‘LIVING HERITAGE’ AND *LIVING* HERITAGE: THE ONTOLOGY AND EXPERIENCE OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPES IN THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

By

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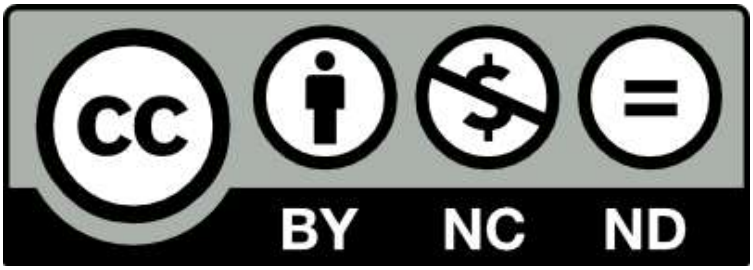

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Abstract

This thesis explores stakeholders' experience, representation, and interpretation of heritage and landscape in the Lake District National Park and World Heritage Site in England. In so doing, it aims to inform the management of living cultural landscapes in ways that are cognizant of the aspirations of relevant stakeholders. Through ethnographic research and interviews with the Lake District National Park Partnership and the farming community, this thesis advances an understanding of how both policy practitioners and farmers understand and represent the landscape and heritage site in which they live and work.

As such, this thesis builds on more-than-representational theory (Waterton, 2019) and argues for the development of a *heritage sensibility* (Harvey, 2015); in which stakeholders' historical, social, and political sensitivities are considered, alongside their embodied engagement with the landscape and heritage site. This thesis fosters an anthropological agenda in which the people are understood and their knowledge is valued; this is explored through three main themes, change, authenticity, and rewilding. This thesis also advances an understanding of how knowledge is formed through the *georgic ethic* (Cohen, 2009) and develops methods in which farmers and other stakeholders can knowledge-share and develop a sensibility to how each other's knowledge is created. This thesis concludes that both policy practitioners and farmers create knowledge from their interaction with the land, which informs their decision-making. However, for policy practitioners their engagement is, I argue, more of an *engagement for work* than a *working engagement*. The thesis therefore considers the implications of this distinction for the management of living cultural landscapes. Finally, policy recommendations are provided, which drive at the importance of, and mechanism for, reforming statutory power and maintaining institutional knowledge.

For Annette, Mervyn, and Peter

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1 – Introduction 1
1.1. The Lake District in Context: National Park and World Heritage Site 3
1.1.1. Outstanding Universal Value – *Identity, Inspiration, Conservation* 6
1.2. Research Focus and Contributions 9
1.3. Theoretical Approach 12
1.4. Chapter Outlines 13
Chapter 2 - Literature Review 16
2.1. Introduction 16
2.2. Phenomenology: Beyond Representation 17
2.2.1. Representational Approaches within Geography and Heritage Studies 19
2.2.2. Phenomenological Influences: A Move to the Non-Representational 23
2.3. More-Than-Representational Approaches in Geography and Heritage Studies 28
2.3.1. A Critique of Non-Representational Theory 29
2.3.2. Heritage Sensibility 33
2.4. Contemporary debates within Heritage and Landscape research 37
2.4.1. Change 37
2.4.2. Authenticity 38
2.4.3. Nature: To Rewild or not to Rewild? 40
2.5. Farmers and the Landscape 46
2.5.1. Lived Experience and Livelihoods 47
2.5.2. Knowledge 49
2.5.3. Farming Heritage: Maintaining Livelihoods 54
2.5.4. Farmers and Other Stakeholders 57
2.6. Practical Difficulties of managing National Parks and World Heritage Sites 60
2.6.1. Political Partnerships: Who has the power? 61
2.6.2. National Park and World Heritage Site Management 62
2.6.2.1. Northumberland & the Peak District: The successes and failures of partnership working 62
2.6.2.2. Angkor Wat and Hadrian's Wall: Issues of Change, Authenticity, and Power 66
2.7. Chapter Summary 71
Chapter 3 – Methodology 73
3.1. The 'messiness' of geographical research 73
3.2. Finding Theory 74
3.2.1. Experiencing the 'field': power, knowledge, and ethics 76

3.3. The Research Story 77
3.3.1. From the beginning 77
3.3.2. Interviewing 81
3.3.2.1. Interviews as performance and affective 82
3.3.3. Ethnography 85
3.3.3.1. Observation or Participation? 88
3.4. Fieldwork fraught with happenstance 89
3.4.1. Chance Encounters 89
3.4.2. Friends, Family, and a little bit of luck 93
3.5. Ethics, Emotions and Entanglements 94
3.5.1. Power and gender: awkward encounters? 97
3.5.2. Confidentiality and anonymity 99
3.5.3. Romanticism and the rural idyll: being reflexive 100
3.6. Data Analysis 101
3.6.1. Transcribing: interviews and field-diary 101
3.6.2. Coding 102
3.6.3. Themes 103
3.6.4. Writing and Representation: "I do reckon that you should be honest…" 103
3.7. Chapter Summary: A reflection on research as a process 105
Chapter 4 – Experiencing the Landscape 107
4.1. Introduction 107
4.1.1. Deerdale and the Influence of the National Trust 108
4.2. Deerdale – A Farming Heritage 110
4.2.1. Relationships, Farms and Families 113
4.2.2. The Kilcullen Family 113
4.2.3. The Johnson Family 116
4.3. Farmers' Experiences, Knowledge, and Values 119
4.3.1. The 'Everyday' 119
4.3.2. Tragedies and Miracles: The Importance of Experience 123
4.3.3. Entangled 'Heritage'- what is '*heritage'*? 127
4.3.3.1. Mobilising Heritage 130
4.4. Experiential Understanding of Multiple Stakeholders 133
4.4.1. Work and Leisure 134
4.4.2. Knowing-by-being or knowing-by-seeing? 138
4.4.3. Engagement – The Georgic Ethic 145
4.5. Chapter Summary 148

Chapter 5 – Partnership Politics 150
5.1. Introduction 150
5.2. Situating the Partnership: The Nature-Culture Dualism 151
5.3. Partnership Overview 153
5.4. Nature vs. Culture: A Dualistic Way of Thinking 159
5.4.1. What has caused this way of thinking? 159
5.4.2. Individual Representations and Interpretations 162
5.4.2.1. "Flip flopping between nature, culture, nature, culture…" 163
5.4.2.2. "Managing dysfunctionality…" 173
5.5. Communication: 'working as a partnership' 180
5.5.1. Politics, interests, and friendships 184
5.6. In practice: Accountability, Change, Trust, and Statutory Power 187
5.7. Chapter Summary 194
Chapter 6 – Future Challenges: Towards a *'heritage sensibility'* 196
6.1. Introduction 196
6.2. Rewilding – an imagined future? 197
6.2.1. Farming or Nature Conservation? 204
6.2.2. Change and Authenticity: Farmers or Conservationists? 211
6.3. Livelihoods and (Re)producing Heritage 217
6.4. Communal Values 223
6.4.1. Local Knowledge 225
6.4.2. Communication: Valuing Local Knowledge 229
6.5. Decision Making 236
6.6. Chapter Summary 239
Chapter 7 – Conclusion 241
7.1. Chapter Summaries 242
7.2. Key Theoretical Contributions 244
7.2.1. More than representational theory: Developing a 'heritage sensibility' 245
7.2.2. Knowledge and the Georgic Ethic 246
7.2.3. Authentic Change and Livelihoods 247
7.3. Key Policy Recommendations 248
7.3.1. Statutory Power 248
7.3.2. Institutional Knowledge 249
7.3.3. Knowledge Sharing 250
7.3.4. Collective Working 251
7.4. Future Research 251

7.4.1. Nature Conservation as Heritage 252
7.4.2. Heritage Making: Authentic Livelihoods 252
7.4.3. Management – New and Diverse Ways 253
7.5. Concluding Remarks 253
List of References **255**
Appendices **281**

List of Tables:

Table 1. The Lake District National Park Partnership

Table 2. Statement of Outstanding Universal Value for the English Lake District World Heritage Site

List of Abbreviations:

AES- Agri-Environment Scheme

AHA – Agricultural Holdings Act

AHRC- Arts and Humanities Research Council

AONB – Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty

ATA – Agricultural Tenancies Act

DEFRA – Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

ELMS – Environmental Land Management Scheme

EU – European Union

FBT – Farm Business Tenancy

FCC – Federation of Cumbrian Commoners

HLS – Higher Level Stewardship

HSBA – Herdwick Sheep Breeders Association

LDNP – Lake District National Park

LDNPP – Lake District National Park Partnership

LEP – Local Enterprise Partnership

NFU – National Farmers Union

OUV – Outstanding Universal Value

RSPB – Royal Society for the Protection of Birds

SCaMP – Sustainable Catchment and Management Programme

SSSI – Site of Special Scientific Interest

TAG – Technical Advisory Group

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WHSG – World Heritage Steering Group

WHSMG - World Heritage Site Marketing Group

Chapter 1 – Introduction

> **"Perhaps, in a hundred years' time, no one will care that I owned the sheep that grazed part of these mountains. They won't know my name. But that doesn't matter. If they stand on that fell and do the things we do, they will owe me a tiny unspoken debt for once keeping part of it going, just as I owe all those that came before a debt for getting it this far."**
>
> **(Rebanks, 2015, p. 285)**

Eleven years ago I first visited the Lake District. Five years ago I read James Rebanks' (2015) book *'The Shepherd's Life'*. Today, I sit, aged twenty-five writing my thesis about this place, which I love, having visited more times than I could count in the past eleven years. Rebanks (2015) captured my attention when I read his book, in which he touches on the intergenerational nature of farming, the *living* elements of farming heritage – the continual practices of walking the fells and gathering sheep. Rebanks' book inspired me to think more about this living cultural heritage that is continually changing, improving, and reworking the landscape in the Lake District. The farmers have played an integral role in shaping, and continuing to shape, the landscape. This living cultural heritage earned international recognition in 2017 when it was inscribed on to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) World Heritage List. The Lake District has been designated under the category 'cultural landscape' – with the emphasis on identity, inspiration, and conservation (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2020a). This designation emphasises the importance of the agro-pastoral land use system that has been in place for thousands of years and the people who maintain it. I will explore the designation in more detail in the following section.

