got the time to be involved, and some people would campaign against everything and anything, you know when you go to these things, and you always see the same people, and they'd have been doing it for years” (COM.NCL.01\_Trícia).*

The complaint was mentioned as a standard mode of communication with the local government. The community respondents admitted that the severe reduction of local government spending in the recent decade paralyzed its capacity to conduct local affairs coherently and systemically. Therefore, many of its routine responsibilities, like cleaning streets or regulating traffic, required repeated complaints from locals to get done.

*“If you don't complain, they'll think, oh, well, that everybody's happy with it”  
(COM.NCL.08\_Lynne).*

Bottom-up engagement in governance issues was a burden for most people, requiring massive commitment and effort. It was also very likely to be unsuccessful and energy-draining. So, naturally, people mostly reacted when the problem somehow affected them.

The local government's attempts to consult public opinion were observed to be mostly a formality, as the public engagement was limited by competence and time. However, in some cases, engagement in the top-down planned consultations was encouraged with cash or other benefits. Such directly accessible personal benefits could incentivise lower-income groups to engage in top-down planned consultations. The respondents of various ages, of a lower-income group, mentioned vouchers and other reward systems while talking about their experience of local participation.

*“They will give you an incentive as well! If you completed all of the meetings, you would get, I think it was three hundred pounds of shopping vouchers for somewhere of your choice”  
(COM.NCL.10\_Aysha).*

Such remuneration for participation may be understood as a demonstration of respect, paying a fair price for the allocated time. However, such an approach could also have ethical connotations. As mentioned in the previous sections, the representatives from institutions were well aware that communities did not need charity but to be engaged in governance in a meaningful and decent way as full members of the decision-making process. If the participants do not feel shared responsibility for public affairs and feel empowered to influence decisions, as is the case according

to most community respondents, then participation for a cash reward would likely remain a formality.

The community respondents also pointed out that lower-income people with little or no higher or professional education qualifications were doubtful to have their voices heard by the decision-makers, even though they had more to complain about. The respondents correlated the successful outcomes of engagement in decision-making with the capabilities of seeing through and doing things. These were, on the other hand, linked to educational background and social status. The respondents feared that poorer people get less from the government in any society.

*“Ordinary folk has less opportunity to be heard, either through their own inhibitions, holding them back, or societies or whatever. But it's like, it's also similar, isn't it? In any society, the poorer people get...less” (COM.NCL.08\_Lynne).*

A notable case of community-initiated collaboration with local government, highlighted by one of the community respondents and observed personally during the research process, was the arrangement and rehabilitation of the playground in a local park in Heaton, Newcastle upon Tyne. It was regarded as a good example of meaningful collaboration between the local government, community and other actors. The playground project was initiated in 2015-2017 by a handful of local parents concerned with the dilapidated infrastructure under the umbrella of the Friends of Heaton Park. Some of the support group had experience in crowdfunding, others had connections to local government and good communication skills. The support from the local elected representative was limited to navigating the group to get some match funding from the local budget. The initiative was successful, and the playground was built, but the respondent admitted the tremendous effort and time needed to achieve the outcomes. So much so that she, being a busy professional and a mother, stepped back from actively engaging in the process again when the playground was burned down in 2020 and needed replacement.

## Textbox 2: Heaton Park Playground crowdfunding

After being renovated in 2017, the play area in Heaton Park has remained a beloved place for neighbourhood children. However, it was vandalised and burned entirely in September 2020 during the Pandemic. The support group mobilized again; this time, crowdfunding gathered about 21,000 of the needed 25,000 to replace the play equipment. Designing and implementing a new play area took about nine months, and in Summer 2021, the playground opened again.

The limited role of the local Council in the project can be attributed to the transfer of Newcastle's urban parks under a designated charity's management. The process of retreat had been underway already in the previous years, as demonstrated by the 2015-2017 community project described by Lynne (COM.NCL.12). Handing urban parks to volunteer-run charity was justified by the drastic cuts to the Council's budget, which could secure only part of the annual budget needed for maintenance and upkeep (BBC, 2017). After more than two years of consultation and planning, an independent charity - Urban Green Newcastle, was formed in Spring 2019 to manage 33 urban parks and over 60 allotments. As of 2023, the charity reached an annual income range of 2.73 million to 3. 61 million pounds sterling, employing 37 full-time staff and 350 volunteers (Charity Commission for England and Wales, 2023).

The 2015-2017 and 2020-2021 Heaton Park playground projects demonstrated that community crowdfunding could work successfully, along with the Council's support and donations from several private companies. However, to assess the overall outcomes of the transfer of management of public spaces, more focused casework would be required, particularly in terms of comparing outcomes in the neighbourhoods of different levels of affluence. Such casework should study whether the donations and charitable activities, which constitute the charity's annual income alongside the government contract, could sustain positive changes in all diverse neighbourhoods.



Figure 10: Heaton Park playground after the arson (Urban Green Newcastle, 2020).



Figure 11: Heaton Park playground after reconstruction (Urban Green Newcastle, 2021)

This example may also illustrate the general feeling of respondents that, apart from time, collaboration with the local government requires specific skills and social connections characteristic of better-educated and socialized middle and upper classes.

*“If you take a poorer community, generally speaking, they're not going to put pen to paper, but verbally, they're quite able to discuss things. But unfortunately, their voice doesn't necessarily carry as much weight as a bunch of middle-class, educated people, writing the petition in a certain way, presented in a certain way, gets the job done” (COM.NCL.08\_Lynne).*

The community respondents with middle-class characteristics also recognized the power of education and social status. Some of them admitted that this power also engendered the responsibility for action.

*“Sometimes you say if I've got the power and I've got... should I use that? You shouldn't keep it to yourself, you know, isn't that a lot of privilege that comes with having the education and, you know, having the ability to do that, you know” (COM.NCL.12\_Lynne).*

The respondents stated that it was essential to see the areas where one could potentially bring positive change and to feel empowered with one's social status and cultural background. These conditions were seen as a privilege to be able to kick off the process.

*“I was well educated and knew how to kind of work some systems and to kind of gather the information that I needed in order to be able to do that. So, I think that gives me a level of privilege to be able to start... I suppose if you don't feel that you can affect change or do anything, then you don't (COM.NCL.12\_Lynne).*

At the same time, there was an overwhelming feeling among the community respondents that a single person was powerless to bring transformational change. There needed to be systemic change, combining bottom-up initiatives with top-down action.

Textbox 3: Autoethnographic observation of the participation in planning decision-making.

To verify the information from the research respondents about the difficulty of finding their way in the labyrinth of governance arrangements, I decided to engage with the planning system personally. In April 2021, a sidewalk on a local high street in Heaton was blocked off with an enclosure for a pavement cafe. The case was used as an opportunity to step into the web of local government arrangements for public participation in planning decision-making.

The situation at that particular section of the road had been inconvenient for pedestrians even before the enclosure was installed. Most of the pedestrian space at the junction of Heaton Road and King George Terrace had been allocated for parking in the car repair shop. The two primary schools near the place attracted considerable pedestrian traffic at different day hours. The enclosure blocked the only safe passage that pedestrians had used. Parents and kids had to find their way between the parked vehicles and the enclosure barrier.

Familiarising with the local government's planning portal took time, but the effort was rewarded with the information that the enclosure was built without planning permission. The conditional approval was issued in March 2021 on the sale of alcohol by the Council's Licencing Department, which provisioned the possible use of the public highway as a pavement café without fixed furniture. It became clear that the enclosure and fixed furniture were installed without the Council's authorization.

The public consultation had taken place with a limited number of adjacent property owners. An objection was received from the car repair shop concerned over the parking space. However, the licence conditions included only the refuse disposal, a bike stand and other standard articles.

Obtaining all this information proved to require a degree of professional knowledge, skills, equipment and time: computer literacy in general and familiarity with the Council's online planning portal in particular, at least some basic understanding of planning regulations, the rights of pedestrians and appeal procedures, confidence in interpreting formal language, maps, plans and drawings and access to computer and internet. This observation aligned with the information from the research respondents about the difficulty of finding the way into the system.

Apart from checking information on the Council's planning portal, several unsuccessful attempts were made to receive guidance from the Council via phone. The automated response system, which usually took time to redirect the call to relevant departments, never reached actual respondents, as the offices were closed due to the pandemic restrictions. Thus, the possibility of submitting a complaint was found on the Council's webpage. The webpage provided contact links for standard themes like inquiries about the Council Tax, Business Rates, Voting, etc, none of which matched the planning case. The small print button for Compliments and Complaints redirected to a related page for corporate complaints with only two options: complain about the council services or housing issues. These were redirected to an anonymous case creation webpage, where it was possible to fill in limited information and send it off into the system without a specific respondent.

Following submitting the inquiry on 14<sup>th</sup> July, the first personal feedback was received on 5<sup>th</sup> August. The Development Management Team notified that the proprietor was requested to submit the planning application retrospectively before 10<sup>th</sup> September. The planning portal examination revealed that retrospective submission was a frequently used procedure for unauthorized works. It could have been influenced by the national planning policy that required local governments to approach development decisions in a positive and creative way (NPPF, art. 38).

The email exchange with the Development Management Team clarified that at the stage of retrospective application, it was finally possible to submit formal representation against the proposed development through the Council's planning portal. The elected representative of the ward was copied in all email correspondence. The written representation was uploaded into the system on 16<sup>th</sup> October. The garage owner submitted another representation against the application.

The examination of the application took two months. The decision, issued on 9<sup>th</sup> November, refused the permit for the enclosure. It was based on the grounds that the proposal did not accord with the character and appearance of the surrounding area and was obstructing the pedestrian movement. The relevant references to the NPPF, the Policy CS15 of the Core Strategy and Urban Core Plan and the Policy DM20 of the Development and Allocations Plan were included in the

examination report.

Even though the permission was refused, the decision did not automatically imply the removal of the unauthorized enclosure. In response to the decision, the café proprietor only painted the barrier to match the neighbourhood's colour palette and installed road dividers for pedestrian passage between the enclosure and parking.

Further email exchange with the Development Management Team revealed that the enforcement of the decision was the task of the Planning Enforcement Department, where the colleagues would be informed about the case. On 7<sup>th</sup> December, an email inquiry was made about the necessary procedures for enforcing the planning decision. No reply was received on the matter. The enclosure was in place for another two years and was removed only in 2023. The exact reason for its removal was impossible to clarify as I left the UK in 2022. It was probably related to a change of ownership and use, as no enforcement notice was found in the Council's online register. The follow-up examination of the planning portal revealed that another retrospective application was submitted by a new owner in October 2023 for the change of use to a drinking establishment, alterations to side elevations, installation of removable steps and stopping up of highway.

This observation assisted in verifying the research respondents' opinions. Familiarity with the planning portal was needed to communicate effectively and swiftly. The fact that different units were responsible only for a part of the issue made the communication ineffective. It took considerable time and perseverance to pull all necessary actors together, and, over time, the passion and energy for an issue were indeed exhausted.



Figure 12: Heaton Road and King John Terrace corner before the enclosure installation, November 2020 (Mirzikashvili, 2020).



Figure 13: Heaton Road and King John Terrace corner after the enclosure installation, with parked cars, September, 2021 (Mirzikashvili, 2021).



Figure 14: Heaton Road and King John Terrace corner, the enclosure painted and road dividers installed, December, 2021, (Mirzikashvili, 2021a)

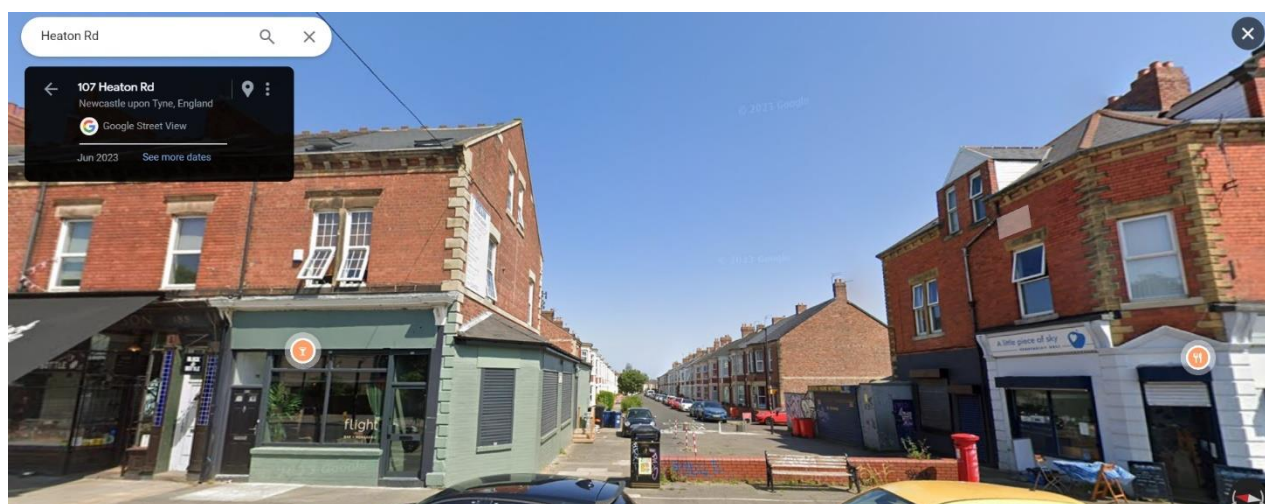


Figure 15: Heaton Road and King John Terrace corner with the removed enclosure, June 2023, (Google, 2023).

### 5.3.5. Public outreach as viewed by the community

The respondents described several methods which the local government commonly uses for communication. These are the traditional 'letter through the door' or, more recently – online media platforms. The respondents also mentioned other formal avenues to communicate with the local government, such as phone calls, general mail, email, website-embedded inquiries or local councillor 'surgeries'.

The personal observation allowed to assess the advantages and disadvantages of these communication methods, confirming the respondents' opinions. While emails and post letters were accumulated in heaps without being opened, phone calls required hours of waiting and tremendous patience with automated chatbots before any meaningful human communication was achieved. Establishing personalized contact with a replying person disclosing identity appeared necessary to feel reassured that the authority was committed to helping with an issue.

Such personalized communication appeared to be most readily realised through traditional 'surgeries' of elected politicians. The documentation study also pointed to the importance of these 'surgeries'. The 'surgeries' have been the weekly or fortnightly open sessions where local community members can show up to discuss their issues face-to-face with their elected representatives. Such sessions usually happen at the neighbourhood community centre or the councillor's local office. Many community respondents described 'surgeries' as a helpful mechanism where community members could drop by, share their problems, and get advice. However, such contact can not always be in demand. One of the respondents recalled a case when a councillor was not present at the designated time but came to her later to apologize, explaining that he did not have much turnout from the local population.

*"He [the local elected councillor] came and knocked on my door. And he says – "I'm sorry", he says, "I've been holding no surgery", he says, "I've sat there week in, week out", he says, "and nobody comes to see me", he says, "I've stopped it" (COM.NCL.09\_ Silvia).*

Despite a possible low turnout from the population or occasional no-shows of the elected politicians, the 'surgeries' were presented by the community respondents as a more reliable window to person-to-person contact between the local government and the people.

Other most commonly mentioned channels of communication were social media and e-mail. Online platforms have become particularly important since the COVID-19 pandemic-related restrictions, although face-to-face contact with the local government had been significantly reduced already before, partly due to the shrinking budget and human resources. E-mail and social media such as Facebook were mentioned as helpful tools to participate in the council's online surveys or stay up-to-date. The local council's social media page was noted to be more responsive to inquiries than email or telephone communication, although it was not made clear whether these responses led to solutions or served only as a way of redirecting questions to relevant departments through other, more conventional methods of communication (COM.NCL.10\_Aysha).

The respondents in rural communities admitted the lack of access and delayed updating of local websites and social media pages, which were related to the availability of local human, technical and financial resources. Overall, these respondents characterized government communication channels as insufficient.

The community respondents supported the opinion that older people were less likely to use social media for public or government communication. However, the interviews also clarified that this factor did not prevent them from actively engaging in public affairs through more conventional channels when needed. They could act as neighbourhood watchdogs and whistleblowers and hummer the authorities until the necessary decisions were made. They were also more inclined to spend time volunteering, including heritage and landscapes. The documentation study supported this observation, highlighting that older people made up most of the volunteering human resources for heritage and National Parks.

None of the community respondents mentioned using the local government's consultation website Let's Talk Newcastle <https://www.letstalknewcastle.co.uk/>. One reason could be that the specific themes advertised on the website did not affect the area of their interest. However, the

respondents mentioned other more generic factors, which could be seen as filtering the audience of local government's online surveys and campaigns to limited numbers. Firstly, to participate in online surveys, internet access and computer knowledge were necessary; furthermore, the users of such online platforms were to be *apriori* interested in collaboration on specific topics and self-organized to check published calls and updates regularly; they needed time to follow the updates and also time to read the material and respond to particular questions; they were to have sufficient knowledge to understand the subject and provide input. When these criteria were fulfilled, internet platforms and email/social media communications could prove handy.

*"Yeah, so now after that, I wrote to... my counsellors, all three of them that I did look up and find out who they were, and said, you know, I really want you to keep doing this and make Newcastle as, you know, a zero-carbon city as quickly as possible"*  
(COM.NCL.05\_Emily).

These opinions were verified through personal observation of the Let's Talk Newcastle website, conducted in 2020-2021. By January 2022, the website had only 3323 registered users, for the 725 surveys and 58 consultations conducted since its activation in 2016. The observation showed that the past consultations closed with no registered participants, and the ongoing consultations had only about 15 and 25 participants each. The results section, however, pointed out that the council has received 247 responses for the consultation on the Public Spaces Protection Order (2020) and 600 responses for the consultation on the city's cultural future (2020). One hundred eleven participants were indicated in the consultation results on the public safety topic, and over 600 - for the one on quality home care (2020). Thus, most responses were possibly received from other consultation channels than the website. While this information alone does not provide sufficient data to evaluate the effectiveness of the online communication tools, it may indicate that the comments of the interview respondents are correct.

Further personal observation also illustrated that the online communication system risks being one-way, where the impact of one's contribution and effort is unclear. Delivering the message or a complaint is only the tip of the iceberg, while the actual decision-making is hidden below the surface and requires much stronger efforts and social connections to reach the point of resolution.

Furthermore, it confirmed the respondents' opinion that the consultations and questionnaires could be designed for an already defined objective, which limits the range of possible responses. People could feel alienated from the primary decision-making process and demotivated from taking participation seriously.

Another communication method commonly mentioned by the respondents was 'a letter/leaflet/bulletin through the door'. This method appeared to be the most common outreach method to cover the broadest population of a specific neighbourhood, also confirmed by personal observation. However, respondents also mentioned that many do not even open such letters (COM.NCL.10\_Aysha) or that these lay in a pile and get outdated (COM.NCL.04\_Jenny). Despite this, as opposed to internet platforms, for interested community members, these letters remain a reliable and tangible source of information, even if the actual intervention (submitting an opinion or complaint) then happens via the formal online systems of the local government. It was also confirmed by personal observation and analysis of such letters throughout the research period.

Four respondents recalled their experience in attending council consultations on various subjects. The consultations were mainly perceived as a waste of time and a formality. Respondents stated that they could not raise any issue because of the meeting format and that the structure of the process also did not allow them to follow it up in the long term.

Most respondents described the local government's outreach as fake participation that did not serve the community's real needs. From their perspective, during the consultations, the problems initiated by the community were often neglected. The vast majority felt that the representatives had already decided on the subject before consulting with the community.

*"This is our budget, and this is what we are doing with it... I mean, if they're saying it's either social care or your street getting blocked off... you can't say don't bother about the social care...you know you just can't, can you?" (COM.NCL.08\_Lynne).*

*"So it just seems a bit weird to spend all that money and all that time and effort when actually the biggest problem in terms of getting about here on foot is the Coast Road junction" (COM.NCL.05\_Emily).*

Some respondents even believed that surveys conducted by local governments were biased and misrepresented. The feeling of fake participation led them to be frustrated and disillusioned.

*“And the way this woman wrote her questions, very clever, she wrote her questions in the way the people who were filling them in would not realize, tick “yes”, tick “yes”, they would not realize why they could not ask a question themselves. And they could not say “no”, ‘cause “no” would not make the right answer”...” “There is no way to answer these questions but saying “yes”, this is a fit-up!” (COM.NCL.03\_Jo).*

These comments bring back into discussion the issue of trust between people and representative government bodies, highlighted in the previous sections. They also lead towards reflecting on the human scale as a lens for viewing, accessing and assessing any governance network. The generalised systemic solutions, which emerge with the scale change, including technological innovations for communication, should not, therefore, be devoid of human-scale features.

#### 5.3.6. Governance spaces

Physical space for the community to meet, socialize and discuss local affairs was admitted as necessary by several respondents. However, the community centres, which have been the backbone of such socialization, have been gradually disappearing as a result of public funding cuts. The respondents spoke of a typical community practice to organize and take over the management of such properties, although fund-raising was mentioned to be a challenging task, especially in poorer neighbourhoods and rural areas.

*“Because of the cuts in 2008, it [the community centre] was meant to close down, and therefore they need the community to come maybe take over... We went in there, and I belong to an Africa Organization. We decided that yes! It will be good for us to just take up the responsibility” (COM.NCL.11\_Raisa).*

A decrease in public spending from the government and cuts to various community organizations have brought about their decline. Some respondents also recalled the closure of tenant

associations due to the lack of grants, stating that there had been a 'big breakdown' in the way things operated (COM.NCL.01\_Trícia).

On the other hand, coming together was admitted as essential for forming social bonds, a sense of local identity and commons. It was an important stage for organizing around common issues and developing the community as a social and political entity.

*"As of now, we don't have anywhere in the village where we can meet as a village, which for the size of the village is a shame. So, without, without anything, we as a village, we can't come together" (COM.NCL.14\_Brian).*

The community respondents showed respect for the public spaces of local governance. One respondent recalled the local councillor with disgust who spat in a public area in front of the Civic Centre (local authority offices, where assemblies and council meetings are also held). The respect for the public space and Civic Centre was, in her opinion, synonymous with respect for the public and the local community.

*"He was walking across the paving there and just stopped (imitated the spitting sound) like this... and I am standing there - I said - "This is our Civic Centre! Have a bit of respect!! And he goes – "What's it to you?! Hah?!" - very neatly smartly dressed man, pocket hankie and you know...tidily dressed... He was one of the councillors!... It was what they were thinking of the Civic Centre, what they think about the rest of us" (COM.NCL.03\_Jo).*

The Civic Centre was mentioned as an opportunity to attend and express an opinion at the Council meetings, usually open to interested citizens. However, the majority of respondents had never used this way of engagement. Those who had experience attending such meetings expressed great disappointment.

*"It was the most awful experience because there was a boy, must have been between 19 and 22, and he had a specific question that he put down, and it was an official question. They treated him disgustingly" ... "The poor boy was up in the public gallery, and he'd stood up in front of all these people [councillors] and asked his question, and they jeered at him, they laughed at him, they treated him like a piece of rubbish. I was absolutely upheld. And*

*in the end, they were so horrendous to him that the whole public gallery and there were quite a lot of people there got up and said – “Shame on you! Shame on you!” and we were evicted” (COM.NCL.03\_Jo).*

Such evidence adds to an array of opinions indicating a rupture between policy and the actual situation, where the formal provision of avenues for engagement and communication do not necessarily imply these to be meaningful and productive. While the above observations do not specifically address heritage or landscapes, they highlight faults in an overarching governance framework that affect all areas, notwithstanding their cultural or natural characteristics.

Despite these drawbacks, most respondents perceived the importance of staying active and engaged, even if it did not always bring improvements. One of them proudly recalled her experience pushing the local government to close off a local street for traffic and admitted that scepticism does not help solve problems.

*“A lot of people have a “what's the point in me seeing anything, nobody will take any notice of me” kind of attitude. Well, if we all did that, I wouldn't have got the road closed” (COM.NLC.09\_Sylvia).*

These positive cases seem to stimulate further bottom-up engagement and inspire citizens to seek innovative and autonomous governance models. Rich experience with such experiments can be studied through the literature review in political theory, the history of anarchist and communalist movements, etc.

### 5.3.7. Volunteering and visiting

All community respondents reported volunteering at least once in a lifetime, driven mainly by their passion for the case. Having free time was mentioned among the key conditions. The matrix analysis of interviews indicated that employed and retired respondents in the research sample were equally involved in volunteering, even though older respondents seemed more active. However, those with more volunteering experience thought young people were less engaged.

*“We don't have many young people as well. It's something that just doesn't happen, whether they're not interested in coming forward to do that type of thing or whether time is a thing if they're working” (COM.NCL.14\_Brian).*

The Nvivo Word Cloud generated from the interview transcripts demonstrated that “donation” was a common and established way of volunteering among the respondents. It may also refer to the extent to which social relations are monetized. Word Cloud also pointed out that motivation for volunteering was explicitly linked with national heritage. The respondents either donated for national heritage or were involved in various heritage-related activities as volunteers, such as heritage at risk mapping or archaeological excavations.

The correlation between respondents’ socio-economic profile and their volunteering interest supported the idea that formally promoted and authorized national heritage was popular among individuals with various socio-economic standing. However, the individuals with more affluent backgrounds, also having the management or organizational skills and experience, were more likely to succeed in gathering resources, sorting out formalities, paying membership fees, and raising grant funding or private donations (COM.NCL.13\_David).

Matrix analysis suggested that respondents with higher income were likely to mention national heritage sites in the context of outdoor leisure activity. They were members of English Heritage or National Trust and regularly visited popular heritage destinations. The less affluent participants mentioned that museums offered an affordable way of spending free time meaningfully. Being free of charge was among the advantages that placed public museums among the limited number of cultural destinations for lower-income people. Some were also inclined to think of heritage as a middle-class subject of interest (COM.NCL.01\_Trícia). Personal observation of the range of heritage and cultural practices in Newcastle and Northumberland also pointed to various barriers to cultural participation and visiting heritage places. Apart from membership and entry fees, which may be a heavy burden for a family budget, physical access to heritage sites scattered across the vast historic landscape can be challenging due to the poorly developed public transportation system and the time and expenses required to cover longer-distance trips.

Analysis of the respondents' opinions about volunteering and visiting heritage sites and personal observation during the research period revealed several commonalities with national statistical data and literature on the subject. The Taking Part survey by DCMS, in particular, informed that the most common users of heritage sites were from the upper socio-economic group (81.5%), from the least deprived communities (83%) who had higher education or equivalent (87.4%) (DCMS, 2022). The Community Life Survey, on the other hand, confirmed that the most frequently referred barrier to volunteering was the lack of time due to work commitments (53%) and that the most common trigger for engagement was the desire to improve things and help people (47%) (DCMS, 2020b).



Figure 16. Volunteers working on archaeological dig at Linnbriggs, July 2021 (Mirzikashvili, 2021).

### 5.3.8. Neighbourhood values

Interview analysis showed that a community and accessible green spaces were the most explicitly valued features in the neighbourhood. These were followed by location, safety, and diversity of people and functions. As illustrated in Figure 17, the historic character appeared to be one of the least important about the neighbourhood.



Figure 17. The key values of the neighbourhood, based on the interview data.

A sense of community turned out to be crucial, especially for those people who have families. Members of the minority groups were also inclined to mention community among the most important values when describing their neighbourhood. Some respondents emphasized that COVID-19-related restrictions triggered the formation and strengthening of community bonds (COM.NCL.07\_Kendra; COM.NCL.04\_Jenny).

*“This is a really lovely street in terms of people informally looking after each other and yeah, more so in the last year, you know, with lockdown and everything, people really took it to heart really and started to unite” (COM.NCL.04\_Jenny).*

The neighbourhood's diversity, in terms of ethnicity, age, social status, and the variety of functions and uses, dominated among values across different age or status groups. Location and proximity of amenities emerged as the most important feature for retired people, although all respondents mentioned it as an essential value of a place.

Older respondents and minorities (migrants and same-sex parents) were more likely to speak of gentrification in the neighbourhood. They mentioned the change in social fabric had affected community bonds and transformed relations among the neighbours. One respondent pointed to the 'Right to Buy' policy as a factor that has led to the gentrification of former council housing estates. Gentrification was also mentioned in the rural context. The respondents from the countryside, who themselves could be considered among pioneer gentrifiers, nevertheless admitted that the remote and hybrid modes of working and access to digital networks had boosted the interest of higher-income professional occupations and industries to relocate to rural areas. This trend grew more significantly during the Pandemic period. Young respondents mentioned gentrification in a positive context – they saw it as an opportunity for youth to increase income through starting up businesses or finding employment and as a way to more diverse functions and a livelier neighbourhood.

The respondents' relatively little emphasis on heritage or the historic environment was somewhat surprising considering the historic character of their neighbourhoods. Personal observation revealed that the majority of community respondents lived in fairly well-preserved historic areas with remarkable public buildings and housing units from various periods, from medieval and modern times up to the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The emphasis on green spaces and people in the community, including the concerns over gentrification, may suggest that everyday matters of convenience outcompete historical values, perhaps until they come under threat of disappearance or change. Furthermore, it may also be a matter of interest in the heritage field to recognize and prioritize particular architectural or historic qualities of the area. The members of interest groups on archaeology were more inclined to talk about heritage qualities, although they, too, placed people at the heart of the place values, similar to those members of the community who have no particular commitment to history or heritage.

*“What do I value? People and place! You know, the place is (pause) great. It's a nice village. A lot of the people are good people, who want to help, and they want to get involved, but sometimes they can't. And although it's only two of us running the museum, you know, I think that's because of our lack of communication within the village. You know, if we have better communication, I think there'd be a lot more people helping. But, but I think it is the place, the history of the place. You know, there's a lot of history here. And yeah, the people as well” (COM.NCL.14\_Brian).*



Figure 18: Ruins of the medieval ‘King John’s Palace’, Heaton (Mirzikashvili, 2022).

#### 5.4. Concluding summary

The joined-up analysis of the community and institutional interview results reveals that many governance issues are perceived in similar ways by both community members and institutional representatives. These fundamental issues are the difficulty of coping with the fragmented governance system, the challenge of participation in decision-making, and the socioeconomic conditioning of engagement, including lack of time, resources and necessary space for people to come together and take an active role in governance or to work across the disciplinary boundaries.

The interview analysis also provided valuable material for the RQ1, even though it was not explicitly included in the interview questions. Based on the analysis of responses, it can be assumed that the policy emphasis on the role of heritage in local development may not match the perceived importance of the historic environment at the community level. The community members emphasised the values of social relations, community diversity and everyday spaces such as parks, shopping and cafes rather than historic buildings or sites *per se*. While national heritage was a subject of pride and a common leisure destination, most people did not seem to value the historic environment for being historic but more for the uses and functions it provided for a quality life.