With regard to my research, and the inspiration this book gave me, I began to think if other stakeholders also experience and think about heritage and landscape in a similar way to

farmers. Often, within the literature (Burgess *et al*., 2000; Morris, 2006; Emery, 2010, 2014; Emery and Franks, 2012; Setten, 2004; Sutherland and Darnhofer, 2012; Riley *et al.*, 2018) farmers and other stakeholders, such as policy practitioners, planners, and bureaucrats are placed in opposition. Farmers are largely understood as having an embodied, experiential understanding and knowledge of the landscape, whereas other stakeholders are generally understood as having a detached, abstract knowledge and understanding of the landscape (Setten, 2004). I began to question how far this was true, and my PhD proposal was formed, challenging the proposition that farmers and policy practitioners thought of and understood heritage and landscape in wholly different ways.

When I started my PhD in 2017, I was regularly faced with the question 'what is your research about?'. I often provided the answer that I research the management of the Lake District National Park (LDNP) and World Heritage Site, focusing on the people who manage it, such as farmers and policy practitioners. This answer is vague at best, but the core of my thesis is there; the people, and how they interact with heritage and landscape. I frequently did not give the more nuanced answer, that I was challenging the proposition that farmers and policy practitioners thought of and understood heritage and landscape in different ways because at this point, I did not know whether that was supportable or not. Throughout my fieldwork it became apparent not only that these two groups have a similar, yet different, relationships with heritage and landscape but also that the ways in which they interact with and understand heritage and landscape were in fact considerably more complicated than I had first imagined. For example, factors such as, familial engagement, longevity of job roles, academic interests, and their own personal engagement with the Lake District all influenced the ways in which they interact with and understand heritage and landscape. My thesis will explore these factors in more detail in Chapter Four. I will now provide some context for my

PhD research, explaining the history of the LDNP and World Heritage Site. I will then explain my research focus and contributions, both theoretically and practically, and provide an overview of my thesis chapters.

1.1. The Lake District in Context: National Park and World Heritage Site

The LDNP was designated in May 1951 under the *National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949* and the park boundary was extended in 2016. It is England's largest national park, containing its highest mountain and sixteen vast lakes (Lake District National Park Authority, 2018). In addition, the Lake District has recently been designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, under the category of 'cultural landscape' as of the 9th July 2017. These two designations highlight the importance and 'special' qualities of the English Lake District. One of these special qualities, the farming culture, is outlined in the nomination document as significant for world heritage status and is summarised as such:

> "For the last 1,000 years a distinctive form of agro-pastoral agriculture has shaped the present day English Lake District. It continues to do so, creating and sustaining a landscape of great and harmonious beauty."
>
> (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2015)

This demonstrates the crucial role that the farming community has in the Lake District, in sustaining the landscape they helped create. National parks have numerous roles to play, including natural, cultural, social, and economic wellbeing. These are written in law through the *National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949*, which was subsequently revised under the *Environment Act 1995*. This revision laid out two statutory purposes for national parks as follows:

> "1. Conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage
>
> 2. Promote opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities of national parks by the public"
>
> (National Parks UK, 2020)

As well as these two statutory purposes, national parks also have a duty to ensure both the social and economic wellbeing of the people who live and work within them. This role often falls within the remit of the national park's authority, who deal with challenges and enquires regarding planning, and the five-year management plans for the national park, in the Lake District's case this is the Lake District National Park Authority (LDNPA) (National Parks UK, 2020).

Becoming a world heritage site has been a labour of love for the Lake District, it has taken over thirty years, numerous setbacks, and immense frustration. The work began back in the 1980s, when two bids were made respectively in 1986 and 1989. These were not outright rejected but they were deferred as the Lake District did not suitably fit into any of the categories that UNESCO had at the time which were: mixed cultural or natural property and cultural property (Denyer, 2013). Due to these two deferrals, UNESCO decided in 1992 to create a category specifically entitled 'cultural landscape' (Denyer, 2013). However, despite this new category it was still not straightforward for the Lake District to gain this designation. There were numerous doubts, put forward by UNESCO, one of which was regarding the management of the site, and whether the management would be achievable (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2020a).

Therefore, in the early 2000s the Lake District National Park Partnership (LDNPP) was formed, and since 2006 this governance body has taken control of the management plans for the LDNP (Lake District National Park Authority, 2019). Currently, the LDNPP has twenty-five partners, which can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. The Lake District National Park Partnership

1. The Lake District National Park Authority	2. The National Trust	3. Natural England
4. Historic England	5. United Utilities	6. National Farmers Union
7. ACTion with Communities in Cumbria	8. Cumbria Wildlife Trust	9. Forestry England
10. Royal Society for the Protection of Birds	11. University of Cumbria	12. South Lakeland District Council
13. Lake District Foundation	14. Local Access Forum	15. Friends of the Lake District
16. Environment Agency	17. Eden District Council	18. Cumbria Tourism
19. Copeland Borough Council	20. Cumbria Local Enterprise Partnership	21. Country Land and Business Association
22. Cumbria County Council	23. Cumbria Association of Local Councils	24. Allerdale Borough Council
25. Lake District National Park Partnership Business Task Force		

The drive and ambition for gaining world heritage status was partially in reaction to the Foot and Mouth Crisis in 2001- to preserve the heritage breeds of sheep, and then also due to the economic recession in 2008 – as well as the desire to increase tourism to the Lake District (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2020a). There was a consensus that something had to be done for the region's social and economic wellbeing. Finally, as of 2016 the Lake District was put forward as the United Kingdom's official nomination, after numerous technical assessments, and as of 9th July 2017 the Lake District was inscribed in Krakow,

Poland. The Lake District's Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) is made up of three strands which interweave with one another. At their most basic form they have been summarised into three words*: identity, inspiration,* and *conservation* (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2020a). I will provide a more in-depth description of what these three words mean and then consider the LDNPP's current management plan and how this has been altered by the need to be inclusive of the OUV.

1.1.1. Outstanding Universal Value – *Identity, Inspiration, Conservation*

OUV can be both the cultural and/or natural significance of a world heritage site. It is what makes that place *special* and what makes it *internationally* important. It is interesting to remember that OUV is not what the people themselves in the site believe is the most important, but rather what is internationally important and represented by UNESCO (Rebanks Consulting Ltd, 2009). UNESCO has ten criteria from which a site can be represented as internationally important, the Lake District fulfilled criterion ii, v, and vi. These are noted in the table below:

Table 2. Statement of Outstanding Universal Value for the English Lake District World Heritage Site (Adapted from Lake District National Park Partnership, 2020b)

Criterion ii	The harmonious beauty of the English Lake District is rooted in the vital interaction between an agro-pastoral land use system and the spectacular natural landscape of mountains, valleys, and lakes of glacial origins. In the 18th century, the quality of the landscape was recognised and celebrated by the Picturesque Movement, based on ideas related to both Italian and Northern European styles of landscape painting. These ideas were applied to the English Lake District in the form of villas and designed features intended to further augment its beauty. The Picturesque values of landscape appreciation were subsequently transformed by Romantic engagement with the English Lake District into a deeper and more balanced appreciation of the significance of landscape, local society, and place. This inspired the development of a number of powerful ideas and values including a new relationship between humans and landscape based on emotional engagement; the value of the landscape for inspiring and restoring the

	human spirit; and the universal value of scenic and cultural landscapes, which transcends traditional property rights. In the English Lake District these values led directly to practical conservation initiatives to protect its scenic and cultural qualities and to the development of recreational activities to experience the landscape, all of which continue today. These values and initiatives, including the concept of protected areas, have been widely adopted and have had global impact as an important stimulus for landscape conservation and enjoyment. Landscape architects in North America were similarly influenced, directly or indirectly, by British practice, including Frederick Law Olmsted, one of the most influential American landscape architects of the 19th century.
Criterion v	Land use in the English Lake District derives from a long history of agro-pastoralism. This landscape is an unrivalled example of a northern European upland agro-pastoral system based on the rearing of cattle and native breeds of sheep, shaped and adapted for over 1,000 years to its spectacular mountain environment. This land use continues today in the face of social, economic, and environmental pressures. From the late 18th century and throughout the 19th century, a new land use developed in parts of the Lake District, designed to augment its beauty through the addition of villas and designed landscapes. Conservation land management in the Lake District developed directly from the early conservation initiatives of the 18th and 19th centuries. The primary aims in the Lake District have traditionally been, and continue to be, to maintain the scenic and harmonious beauty of the cultural landscape; to support and maintain traditional agro-pastoral farming; and to provide access and opportunities for people to enjoy the special qualities of the area, and have developed in recent times to include enhancement and resilience of the natural environment. Together these surviving attributes of land use form a distinctive cultural landscape which is outstanding in its harmonious beauty, quality, integrity and on-going utility and its demonstration of human interaction with the environment. The English Lake District and its current land use and management exemplify the practical application of the powerful ideas about the value of landscape which originated here and which directly stimulated a landscape conservation movement of global importance.
Criterion vi	A number of ideas of universal significance are directly and tangibly associated with the English Lake District. These are the recognition of harmonious landscape beauty through the Picturesque Movement; a new relationship between people and landscape built around an emotional response to it, derived initially from Romantic engagement; the idea that landscape has a value and that everyone has a right to appreciate and enjoy it; and the need to protect and manage landscape, which led to the development of the National Trust movement, which spread across many

	countries with a similar rights system. All these ideas that have derived from the interaction between people and landscape are manifest in the English Lake District today and many of them have left their physical mark, contributing to the harmonious beauty of a natural landscape modified by: a persisting agro-pastoral system (and supported in many cases by conservation initiatives); villas and Picturesque and later landscape improvements; the extent of, and quality of land management within, the National Trust property; the absence of railways and other modern industrial developments as a result of the success of the conservation movement.