These findings may be telling regarding the transition of heritage to landscape thinking and structuring of future policies. They may suggest that the affective bonds to heritage and historic environments are forged through associations built in the process of collective use and everyday activities – job, shopping, leisure, entertainment, study, etc. Collective, shared use seems essential for buildings, sites and landscapes to be memorized and valued by people. These shared associations and lived experiences seem to give quality to objects and places.

Both sets of interviews provided a wide range of information for reflection on RQ2 and RQ3. As far as sectoral or scalar integration was perceived, the two most important aspects highlighted were the integration at the highest level – where all sorts of national platforms, visions and plans were mentioned and at the personal level – where an individual ability to see through things, have sensitivity and motivation to cross the disciplinary or other boundaries and reach out, was prevalent. This magnetic quality of personalities was highlighted in various contexts - from political leadership and effective peer-to-peer collaboration to community activism, solidarity and organizing. A personal character appeared to lead by example even when no formal enforcement mechanisms were in place. However, conditions were deemed necessary to make it happen – above all - time and, to a lesser degree - funding. Even in the case of elected representatives, time and income were crucial to enable them to focus on their public duty.

The top-down approach to cross-sectoral or territorial integration emerged as a relatively easy solution to the integration problem. However, such imposed structures or instruments - regional

administrations, national plans, etc. were not particularly welcome, as they absorb public resources and are vulnerable to political manipulation by various power blocks. They also seemed to have little direct political legitimacy. All sorts of 'consultations' were perceived only as a formal, technical procedure to collect opinions, where consideration may or may not be given to everyone's concerns. Such consultations were not taken for actual participation, and most respondents felt strongly against such false forms of engagement.

On the other hand, bottom-up engagement seemed difficult for its time-and-energy-consuming character and its apparent relation to socioeconomic profile and educational background. Still, the awareness of the need to stay active was prevalent. The community representatives perceived this need very clearly.

The outcomes of the interviews with community and institutional representatives are further summarized in Table 13 below.

Table 13. Interview observations on the characteristics of the landscape and heritage governance system in England.

General Comments	Themes emerging from the interviews		RQ 2: In which way do the governance systems reflect and address landscape and heritage integration?	RQ3: What are the key conditions for trans-sectoral participatory governance?
There are wide-ranging concerns and criticism for representative democratic institutions and unequal opportunities for engagement related to socioeconomic and educational backgrounds.	Territorial fragmentation			There needs to be a balance between top-down and bottom-up governance approaches. This balance is shaped and influenced by the political and economic doctrines of political parties. The political agendas are characterized as Tokenism.
	Cross-sectoral fragmentation		Heritage and landscapes are covered by the environment, culture, and planning. The policy has cross-sectoral references, although, overall, the system is characterised by the respondents as fragmented.	
Distrust and confusion with the fragmented governance system prevail.		Formal and informal tactics		Personal networks, focal points and working groups support cross-sectoral cooperation, although it remains largely consultative. Formal and informal lobbying makes the consultations competitive. Co-creation should be encouraged.
		Conflicting sectoral positions	Heritage and landscape are well-represented in the policy, but rather as a secondary issue, under the lead of the broader environmental and economic development topics. Prejudices against heritage as restrictive to development prevail.	Place-based and evidence-led multi-scalar planning is the main instrument for cross-sectoral integration at the local and strategic planning levels.

		Fragmented datascape	Market-based solutions may not be suitable for the strategic cross-sectoral integration of digital data. The establishment of a special ministerial department for digital matters does not yet clarify whether it will positively affect the heritage and landscape data systems.	To make effective use of digital systems, consistent public funding and institutional commitment and a consolidated national vision seem necessary.
		Fragmented Policy and Legal Frameworks	Consultations allow the integration of public and professional opinions into legal and policy development. However, doubts over the outcomes prevail.	Place-based policies and planning tools enable an integrated approach. The National Character Areas are mentioned as an example of considering culture and nature together, providing proactive guidance rather than a restriction to planning and development.
		Fragmented Public Funding	The public funding ecosystem was admitted as highly complex and confusing.	Public institutions competing for donations or development income may increase inequalities between areas.
		Disciplinary Fragmentation and the role of Planning	Planning involves all actors at the early stage. In situations where there are no planning processes or planning permission procedures in place, the engagement is reactive and spontaneous.	Planning could be a tool to help settle various conflicts by regulating public and private relations over specific territories and upholding the public interest. The neighbourhood and local plans should be guided by the top-down policy based on local evidence.
		Role of Academia	Universities and research institutions as enablers to train cross-sectorally-minded professionals for the future.	Theory-practice integration needs to be achieved step-by-step at each level of education and professional development.
		International Regulation		An international level may be suitable for advocating some overarching principles.
		Enforcement and behavioural change		The power of ideas may enable integration as an outcome of improved understanding and behavioural change rather than policy enforcement.

The lack of participation and inclusion of lower-income social groups was confirmed by the respondents.	Participation and inclusion			
NPM policy, reduction of staff and the outsourcing of public services have eradicated the human links between the government and the community.		Elected representatives and citizens		The personal qualities of executives or councillors seem important to the local government's image. Skilled people find it challenging to engage in formal governance work as it is mostly voluntary.
		Executive professionals and citizens		Local government work is routine-driven and "text-book-focused", discouraged from innovation and initiative.
		Outreach engagement and participation		The socio-economic barriers to enjoying heritage and landscapes. Various outreach mechanisms are in use to foster the understanding, valuing, and caring of heritage. These instruments promote authorized forms of heritage but also integrate bottom-up or cross-sectoral values and perspectives.
				"Hard to reach" social groups are engaged through door-to-door campaigns, incentivizing through cash rewards and vouchers.
A diffused governance system is difficult to work with.		Public outreach as viewed by the community		The government's outreach should be tailored to the community's needs. The online communication system can be challenging for many, as it is biased toward the more affluent and younger population. There should be more even access to digital networks in rural and urban areas. "Surgeries" of elected politicians serve as a reliable channel of communication between citizens and government.

Face-to-face contact is needed for effective communication between citizens and governance actors. Automated digitalized instruments can provide additional opportunities but are not a replacement for personal communication.		Public consultations		Public consultations form the basic type of outreach method, more and more often accessible via digital platforms. There should be dedicated action to reach those social groups who do not engage in formal communication platforms.
Public engagement in decision-making is reactive, instantaneous and case-specific. People find it challenging to embrace upcoming changes until they happen.		Nature of engagement		A necessary condition for public engagement is the feeling of potential impact but also suitable communication at all levels.
				The inclusion and participation mainly involve more affluent and educated social groups. More affluent areas also tend to have more inclusive planning and are well-prepared to protect their interests.
		Bottom-up engagement opportunities		Education could be a tool for empowerment. Authorities should foster engagement in education and learning.
				Local planning provides a formal avenue for bottom-up engagement; however, inclusiveness requires a commitment from all actors.
The formal avenues for engagement are not always productive. Communities need to be engaged in a meaningful and decent way as full members of the decision-making process.		Engaging with governance network		There is poor communication within local government structures. The sub-governmental agencies are donor-oriented and compete for funding. Actions and efforts should be sustained over the long term in order to be effective.

		Subject, motivation and conditions for engagement		Most often, the engagement is triggered by everyday issues such as traffic and waste collection. Broader political, socio-economic and environmental issues also motivate engagement, especially among young people.
				The main drivers for being active are personal qualities, vision and beliefs, but a single person is powerless to bring transformational change. A systemic change is needed, combining bottom-up and top-down action.
		Governance spaces		Coming together is essential for organizing around common issues and developing the community as a social and political entity.
		Volunteering and visiting		Heritage is understood as a middle-class subject of interest and leisure activity. The less affluent participants mentioned that museums offered an affordable way of spending free time meaningfully.
		Neighbourhood values		The neighbourhood's diversity, location and proximity of amenities dominated among values.

## Chapter 6: Discussion

### 6.1. Introduction

This chapter summarises and analyses the key findings of the research in light of the research questions. It brings together the outcomes of the documentation study, in-depth qualitative interviews and personal observation to discuss the issues and perspectives of cross-sectoral participatory governance of 'landscape-as-heritage' in England in light of the broader literature on the subject.

RQ (1) What are the main determinants for transitioning from heritage to a “landscape-as-heritage” concept?

RQ (2): In which way do the governance systems reflect and address landscape and heritage integration?

RQ (3): What are the main conditions for trans-sectoral participatory governance?

The discussion is framed by an over-arching exploration of the potential and (pre)conditions for the “landscape-as-heritage” concept to become a driver and a connecting platform for trans-sectoral participatory governance. To begin with, in response to RQ 1, section 6.2 uses the results of the literature review and interview outcomes to assess the extent to which “landscape-as-heritage” is already accepted as a way of thinking and acting and overviews the factors which have contributed to the conceptual repositioning from heritage to “landscape-as-heritage”. Section 6.3 dwells on the case study outcomes to look at conditions and prerequisites that shape the cross-sectoral approach to “landscape-as-heritage” (RQ2) and need to be met for governance to become genuinely trans-sectoral and participatory (RQ3). The structure of the case study with insight into policy, institutional and funding frameworks and a focus on inclusion and participation in governance provides the basis for building the discussion topics. Beyond the pre-defined framework, it also integrates other topics identified through inductive analysis of documentation and interview outcomes. These issues are systematized in Section 6.4.

## 6.2. Transition from heritage to “landscape-as-heritage” concept: main determinants, issues and perspectives

The themes emerging from the literature review formed a conceptual framework for the research and guided the case study of the heritage and landscape governance system in England to examine them in the specific nation-state context. These themes also responded to some research questions, highlighting the main factors that led to the transition from heritage to a “landscape-as-heritage” concept (RQ1).

The analysis of landscape and heritage theories has shed light on the composite nature of the heritage field, which, as a product of the value creation process, is entangled in a diversity of social, cultural, environmental, economic and political aspects of life. Thus, broadening the scope of heritage and transitioning to ‘landscape-as-heritage’ thinking could be regarded as a response to socioeconomic and geopolitical shifts as well as science-technological challenges and transformation in philosophical reasoning in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century. For example, the hegemony of the free market ideology under neoliberal capitalist economies, entailing commodification and competition between places, could be seen to spur the quest for heritage as it is the building block of local value and identity. The continuing expansion of the global tourism industry, coupled with increased demand for cultural and ecotourism products, emerged as a further stimulus for diversifying and pluralising heritage concepts. Globalization and its counter-movements, including place-based localist movements, could likewise be accounted for contributing to the imperative of local particularism in political action, deploying heritage for various forms of political agitation. At the same time, the advancement of post-structuralist, anti-essentialist philosophies could be seen to encourage the deconstruction and diversification of the heritage concept into a plurality of voices and landscape layers.

From these, the three factors that are deemed by the research to have a particular influence on forming the “landscape-as-heritage” concept are considered below.

Firstly, the ‘cultural turn’, and understanding nature as a culturally defined and shaped phenomenon, seems to have played an important role in spatializing heritage concepts towards broader landscape patterns.

The ‘cultural turn’ mentioned above and an increased emphasis on heritage plurality and diversity is to be discussed in connection with the proliferation of post-structuralist, anti-essentialist philosophies in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the spirit of these philosophies, a landscape can be read as a material space to contain plurality and diversity of eco-social relations.

The formation of the cultural and historic landscapes approach also implied theorizing connections between material features of space, landscapes and places and the temporalities of their affective and phenomenological qualities. This process evolved in line with the emerging post-structuralist philosophies that influenced every aspect of the social, cultural and political domain and became a hegemonic philosophy in the Western world. The academic discourses in Britain led by Raymond Williams, Raphael Samuel, Denis Cosgrove, Peter Jackson, Don Mitchell, Doreen Massey, David Harvey and others (see Chapters 2.2 and 2.3) have contributed significantly to establishing connections between socio-cultural and symbolic meanings of physical geographic features and understanding material landscape as a subject of individual interpretation through the complex medium of culture.

Furthermore, as a second factor, the evidence of the negative human impact on the environment, brought about by the Anthropocene, should be mentioned. It has facilitated a global awareness of the connectedness of social-ecological systems and called for closer integration of environmental and cultural heritage fields. Out of the attempts to retreat from anthropocentric ontologies have risen Posthumanist, post-anthropocentric ideas and concepts, like more moderate ‘stewardship of change’ instead of spearheaded ‘development’ or a ‘managed retreat’ as an alternative to ‘conservation’ (see, for example, Sterling, 2020 in Chapter 2.3). In the heritage field, for example, concepts like biocultural heritage have advanced beyond a territorial, landscape approach and bridged the culture-nature divide through an integrated understanding of their mutual interdependence (see, for example, Lindholm and Ekblom, 2019; Poole, 2018; Sarmiento Mateos, *et al.*, 2019 in Chapter 2.2). Similar motives can be seen reflected in a circular

economy concept that involves maintenance, restoration and reuse as essential components of the human and nature interaction at various scales (Raworth, 2017). The conservation philosophy and methods applied in the heritage field have become increasingly relevant as alternatives to extractivist and consumerist modes of economic relations and human habitation. Environmental degradation and climate emergency has apparently assisted the proliferation of 'landscape-as-heritage' thinking across disciplines and scales and underpinned the process of integrating the holistic "landscape-as-heritage" thinking in policy developments such as the European Green Deal (Potts, 2021).

Thirdly, the research findings point out that the increasing emphasis on heritage and its spatialized 'landscape-as-heritage' form could also be related to geopolitical insecurities and recurrent economic and political crises in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. As it was demonstrated by the literature review, the close relationship between heritage and the power system has long captured scholarly interest. The heritage and history debates in the UK in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and the exploration of popular memory and 'history from below' have contributed significantly to the awareness of the manipulative, often populist or nationalist character of heritage narratives (see, for example, Hewison, 1987; Lowenthal, 1985, 1998 in Chapter 2.3). These narratives, labelled the Authorized Heritage Discourse by Smith (2006), effectively deploy heritage to activate national, ethnic, and other imaginaries. They can be tapped in times of political crisis to move or maintain established economic and political assemblages. Nationalist and ethnic aspirations, for example, are known to have played an important role in the demise of various political unions throughout history. In recent decade, the authorized heritage discourse has spurred renewed interest among researchers in insurgent heritages (see, for example, Novoa, 2018, in Chapter 2.3). A critical review of the authoritarian, elitist, exclusive character of established heritage narratives has stimulated interest towards popular, everyday features of the living environment and their agency in progressive political movements (Gould, 2017; Lekakis, 2020; Markopoulos, 2020; Smith and Campbell, 2017 in Chapter 2.5). Both - authorized and insurgent heritage narratives engender a strong sense of belonging to a place and community and can be activated as a survival strategy in times of political crisis and uncertainty (see, for example, Townsend, 1979 in Chapter 2.6).

Apart from the above three factors, the research also acknowledged that landscape, imbued with the sense of ancient commons, offers a relevant scale for integrating the ideas of diversity and pluralism with the practicalities of democratic governance and sustainable socio-economic development. Therefore, it can be argued that the transition to “landscape-as-heritage” thinking promises to achieve a more wide-ranging social and ecological cohesion, incorporating a diversity of human and non-human actors and accommodating the decentered and polycentric governance thinking that has become prevalent in Western liberal democracies (see Chapters 2.4 and 2.5).

The case study of the landscape and heritage governance system in England yielded rich material for observation of the “landscape-as-heritage” concept in practice and of the conditions which render historic landscapes a cohesive container of plurality, as described above. In formal terms, England’s policy and institutional framework are among early examples of transitioning from heritage to “landscape-as-heritage” thinking. The earlier policies of post-WWII Britain demonstrate the integration of heritage and landscapes in adopted area-based approaches. Traditionally embedded in the idea of ‘countryside’, the “landscape-as-heritage” concept acquired a renewed emphasis through the adoption of the ‘historic environment’ approach, which became prevalent by the early 1990s. This concept has been intensively appropriated for place-based local socio-economic development strategies, incorporating a broad spectrum of ‘heritages’ from authorized and elite to insurgent and everyday forms (see Chapter 4.7).

The research interviews confirmed that the “landscape-as-heritage” concept was familiar to most government representatives and professionals from the heritage and landscape industries. Among the community narratives, however, it was implicitly entangled in everyday spaces such as parks, shopping and leisure without much conscious emphasis on their historic character. Community diversity, encounter, use and interaction seemed to render places attractive and valuable for people rather than material features or a patina of age by default. Such attitudes could also be observed in other studies, particularly where the non-participants in formal culture predominantly valued community diversity and a way of life centred on relationships and mundane activities (see, for example, Miles, 2013; Dicks, 2000; 2017 in Chapter 2.6).

On the other hand, among the interviewed community members, the term ‘heritage’ seemed to trigger strong associations with the authorized national heritage narratives. These formal ‘heritages’, including National Parks, were predominately seen and used as leisure destinations but not equally affordable for all social groups. Membership in institutionalized networks, such as National Trust or English Heritage, surfaced in conversations as a marker of belonging to a community associated with social and cultural capital.

Despite these critical nuances that will be discussed more at length in the following sections of this chapter, the case study supported the opinion, derived from the literature review, that the spatialized “landscape-as-heritage” concept, particularly in its broadest and informal understanding, carries a more inclusive and cohesive momentum. Based on this assumption, the research suggests that the “landscape-as-heritage” concept has a significant potential to promote connections among sectors and governance actors, including different social groups and communities. Transitioning to and broad application of this concept may also be justified from the point of social-ecological justice and sustainability.

The question remains, however, whether and how this potential can be built into progressive political or economic imperatives of the day. It can be argued that the anti-essentialist vision of the world as a diverse and everchanging network of actors and the retreat from action advocated by posthumanists may weaken the cohesive social function and perceived progressive political agency of the “landscape-as-heritage” concept. As some critics suggest, heritage theory and practice should go beyond problems or complexity and ally firmly with progressive politics, engaging with issues such as poverty reduction, climate change, sustainability, human rights, democracy, and the future of the nation-state (Winter, 2013). Policy developments, such as the European Heritage Green Paper (Potts, 2021), point towards the ongoing exploration of such new alignments and links and their application in cross-sectoral practice.

The research also illustrated that a call for more integrative action could yield multiple interpretations and outcomes. For example, a significant part of the current theoretical as well as policy effort may be seen as an attempt to accommodate the plurality of meanings and values, the complexity of networks and the imaginaries of the post-Anthropocene future within the logic

of advanced capitalism, where anything is monetized as ‘capital’ or ‘services’. Commodification, also entailing unequal access, seems to remain entrenched as an essential principle of social and economic relations. In this context, the ‘democratization’ trend in the field of heritage, with its emphasis on the everyday, personal, and intangible, may also be interpreted as the re-positioning of the issue of accessibility and affordability of formal culture to the domain of cultural diversity and its representation, without challenging in principle the inequality, cultural appropriation and exploitation. Within this realm, inclusion could risk becoming a means of market expansion through a slow process of commodification and appropriation. Thus, the promotion of alternative cultures and heritages could eventually reinforce and produce inequalities in the long term instead of alleviating them.

For these reasons, while admitting the progressive potentialities in transitioning from heritage to the “landscape-as-heritage” concept and approaches, its specific social, economic and political conditions should not be overlooked. These conditions, in which the particular ideas materialise, may render them reinforcing national, ethnic, racial and cultural bonds superimposed upon social inequality rather than enabling progressive ideas of trans-sectoral and participatory governance (Townsend, 1979; Pendlebury, Townshend and Gilroy, 2004; Todd, 2021). On a global scale, the propagation of Western heritage philosophy may as well be interpreted as a project for conserving material manifestations of the Eurocentric model of the world system (Harrison, 2013; Logan, 2020) rather than for opening up imaginaries of an alternative world.

### 6.3. Conditions and prerequisites of trans-sectoral participatory governance of “landscape-as-heritage”

The criticalities identified in the previous section suggest further reflection and analysis of the tools and conditions (RQ2 and RQ3) that enable tapping of the progressive potential of the “landscape-as-heritage”. The case study and the literature review point to the fact that the theory, policy and legislative frameworks increasingly embrace the “landscape-as-heritage” integrative concept, but the institutional architecture remains still largely structured in sectoral silos. Academic and professional discourse seems, too, mainly locked in disciplinary and sub-disciplinary boundaries.

While participation and inclusion have become the policy and theory catchwords, there remain numerous difficulties in applying these slogans in practice. The lack of an all-embracing meta-narrative that would enable addressing these practical difficulties in light of a vision of a desired future and the fundamental differences in the principles and approaches offered by the existing socio-economic and political modes leave the process to fragmented experimentation confined to occasional and short-lived success stories.

This section discusses some critical conditions the research assumes to facilitate a move towards trans-sectoral participatory governance of “landscape-as-heritage”. These conditions and prerequisites are cooperative and may not be seen as effective in isolation. Stemming from the research objectives, these are also rather technical, assuming that their effectiveness and outcome will vary depending on the vision of the future and the socio-economic and political modes in which they materialise. However, as discussed in the previous section, the practice can also be seen as a way to inform and alter the vision. Therefore, it can be assumed that an effort towards putting in place the technical conditions and operative modes may transform, in the long term, the entrenched ways of thinking and acting and open up possibilities for the kind of future that cannot be envisioned from the present.

### 6.3.1. Policy cross-referencing and cooperative implementation

The observation of national heritage and landscape-related policies in England reveals the importance of cross-sectoral policy referencing. Such cross-referencing enables a platform and formal incentive for collaboration. Even though heritage and landscape are part of different sectoral institutional assemblages, they are linked through policy and funding schemes, joint thematic and case-based working groups and focal points. However, the links, which are based on consultation and advice, risk remaining a formality if mechanisms for co-creating decisions and joint implementation are not in place. For example, the case study highlighted that the UK government’s sectoral priorities are, for the time being, more explicitly placed on economic growth, digital industries and the environment sector than cultural heritage. Such imbalance is illustrated by the differences in sectoral funding, policies and legislation and confirmed by the

interview analysis. A more trans-sectoral collaborative design and shared implementation of planning decisions could perhaps help to better counterbalance the influence of formal and informal lobbying actors and the government's changing political priorities.

Based on the research, it may be argued that one way to integrate sectoral policies could be incorporating siloed objectives under transcendent concepts such as the well-being of communities, a healthy environment and sustainable development. Such integration could be considered issues-based, where the trans-sectoral dimension of the overall objective could trigger the fusion of sectoral objectives. Issues-based integration can be observed at the top of institutional and policy hierarchy, commonly at the national or supra-national levels. At the same time, positive experiences of cross-sectoral integration can be observed at the lowest tiers of the system in local place-based actions, especially through planning policy-making.

Planning can be seen as an interlocking instrument between the issues-based and place-based approaches on the local, regional and national scales. The landscapes, as socio-ecological systems, can be understood as spaces which accommodate the planning discourses on the interconnectedness of the territories into the complex social, ecological and economic networks. Their historical dimension - a time-depth - enriches planning decision-making with a diversity of values, making the process potentially more open, better-informed and inclusive socially, spatially and temporally.

### 6.3.2. A sustained process of co-creating and sharing information

The multifaceted nature of decision-making determines information sharing as an essential prerequisite and condition of cross-sectoral collaboration and integration. Such sharing can be effectively enabled through joint operation and maintenance of the sectoral digital data systems. In the heritage sector in England, such data systems are, for example, Historic Landscape Characterization and Historic Environment Records. Despite the current problems with digital transferability or inconsistent funding, they still form a necessary foundation for any spatial decision-making. While these databases were initially designed as repositories of data describing the landscape types and their character or cultural heritage objects and sites, there has been a

trend to enhance them with value-based participatory assessments. Such a development may assist in their interpretation in planning and other cross-sectoral use, reflecting the expert and community positions and reconciling past and present values with the future heritage perspectives. Values continue to change through time or be overridden in power contestation. Building up and layering such information illuminates the historical processes and events and may stimulate and enrich critical engagement with future possibilities. The simultaneous interpretation of the values in the planning process could be seen as fundamental to making viable choices relevant to the involved actors at the given moment and for integrating the preservation of the past with societal challenges in the present and the imaginaries of the future.

Market-based, profit-driven solutions may be seen as inappropriate when it comes to integration and sharing, particularly with regard to data. In a neoliberal capitalist society, where data, information and knowledge are highly contested commodities, knowledge sharing may equal losing personal, institutional or sectoral privilege. A consolidated vision and consistent public management seem necessary to sustain the co-creation and sharing of information among various governance actors *inter alia* through the joint operation of digital systems. Furthermore, the research findings suggest that sharing information may be ineffective alone without sharing the responsibility for the decisions that follow.

### 6.3.3 Sharing responsibility

The diffused governance system and the NPM-style decision-making may be seen to displace and blur previously explicit responsibilities of government institutions in many areas, including strategic planning and development (see Chapter 2.4). The confusion and frustration crystallized in the interviews as the lack of trust towards the government may be argued to stem from a diffusion of responsibilities across sectors, governance levels and actors. It can be particularly gruelling for citizens trying to solve a particular issue or seeking assistance with a specific question.

Throughout the research, and particularly in the case study, shared responsibility among sectors, governance levels, and actors emerged as a factor in decisions regarding the environment in general or historic landscapes in particular. The process of cross-sectoral statutory advising could

be seen to serve this purpose. However, it may prove insufficient for co-designing decisions. The interviews demonstrate that advising can be a reactive, ‘textbook-focused’ routine process, which may be ineffective in finding innovative and proactive solutions. Statutory public consultations, thus, are more likely to remain a formality rather than an effective process of sharing ownership of the process, whether it is planning, local budgeting, or else (see Chapter 5.2.3.).

Taking responsibility can be the subject of negotiable conditions between public and private actors. For example, the government in England has used financial incentives to motivate the private sector to utilize natural resources more sustainably. The monetization of possible negative impacts is also a common approach. The mechanisms, such as Infrastructure Levy for development projects, can be seen as negotiated conditions for waiving the responsibility for environmental impact. It could be questioned, however, whether the responsibility is always fairly allocated among actors or the public benefit demonstrably prevails in each case. While the policy system can be fully equipped with all sorts of indicators to measure and demonstrate the pros and cons of such decisions, many nuances render them trivial instruments in service of established power systems.

To a certain extent, a place-based localist approach could be seen to stimulate a sense of shared responsibility across sectors and actors. While it is commonly considered a good practice, still, there are several issues to consider. One of them is the risk of isolating the area from the web of social, economic, ecological and political interconnections at broader scales and losing from sight a more comprehensive picture. In terms of heritage landscapes, for example, a development restriction may result in an idyllic historical theme park in one place, discharging development pressure elsewhere. Such outcomes could be visible in historic towns and landscapes where preserving the spatial form through planning restrictions is set as a priority. This contradiction can also be observed in the NIMBY campaigns that assume responsibility for personal or community spatial enclosures, distancing from broader planning debates (see Chapter 5.2.3.).

Displacing excessive focus on places to a more multiscale spatiality and attempting to synthesize responsibility for both - preservation and development can be observed in the advanced ‘landscape-as-heritage’ theories and policies, particularly the one promoted by the ELC. Still, it can

be argued that the preservation vs. development dichotomy remains entrenched in heritage and landscape understanding as mutually exclusive concepts and responsibilities. It may suggest that work on geographically identifiable territorial units like landscapes needs to be further linked up with broader networks and assemblages to which they belong in terms of their economic, sociocultural, and ecologic relations. However, upscaling the spatial and governance analysis should remain rooted in and informed by local particularities. The critique of the planning policy initiative for simplified zoning in England, *inter alia*, points to the need for balancing authority and autonomy between local, regional and national levels and integrating conservation or development as mutually beneficial complementary processes in the landscape (see Chapter 4.6).

#### 6.3.4. Institutional integration among sectors, actors and tiers

Throughout the research analysis, institutional integration emerged as a prerequisite to enable and sustain the coherence between the bottom-up and top-down governance processes across sectors. The sharing and interpretation of information and the responsibility mentioned in the previous section could work more smoothly where respective professionals work back-to-back in a shared institutional environment. Based on the case study, such a joined-up process can be seen enabled by cross-sectoral focal points permanently embedded in government bodies and by the issues-based *ad-hoc* or open-ended cross-sectoral working groups set up jointly by different sectoral institutions. The alliances and partnerships among and with the non-state actors also provide valuable cross-sectoral integration platforms. Most certainly, universities and research bodies have a unique role in synthesizing knowledge from different disciplines into innovative epistemological and ontological systems.

One of the problems with such a loose arrangement of cross-sectoral collaboration process may be the lack of institutional mandate and implementation power of such collaborative assemblages. The advice or recommendations of working groups and focal points may or may not be effectively considered and enforced unless the decision-makers and operational units have a statutory responsibility or a strategic interest in adhering to these recommendations. The information flow from ‘hand to head’ and *vice versa* should carry the shared responsibility for practical applicability

and broad cross-sectoral relevance. The shift of general policy rhetoric in England from consultation to co-creation may reflect the perceived need for sharing responsibility that emerges with taking ownership of the decision-making and implementation process.

The reflections on the institutional arrangements of the heritage and landscape governance system in England resonate with the more general scholarly discourse on governance, particularly on the return of the meta-narratives and the role of the state (see, for example, Rhodes, 2016; Gjaltema, Biesbroek and Termeer, 2020 in Chapter 2.4). The revival of the meta-governance thinking could be interpreted as a reaction to the ills of neoliberal governance, but they bring valid arguments to the table in favour of cross-sectoral integration at the highest tiers of governance where the macro-decisions are made. It is not explicit whether the return of the state's role could imply a central state planning apparatus tasked to bridge the sectoral imbalances and institutionally underpin the integration of sectoral objectives. However, it is noteworthy that the need for a holistic national and regional territorial vision that joins the sectoral perspectives is repeatedly mentioned throughout the interviews and observed in policy discourse (see, for example, Chapters 5.2.4. and 4.6.3.). The planning critique, for example, stresses that the Neighbourhood and Local Plans can't capture from the bottom up the broader sectoral challenges across administrative boundaries. They remain to be guided by the more comprehensive policy to bridge local objectives with nationwide housing, environment or infrastructure strategies, providing that these strategies, in turn, are built on local evidence. The proposal for the National Landscape Service or the recently established Office for Environmental Protection demonstrates the awareness of the UK government for strengthening national leadership along with the devolution of powers to local authorities. It does not always mean new public bodies, though. For example, the UK government did not support the proposal for the National Landscape Service on the grounds that improved cooperation among actors, as, for example, in the case of National Parks, could also achieve strengthened national governance and better cross-sectoral integration (DEFRA, 2022b).