The Lake District's OUV is a combination of these three intertwined criteria, and they have been summarised into the following attributes, as previously stated, for ease of communication by the LDNPP:

> "***Identity*** - a landscape of exceptional beauty, shaped by persistent and distinctive agro-pastoral traditions and local industry which give it special character
>
> ***Inspiration*** - a landscape which has inspired artistic and literary movements and generated ideas about landscapes that have had global influence and left their physical mark
>
> ***Conservation*** - a landscape which has been the catalyst for key developments in the national and international protection of landscapes"
>
> (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2020a)

The LDNPP will have to maintain all three strands of OUV as well as balance the needs and desires of its now twenty-five partner organisations. These twenty-five organisations have worked together to form management plans for the Lake District, both as a national park and as a world heritage site. The most recent plan was formed with, at the time, the world heritage nomination in process, which has since been achieved. The plan is for the years 2015-2020 and it is a statutory regulation of a national park to have a management plan. As previously noted, the partnership was formed back in 2006 but has grown and become ever more

important and instrumental in the management of this now world heritage site; the partnership must work together to maintain the Lake District's OUV.

One of the biggest challenges the partnership faces is understanding how to maintain this living and evolving landscape whilst also not damaging or impeding on the OUV which has been identified as making the Lake District internationally recognisable as a cultural landscape. Striking this balance, with so many organisations, who want different things for the Lake District, will be a challenge. Two significant questions arise from this need for balance:

1. *How much change it acceptable?*
2. *Is this change authentic?*

These two questions will be addressed throughout my thesis. With the decision to leave the European Union (EU) occurring after this bid was initially created, it has now been noted by UNESCO that there is a level of uncertainty over the future of the agricultural subsidies available to farmers and UNESCO is concerned about what this will mean for the resilience of the farming communities in the Lake District. The partnership must work together, and with the Department for Environment, Food, and Rural Affairs (DEFRA), to examine ways a new agricultural policy could be put in place that will work for both the farmers, the cultural heritage, and still allow space for nature. My thesis will address these practical concerns about managing the Lake District and I will now explain in more depth my research focus and the contributions my research makes to geographical, heritage, and anthropological research.

1.2. Research Focus and Contributions

The broad aim of my research is to understand peoples' experience, representation, and interpretation of heritage and landscape in the context of a national park and world heritage site. I explore different stakeholder groups' experiences with the landscape, personally and

professionally, and I also explore the governance structures in place for managing heritage and landscape. My research can be broken down into the following three specific objectives:

I. Explore the embodied experience of directly engaging with a living cultural landscape from multiple perspectives.

II. Understand how varied lived experiences translate into diverse interpretations and representations of heritage landscapes and the implications this may have for conflicts over their appropriate management.

III. Make policy recommendations for the management of living cultural landscapes that are cognizant of the aspirations of the relevant stakeholders.

My thesis seeks to address an empirical gap within geographical and heritage research concerned with policy practitioners' experience of landscape and heritage sites. Through ethnographic research and interviewing I have advanced ways in which policy practitioners understand and represent the landscape in which they live and work. I will examine how far this is different from or similar to that of the farming community, of which my thesis adds to a body of literature concerning farmers' attachment to the landscape and embodied understanding of the landscape in which they live and work. Further to this, I will also examine how knowledge is formed through these experiential encounters and critically engage with Cohen's (2009) *georgic ethic* to develop how knowledge is formed and informs management decisions.

Secondly, my thesis also addresses tensions within the management of a national park and world heritage site, having multiple stakeholders involved in the governance of such a vast site leads to contradictory and varying interpretations and representations of heritage and landscape. My thesis will explore these differing ideas and address questions such as, whose

heritage should be protected? Should drastic landscape change occur within a world heritage site? What is considered to be an '*authentic'* change? My thesis uses more-than-representational theory to analyse these questions and consider how the management of such a site could incorporate more diverse interpretations and representations. I also consider how these interpretations and representations are formed by the embodied experiences people have within the landscape. In addition to utilising more-than-representational theory, I critically engage with Harvey's (2015, p. 920) notion of developing a "heritage sensibility" to understand how different experiences, knowledges, and understandings can work collectively rather than individually for the management of the national park and world heritage site.

Finally, I seek to offer practical, as well as theoretical, contributions for the future of national park and world heritage site management. I offer four policy recommendations in the conclusion that are informed by the development of a 'heritage sensibility' throughout the thesis. In addition, throughout the thesis I reflect on how management decisions could be better understood and improved for the future.

I therefore offer the following theoretical and practical contributions to geographical, heritage, and anthropological research:

I. Developing **more-than-representational** approaches through the use of **'heritage sensibility'** fostering an anthropological agenda to understanding heritage and landscape which incorporates historical, social, and political sensitivities.
II. Advancing understanding of how knowledge is formed through the **georgic ethic**, and developing methods in which farmers and other stakeholders can **knowledge share** and develop a sensibility to how each other's knowledge is created.

III. Recommend practical suggestions for addressing issues of **change** and **authenticity** within the national park and world heritage site. Focusing specifically on the impact of rewilding on the landscape and maintaining farmers' livelihoods. I develop three understandings of **'living'** in the context of living cultural heritage.

1.3. Theoretical Approach

The theoretical basis for my research is informed by phenomenological philosophy, and builds upon more-than-representational theory. In particular, I will explore how theoretical engagements stemming from non-representational theory (Thrift, 1996, 2007), that have developed over the last fifteen years into more-than-representational theory (Lorimer, 2005; Waterton, 2019), explore a new research context that is not shaped by an either/or dichotomy, but is encompassing of both representation and the non-representational sensory, embodied, experience (Waterton, 2019).

My thesis aims to build on this more-than-representational approach to heritage and landscape research by putting more emphasis on an anthropological approach which incorporates understanding historical, social, and political sensitivities through the use of Harvey's (2015) 'heritage sensibility'. Through the work of Waterton (2014, 2019) and Harvey (2015) my thesis aims to build on more-than-representational understandings of heritage and landscape by exploring stakeholders' own understandings and knowledge (Setten, 2004; Cohen, 2009; Bell, 2010, 2013). In addition, my thesis also aims to understand the relationships they have with both living in, and managing, a world heritage site and national park which is a site of contestation. I focus around three main themes of: change, authenticity, and rewilding. Throughout the thesis, the importance of historical, social, and political context will be engaged with (Bender, 1992, 1998, 2002) in regard to these debates within the national park

and world heritage site. Waterton (2014, 2019) highlights the importance of the embodied and sensory understanding that more-than-representational theory offers, however, I seek to add to this with the understanding of wider historical, social, and political context so that the embodied experience can be situated within a wider historical picture to help understand why and how people act as they do. For example, I will consider individuals' long-term familial engagement with the land, environmental movements; nationally and internationally that have influenced policy and thinking, as well as historical relationships between partners within the LDNPP.

My thesis also builds upon a body of ethnographic research undertaken in rural contexts (Gray, 1998, 1999, 2010, 2015; Riley and Harvey, 2007; Emery, 2010) and challenges the notion that farmers and other stakeholders, such as policy practitioners, understand and represent the landscape in different ways (Setten, 2004). I demonstrate throughout my thesis that it is much more complex than this; I argue that to an extent they both have an embodied attachment to the landscape (cf. Setten, 2004); however, it is very *different.* Both groups conceptualise the landscape in different ways, and this will be explored in further depth in Chapter Four. Finally, my thesis also advances a body of research concerned with change and authenticity, I explore what authentic change within the landscape means for farmers' livelihoods, and how the world heritage designation may help or hinder their work within the context of wider debates surrounding rewilding and nature conservation.

1.4. Chapter Outlines

In **Chapter Two** I begin with an outline of the phenomenological philosophy which has influenced both non-representational theory and more-than-representational theory. I then explore these theories in relation to heritage and landscape research, with a focus on *more-than-representational* theory and developing a *heritage sensibility*. Further to this, I review

previous literature that has explored three core themes connected to my research: *authenticity*, *change*, and *rewilding*. Finally, I then review literature concerning farming heritage, farmers' interactions with other stakeholders, and the management of national parks and world heritage sites. This chapter situates my research within philosophical, geographical, and heritage research.

Chapter Three provides an overview of my methods and evaluates the approach I took towards my research. It offers an explanation of what I did, how I did it, and how I now feel about it on reflection. This chapter introduces, engages, and justifies my main methods:

1. Interviews with farmers and policy practitioners
2. Ethnographies within the farming community and policy practitioner arena

Within this chapter I also consider the ethical and political implications of my research, and these are explored from a feminist perspective.

Chapter Four, **Experiencing the Landscape**, is an ethnographic exploration of the farming family I stayed and worked with, and of other stakeholders within the LDNP and World Heritage Site. I explore their embodied experience with the landscape on a daily basis and how they create knowledge through their actions and through their own perceptions of heritage and landscape. I explore how their knowledge and understanding of heritage and landscape is influenced by numerous factors, such as upbringing, where they live, the type of job they have, and their own involvement in managing the landscape.

Chapter Five, **Partnership Politics**, is an examination of the functionality of the LDNPP and the tensions which arise between stakeholders within the partnership and outside of it. I explore various individuals' interpretations and representations of heritage and landscape and how they think the partnership can reconcile all these differing understandings. I conclude

with an exploration of how the LDNPP could function more effectively, based on my own ethnographic encounters in partnership meetings and events.