Further critical analysis of the localist governance approaches points to deficiencies that may render it populist and practically ineffective (see, for example, Purcell, 2003; 2006; 2014 in Chapter

2.5). Apart from the lack of overarching planning vision mentioned above, place-based, localist governance could be negatively affected by unequal resources, opportunities and conditions in different areas. Furthermore, even where the power devolution to the local level does formally happen, for example, in the UK, these are subject to local conditions and negotiations between local and national political power blocks. The outcomes may not be equitable for different places and could further aggravate spatial inequalities across the country. Such criticism is also underpinned by the broader analysis of the functioning of the world capitalist system, where even nation-states can be mere administrative figures in the global financial, economic and political web (Harvey, 1996; 2019; Sassen, 2006, 2018; Wallerstein, 2004).

In light of these discussions, the UK government's devolution agenda, with its aspiration towards greater inclusiveness and participation, could be approached more critically. The issues with access and participation in governance, voiced by the research participants, also contribute to such critical reflection, raising questions about whether these efforts go beyond Tokenism. The analysis suggests that the top-down devolution rhetoric needs to be matched with and built upon a permanent and simultaneous bottom-up engagement in governance. Such connection emerges with a multiplicity of stubborn, time-and-energy-draining citizen involvement with local and national affairs. These bottom-up actions may vary from proactive engagement in planning and public budgeting to reactive complaining or protest campaigns. They can be carried out individually or in an organized manner through elected government representatives or non-governmental platforms - interest communities, thematic and professional associations, trade unions, etc. The challenges of bottom-up access to decision-making are discussed more at length in the following section, but the possible issues with some institutional actors are worth mentioning here.

Non-governmental platforms in landscape and heritage governance, in particular, have traditionally been perceived as a reliable source of public opinion for the government. For example, landscape and heritage-related public campaigns have historically evolved around sectoral and thematic interests. Some of these public initiatives in England have grown into large nationwide membership bodies and can be considered solid influencers in the sector. Today, these

bodies increasingly form alliances within and across sectors, leading sectoral representation at the national and local levels but also advancing cross-sectoral relationships. One aspect that requires critical examination while placing these non-governmental actors in the context of governance discourse is the extent to which they can be taken for a bottom-up axis of power and limitations to their representative mandate with regard to various segments of society. It has been observed that the membership range of heritage organizations may be skewed to upper-class social groups, which have social, cultural and economic capital to engage in various thematic leisure activities beyond routine 'watching telly' or 'window shopping' (see, for example, Miles, 2013; Dicks, 2015; 2017 in Chapter 2.6). These social classes are known to possess political and cultural hegemony, having successfully advocated their interests, *inter alia*, through Authorized Heritage Discourse. The issue of social and political representation also comes to mind when analysing cross-sectoral institutional arrangements, such as National Parks in England. National Parks embody and operationalize the transition from heritage to "landscape-as-heritage" thinking and may be seen as good practice for cross-sectoral, landscape-based institutional integration. At the same time, they have no direct political representation and accountability towards the local population as elected local governments do. National Park governing boards include local government representatives along with a range of private actors and state commissioners. Such a mix of actors nurtures political concerns about whether a directly elected government needs to be supplemented and, at times, overpowered by a public institution that does not have a similar electoral base. It may be assumed that the advantage of place-based and sectoral integration, which is achieved through such top-down public institutions, is not sufficient to justify the accumulation of power at a greater distance from the electoral base. The analysis suggests that such institutions should not compete with a system of political representation that is considered a cornerstone of modern liberal democracy. It may indicate that separating National Park administrations from local government authorities in the 1980s and 1990s should be more critically viewed from a representation perspective. Perhaps, instead of further increasing the vertical institutional hierarchy, they should be better embedded (back) into existing representative governance institutions (see, for example, Chapter 4.3.2).

The latest devolution reforms in England may reflect the modern governance theories in an attempt to join the bottom-up and top-down thinking at national and local levels. The devolution rhetoric can be seen as claiming allegiance to the principles advocated by global movements such as the New Municipalism. However, the formal devolution of powers seems to go hand in hand with the consolidation of national control over negotiating the devolution conditions centred on the ruling party political priorities. It can be argued that both ends of 'dual power' (see, for example, Bookchin and Van Outryve, 2019; Ostrom, 2012; Russell, 2019 in Chapter 2.4) are located mainly within the same long-established field of power. Such a framework leaves little space for alternative political agendas to be built and practised through commoning among citizens.

The review of the literature as well as the case study outcomes, support the opinion that the integrative potential of place-based governance may be vulnerable to multiple external and internal social, political and economic forces. Localist movements can be seen as valuable for enabling bold experimentation with forms of participatory government, reviving the quest for the socio-spatial utopia, and reinvigorating hope and belief in 'people's power'. However, as literature suggests, the local scale does not imply democratic politics by default. Apart from external forces, internal social frictions must also be accounted for. It may indicate that the devolution of powers should be regularly checked against more inclusive decision-making where the participation is elevated from formal consultations and information sharing to taking ownership and responsibility for the process (see, for example, Arnstein, 1969).

#### 6.3.5. Participatory decision-making and (pre)conditions for engagement

Based on the literature review on participation and democratic governance and the findings of the case study, it may be assumed that in the context of progressive localist governance approaches, the effective bottom-up power axis can be constituted through the multiplicity of engaged actors, where representation and accountability are essential, but so is the direct citizen action. The citizen is presented as the building block of the governance system, and hence, the insight into the social organization becomes ever more vital. The research used the social class approach to gather documentary evidence and literature references on the complexities of social inequality. The

collected sources pointed to the relationship between the patterns of socioeconomic stratification and participation in governance and culture, including heritage. While this would benefit from further scholarly research, the existing studies made it possible to assume the links between greater participation, active citizenship and a more affluent social status (see, for example, Savage *et al.*, 2013; Savage, 2015 in Chapter 2.6 and DCMS, 2022 in Chapter 5.3.7).

Quite similarly, the research interviews have illustrated that free time, good professional education, skills and personal social connections - in other words, economic, social and cultural capital - are vital for productive engagement with planning or governance affairs. Those with the most needs are considered the least successful in advocating for their issues. They are also rarely part of formal cultural practices, planning, volunteering campaigns or research surveys. Such 'hard to reach' groups are seldom represented in heritage research as they are not usual customers of formal heritage products or volunteers for heritage-related research. Observation of research respondents also points to the fact that 'heritage' is associated primarily with a middle-class subject of interest. A review of the community heritage literature vis-à-vis social studies on cultural participation suggests that emphasis on the contribution of heritage to community identity and cohesion may be valid. However, it may only relate to the part of the local community who are *a priori* interested in some form of heritage, whether formal or informal.

More fine-grained scrutiny points to the fact that a place community concept may be oversimplified without unfolding its internal structures and conflicts. Alongside ethnic, racial and gender analysis, the social class approach provides a particularly useful insight into divides and commonalities in cultural and social practices and economic relations. The complexities of increased labour mobility and teleworking, job insecurity and precariousness are features cross-cutting through gender, racial or ethnic aspects of communities. Together, these influence and shape individual and collective political aspirations and engagement in governance.

Deconstructing the image of a local community as a monolithic social entity offers an in-depth view of the workings of modern liberal democracy and aspired participatory governance. In England, for example, it is observed that despite the commitment to democratic government, the unbroken lineage of inherited power structures had been reinforced through modern

‘Meritocratic aristocracy’ empowered by the logic of industrial capitalism and later its neoliberal reincarnation. Even though equality, diversity and inclusion have been formally adopted in all sectors at the policy level, socio-spatial inequalities remain the subject of concern. The entrenched social structures and value systems set unsurmountable obstacles to bottom-up social mobility, nurturing the feeling of helplessness and latent acceptance of the given social order. The documentation study and research interviews confirmed that the productivity of engagement with governance affairs is conditioned by socioeconomic profile and, importantly, by educational background. The community representatives perceive the need to stay active, although they understand that the outcomes may differ for different social status groups.

Based on the research, it can be assumed that a social class approach enhances critical reflection on social cohesion and may point to gaps to be bridged to make place-based politics more productive in the long term. The better integration of this approach in heritage and landscape discourses could facilitate a dialogue about their perceived cohesive qualities and political agency.

In addition to the social class approach, various other lenses can be applied to studying social structures within and across communities. Ethnic, racial, gender and other differences are observed to influence participation in governance as well as cultural preferences and heritage values. Regarding “landscape-as-heritage” governance, it should be noted that even where the values may not be shared among individuals and social groups, their material manifestations in the landscape may be commoned. It can be argued that understanding the shared material landscape is vital even where the sharing of values may be socially and culturally constrained. The concept of commons, which has recently gained attention in heritage literature, could assist in further exploring a trans-local or trans-community landscape dimension, where commoning is centred around the material features of a landscape in addition to, or instead of, intangible values assigned to them. This point seems strengthened by the interview findings, which confirm the importance of material landscape features for containing a diversity of shared uses, functions and social groups. ‘Landscapes as heritage’ as a material space could potentially sustain the bottom-up engagement and connect action across social divides but also through time.

### 6.3.6. Personal commitment and its enabling environment

The emphasis on personal commitment commonly emerged throughout the research interviews as a feature of successful collaborative action. Such an emphasis could be interpreted in light of the critique of the post-modern individualistic society. At the same time, individual commitment to the common cause is recognized as vital in participatory or collaborative action. It is one of the indispensable drivers for effective engagement in formal or informal governance or cross-sectoral collaboration. The research respondents related such commitment to the holistic understanding of an issue, the confidence to envision steps to address it and perseverance in implementing them. The scholarly discourse interprets and positions most of these characteristics as part of social, cultural or economic capital. Based on analysis, it can be argued that personal formative factors, social status, access to education or financial security play an essential role in rendering individuals as bold thinkers, doers and risk-takers. It can also be argued that the austerity policies and the demise of the welfare state systems in neoliberal Britain have curbed the potential for such bold thinking among public servants and professionals in competitive private industries. The elected representatives, too, find it financially challenging to commit to nearly voluntary public work. However, the research also demonstrated that even where uncertainty and competition disorient public services or social cohesion, individuals may stand out with their dedication and commitment to the common good. These can be simple acts such as a personal response to an inquiry instead of an automated reply, giving 'off-record' advice, commitment to local surgeries and ward meetings, or time-and-energy-draining citizen action such as counting the daily traffic to demonstrate its impact (*COM.NCL.09\_ Silvia*), mobilizing the clean-up of public spaces (*COM.NCL.07\_Kendra*) or bombarding local government with complaints (*COM.NCL.09\_ Silvia*; *COM.NCL.08\_Lynne*) (See Chapter 5.3.).

Shaping knowledge, capacity and confidence of individuals to become dedicated members of the community and the society in its broad sense can thus be seen as central to 'landscape-as-heritage' participatory governance. Equitable access to the conditions which forge such character through 'levelling up' geographically, spatially, and socially seems necessary in the first place. Such

‘levelling up’ may be seen as a potential way for alternative futures to emerge, where better solutions to many current issues may be found.

In this context, cross-sectoral integration at the macro level of governance under transcendent concepts such as the well-being of communities, job creation, economic growth, etc., mentioned in the previous sections of this chapter, can be seen as an indirect but vital factor in creating an enabling environment for landscape and heritage participatory governance.

### 6.3.7. Integrating physical and digital landscapes

The vision of the cohesive potential of material landscapes could be challenged by advancing the digital landscape and increasing alienation from the material world, which it could imply. Already in today’s digitally networked world, where millions of instant stories constantly compete for attention, it is challenging to construct a meaning that could have a lasting impact and trigger participatory action beyond a simple donation, occasional volunteering and expression of support like digital ‘likes’ and ‘kudos’. On the other hand, the instantaneity of digitally networked processes has demonstrated its power in enabling large-scale coordinated action. The experience of bottom-up social movements like, for example, Black Lives Matter or Gilets Jaunes presents evidence of the unparalleled magnitude and momentum of digitally networked social action. The challenge of digital networks, as with any other social mobilization, remains how to succeed in the endurance of commitment and perseverance of the effort. As the research interviews point out, these are important features of successful bottom-up engagement with governance. It can be argued that digital networks may possess and develop unique attributes and ways for long-term engagement. They may be flexible and swift to be reassembled and re-modelled after a period of disengagement in collective action. They also offer a range of options for citizens for sustained digital engagement with governance as with any other subject of thematic interest.

The digital landscape’s perceived opportunities may be seen as underpinning the UK government’s aspiration towards becoming ‘digital by default’. However, the analysis of interview results raises concerns that the growing use of technologies does not necessarily translate into better and more democratic access to governance. Anonymous and standardized digital communication may not

be effective or relevant in constructive dialogue between government and citizens or even among citizens. Even where equal access to technologies may be formally enabled, and technologies mastered by all segments of society, including those currently disadvantaged, the effectiveness of such communication does not seem straightforward. Many of the research respondents stressed personal vigour, empathy and trust, as well as physical space for 'coming together' as essential components to encourage participation, cohesion, solidarity and progressive action. The personal engagement in bottom-up communication with local authorities through available digital channels also supported the idea that impersonalized and anonymous digital communication may be frustrating as well as futile.

It can be argued that material landscape and physical space set their engrained patterns and rhythm of social interaction in cross-sectoral collaboration and governance decision-making. Holding onto these engrained physical patterns and rhythm while embracing the advantages of the digital realm seems to be necessary for making sense of a human presence in the landscape and the long-lasting implications of governance decisions on the social and ecological systems.

#### 6.3.8. Consistent and integrated funding mechanisms

Another enabling condition for enforcing cross-sectoral and participatory approaches to heritage and landscape governance, emerging through research interviews and documentation study, appears to be the consistent availability and access to public funds. The budget cuts and austerity measures were admitted as a negative factor in discussions with local government representatives, professionals from the heritage and landscape industry and local community representatives. In the context of the NMP approach actively pursued by the UK government since the neoliberal turn in the 1970s, these funding cuts were seen as a continued onslaught on public services to eradicate the remaining elements of the post-WWII welfare state system. While some public employees took pride in being 'leaner', competitive and efficient, overall, the memory of better times when the stable provision of public funds allowed more time and space for interaction, engagement and innovation lingered in the background. The stability and continuity of funding emerged as an important factor, suggesting that the fragmented funding through many different thematic, sectoral and space-and-time-specific streams is ineffective in terms of broader

cross-sectoral integration and sustaining long-term action (see Chapter 5.2.3.). It is also seen as absorbing disproportionate resources in management, making it difficult for small-scale organizations to be effective. The fragmented funding is also prone to follow short-lived political agendas, as well as the priorities of speculative market actors. Through such diffused funding streams, it becomes challenging to effectively respond to long-term cross-sectoral objectives such as, for example, the development of joined-up digital data systems. Furthermore, the uncertainty of public funding makes dependent bodies unable to plan and realise bold cross-sectoral initiatives. In an attempt to top up the budget for delivering essential public services, local governments and public institutions need to enter tight negotiations with the market actors, which may lead to compromising common resources and interests.

Based on the case study, it can be argued that diversifying the provision of public funding through sectoral or place-based channels may, on the one hand, better fertilise the heritage and landscape ecosystem, encouraging resilience and innovation. However, such an approach can also be seen as more effective in enhancing actors' survival skills rather than serving broader societal or cross-sectoral objectives. The cultural industries can be observed as an example, where the concept of culture is diminished to a marketable commodity, dwelling on competition and profit generation.