Chapter Six, **Future Challenges: Towards a 'Heritage Sensibility'** explores three main themes within my research in more depth; change, authenticity, and rewilding. I explore these in the framework of future challenges for the national park and world heritage site. Various future challenges facing the LDNP and World Heritage Site are considered, such as, an ageing farming population and resulting succession crisis, nature conservation conflicting with world heritage status, and the uncertainty of future agricultural policy. I examine how these three themes can be integrated into future management plans, and the implications that they may have for this. I propose developing a heritage sensibility – in which the relevant stakeholder groups are aware of how the others understand heritage and landscape and where their knowledge and values come from. I argue that understanding the historical, social, and political context for people's decision making is vital for moving forward as a partnership, and one that interacts with the farming community effectively.

Chapter Seven provides an overview of my chapters and concludes with the theoretical and practical contributions that my thesis presents for geographical, heritage and anthropological research and for the LDNP and World Heritage Site. My research fosters an agenda for understanding local level management tensions, national level policy concerning heritage and national parks, and international level world heritage site management plans. My thesis provides practical contributions for the future of other national parks and world heritage sites with partnership working. I will now provide an overview of the relevant literature for my research.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is split into five substantial sections. The first of these sections offers definitions of both heritage and landscape as well as exploring representational (Cosgrove, 1984; Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Hall, 1999; Waterton and Watson, 2013; Winter, 2014) and non-representational (Thrift, 1996, 2007) approaches within geography and heritage studies. I will explore the philosophical engagements with phenomenology that inform non-representational theory, focusing on the work of Martin Heidegger (1962) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962). The second section will explore in-depth, more-than-representational theory (Lorimer, 2005; Waterton, 2019). In particular, I will examine how more-than-representational theory explores a new research context that is not shaped by an either/or, but encompasses both representation and the sensory, embodied, experience (Waterton, 2019). I will also explore Harvey's (2015) development of a "heritage sensibility" and how there is temporal depth even to the "fleeting and momentary" (Harvey, 2015, p. 921). Thirdly, I will explore contemporary debates within heritage and landscape significant to my thesis, including, *change*, *authenticity*, and *rewilding*. In the fourth section, I will explore these debates and ideas of heritage and landscape in relation to the farming community and their relations with other stakeholders (Setten, 2004; Bell, 2010, 2013). In this section I will also explore the idea of knowledge, and knowledge creation through the lens of the Georgic Ethic (Cohen, 2009). This then leads on to the final section, in which I will discuss the practical implications of landscape management and how my work will contribute to developing policy which ensures decision-making is cognizant of the social, political, and temporal elements of phenomenology. This will be placed in a broader context of current heritage, agricultural, and environmental policy using examples of both national parks and world heritage sites.

2.2. Phenomenology: Beyond Representation

Within geography, during the past twenty years, there has been an increasing interest in understanding landscapes as experienced, lived-in and, practised (Thrift, 2007; Wylie, 2007, 2016; Merriman *et al.,* 2008; Rose, 2012). This is closely paralleled in heritage studies, in which there has been a recent turn to the affective and emotional understandings of heritage through concepts such as, memory and identity (Harvey, 2015; Harvey and Waterton, 2015; Tolia-Kelly *et al*, 2017). Both landscape and heritage have been theorised by geographers in this experiential way. To understand this shift over the last twenty years, within both geography and heritage studies, I will start by exploring representational approaches and their critiques, which allowed the space for non-representational theory to develop. First, however, it is important to define both heritage and landscape as they are complex words with multiple meanings attached to them.

Heritage and Landscape

Heritage is defined as:

> "That which has been or may be inherited; any property, and esp. land, which devolves by right of inheritance." (Oxford English Dictionary, 2020)

This definition has an idea of inheritance from previous generations and this is key within understanding heritage; it is also important to note that this definition focuses on the tangible aspects of heritage such as, property or land, not the intangible elements, such as traditions, craft skills, or songs (Lowenthal, 1985, 2005).

Landscape, is defined as:

> "A picture representing natural inland scenery, as distinguished from a sea picture, a portrait, etc." (Oxford English Dictionary, 2020)

This definition provides a view of landscape that is based on aesthetics and representation. This definition does not take into account the lived-experiences and the *everydayness* of people who live within the landscape. There is more complexity to both heritage and landscape, which I will explore in the following sections. For example, Rodney Harrison's (2013) book *'Heritage: Critical Approaches'* begins by discussing how heritage can be found everywhere. He also poses the question: what is heritage? Laurajane Smith's (2006) book '*Uses of Heritage*' begins similarly, asking: what is heritage? She then argues that heritage is in fact an idea rather than a thing; she argues it is a social and cultural process through which identities are created, recreated, and remembered. Ultimately, she states that heritage is "a multi-layered performance" (Smith 2006, p. 3). Harrison's (2013) book begins by arguing that heritage is a broad concept that covers a lot of elements, from the tangible, such as monuments, memorials, and buildings to the intangible such as values, beliefs, songs, and traditions. Heritage is often considered, and this is evident within the literature, to be an *indefinable* concept as it covers so many elements of life (Harvey, 2001; Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2007; Winter, 2014b). Within the concept of heritage there are many elements to be considered, large, small, natural, cultural; they are all considered as heritage and can have meaning attached to them by specific populations (Harrison, 2013). With particular reference to heritage sites, in which there is a living population, this attached meaning is even more complex (Poulios, 2008, 2010, 2011).

Similarly, landscapes can be considered as sites of tension that are difficult to define with multiple meanings (Olwig, 2002; Wylie, 2007; Lund and Benediktsson, 2010). There are numerous dualisms that exist, such as nature-culture or expert/local knowledge, that create tensions within the management of a landscape. Throughout my thesis, I will be focusing on

cultural landscapes, as this was the designation given to the LDNP and World Heritage Site in 2017:

> "Combined works of nature and humankind, they express a long and intimate relationship between peoples and their natural environment." (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992-2020)

The idea of a cultural landscape can be traced back to the highly influential work of Carl Sauer (1925) in the Berkeley School in America in the 1920s. Sauer has a very specific way of understanding landscapes, in particular, cultural landscapes. Crucially, his main argument is that landscapes can be seen as a *'cultural entity'* – in which humans have influenced nature and crafted the landscape themselves (Wylie, 2007). This definition is similar to that which was adopted by UNESCO in 1992, which can be seen above, and highlights the importance of the interaction between humans and nature. Sauer's interpretation of landscape stemmed from his Germanic roots and thus focused more on a bounded area of land, this ultimately excluded the idea of landscape from artistic and political divergences (Wylie, 2007). Sauer's bounded area of land could be considered as a meadow, common land, or an area of farmed land (Olwig, 1996). Olwig (1996) argues that this is an important idea, as such an area of land is defined by custom and culture rather than the physical morphology of the landscape. These ideas are important to consider throughout the thesis and I will now explore representational approaches to both heritage and landscape.

2.2.1. Representational Approaches within Geography and Heritage Studies

Both heritage and landscape are fraught with representational contestations. Heritage studies has been dominated by a western, materialistic discourse that stemmed from the post-enlightenment period in Europe in which preservation took centre stage when dealing with

tangible forms of heritage; the first museum and consideration of "cultural property rights" arose from the 1815 Congress of Vienna (Winter, 2014b, p. 557). Thus, the theoretical framework in which heritage studies has developed largely reflects these dominant theories of the time. The theories used have primarily been concerned with the idea of representation, meaning, nationalism, and more recently globalisation (Waterton and Watson, 2013). Thus, ownership and representation are critical contestations in understanding heritage (Hall, 1999; Waterton, 2005; Tolia-Kelly, 2007; Winter, 2014a). Who owns these tangible forms of heritage that are so often found in museums, as well as who is represented, and how? Ultimately this raises the issue of people's voices being heard for the protection of their own heritage; this can range from small scale objects to entire landscapes in which people live and work. It also raises the issue of whose heritage is the most important and who should be represented. Tolia-Kelly (2007) offers an insightful criticism of the notion of *Englishness* and how the LDNP embodies this through the way heritage is represented within it. She argues that spaces such as this can be exclusionary to ethnic minorities and she argues for better social inclusion within the theoretical and managerial elements of the LDNP. This work is similar to that of Stuart Hall's (1999) in which he looks at a British way of defining heritage and argues that in this case it is often seen as a material embodiment of national pride, values, and tradition. This distinctly English/British way of defining heritage raises issues of inclusivity, relating back to the original question of: *whose heritage?* There is a distinction to be made between heritage as representation and who is represented within heritage.

Within the context of the Lake District this is particularly interesting due to the multiple groups of stakeholders involved within the management of the park all having different interpretations of heritage. The Lake District's heritage is represented in specific ways by different groups, with emphasis on different elements of the heritage, whether that is farming,

conservation, or artistic and literary elements. This then leads to different groups being excluded and not represented fully, or at all within the heritage representation. It would be expected that if there was a consensus over what heritage meant – relating to national pride, values, and traditions (Hall, 1999) then the management of the world heritage site would be more straightforward. However, this is not the case as I will explore in later chapters. This is particularly intriguing due to the recent turn within heritage studies towards community participation in the management of heritage sites (Waterton, 2005; Waterton and Smith, 2010; Poulios, 2011; Deacon and Smeets, 2013). Waterton and Smith (2010) offer a critical look at the terms community, recognition, and misrecognition. They argue that within heritage studies, the idea of a community is often romanticised and simplified, however, they believe that a community should be seen as a more politically active entity in which *change* can occur. This idea of change is important and will be explored later in this chapter. Often communities involved in heritage management are side-lined in favour of the 'experts' and the expert knowledge is privileged over the community knowledge (Deacon and Smeets, 2013). This will also be explored further in later sections.

Therefore, issue of representation adds another dimension of struggle to defining heritage, as to be inclusive and not exclusive, it needs to incorporate all groups of people and their heritage as to not create a narrow version of history to try and preserve. Heritage both as a discourse and as a discipline, is often critiqued as being Eurocentric and westernised which is often reflected in the managerial aspects of heritage sites (Winter, 2014a; James and Winter, 2015). Non-western heritage sites can often be overlooked, particularly with regards to their more intangible forms of heritage, as the westernised way of considering heritage management often revolves around the idea of material culture being preserved and protected

(Winter, 2004, 2014b; Miura, 2005; James and Winter, 2015). These implications will be considered later with regards to living heritage sites.

Similarly, landscape has a variety of different understandings and representations, and Cosgrove (1984, p. 13) defines landscape as "not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world. Landscape is a way of seeing the world". Cosgrove's work explores 'the idea' of landscape, he views landscape as a whole, as an ideological concept. He argues that landscape can be representative and detached; to give a more theoretical understanding of change within the landscape and to focus on the wider historical attributes of the landscape, for example, society and the economy (Cosgrove, 1984, 1985; Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988). This idea of landscape is one of detachment, power, and representation. Cosgrove (1984, p. 14) does mention that the landscape is a social product as it is formed by "collective human transformation". He just does not expand on this in an experiential way, he argues for the exploration of landscape as an ideological concept. Cosgrove (1984) states that landscape represents people in a specific way in which they have imagined themselves and their relationship with nature/landscape – Cosgrove goes on to argue for the challenge of these assumptions of landscape and to examine them deeper with a historical and social understanding. In his later work with Daniels, they continue the argument that landscape is a way of representing our surroundings (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988).

Cosgrove (1998) responded to critics of his work in a revised edition of '*Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape'* (1998), he argued that although his work on representation is still useful for understanding ways of seeing landscape, there is room for further exploration of human interaction with the landscape and understanding people's motivations for living and working within a landscape. He does, however, argue that historical, political, and social context should still remain powerful and useful within the experiential exploration of

landscape (Cosgrove, 1998). In more recent work, Cosgrove again (2006) acknowledges the fact that landscape is multi-layered and exceedingly complex to understand. He turns to the work of Barbra Bender to exemplify this arguing that landscapes have "complex poetics and politics" (Cosgrove, 2006, p. 50). Cosgrove (2006) then also addresses the work of Tilley (1994) and Olwig (2002), suggesting that there is more room for the experiential in our pictorial representations of our surroundings, and in fact disciplines such as geography and anthropology, are now focusing more on the experiential understanding of landscape than the representational *ways of seeing*. This is an acknowledgement from Cosgrove (1998, 2006) that his ideological way of seeing, his representative understanding of landscape, is not the whole picture. I will now explore phenomenological influences in geography and heritage studies, and non-representational theory and how this has been used with regard to both heritage and landscape.

2.2.2. Phenomenological Influences: A Move to the Non-Representational

I will begin with an exploration of phenomenology and how this philosophical study has influenced both geography and heritage studies. Phenomenology has influenced non-representational theory, as it offers a way of describing experiences and looking at temporality and embodiment. Phenomenology is the philosophical study, stemming from Edward Husserl (1964), concerned with understanding how people experience the world; understanding how people are 'being in*'* the world and how they go about their daily lives creating meaning (Relph, 1970; Tilley, 1994; Horrigan-Kelly *et al*, 2016). Heidegger's book '*Being and Time*' (1962) begins by questioning what *'being'* means, he argues that being "resists every attempt at definition" (Heidegger, 1962, p. 2). Heidegger's philosophy supports the idea that phenomenology should be used to interpret experience and what the meaning of *being* is (Horrigan-Kelly *et al*, 2016). For Heidegger (1962), understanding *being* could be

explored through the description of everyday activities, and through the mundane elements of daily life (Horrigan-Kelly *et al*, 2016). The central tenets of Heidegger's philosophy such as temporality, being-in-the-world, and spatiality will be explored further during this chapter and in relation to landscape and heritage within the geographical literature. Phenomenology provides a theoretical and methodological approach towards landscape and heritage that focuses on the everyday engagements of people in the world; it focuses on the lived experience and explores the minute detail of people's everyday interactions in the world and how they create meaning.

Following Heidegger (1962), Merleau-Ponty (1962) was instrumental in the development and understanding of embodiment, perception, and ontology. Merleau-Ponty argued for the rejection of Husserl's philosophy e.g. the continued separation of the mind and body, and instead put forward a non-dualistic understanding of body as consciousness. Merleau-Ponty's main objective, particularly in his book '*Phenomenology of Perception'* (1962), was to demonstrate how the concept of 'being-in-the-world' can help solve the problem of the separation of the mind and body (Macann, 1993). These two philosophers influenced the way in which geographers approached phenomenology and how during the 1970s and 1980s in particular, phenomenology was used as a way of exploring embodiment and temporality. I will now explore these developments within geography, beginning with Buttimer's (1976) concept of lifeworld.

Phenomenology: A development in Geography

It was during the 1970s and 1980s, that humanistic geographers started to turn to phenomenologically informed approaches. The idea of describing experiences offered an alternative approach to geography from the positivist scientific approaches which were widely

used (Ash and Simpson, 2016). Ash and Simpson (2016) argue that the development of phenomenology within geography has been long and complex, but stems from the aforementioned desire to describe and explore experiences as meaningful and valuable. Relph (1970) argues that describing the everyday actions, memories, and perceptions of somebody's experience is at the heart of a phenomenologically informed geographical enquiry. A key theorist within phenomenological geography is Anne Buttimer (1976, 1980). Inspired by Husserl and Heidegger she explored human experience through the idea of the 'lifeworld'. Ash and Simpson (2016) argue that Buttimer brought to prominence the question of the significance of everyday, mundane routines. I will briefly examine Buttimer's argument for using the 'lifeworld' concept to explain human experience and then I will move on to the concept of dwelling and examine how phenomenological approaches incorporating these two concepts can be useful for geographical enquiry and the criticisms they have faced.

Lifeworld

Buttimer (1976, p. 281) states that "the notion of lifeworld connotes essentially the prereflective, taken-for-granted dimensions of experience". Unpacking this, it can be seen that Buttimer is concerned with the everyday, the mundane; the essence of what has recently seen a resurrection within human geography. The minute details of life, that we take for granted, such as walking to work, feeling the sun on our skin, these are the experiences to which Buttimer is referring (Buttimer, 1976, 1980). These are the ways in which we are *being-in* the world and through questioning our day-to-day activities phenomenological geography offers a chance to explore these lived and practised experiences we have. The notion of 'lifeworld' is similar to that of anthropologist Tim Ingold's (1993) notion of a 'taskscape'. Ingold (1993) exemplifies the taskscape through the painting The Harvesters – 1565 and argues that a taskscape is not simply what we see, but what we do, and hear. He argues that these activities

form social life (Ingold, 1993). These ideas of *lifeworld* and *taskscape* both take phenomenologically informed views, and both focus on the everydayness of life and its activities. Thus, they both offer an insight into phenomenologically exploring landscape through the people who live within the landscape and go about their daily lives (Buttimer, 1976, 1980). Relph (2014) argues that geography has experiential and therefore phenomenological underpinnings due to the desire to explore the multiple geographical experiences of the world. Relph argues specifically that geographical concepts, such as landscape, have meaning to us, individually, due to the experiences we have in them, and therefore we can refer to our own experiences of phenomena and this gives us an experiential understanding (Relph, 2014). This moves us on to another concept that has been utilised within human geography and anthropology to understand lived-in experiences, notably; dwelling.

Dwelling

Following from Heidegger, Ingold (1993) argues that dwelling is:

> "…bringing to bear the knowledge born of immediate experience, by privileging the understandings that people have from their lived, everyday involvement in the world." (Ingold, 1993, p. 152)

This interpretation of dwelling focuses, once again, on the immediacy and relationships within the lived experiences of people in the world. Dwelling is a concept which has had contemporary use within geography, anthropology, and archaeology. Notable is the work of Ingold (1993) and his concept of temporality which he introduces as part of his understanding of how a taskscape is experienced. Further to this, dwelling is explored in Cloke and Jones' (2001) paper within their exploration of a Somerset orchard. Cloke and Jones (2001) highlight the fact that Heidegger's philosophy emphasised the notion of people being embedded within

the world and thus having embodied experiences within the world, challenging the Cartesian mind/body dualism. This challenge towards the mind/body dualism has since been central among many geographers, and anthropologists, in relation to embodied experiences of landscape (Ingold, 1993; Rose and Wylie, 2006; Thrift, 2007; Rose, 2010, 2012). Dwelling has a utility within geography, for exploring place attachment through understanding people's intimate and rich relationships with the world around them. Thus, phenomenology provides a basis for exploring people's lived experiences, giving them meaning through understanding their everyday activities and acknowledging that these are fluid and temporal. Dwelling can therefore offer an insight into how people make meaning by *being-in* the world.

Non-Representational Theory

Phenomenology has informed non-representational approaches to landscape that have been discussed widely within cultural geography from the mid to late 2000s (Rose and Wylie, 2006; Thrift, 2007; Wylie, 2007; Macpherson, 2010). They offer a way of viewing the landscape, and the body, as dynamic, and evolving; offering a way to describe the world around us that focuses on performance and practice. This is in clear opposition to the representational approach (Cosgrove, 1984; Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988) which has been critiqued as dead and static (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000). Thrift (2007, p. 5) states that non-representational theory seeks to "capture the 'onflow'…of everyday life". He argues that life is full of movement, and simply put, non-representational theory involves what happens in life (Thrift, 2007). Non-representational theory then, shows extensive similarities with a Heideggerian phenomenological philosophy focusing on the everyday, the mundane, and the routines which are part of life. It is also similar to both Ingold (1993) and Buttimer's (1976, 1980) arguments in my previous discussion regarding lifeworld and dwelling.