At the same time, critical socioeconomic and governance theories suggest that alongside the avowed liberalism, the capitalist system, too, needs governments to perform fundamental enabling and regulatory roles. Public funding and incentives for private actors to meet environmental objectives or cultural heritage regulations can be seen as an illustration.

It can be argued that the approach to 'landscape-as-heritage' as a resource with demonstrated economic profitability poses risks to the equitable and just distribution of these profits. The literature review and the case study provide numerous references to commodification, gentrification, over-tourism, the loss of authentic landscapes, and the lack of continuity of local cultures as by-products of the exploitation of landscape and heritage for the neoliberal capitalist economy. Therefore, it may be considered necessary to rethink the public and private funding for 'landscape-as-heritage' in light of the sustained cross-sectoral integration and societal challenges.

#### 6.4. Concluding remarks and further aspects for consideration

The scholarly discourse in cultural and social studies has long attributed important political agency to landscapes as heritage. On the one hand, the dominant heritage narratives are believed to be constructed and driven by the interests of nation-states, market actors, and elite groups. On the other hand, they are perceived as building blocks for community cohesion and democratization (see, for example, Lekakis, 2020; Smith and Campbell, 2017; Gould, 2017 in Chapter 2.3). Such dialectics can be seen as an intrinsic feature of heritage as a social construct. The specific spatiotemporal conditions, ultimately, the ideological framework in which these conditions are understood, worked upon, or imagined determine how this dialectic nature is realized. The scholarly discourse highlights that neoliberal democracies fail to prevent abuse of power, growing ‘oligarchization’ and populism (see, for example, Mouffe, 2019; Taggart, 2004 and others). There is also a shared concern that as the economic basis of capitalist production remains unchallenged, the vacuum of alternative futures shall persist (Ranciere, 2017; Peck, Theodore and Brenner, 2010; Ercan and Gagnon, 2014 and others).

This reflection may suggest that as far as the emphasis remains on the preservation of material heritage, there remains a risk of commodification, cultural appropriation and exclusion. Material features of “landscape-as-heritage” bear an array of stories, including those on resistance and insurgent action. Whether these stories are communicated as a coherent meta-narrative or a fragmented message, a call for action or ‘pacification’<sup>59</sup> depends on state-of-the-art political objectives and market logic. The recent government reaction towards the de-colonization movement in museums in England may illustrate how political agenda manoeuvres with ideological vocabulary to shape the authorized heritage discourse, where the government’s restrictive rhetoric can even be justified with the liberal mantra of freedom of expression, diversity and plurality (see Chapter 4.5.1 and further DCMS, 2020c).

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<sup>59</sup> ‘Pacification’ or ‘domestication by cappuccino’, the term describing the middle-class consumerist aspirations in the process of upgrading urban Neighbourhoods, introduced by Sharon Zukin in her *Culture of Cities*, 1995.

Therefore, engaging with a progressive vision of the future, in the first place, can be seen as a fundamental starting point for shifting entrenched, exclusive and exploitative modes of governance. The need for a vision was also reflected across research interviews, particularly in the context of planning. There seemed to be an urge among respondents to imagine future landscapes and heritages instead of being occupied with the past. Engagement with the future, conception of a utopia of space and social process, once characterised Modernist thinking; however, it seems to have regained validity with global environmental, social, political and economic crises (Harvey, 2000). Such engagement appears to be indispensable to reinvigorating hope and confidence in transformative change and accepting responsibility for failures and drawbacks that may come. In the context of 'landscape-as-heritage', it could mean embracing innovative interpretations of heritage and developing socially inclusive responses to landscape change (LOC.NPA.EXE.05), thinking of ways of transitioning into the future instead of fixing onto preservation of the past (EXP.IND.03).

Considering the risks in co-creating and realizing socio-spatial utopia, a more reflexive process could be necessary where governance mechanisms, political and economic systems or disciplinary boundaries are regularly questioned, confronted, scrutinized and reassembled. In this process, heritage and landscapes may better serve as sources of information and instruments for future making rather than monuments to the past.

The critical heritage discourses highlight the political agency of heritage. Some authors (see, for example, Courtney, 2011; Smith and Campbell, 2017; others in Chapter 2) believe that insurgent heritage can counter the AHD and strengthen the social and cultural capital of disadvantaged social classes. However, it can be argued that in heritage scholarship, the social classes themselves appear as historical artefacts. It may be particularly true for former working-class communities in de-industrialised regions. In England, for example, it can be observed that as the traditional working class disintegrated, their heritage became increasingly absorbed into the AHD. Therefore, the political agency of working-class heritage has become questioned (Morel, 2011). While there could be promising cases, there is not enough evidence of how to transform nostalgia into progressive action. The question also persists whether and how the restoration of material remains could escape commodification and help to revitalize the values, relationships and

conditions that created them. These questions are particularly relevant for the 20<sup>th</sup>-century working-class heritage, where nostalgia is centred on the way of life, a social order that was dismissed and condemned by neoliberal capitalism.

The above discussion may be indicative of some features, conditions and characteristics for transitioning from heritage to the “landscape-as-heritage” concept and cross-sectoral participatory governance. The key takeaway of the research discussion is the recognized potential for the integrative role of “landscape-as-heritage” as a critical future-making agent. While there is an increasing body of research on future heritage and the range of possible values it may carry, there remains a pressing need for all-inclusive mobilization and engaging in imagining the kind of future we wish to co-create and how spatiotemporal materiality of “landscape-as-heritage” could contribute to achieving it.



Figure 19. ‘landscape-as-heritage’: a spatiotemporal container of the plurality.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

### 7.1. Main conclusions of the research

The research made it possible to come up with broad-based conclusions about the potential and conditions of the “landscape-as-heritage” concept to become a driver and a connecting platform for trans-sectoral participatory governance. The insight into the rich history of heritage, landscape and governance philosophies, together with a case study of the heritage and landscape governance system in England, supported the opinion that heritage landscapes do possess socio-cultural, environmental and other trans-sectoral integrative qualities. The research concludes that a broader application of the “landscape-as-heritage” concept could potentially encourage closer cross-sectoral collaboration and more inclusive and consolidated governance.

Such a conclusion is based on the following research findings regarding the characteristics of landscapes as spatialized forms of heritage.

Landscapes manifest both – cultural and natural features and materialise plurality and diversity of eco-social and economic relations on multiple scales. Infused with heritage concept, landscapes can be seen to encourage still greater diversity of formal and informal interpretations. ‘Landscape-as-heritage’ approach allows to gather these diverse features, relations and interpretations into a holistic trans-sectoral vision that also accommodates individual and collective, expert and laymen, formal and informal points of view.,

‘Landscape-as-heritage’, embodying the diverse values assigned by different individuals, social groups and communities, provide a shared visual and spatial setting for everyday life and a cultural space for practising values alternative to formal, authorized heritage. Even in cases where land ownership may not be public, the landscapes can be seen nurturing a sense of belonging and entitlement among a great diversity of people, so powerfully demonstrated by the Right to Roam movements in early 20<sup>th</sup> century England. Thus, it may be assumed that the “landscape-as-heritage” could uphold the principles of social justice, stimulate participatory governance and inclusive citizen engagement.

Furthermore, landscapes offer a suitable scale in the spatial and governance hierarchy to integrate and apply decentered and polycentric governance as well as meta-governance thinking, allowing for the dynamic reproduction of dialectical confrontation between bottom-up and top-down governance forces. The research outcomes strengthen the position that the study of heritage values is inseparable from insights into broader, sociocultural, political, economic and ecologic realms where these values are produced and reproduced.

Predominantly heritage-led or landscape-led approaches to space could lead to different outcomes from a governance perspective – fragmentation through delving into abstract values or fostering cohesion through the commoning material landscape. Activating the political agency of ‘landscape-as-heritage’ requires a compromise between the two. The recent decolonizing movements in England and the debate over removing public statues provide valuable insights for deep reflection on these compromises. They reaffirm that as ‘landscape-as-heritage’ embodies the past, it provides much-needed knowledge to face the uncertainty and risk in a complex future-making process. Such knowledge may serve as a stimulus for informed action.

The research outcomes suggest that the social class analysis enriches the discourses on cultural diversity and representation with significant insight into inequality, cultural appropriation and exploitation. Such analysis could also reinforce critical arguments for the accessibility and affordability of formal culture and heritage in the first place and prevent alternative cultures and heritages, including their everyday, popular, personal and intangible forms, from being exposed to commodification, colonisation, gentrification and cultural appropriation. The research, embracing these concerns, reaffirms the need for a more holistic “landscape-as-heritage” approach, shifting the focus away from the trivial ‘discovering’ of heritage values by heritage experts and directing more attention towards social and ecological justice and sustainability.

The research finds that the social class approach has a strong potential for enabling a critical understanding of places and their communities. Such an approach may reveal that the emphasis on the contribution of heritage to community identity and cohesion is valid, but only partly. Looking through social class lenses makes visible the deep cracks in the community image, a sense

of which is essential for honest discussion of governance issues and perspectives as well as for the democratization of heritage and landscape governance.

The research reaffirmed the integrative role of planning, which seems to be an interlocking instrument between the issues-based and place-based governance approaches on the local, regional and national scales. The landscapes accommodate the transitional planning discourses, infusing them with historical dimensions and diverse values, thus inviting social and temporal inclusiveness along with spatial and sectoral.

Not-for-profit actors, thematic and professional organizations and trade unions could be seen as a solid institutional base for engagement and participation in governance, especially at larger scales. However, they should not be entitled to a monopoly over the public voice, as their membership may be limited to certain types of interest communities and social groups.

The research highlighted that proactive and reactive citizen engagement modes are both vital for participatory governance of heritage landscapes. The spatial and other forms of strategic planning may be seen as mechanisms for such engagement forms. However, this assumption should be challenged through the credibility test in each case.

At the same time, the research pointed to the risk that inclusion and participation may remain a policy formality without a commitment in principle and resources for implementation.

Finally, the research findings lead towards reflection on the role of individuals, personal commitment, skills and visions in governance decision-making. These findings point to social, cultural and economic capital as a prerequisite for enabling individuals to become bold public thinkers, enthusiastic innovators and risk-takers, and keen contributors to the common good. The demise of the welfare state systems in neoliberal Britain, the increased precarity, and diminished opportunities for personal development could be related to retreating from such bold thinking and risk-taking in every part of the governance network.

The research revealed the following prerequisites and conditions necessary for realising the integrative qualities of 'landscapes-as-heritage' and their active future-making agency.

In the first place, it seems vital for the 'landscape-as-heritage' governance to overcome excessive entanglement with local particularities and to seek better connections across scales and sectors. The research supports the idea that 'landscapes-as-heritage' should be approached as part of social-ecological and economic systems and, as such, more than a sum of their constituent places.

At the same time, the research findings demonstrate the importance of being informed by the 'local particularities'. Going local, however, should not be limited to adhering to an idealised concept of a community and place susceptible to political populism and tokenism. Instead, it seems necessary to grasp the complexity of social stratification and recognize social patterns within and across places and landscapes. Such detailing seems particularly valid as heritage is broadly acknowledged as a social construct.

With regards to political representation, the research outcomes point out that any state or non-state institution, particularly those charged with governance decision-making, should strive to exercise at least some form of direct citizen control and ownership, inclusive of all social groups and classes. Cross-sectoral, issues-based integration achieved at the higher levels of governance hierarchy should not compromise local decision-making. Government executive bodies and arm's length agencies should be better embedded into the system of political representation and direct democracy. National Parks in England, for example, illustrate an institutional niche with a convoluted chain of political representation and planning authority. On the other hand, neighbourhood planning and the policy on adopting plans through local referendums could be an example of more direct and inclusive citizen engagement opportunities.

The research outcomes highlight that the stable provision of public funds are vital for integrated and participatory governance. The state executive bodies should streamline these funds for long-term public works and quality services instead of sieving them through profit-driven private actors. Fragmented funding through many different thematic, sectoral and space-and-time-specific streams can be seen as ineffective with regard to broader cross-sectoral integration and sustainability. The issues with the cross-sectoral operation of a fragmented heritage and landscape information management systems in England can be one example illustrating this view.

The research outcomes confirm that for meaningful dialogue and collaborative action, it is just as important to have direct person-to-person, face-to-face interaction between citizens and government institutions and, among citizens. The public spaces – the assembly buildings, the ‘surgeries’ of elected representatives, community centres, etc., play a crucial role in enabling such interaction.

## 7.2. Reflection on the research process

Through seeking interconnections between landscape, heritage and governance domains, the research bears significance for supporting the broader use of the holistic “landscape-as-heritage” concept in academic discourse and management practice. The study emphasises the links between heritage and social inequality and attempts to analyse its implication on participatory governance critically. As such, it adds further evidence to the body of research on heritage and social class, heritage as commons and outlines where future academic study and policy work can be more intensively focused.

The research methodology allowed delving into a complex, multilayered heritage and landscape governance system, using the inductive, exploratory and qualitative approaches built around one central case study. Focusing on a single case proved relevant, taking the cross-sectoral nature and complexity of the research subject. The arguments for the case study selection also proved correct, as the chosen case offered a substantial breadth of experience in heritage and landscape governance and a wealth of available information. Observing England's heritage and landscape governance in a turbulent post-Brexit transition amidst the COVID-19 Pandemic revealed uncertainties, disappointments and fears but highlighted the governance actors' resilience and commitment. Such commitment is believed to carry the potential for transformative change through which more inclusive and participatory heritage and landscape governance systems may be built.

The cross-sectoral heritage, landscape and governance literature review enabled a conceptual framework for making critical methodological choices and the selection of the main strands for data collection and analysis. The documentation study, focusing on England's heritage and

landscape governance system, prepared the basis for qualitative, in-depth interviews and integrated analysis of outcomes. The interviews and direct observation allowed for verifying the preliminary findings and building arguments for discussing results. While the limitations outlined at the early stage were found relevant, the global Pandemic emerged as an additional pressure on the research process and considerably prolonged the research timeline. Yet, its negative impact on the final research outcomes can be considered negligible.

The study attempted to embrace heritage, landscape and governance realms from theoretical and practical points, outlining their institutional, fiscal, and legal underpinnings across governance tiers from national to local levels and trying to provide a dialectical view of the bottom-up and top-down power plays. As an outcome, the research may be considered to positively contribute to the cross-sectoral scholarship of heritage and landscapes, making connections with governance challenges in the Western world as well as the people-nature-culture discourse among heritage and landscape research and policy.

The main challenge of the research has been to build a holistic narrative about the living environment, rooted in local particularities but placed in broader trans-disciplinary discourses. The landscape scale proved suitable for such a balanced approach. Employing social class as a tool for analysing participatory governance also showed great relevance for the research topic. For its multilayered and cross-sectoral analysis of heritage, landscapes and governance, the research outcomes can be considered important and relevant to further “landscape-as-heritage” theory and practice.

### 7.3. Recommendations for theory and practice

This final section of the thesis gathers the main takeaways and recommendations for future theory and practice in heritage and landscape governance that may be relevant for all sectors.

With regards to cross-sectoral collaboration, the research outcomes highlight the need for more innovative ways of joined-up work beyond consultative and advisory methods. The technicalities of co-creating, jointly implementing and monitoring decisions about the living environment should

be more closely explored theoretically and tested in practice. Such fine-grained work is indispensable for cross-sectoral collaboration to go beyond a policy formality as they often do now. It should be admitted that the heritage and landscape scholarship has much to take from sociology, human geography, political economy and environmental and biological sciences, which increasingly use holistic systems thinking. Such cross-sectoral collaboration should employ and enhance the “landscape-as-heritage” concept, striving to establish a consilient approach to space.