The impact that non-representational geographies have had on heritage studies is evident within the work of Emma Waterton, Steve Watson, and David Harvey (Waterton, 2014; Waterton and Watson, 2010; Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, 2017; Dittmer and Waterton, 2018; Waterton and Watson, 2013; Waterton and Harvey, 2015, Harvey, 2015). Waterton and Harvey both acknowledge a turn to the embodied and sensory understanding of how people interact with landscapes and heritage sites, they argue that there is a "call for a peopling of landscape and heritage narratives" (Harvey and Waterton, 2015, p. 906) in which the role of the individual should be experienced, at an everyday, mundane level. Their work focuses on the affective elements; using theoretical approaches, influenced by cultural and feminist geography. Waterton (2014) argues we can make sense of heritage and understand different ways of knowing and doing heritage through these lenses. These phenomenologically informed approaches to both heritage and landscape have however faced much criticism, such as being too idealistic, centered on the 'self', and devoid of political and social context (Cloke and Jones, 2001; Howes, 2011; Emery and Carrithers, 2016; Hicks, 2016) and this has led to the development of a more-than-representational approach which I will now explore.

2.3. More-Than-Representational Approaches in Geography and Heritage Studies

Lorimer (2005) has extended the theoretical contributions of non-representational theory by suggesting it develop into being called 'more-than-representational' theory. This wider understanding of landscape that has been put forward by these geographers has experienced both praise and criticism. The most prominent criticism of phenomenologically informed non-representational approaches to landscape being that they are often apolitical and do not give a full contextual background (Cloke and Jones, 2001; Merriman *et al.*, 2008; Howes, 2011; Emery and Carrithers, 2016; Hicks, 2016). This is what needs to be overcome within the

landscape literature; space for both, the experiential and the representational. Combining these two can create a more holistic way of understanding the landscape and does it in a way that combines the emotive, descriptive, prose of phenomenologically informed writings, and the political, historical depth gained from a wider understanding of context and representation. I will now provide a critique of non-representational theory and explore more-than-representational theory.

2.3.1. A Critique of Non-Representational Theory

Carolan (2008, p. 412) puts forward his reservations about non-representational theory and asks, "how does one represent what is fundamentally non-representable?" he argues for a more-than-representational approach in which the embodied experiences in the world are explored alongside representations. Carolan (2008) argues that once you try and describe a lived-experience something is lost within this, thus representation can add something back; he argues "representations tell only part of the story, yet they still have a story to tell, however incomplete" (Carolan, 2008, p. 412). Following Carolan's (2008) argument for the incorporation of representation I argue that there should be space for both the non-representational and representational within landscape and heritage research. This approach, more recently labelled as more-than-representational, can be seen in a move towards the acknowledgement of representational, non-representational, and I argue the political context in which people's lives are based (Lorimer, 2005, 2008; Carolan, 2008; Harvey, 2015; Harvey and Waterton, 2015; Waterton, 2019).

> "The research context that has emerged is not characterised by an 'either/or' (representations versus non-representation) but rather by an 'and', giving rise to the largely preferred term of more-than-representational." (Waterton, 2019, p. 94)

Waterton (2019, p. 94) highlights the fact that the term more-than-representational is recently preferred and has been developed from non-representational theory and emphasises the way in which people interact "routinely and creatively" with landscapes in their everyday life. Waterton expands her argument for more-than-representational thinking of landscapes as she argues:

> "We find a 'landscape' that involves a fuller range of sensory experiences and room for all the senses: it is not only visual, but textured to touch and resonating with smells, sounds and tastes, often mundane in nature. It may be a moody landscape, dark, sharp and foreboding, or associated with a cherished memory, light, breezy and sweet, or, perhaps still, wildly atmospheric." (Waterton, 2019, pp. 98-99)

Waterton (2019) highlights the embodied and sensory understanding that more-than-representational theory provides, however, it still remains difficult to represent the embodied experiences of people within a landscape on paper. This leads me back to Carolan's (2008) question of how do we represent the non-representable? How do we contextualise these embodied experiences and feelings? I would argue for the use of representation informed by these embodied and sensory experiences as well as political, social, and historical contexts. There would still be a struggle to truly represent these embodied experiences, but a more-than-representational theoretical approach opens discussion about what is representable, what is non-representable, and how we can use the dynamism of lived-experience to inform our research. It is not an either/or, both representation and more-than-representation have a place and I will now discuss these more specifically in relation to both landscape and heritage research.

Emma Waterton's (2014) work vis-à-vis a more-than-representational understanding of heritage, informed by geographical thought, is a useful starting point when considering how geography and heritage can be critically integrated via experiential understandings and how

heritage can be explored beyond a scientific discourse. She begins her article with a descriptive paragraph of how she felt when she visited the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Waterton, 2014). This descriptive, personal account places the reader in Hiroshima with her, she describes the way her heartbeat felt, how it reminded her of when she visited Auschwitz, and she draws parallels between the two sites. She comments on the weather, the trees, and as she describes the "thickening waves of sensations" that she felt (Waterton, 2014, p. 823). It is in this minute detail that Waterton is highlighting the importance of the sensory, of emotion, and of embodied experiences. She goes on to call this a *more-than-representational* way of understanding heritage. However, I would question how far this piece of work could be considered more-than-representational; it seems to predominately be a vivid phenomenological descriptive piece of writing focusing on the immediate sensory experiences of these two heritage sites. In her later work (Waterton, 2019) describes the more-than-representational as not being an either/or – there is space for both the embodied and sensory as well as representation. Therefore, I will discuss a more-than-representational understanding of heritage, and of landscape, grounded in phenomenological theory and debate whether Waterton's (2014) is truly more-than-representational.

More-than-representational theory presents a way to understand the landscape as active and fluid and as something that engages us (Waterton, 2019). It has been widely acknowledged that different groups of people experience landscapes differently (Mitchell, 2003; Wylie, 2005, 2007; Tolia-Kelly, 2007; Wheeler, 2014; Waterton, 2017). How you experience a landscape may be based on a number of factors, such as; race, class, familial attachment, gender, or your own personal experiences (Tolia-Kelly, 2007; Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, 2015) such as Waterton's (2014) account of Hiroshima and how this was influenced by her previous visit to Auschwitz. Waterton's (2014) account at Hiroshima is, I argue, still

largely non-representational and about how she feels, how the place is affecting her, and what she thinks. Waterton (2014) does reflect at the end of her piece by stating that she is a "white, female, middle-class academic – that of the privileged" (Waterton, 2014, p. 831) and argues that this self-reflection is vital when considering heritage. Heritage often marginalises certain groups, in particular through an authoritative western discourse (Smith, 2006), and therefore being reflective and considerate of the power relations at play it is important to look at the everyday performances within a heritage landscape. This reflection does address some criticisms of non-representational accounts being too centred on the self, however, it does not go any further than this. With this in mind, it is evident that understanding how different groups experience a landscape and heritage site is vital for ensuring the successful management of a landscape, or heritage site in this case. A landscape which is also a heritage site, such as the Lake District, demonstrates that it is even more pertinent to understand how these different experiences should be managed and understood. There is the potential for considerable conflict over the management of such a vast heritage landscape, there are multiple stakeholders to consider such as, farmers, tourists, policy practitioners, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), government agencies, interest groups, and many more. Understanding the power relations between multiple stakeholders embedded within a heritage landscape is important for the management of such a site, and the decision-making processes that are at play. As previously stated, understanding the individual narratives is vital for beginning to unpack these tensions and understand how a site can be effectively managed. I will now explore Harvey's (2015, p. 920) notion of developing a "heritage sensibility" and how this can build on more-than-representational approaches to heritage and landscape.

2.3.2. Heritage Sensibility

Harvey (2015, p. 913) addresses criticisms of non-representational theory and argues that these approaches have the tendency to become too over excited about "living-in-the-moment" and ignore the temporal, complex interactions, and perspectives at play. In addition, Harvey (2015, p. 913) also argues that there is a worry about "'speaking the truth' when attempting to represent the world" and that this can often lead to nothing of any consequence being discussed, and therefore the 'self' becomes the topic of discussions and quickly these accounts can become narcissistic. Thus, Harvey (2015, p. 920) offers a way to provide some critical understanding of phenomenological and non-representational work on landscape and heritage, he argues for a *"heritage sensibility"*. Harvey (2015, p. 920) argues that there are "(time deepened) interwoven lines" which we must have a sensibility *for* and engage with critically *for* the future. Harvey is acknowledging the need for understanding people's personal biographies and histories to understand how they may be influenced by these. Having an awareness of people's personal experiences within a place, their own connections to place, whether familial or through work, and respecting groups' customs and communal rights is important for making informed management decisions. Harvey (2015, pp. 920-921) argues for the taking on board of the "*message"* from indigenous communities, utilising their knowledge, and valuing their customs. The idea of a heritage sensibility frames considerations to altering the heritage site in the context of the people who live and work within it, respecting them and involving them within the decision-making process. Understanding that even the "fleeting and momentary" (Harvey, 2015, p. 921) experiences have temporal depth and connection, and to be fully immersed within a landscape, you need to understand the history, politics, and lives of those who have wandered the landscape previously (Hill, 2013; Whyte, 2015; Macfarlane, 2013; Harvey, 2015). This argument is put forward by Barbra Bender

(1992, 1998, 2002) in numerous publications, and Harvey utilises Bender's work to argue that to understand heritage or to understand landscapes, we should acknowledge that the past is part of this world. We cannot separate from it, much like the researcher cannot separate mind from body, this Cartesian split needs to be overcome to create temporally and politically contextualised phenomenological accounts of landscapes and heritage.

This argument highlights the importance of bodily movement within research and when understanding the embodied experiences of multiple groups within a heritage landscape. It also shows how power and politics are pertinent in understanding these embodied experiences (Emery, 2018; Emery, 2019). Building temporal and political depth into phenomenological accounts of heritage landscapes will help to understand how multiple groups can work together in the management of such a site. Understanding power relations, emotions, and historical context are all vital in creating an account of people's everyday experiences. Focusing purely on the immediate sensual experiences of a heritage landscape is only partially useful for providing an account of their everyday lives; including political and historical context is vital for a deeper understanding of *why* people are so emotionally involved with a landscape.

Therefore, not only exploring representation, but also understanding the context of the situation is vital, and a more-than-representational theoretical stance most informs my own work. I argue a more-than-representational approach is an acknowledgement of the representations, an acknowledgement of the emotional, embodied, as well as tacit experiences or knowledges and an understanding of the political and historical context in which I am working. I turn to the work of Barbara Bender (1993) to articulate my perspective in a clearer manner:

> "Landscape has to be contextualised. The way in which people – anywhere, everywhere – understand and engage with their worlds will depend upon the specific time and place and historical conditions." (Bender, 1993, p. 2)

Bender suggests that both embodied experience and political context should be interwoven and we should be able to understand these embodied experiences in a wider context and understand how people go about their everyday activities and why and what motivates them (Bender, 1992, 1993, 2002). Bender's (1993, p. 3) work on landscape fundamentally demonstrates that "people engage with it, rework it, appropriate it, and contest it". Emery and Carrithers (2016) reconcile these lived experiences of landscape and its political representation. They explore "how and why landscape is aestheticized and represented symbolically by those that dwell within it" (Emery and Carrithers, 2016, p. 393). They demonstrate how farmers are well placed to utilise their embodied engagement with the landscape to politically exploit it. Following Bender's (2002) idea that landscape is deeply political, they argue that phenomenological work lacks a "political edge" when actually the people who dwell within the landscape are the best placed to "put ideas and representations of landscape into political service" (Emery and Carrithers, 2016, p. 405).

Feminist and post-colonial theoretical stances highlight the importance in the plurality of knowledge and understandings of heritage and landscape. Waterton (2014) therefore aims to use more-than-representational theory to understand heritage in an embodied and sensory way to demonstrate how embodied processes are affecting us; Harvey (2015) aims to develop this understanding through the use of a *'heritage sensibility'* exploring social, political, and historical depth. In addition, Harvey (2015) seeks to develop a research method that is not purely focused on the "ephemeral, the experiential and the fleeting moment of immanence in

our understanding of landscape" (Harvey, 2015, p. 916). He argues for a wider understanding of landscape that is not narcissist in nature, which does not purely focus on the writer's thoughts, feelings, and experiences but in fact focuses on the diversity of human experience and to not privilege the expert. Linking to Waterton's (2014) earlier self-reflective account of being a white, middle class, female academic; this highlights the importance of being reflexive within phenomenological writing. Additionally, within ethnographic accounts, that are phenomenological in nature, it is important to highlight the everyday practices of people and how these practices could seek to socially and politically mobilise them – how do people become empowered? How do different groups empower each other? How does this affect power relations and decision-making? These are vital questions theoretically, and methodologically, for understanding how people interact with a heritage landscape (Knudsen and Stage, 2015; Waterton and Watson, 2015).

Campbell, Smith and Wetherell (2017) explore nostalgia as a way of conceptualising people's motivations, arguing that nostalgia can be inspiring, it can cause people to interact with the landscape in certain way. The feeling of nostalgia can motivate people to act and empower each other. Campbell, Smith and Wetherell (2017, p. 609) argue that nostalgia can be mobilised for "work for personal, social, cultural and political reasons". Therefore, a more-than-representational approach to heritage and landscape, that encompasses the everyday practices of people, has the potential to help us understand what heritage *does* for them and provide a way of integrating geographical and heritage approaches to landscape. I will use Harvey's (2015) notion of a *heritage sensibility* to build on more-than-representational understandings of heritage and landscape as well as provide some critical understanding of people's personal biographies which we must show a sensibility for and engage critically with for the future.

2.4. Contemporary debates within Heritage and Landscape research

There are three core debates concerning change, authenticity, and rewilding, within heritage and landscape research, as well as within my own research. These three debates arise multiple times throughout my thesis, and within wider debates on heritage and landscape. I begin by exploring how much change is acceptable within heritage sites.

2.4.1. Change

Lowenthal (1985, p. 263) argues that "interaction with a heritage continually alters its nature and context, whether by choice or by chance" and that "such changes can be profoundly disturbing, for they can cast doubt on all historical knowledge". Lowenthal (1985) sums up this long-standing issue at the heart of heritage preservation, that continually interacting with heritage - objects or sites - alters them over time whether intentional or not. These changes could be as simple as a painting fading in sunlight, a vase being smashed, or a heritage site being altered by policy changes. In terms of practical management, concerns arise over whether cultural landscapes should be 'frozen' to preserve the heritage in question and how this idea of preservation can conflict with change in a living landscape (Bender, 1992; Poulios, 2008; Wheeler, 2014). Practically, the two ideas of preservation and change do not complement one another; this idea has been explored within the literature and contestations arise over whether world heritage sites should preserve the living landscape as it is at the time of inscription or whether change should be allowed due to the living population and their values and beliefs (Winter, 2004; Baillie, 2006; Hingley, 2011; Wheeler, 2014).

Wheeler (2014) uses the example of the world heritage designation of Cornwall and Devon as a mining landscape; she argues that it is a prime example of how world heritage status can cause the 'museumification' of a landscape. She argues that this designation fixes in time a

certain view of this landscape; this resonates with Bender's (1998) idea of the 'mummification' of a landscape. Wheeler (2014) also argues that freezing landscapes in time does not allow for change and should be seen as only one way of dealing with preserving heritage. The freezing of landscapes also raises theoretical questions previously explored such as, what is heritage, who defines it, and what should be preserved? (Bender, 1992, 1998; Hall, 1999). In addition, the issue of representation is at the forefront of freezing landscapes (Bender, 1998); how do people want their landscape represented, should they be represented by this one period in time that has been frozen, how does this allow room for change? These are all questions that must be considered when preserving landscapes. With regard to world heritage sites that are considered living cultural landscapes, these contestations are evident throughout the practical management and the theoretical basis for this management. Change to these heritage sites and landscapes is often seen as a threat to authenticity, however, change also keeps places alive, and their significance relevant in the contemporary world.

2.4.2. Authenticity

Change and authenticity are interlinked within these debates; for example, change to heritage sites can threaten the authenticity of the site. Therefore, it is necessary for any change that does occur to a heritage site to be authentic – I will discuss this in relation to the LDNP and World Heritage Site specifically in Chapter Six. Alberts and Hazen (2010) discuss these difficulties, arguing that temporal change is a major factor in influencing authenticity but not the only factor. They argue that the world heritage programme acknowledges that different cultures will interpret authenticity differently and this has been identified through various conferences attempting to define what authenticity is. The Nara Conference on Authenticity in 1994 came to the conclusion that authenticity of cultural heritage should be "judged in its own

cultural context" (Alberts and Hazen, 2010). This places the emphasis on the *local*; the decision makers on the ground have to consider what they believe to be authentic.

This in itself raises issue; Albert and Hazen (2010) argue that this specifically causes some problems for the designation of cultural landscapes. Albert and Hazen (2010) stress that authenticity is understood as a social construct and means different things to different people thus making the management of a cultural landscape very difficult. They go on to argue that this can also mean that the very people involved in decision-making for the site are themselves part of the authenticity and help create the 'authentic' experience – whatever that may be (Alberts and Hazen, 2010). This again raises issues of whose idea of authenticity is being created and maintained? It could be, in the case of the Lake District, the farming community's vision of authenticity or the conservationists' version of authenticity, which I discuss in Chapter Six in consideration of rewilding. This has the potential to cause management dilemmas and create tension over whose idea of authenticity is the 'correct' one. There are arguments both ways for what an authentic change in the Lake District might look like – referring back to Table 2 in Chapter One, the OUV highlights the significance of both the farming heritage and the conservation heritage through the creation of the National Trust among other movements. Therefore, in the case of the Lake District, change could be deemed authentic in both agricultural and environmental cases potentially. As Alberts and Hazen (2010) argue, interpreting authenticity is often a local process, and is considered to mean different things to different people. Therefore, in Chapter Six I will explore what is considered as authentic change in the Lake District and how this change impacts upon farmers' livelihoods in particular. Authenticity and change provide major challenges to the management of heritage sites, and in particular living cultural landscapes. I will now explore these debates in relation to social constructions of nature and the role of rewilding.

2.4.3. Nature: To Rewild or not to Rewild?

Tying together ideas of both change and authenticity are ontological tensions around the questions of: what is natural and what is cultural? Debates over whether landscapes are *culturally natural* or *naturally cultural* are frequent within the literature, as are debates over what is cultural heritage and what is natural heritage (Philips, 1998; Olwig, 2005; Lowenthal, 2005; Denyer, 2013; Larwood, France, and Mahon, 2017). Lowenthal (2005) argues that natural heritage is considered to be, generally, the land, sea, soils, animals, and plant life, whereas cultural heritage is, traditions, languages, arts and crafts, and buildings. In addition to this, Olwig (2005) argues that the understanding of cultural heritage and natural heritage is influenced by:

> "…one's geographical position. By this I do not just mean a position on the globe, but a discursive position within ongoing discourses concerning the heritage of one's place on the globe. In discourses influenced by the natural sciences, culture is a heritage of nature, whereas in those deriving from the humanities and social sciences, nature is defined socio-culturally." (Olwig, 2005, p. 3)

This can lead to different expectations of what should be conserved, preserved, what is valuable, and what is not (Lowenthal, 2005). These social constructions of nature and culture, and thus natural and cultural heritage, change over time and geographical location (Greider and Garkovich, 1994; Gerber, 1997; Crist, 2004; Braun, 2009). These differing understandings can cause tension where management is concerned – if people have different understandings of what natural and cultural heritage is, how is it effectively managed? (McHenry, 1998).