Furthermore, with regards to participation and inclusion, the research outcomes suggest that deconstructing an idealized image of a place community through a social class could be one of the many ways to enrich the scholarly discourse on “landscape-as-heritage” and resist local or sectoral fragmentation. The established participation practices and methods should be tested against the most hard-to-reach groups to validate the ways for genuinely inclusive policies at all levels of governance. The governance practices should maintain the possibility for face-to-face and personified communication between actors and provide physical space for getting together to partake in decision-making. The positive impact of such personal engagement should be further explored on the sense of shared responsibility and social and cross-sectoral cohesion in governance decision-making, *inter alia*, in strategic and spatial planning on various scales. Such research would be particularly relevant in light of the increasingly digitalized social relations and governance processes.

Overall, ‘landscape-as-heritage’ concept can be seen as a path towards trans-disciplinary unity of knowledge - an evolutionary alignment process with inherent conflicts, failures and achievements, which is deemed essential for socio-spatial utopias to emerge from the empirical observation of the material world. ‘landscape-as-heritage’ scholarship and practice is believed to obtain progressive agency only if seen as building blocks of unidisciplinary knowledge and part of the joined-up effort for a more just, sustainable and inclusive future world.

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## Appendix 1

### Interview Guide for Institutional Representatives

Introduction - what is the research about

---

Please describe your job role

[A] Institutional Framework

---

Which are the partners you interact with on a day-to-day basis within the frame of your job?

What are the mechanisms for interaction? Joint committees, partnership boards, etc.? Could you describe to which extent they are effective and helpful for you to implement your tasks?

Based on your experience, which sector has, by law, the upper hand when it comes to collaborations and partnerships?

Please describe the best trans-sectoral partnership experience you know or experienced while working in

[B] Legal Terms and Policies

---

On a day-to-day basis, which are the national or local legal acts and international conventions which you refer to most frequently? E.g ELC 2000, Faro 2005, Aarhus 1998

In your opinion, how are heritage and the historic environment represented in the different sectoral laws and policies? Do you think it is sufficiently represented? What could be improved?

Which are the sectoral policies you happen to be familiar with or need to be familiar with because of your job role? For example

[C] Funding Framework

---

What are the main sources of funding for heritage and landscape-related projects? For example, National bodies, Local governments, Charities and non-governmental bodies, Private?

In your opinion – are the sources of funding stable and sufficiently easy to access for your organization?

What are the barriers if any?

#### [D] Participation

---

Can you describe your organization's principles for public participation and engagement?

Please describe your experience in having to ensure public participation in decisions under your job role.

#### [E] Issues and challenges

---

Could you please describe in a few sentences the main issues and challenges for your organization?

Based on your experience, could you talk about the challenges of heritage management in England?

#### Closing Question

---

Which are the improvements you would like to see in terms of Inter-sectoral integration, National and local level collaboration, and inclusive public participation in decision-making?

## Appendix 2

### Interview Guide for Local Community

#### Section 1. Your Neighbourhood and Local Government

*This section includes questions related to your neighbourhood and your involvement in local government processes.*

1. Describe the limits of the area you consider your neighbourhood.
2. Can you tell which are the most important features you value about the neighbourhood?<sup>60</sup>
3. Do you know who are your elected representatives in the local council?
  - a. If yes, please specify whether these are county, district, or city council members.
  - b. How do you happen to know them? (e.g. personally, from the media)
4. Have you ever been invited for consultation on any subject by the local council?<sup>61</sup>
  - a. If yes, please specify what was the case
  - b. Have you accepted the invitation.?
  - c. Please tell the reasons why you accepted or did not accept.
5. Have you ever participated in any public consultations organized by your local council?<sup>62</sup>
  - a. If yes, please describe your experience of taking part in the consultation.
  - b. What was(were) the issues?
  - c. What was the outcome of the consultation?
  - d. In your opinion, did your participation make a difference in the outcome?
  - e. Would you attend a public consultation again?
  - f. Based on your experience, Do you think the consultation provides the possibility to influence decision-making?
6. Have you ever participated in any other form of local government decision-making process? E.g. attended the council hearings on planning or other issues, signed petitions, questioned planning applications? Proposed improvements in your neighbourhood, etc.
  - a. If yes, please, specify in which form.
  - b. How often do you take part in such activities? (e.g. Often/rarely/only once)
  - c. Can you mention the most important issues you have attended the Council hearings or participated in decision-making in other forms?
7. Can you talk about your motivation for taking part in consultations or other forms of collaboration with local government? (e.g., is it to initiate something according to your personal interest or only prevent decisions that may negatively affect your interest, are you only spending your free time in an interesting and useful way, or rather consider your civic duty to participate in public affairs)

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<sup>60</sup> *The answers will be grouped into the following categories: Location, Green spaces, Public infrastructure, Public amenities, Employment/business opportunity, People and community, Historic character, Security, Social status, Cleanness*

<sup>61</sup> *This tells about how councils work.*

<sup>62</sup> *This tells about how people react to council's cooperation initiatives. This question double-checks the previous one, or can be blended with the previous one if the discussion flows to the topic.*

8. If you have never participated in any form of local government consultation/decision-making, can you talk about the main reasons? .
9. Do other people in your neighbourhood or among your friends participate in public affairs?
  - a. If yes/no, why do you think they do/ do not do it?

## Section 2. Community and volunteering

*This section contains questions related to your involvement in local community or other non-governmental organizations.*

10. Have you ever been part of/affiliated with a non-governmental organization?
  - a. If yes, what kind of a non-governmental organization have you been part of/affiliated with? (e.g., Charities, neighbourhood or national trusts, foundations, professional associations, etc.)
  - b. What was/is your role in the organization? (e.g., administrative, expert, other staff, volunteer, donor, etc.)
  - c. Can you talk about your experience? What has been the most positive/ negative experience/project?
11. If you happen to be involved in management of non-governmental organizations, could you estimate which are regular donors of your organization's activities: local council, national government, non-governmental or private donors?
12. Can you talk about your most successful projects? What are its aim, outcome and challenges?
13. Have you ever worked as a volunteer?
  - a. If yes, can you talk about your experience? (organizations and roles, most positive and most negative aspects, etc.)
14. Have you ever volunteered for a National Park, environmental or heritage trust/neighbourhood organization focusing on heritage or landscape?
  - a. If yes, can you talk about your experience? (organizations and roles, most positive and most negative aspects, etc.)
  - b. If not, can you name the reasons?

## Appendix 3

### Introduction for Interview Respondents

#### Background of the research

HERILAND is a pan-European network for heritage and landscape research and training, established in the frame of the European Union-funded project (Maria Skłodowska-Curie Grant Agreement #813883). The network brings together six universities from the Netherlands, Sweden, the UK, Italy, and Israel, with 15 early-stage researchers focusing on different aspects of heritage and landscape identification, valorization, and management.

Newcastle University is one of the leading partners of the network, hosting three researchers, including this particular research on trans-sectoral connections in heritage and landscape participatory governance.

#### Researcher's profile

Ms Rusudan Mirzikashvili is an early-stage researcher and a Ph.D. student at Newcastle University. Born and raised in Georgia (ex-USSR), she has obtained postgraduate degrees from the Universities of Dublin (Ireland) and Leuven (Belgium) and gathered more than 15 years of work experience in heritage management at national, local, and international levels (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/rusudan-mirzikashvili-a809315/>).

#### Research information

The research “Heritage and Landscape: Making trans-sectoral Connections in Governance and Legislative Frameworks” focuses on England as the main case study, examining the administrative and legal frameworks and the level of participation of different social groups in heritage and landscape governance. The research uses qualitative methods of data collection and analysis, employing interviews as one of the main sources of information.

Participation in the research interviews is voluntary. Each interview question gives you the option to leave it unanswered in case you find it intrusive. The interviews are conducted online via Zoom, or face-to-face, according to Covid-19 government regulations at the time of the interview.

The interviews are anonymous, meaning that each interview is recorded with a unique ID, without having a reference to the participant's name or other information which could disclose his/her identity. The following categories of personal data will be collected from the interview: age, education, occupation, employment, and average income. This information is needed to set up a participant's socio-economic profile (without reference to participant name or other individual identity markers) as a necessary context for analysis of the information provided through the interview.

The interview video/audio recordings will be stored by the researcher on a password-protected personal computer until the end of the research in 2022 only. The anonymized transcripts will be archived in the Newcastle University and HERILAND, University of Amsterdam digital repositories.

The specific details of Newcastle University General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR) are given below.

Newcastle University uses a personally-identifiable information from people who have agreed to take part in research only in the public interest. This means that when you agree to take part in a research study, we will use your data in the ways needed to conduct and analyze the research study. Your right to access, change or move your information are limited, as we need to manage your information in specific ways for the research to be reliable and accurate. If you withdraw from the study, we will keep the information about you that we have already obtained. To safeguard your rights, we will use the minimum personally-identifiable information possible.

If you wish to raise a complaint on how we have handled your personal data, you can contact the Data Protection Officer of the Newcastle University who will investigate the matter. The Data Protection Officer is Maureen Wilkinson and you can contact them at [rec-man@ncl.ac.uk](mailto:rec-man@ncl.ac.uk). If you are not satisfied with the University response or believe we are processing your personal data in a way that is not lawful, you can complain to the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO).

For more information, please use the following contact details:

Ms. Rusudan Mirzikashvili, HERILAND early-stage researcher and Ph.D. student  
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Newcastle University  
E-mail: [rusudan.mirzikashvili@newcastle.ac.uk](mailto:rusudan.mirzikashvili@newcastle.ac.uk)

## Main interview themes

*The aim of my research is to study the role of heritage and landscape in territorial planning and governance and their role in cross-sectoral collaboration. More specifically – to look at the role these concepts play (or do not play) in aligning and harmonizing different sectors, for example manufacturing and industry, agriculture, forestry, environmental protection, renewable energy, transport, housing, infrastructure provision, recreation and leisure, education, etc. I try to understand the historic landscape as a melting pot of these different processes and often conflicting interests of various social groups, but more importantly, I would like to inquire about the role of ordinary people in shaping their local living environment, respective problems and challenges.*

*I have set up two sets of base questions for organizations and community representatives. The interviews with organizations mostly focus on the cross-sectoral integration challenges as well as the mechanisms and programs in place for social inclusion and community participation in the organization's decision-making process. The interviews with community representatives focus on the neighbourhood and local governance and experience in volunteering.*

*The interviews are anonymous, which means only the code and not the respondent's name are recorded with the interview transcript. The video and audio recordings will be used (upon the respondent's permission) only for this particular research. The anonymized transcripts will be archived for long-term academic use. Please be aware that you can abstain from an answer each time you find the question intrusive.*

## Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet for Community Respondents

What is your age range?

18-24

25-34

35-44

45-54

55-65

65+

*\*Please underline the relevant answer or add an answer of your choice.*

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

DEGREE

HIGHER EDUCATION BELOW DEGREE/PROFESSIONAL  
QUALIFICATION

A-LEVEL /EQUIVALENT

O-LEVEL/GCSE A-C/EQUIVALENT

CSE/GCSE D-G/EQUIVALENT

NO QUALIFICATION

Are you currently employed?

YES

NO

SELF-EMPLOYED

RETIRED

OTHER

*choice.*

What describes best your job role?

How would you describe your occupational field?

Which of the following best suits your tenure situation?

LAND/PROPERTY OWNER  
TENANT IN MARKET RENTED SECTOR  
TENANT IN SOCIAL RENTED SECTOR  
OTHER

How long you live in the area?

TWO OR MORE GENERATIONS  
MORE THAN 10 YEARS  
FIVE TO TEN YEARS  
ONE TO FIVE YEARS  
LESS THAN ONE YEAR

Which of the following would best suit your average annual household disposable income range?

0-25.000  
25.000-50.000  
50.000-100.000  
100.000+

Among which group would you place yourself?

LOW INCOME  
MIDDLE INCOME  
HIGH INCOME

How many people live in your household?

Does anyone in your household currently receive government social benefits?

## Appendix 5

### Participant Consent Form

Research Title: Landscape and Heritage: Making trans-sectoral Connections in Governance and Legislative Frameworks

Name of Researcher: Rusudan Mirzikashvili

Research Organization: Newcastle University

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the research and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I understand and permit the data collected from me during the interview to be used in the ways outlined in the information sheet.	
I understand and permit the interview to be audio or video recorded.	
I agree to take part in the research.	

Name of Participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 6

### Information on the Addressed Institutions and Institutional Representatives<sup>63</sup>

	Organizations and experts	Industry	Level of authority	Location	Position	Type and years in organization		Interview date	Int. length	Organization
	Conducted									
1	EXP.ACAD.01	Planning	NA	Nation-wide	Senior Academic	University	20+	01.06.2021	0:58	Newcastle University
2	EXP.ACAD.02	Heritage_ Conservation	NA	Nation-wide	Middle-rank Academic	University	3+	22.06.2021		University of Warwick, University of Cambridge
3	EXP.ACAD.03	Heritage_ Conservation	NA	Nation-wide	Senior Academic	University	16	21.06.2021	1:06	Newcastle University
4	EXP.IND.01	Heritage_ Archaeology	NA	Nation-wide	Senior Professional (industry)	Professional Association	20	28.06.2021	0:50	ICOMOS
5	EXP.IND.02	Planning	National	Nation-wide	Senior Executive managerial	Professional Association	10	15.07.2021	1:01	Royal Town Planning Institute
6	EXP.IND.03	Landscape architecture	National	Nation-wide	Senior Academic	Professional Association	20+	10.06.2021	1:01	Institute of Historical Research
7	LOC.COUNT.EXE.01	Heritage_ Archaeology	Local	Region North	Middle-rank Executive professional	County Council	16	21.06.2021	1:06	Northumberland County Council

<sup>63</sup> Names and specific role identifiers have been removed from this table to ensure anonymity.

8	LOC.COUNT.EXE.02	Heritage_ Archaeology	Local	Region South	Middle-rank Executive professional	County Council	9	05.11.2021	0:45	East Sussex County Council
9	LOC.NPA.EXE.01	Planning	Local	Region North	Senior Executive managerial	NPA	7	28.05.2021	0:54	NNPA
10	LOC.NPA.EXE.02	Planning	Local	Region South	Senior Executive managerial	NPA	10	29.09.2021	0:46	SDNPA
11	LOC.NPA.EXE.03	Planning	Local	Region South	Senior Executive managerial	NPA	4	09.07.2021	0:58	SDNPA
12	LOC.NPA.EXE.04	Heritage_ Archaeology	Local	Region North	Middle-rank Executive professional	NPA	14	18.05.2021	1:09	NNPA
13	LOC.NPA.EXE.05	Heritage_ Museums& Culture	Local	Region South	Senior Executive professional	NPA	3	03.11.2021	1:14	SDNPA
14	LOC.NPA.EXE.06	Environment	Local	Region North	Senior Executive managerial	NPA	16	23.10.2020	0:45	NNPA
15	LOC.TDS.EXE.01	Heritage_ Archaeology	Local	Region North	Middle-rank Executive professional	City & district Council	5	09.07.2021	1:18	Newcastle City Council
		Heritage_ Archaeology	Local	Region North	Middle-rank Executive professional	City & district Council	3			Newcastle City Council
16	LOC.TDS.EXE_02	Heritage_ Conservation	Local	Region South	Middle-rank Executive professional	City & district Council	7	16.11.2021	0:53	Eastbourne Borough Council

17	LOC.TDS.POL.01	Development Management	Local	Region North	Senior Politician_elected	City & district Council	20	05.10.2021	0:59	Newcastle City Council
18	NAT.EXE.01	Heritage_Archaeology	National	Nation-wide	Senior Executive managerial	Government Agency	10+	24.06.2021	1:00	Historic England
19	NAT.EXE.02	Forestry	National	Nation-wide	Middle-rank Executive professional	Government Agency	1	25.06.2021	1:02	Forestry Commission
20	NFP.01	External Affairs	National	Region North	Middle-rank Executive professional	Charity	15	25.05.2021	1:03	National Trust
21	NFP.02	Planning	National	Nation-wide	Senior Executive managerial	Charity	5	17.06.2021	0:58	National Trust
	<b>No show</b>									
1		Planning	National	Nation-Wide	Senior Executive managerial	Government Agency		18.11.2021		Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government
2		Planning	Local	Region South	Senior Executive managerial	District and Borough Council		16.11.2021		
	<b>Refused</b>									
1		Governance	Local	Region South		District Council		04.10.2021		Chichester District Council
2		Environment	National	Nation-wide		Government Agency		14.05.2021		Environment Agency
3		Environment	National	Nation-wide		Government Agency		21.05.2021		Environment Agency

4		Culture	National	Nation-wide		Government Agency		04.06.2021		Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
5		Governance	National	Nation-wide		Parliament		23.06.2021		Houses of Parliament
6		Governance	National	Nation-wide		Parliament		23.06.2021		Houses of Parliament
7		Heritage	Local	Region South		Charity		27.10.2021		Steyning Downland Scheme
8		Heritage	Local	Region North		Charity		08.03.2021		Cultura Trust
9		Heritage	Local	Region North		Charity		15.03.2021		Cultura Trust
##		Governance	Local	Region South		District Council		28.10.2021		Lewes District Council
	<b>Missed</b>									
1		Planning	National	Nation-wide		Government Agency		14.06.2021		Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government
2		Environment	Local	Region North		Government agency		18.08.2021		Northumberland and Coast AONB
	<b>No reply</b>									
1		Governance	Local	Region South		County Council				West Sussex County Council
2		Heritage	NA	Region South		Charity				Farm Clusters
3		Heritage	NA	Region South		Charity				Friends of South Downs

4		Heritage	NA	Region South		Charity				Stanmer Preservation Society
5		Heritage	NA	Region South		Charity				Chichester & District Archaeology Society
6		Planning	NA	Nation-wide		Charity				Town and Country Planning association
7		Civil rights	NA	Nation-wide		Charity				Civic Voice
8		Environment	National	Nation-wide		Government agency				Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
9		Environment	National	Nation-wide		Government agency				Department Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
10		Environment	National	Nation-wide		Government agency				Natural England
11		Planning	National	Nation-wide		Government Agency				Planning Inspectorate
12		Environment	Local	Region North		Charity				NNPA Community Fund
13		Governance	Local	Region South		District Council				Lewes and Eastbourne District Council
14		Governance	Local	Region South		District Council				Seaford District Council

15		Heritage	NA	Nation-wide		Charity				Council for British Archaeology
16		Heritage	NA	Nation-wide		Charity				Heritage Alliance
17		Landscape	NA	Nation-wide		Charity				Landscape Institute
18		Heritage	NA	Nation-wide		Charity				ICOMOS England
19		Education	NA	Region South						University of Chichester
20		Governance	Local	Region South		District Council				Chichester District Council
21		Governance	Local	Region South		Parish Council				Seaford Parish Council

## Appendix 7

### Coding Structure for Community Interviews

The code structure below was developed inductively based on the 14 interview transcripts with local community representatives from Newcastle upon Tyne and Northumberland. The framework for analysis was built on the key interview questions. The transcripts were analyzed with the help of Nvivo 12.

N	Node	Files	Ref.	Description
<b>1.</b>	<b>Place value</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>62</b>	This node collected the reflections regarding the neighbourhood, including the positive or negative aspects mentioned.
1.1.	People	10	18	
1.2.	A mix of people/functions	6	11	
1.3.	Historic environment	2	3	
1.4.	Parks	9	13	
1.5.	Location	6	15	
<b>2.</b>	<b>Attitude towards the system</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>125</b>	This node included general reflections and opinions regarding the local/national government system.
2.1.	Not helpful	13	35	
2.2.	Lack of trust	11	31	
2.3.	Hopelessness	9	20	
2.4.	People's rights	3	6	
2.5.	Disorganized	8	12	
2.6.	Helpful	8	21	
<b>3.</b>	<b>Participation in decision-making</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>52</b>	This node was developed to understand the ratio of persons with personal experience participating with local councils, parties, etc.
3.1.	Yes	12	31	
3.2.	Yes, knows others who participate.	1	3	
3.3.	No	2	4	
3.4.	Invited by the council	7	10	
3.5.	Never invited by the council	4	4	
<b>4.</b>	<b>Governance mechanisms</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>95</b>	This node included opinions about the existing government arrangements, structures, agencies and relationships with them.
4.1.	Too many agents	1	1	
4.2.	Outreach is a formality.	5	9	
4.3.	Fake participation	10	32	
4.4.	Cross-disciplinary gaps	4	10	
4.5.	Prolonged process	7	19	
4.6.	Fruitful experience	7	22	
4.7.	Inspiring	1	1	
<b>5.</b>	<b>Outreach/communication mechanisms</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>77</b>	This node collected mentions of specific public outreach and

5.1.	Letter through the door	6	13	communication methods used by the local council.
5.2.	leaflet with information	5	6	
5.3.	Website/social media announcement	9	19	
5.4.	"surgeries", community centres	9	18	
5.5.	Personal contacts	3	6	
5.6.	Church	3	3	
5.7.	Public hearing	4	6	
5.8.	Street survey	1	2	
5.9.	No communication	2	3	
<b>6.</b>	<b>Sub-government agencies</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>15</b>	This node collected opinions on the arms-length public bodies and non-governmental organizations and their work.
6.1.	Unstable funding sources	5	8	
6.2.	Donor oriented	2	5	
<b>7.</b>	<b>Consultation subjects</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>28</b>	This node collected the mentions of the public consultation subjects.
7.1.	Waste collection	4	6	
7.2.	Street traffic	7	10	
7.3.	Kids/playgrounds/schools	2	3	
7.4.	Air pollution	3	3	
7.5.	Council housing and tenancy	2	2	
7.6.	Local government budget	2	3	
<b>8.</b>	<b>Understanding heritage</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>43</b>	This node included the reflections on cultural and natural heritage or any mention of "historic", "ancient", "traditional", "old", "nature", "heritage", "museum", or "art".
8.1.	In the context of leisure time	8	31	
8.2.	In terms of the neighbourhood	4	8	
<b>9.</b>	<b>Understanding social class and social organization</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>61</b>	This node included reflections on the social stratification in the society and how it affects the governance and places.
9.1.	Gentrification	8	32	
9.2.	Neoliberal transformation	4	16	
9.3.	Access to education, jobs	4	4	
9.4.	Migrant communities	3	4	
9.5.	Ideology	2	4	
<b>10.</b>	<b>Volunteering</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>62</b>	This node was developed to understand the ratio of persons with personal experience in volunteering.
10.1.	Have volunteered	14	39	
10.2.	Have never volunteered	0	0	
10.3.	Know other people who volunteer.	8	14	
10.4.	Volunteer organizations	4	7	
<b>11.</b>	<b>Motivation for (non) participation and volunteering</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100</b>	This node included the mentions of factors and preconditions that motivate or demotivate participation in government programs, individual or community appeals and actions.
11.1.	Desire to improve the situation	8	16	
11.2.	Have free time	7	11	
11.3.	Have skills	2	4	
11.4.	Friendship and social influence	3	5	
11.5.	Have guts	9	17	

11.6.	Laziness	3	3	
11.7.	Lack of time	9	16	
11.8.	Lack of outcome/pointless	6	8	
11.9.	Personal interest	5	9	
11.10.	Just doing	2	2	
11.11.	Seeing the problem	8	9	
<b>12.</b>	<b>The subjects that trigger interest</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>41</b>	This node included the mentions of subjects that triggered community appeals and actions.
12.1.	Social care	1	2	
12.2.	Street traffic	3	6	
12.3.	Waste collection	3	3	
12.4.	Parks and public space	2	4	
12.5.	Kids/playgrounds/schools	2	4	
12.6.	Environment & climate change	3	9	
12.7.	Recycling	1	1	
12.8.	Cultural heritage/museums/historic buildings/historic environment	2	9	
12.9.	New construction	1	2	
<b>13.</b>	<b>Attitude towards volunteering</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>14</b>	This node collected opinions about volunteering – how participants perceive working for public causes.
13.1.	Leisure hobby	2	3	
13.2.	Passion for the case	5	6	
13.3.	Waste of time	1	1	
13.4.	Belief	2	2	
13.5.	Personal interest	2	2	
<b>14.</b>	<b>Political representative</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13</b>	This node included the responses whether the respondents knew their local/national political representatives.
14.1.	Know local representatives	10	12	
14.2.	Do not know local representatives	1	1	

## Appendix 8

### Coding Structure for the Interviews with Institutional Representatives

The code structure below was developed inductively based on the 21 interview transcripts with representatives of various heritage and landscape governance actors in England. The framework for analysis was built on the interview questions. The transcripts were analyzed with the help of Nvivo 12.

N	Node/Child code	Files	Ref.	Description
<b>1.</b>	<b>Funding</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>109</b>	This node collected information, evidence, facts and figures on the ways organizations are funded, the ways the budget is planned and disbursed; Also, the opinions on the public and private funding mechanisms in place.
1.1	Alternative Income	8	22	
1.2	Competitive funding	6	19	
1.3	Complex and not sustainable	6	8	
1.4	Driven by politics	6	8	
1.5	Insufficient	15	47	
	<i>Local governments going bankrupt</i>	2	4	
	<i>National government funding cuts</i>	8	15	
	<i>Need fundraise to implement duties</i>	4	4	
	<i>Nothing but salaries</i>	3	3	
	<i>Optimize costs</i>	3	3	
	<i>Three-year planning vs. annual</i>	2	2	
1.6	Joint investment and development	2	4	
<b>2.</b>	<b>Good practice</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>45</b>	This node included information on the mentioned good practices, success stories in cross-sectoral cooperation and public participation.
2.1	Cross-sectoral training	1	1	
2.2	Improvements	10	17	
2.3	Participation successful case	9	20	
2.4	Passion	5	7	
<b>3.</b>	<b>Institutional framework</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>363</b>	This node included mention of the job roles and specific cross sectoral institutional arrangements familiar to participants; vertical subordination between organizations, networks, formal and informal collaboration approaches and experiences between different actors of the landscape and heritage
3.1	Councils - development management	4	4	
3.2	Description sectoral tasks	22		
	<i>Archaeology</i>	7	18	
	<i>Climate change impact</i>	5	10	
	<i>Development management</i>	6	6	

	<i>Environment</i>	3	4	governance and their relation with the national and local government.
	<i>Forestry</i>	2	5	
	<i>Heritage</i>	8	21	
	<i>Heritage and planning</i>	7	12	
	<i>Planning</i>	9	25	
3.3	Devolution without budget	2	2	
3.4	Formal collaboration	15	66	
3.5	Informal collaboration	8	13	
3.6	Local councilor	8	32	
3.7	Networks	13	41	
3.8	NGOs work	2	6	
3.9	NPA as a cross-sectoral and regional	10	39	
	<i>NNPA</i>	2	2	
	<i>SDNPA</i>	4	20	
	Power balance vertical	10	29	
<b>4.</b>	<b>Issues and challenges</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>276</b>	This node collected the mentions of issues and challenges with regard to the landscape and heritage governance, but not only. It allowed a wide spectrum of themes to enable analysis of the contexts in which the heritage and landscape governance issues and challenges were mentioned.
4.1	Changing objectives	9	12	
4.2	Enforcement problem	5	10	
4.3	Fragmented	20	63	
	<i>Lack of overarching vision and expertise</i>	8	19	
	<i>Sectoral and sub-sectoral silos</i>	12	29	
4.4	Housing	10	18	
4.5	Human resource	15	50	
	<i>Individual commitment</i>	4	4	
	<i>Job equalization</i>	1	3	
	<i>Public sector understaffed/lack of opportunities</i>	8	24	
	<i>Workload</i>	10	19	
4.6	Inequalities and equitable distribution	5	8	
4.7	Integration of data and access	6	15	
4.8	Inter-governmental effort for climate	2	2	
4.9	Managing conflicts	16	52	
	<i>Favor conservation</i>	4	6	
	<i>Favor development</i>	10	18	

	<i>Prejudice against heritage and landscape</i>	3	5	
	<i>Renaturing vs community</i>	1	3	
4.10	New heritage of the future	2	2	
4.11	Not speaking up	3	3	
4.12	Politics	14	27	
	<i>Brexit</i>	5	8	
	<i>Disillusionment with politics</i>	4	6	
	<i>Lobby</i>	5	7	
	<i>Propaganda and AHD</i>	2	2	
4.13	Research and practice	1	2	
4.14	Rural-Urban differences	6	10	
4.15	Socio-ecological system	2	2	
<b>5.</b>	<b>Legal and policy</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>141</b>	This node included the mentions on specific legal and policy instruments, processes and arrangements with regards to heritage and landscape governance; opinions on the ways these arrangements work in cross-sectoral collaboration.
5.1	Character assessments	1	1	
5.2	Cross-sectoral collaboration	14	41	
5.3	Cultural Capital	2	2	
5.4	Deregulation	9	17	
	<i>Heritage and landscape are insufficiently represented</i>	3	3	
	<i>Heritage and landscape sufficiently represented</i>	6	9	
	<i>Impact on landscape</i>	4	9	
	<i>International and European conventions</i>	4	7	
	<i>New planning framework proposal</i>	5	14	
<b>6.</b>	<b>Participation and inclusion</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>168</b>	This node collected information on the public participation and inclusion as seen from organizations' perspective; On the existing mechanisms and tools, as well as the opinions about their effectiveness; On the outreach programs and motivation for public engagement as well as issues that hamper or influence engagement.
6.1	Impact of civic voice	2	3	
6.2	Lack of engagement at the policy stage of planning	3	4	
6.3	Lost direct link between community and council	2	2	
6.4	Mechanisms and tools	17	39	
6.5	Motivation for engagement	11	23	
	<i>Beliefs and meanings</i>	1	1	
	<i>Heritage</i>	1	1	
	<i>Incentives</i>	1	1	

	<i>Problems pop up</i>	7	10	
	<i>Recreation</i>	1	3	
6.6	Neighbourhood plans	7	15	
6.7	Outreach	10	22	
	<i>Targeted to specific groups</i>	4	6	
	<i>Volunteering programs</i>	4	4	
	Unequal	17	59	
	Cybersecurity	1	1	
	Digital is exclusive	2	2	
	Gentrification of landscapes	5	7	
	Lack of trust	5	8	
	Fewer jobs less engagement	1	1	
	No time to engage	3	3	
	Qualification needed to engage	8	14	
	Social classes	9	15	