This ontological tension is at the heart of rewilding debates. Carver (2016) defines rewilding as:

> **"Rewilding** (gerund or present participle) is a conservation approach aimed at restoring and protecting natural processes in core wild areas, providing connectivity between such areas, and protecting or reintroducing keystone species (which may or may not include large herbivores and/or predators)." (Carver, 2016, p. 2)

Rewilding is often diverse, and there are many different approaches to it across Europe and within North America, however, it is generally noted that the commonalities are the creation of self-willed, autonomous natural ecosystems with little human intervention (Holmes *et al*, 2019). The term rewilding has been used since the early 1990s, however, the 'watershed' moment in the UK of its use could be argued to be the release of the Guardian columnist, George Monbiot's, book '*Feral*' in 2013 (Carver, 2016; Jones, 2019; Holmes *et al*, 2019; Wynne-Jones *et al*, 2020). Rewilding has brought to the fore varying debates over the social constructions of nature and what *wild* means, which I will explore in later chapters from my own empirical findings (Castree, 2001; Demeritt, 2001, 2002; Olwig, 2005; Lowenthal, 2005; Braun, 2009; Jones, 2009).

Rewilding as a concept is laced with tensions, disagreements, and often negative connotations due to ideas of land abandonment, removing agricultural practices, and potentially destroying cultural heritage (Wynne-Jones, Strouts and Holmes, 2018). Rewilding can be seen as a threat to farming livelihoods, causing radical change of a landscape, and being too nature focused. This focus on nature and the natural has caused further polarisation of the nature-culture dichotomy. Castree (2001) argues that throughout time and space, geographical interest in nature and society has fluctuated but there is a long-standing distinction that nature is external to, or different from, society. This separation, moreover, has prevailed from both an exploitative and protective perspective of nature. In the 18th century, for example, the Lake District was viewed as barren, wild, and untamed, and there was a greater focus on industrial

exploitation and bringing control and order to the landscape (Squire, 1988). However, in the 19th century an alternative protectionist view of nature emerged, viewing it as a tranquil space from which to escape the trappings of industrialising England (Reynolds, 2016). This led, in part, to the creation of organisations such as the National Trust in 1895 to protect and conserve nature, forever, for everyone. Nature was still, however, seen as external to humanity, and something to be protected but that we were not 'part of' (Coates, 1998; Demeritt, 2002).

Throughout the 20th century, Lowenthal (2005) argues that there was a change of pace to recognise, value and, preserve both natural and cultural heritage. Both natural and cultural heritage were seen as an inheritance from previous generations to protect for future generations (Lowenthal, 2005). Movements inspired by Romantic poets such as Wordsworth and leaders of the British Arts and Crafts Movement such as William Morris and John Ruskin led to an interest in protecting both natural and cultural heritage. Lowenthal (2005, p. 84) argues that "the same men were often prominent in both crusades". At the same time, in the USA, George Perkins Marsh (1864) was pioneering nature conservation, and offered an integrated approach to nature conservation, acknowledging the negative impacts humanity was having on nature. Cronon (2003) argues that George Perkins Marsh's book '*Man and Nature'* (1864) was seminal in allowing people to understand how they were affecting nature and how it affected them, contributing to the creation of the modern conservation movement. Into and throughout the 20th century these integrated ideas, of humanity and nature having impacts on each other continued to be influential. Through the early part of the 20th century, therefore, there was increasing recognition of a relationship between nature and culture as well as an ability to value them simultaneously. However, throughout this period they remained fundamentally separate entities.

Demeritt (2002) argues that social constructivism is spoken about in multiple terms and its meaning is often difficult to understand. He further argues that there are epistemological and ontological points of contention when trying to understand social constructions of nature and that these have philosophical and political implications. For instance, social constructivism on one hand is seen as attractive as it breaks down dualisms and exposes dominant ideas about the environment and thus offers appropriate management approaches. On the other hand, it created a space for multiple values, of and for the environment, which as Demeritt (2002) argues cause epistemological and ontological tensions such as trying to understand what different groups mean by *nature*.

One of the key tensions exposed by social constructivist thinking, the nature-culture dualism, in which nature is seen as external and removed from society, and culture, reinforces these ontological exposed by social constructivist interpretations. Demeritt (2002) argues that:

> "…the ontological difference between nature and society then forms the basis for distinguishing epistemologically between human geographers' subjective understanding of the social world and physical geographers' objective scientific knowledge of the natural world." (Demeritt, 2002, p. 778)

This way of thinking then has, as Demeritt (2002) argues, political and philosophical implications, as well as practical ones. If the natural world is seen as separate from the cultural world, then management of the natural world becomes much like the preservation movement, and deep green environmentalism, in which management sought to keep humanity and nature separate as there was a belief that humanity only destroyed nature or got in the way of the preservation. The creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 (Phillips, 1998) demonstrates this, as Phillips (1998) argues it was created under a protectionist approach

rather than an exploitive one, but both approaches still seen nature as external to humanity and either as something to protect or exploit.

Postmodern social constructivists argue that nature is attached, entirely, to social, cultural, economic, and political contexts (Demeritt, 2002; Crist, 2004). This way of thinking challenges the nature-culture dichotomy, of separating the natural and cultural, and instead of thinking of them in opposition and nature as external, brought them together. It opens space for multiple understandings of and values of nature, as well as exposing the practical issues of nature-culture separation, such as the previously mentioned preservationist approach in which humanity is only seen negatively, as a destructive force against nature. In late 20th century, this postmodern social constructivist approach was seen in environmental policy and law, with sustainability becoming popular, and sustainable development being coined in the Brundtland Report (1987), specifically acknowledging humans, economy, and the environment. This allowed space for multiple meanings and understandings of nature to exist simultaneously and decision-making also became more participatory, deliberative, and engaged multiple stakeholders (Bridge and Perreault, 2009). However, as rewilding has become a more popular term, as I argued since George Monbiot's (2013) book '*Feral*', rewilding challenges these postmodern social constructivist arguments, and once again shifts back to reinforcing the understanding of nature and culture as separate, and appears to have roots in a more 'preservationist' way of thinking, and leaving nature to return to its undisturbed '*wild'* state.

In the case of the LDNP and World Heritage Site, this causes friction within decision-making as different stakeholders have different opinions of what natural and cultural heritage are, and what should be conserved. The site has been designated for cultural value, however, there has in recent years been a broad movement towards conserving the natural and starting rewilding

projects (Wild Ennerdale, 2020). Therefore, this ontological tensions between nature and culture causes practical, as well as theoretical, tensions for decision-making. For example, in Chapter Five I will explore how constantly alternating between a nature focus and culture focus has polarised parts of the LDNPP as well as making decision-making difficult and fraught with tension. A holistic approach that incorporates both nature and culture is vital for the management of both a national park and world heritage site, incorporating different stakeholders' interpretations and understandings of natural and cultural.

The polarised view of nature over culture has meant that since rewilding gained prominence in the literature, and public realm, it has received notable criticism due to excluding local communities, and causing intense anxiety and stress over the future of land use (Wynne-Jones, Strouts and Holmes, 2018). Prior and Ward (2016) argue that rewilding schemes do not necessarily always have to have this exclusionary tendency; they state that European rewilding schemes in particular tend to acknowledge the entanglement of both humans and non-humans. They discuss that rewilding schemes in Europe "do not reproduce the aims of wilderness management" and instead do seek to be co-shaped by humans and the non-human (Prior and Ward, 2016, p. 134). It can be seen that there has been a shift in how rewilding projects commit to conduct themselves since the term became 'mainstream', and they now seek to incorporate more local knowledge, opinions and values, and appreciate the balance between natural and cultural heritage (Wynne-Jones, Strouts and Holmes, 2018). I will discuss how far this is true within the LDNP and World Heritage Site in Chapter Six in relation to both change and authenticity of the world heritage site and whether or not there is space for rewilding within the world heritage designation. Due to the significant history of the Romantic movement (Squire, 1988; Cooper, 2008) in the Lake District and the creation of the National Trust, understanding different stakeholders' social constructions of nature and

rewilding is vitally important for the future of land management within the national park and world heritage site. Taylor and Lennon (2011) offer the idea of a cultural landscapes as a 'bridge' between nature and culture and Rössler (2006) argues that:

> "Cultural landscapes are at the interface between nature and culture, tangible and intangible heritage, biological and cultural diversity—they represent a closely woven net of relationships, the essence of culture and people's identity." (Rössler, 2006, p. 334)

Therefore, it can be seen that cultural landscapes provide a space in which to untangle the nature-culture dualism and to respect local traditional management, skills, and customs (Rössler, 2006) which is crucial to my research and will be explored in depth in Chapter Six.

2.5. Farmers and the Landscape

There is a large amount of literature exploring farmers' relationship and attachment to the landscape (Gray, 1999, 2010, 2015; Setten, 2004; Convery *et al.*, 2005; Riley and Harvey, 2007; Burton, 2012; Emery and Carrithers, 2016). In addition, there is vast amount of literature concerning the knowledge farmers gain from their intimate relationship with the land (Burgess *et al.*, 2000; Burton, 2004; Calvo-Iglesias *et al.*, 2006; Morris, 2006; Riley, 2008; Cohen, 2009; Harvey, 2015). Further to this, there is also a smaller, yet still significant, contribution regarding farmers and their interpretations of heritage (Riley and Harvey, 2005; Setten, 2005; Burton *et al.*, 2006; Daugstad *et al.*, 2006); and farmers interactions with environmental, agricultural, and heritage policy with other stakeholders (Burgess *et al.*, 2000; Setten, 2004; Dougill *et al.*, 2006; Morris, 2006; Emery, 2010, 2014; Riley *et al.*, 2018). In this section, I will examine the aforementioned literature, and focus on the importance of farmers' interactions with landscape and how this can be understood phenomenologically, through the embodied knowledge and practices at work. I will also examine how farmers

interpret heritage and how this can also be explored in an embodied way, drawing on geographical literature and from within heritage studies. Finally, I will examine farmers' relations with other stakeholders, and explore how different outlooks and different embodied experiences can implicate the management of a landscape. I will also set the basis for my own engagement with phenomenological theory and how these can help untangle farmers and other stakeholders' interactions with the landscape. I will argue that previous literature has done little to focus on how farmers and other stakeholders may have similar embodied experiences of the landscape; it largely focuses on the differences and varied interpretations as I will demonstrate in this section.

2.5.1. Lived Experience and Livelihoods

I will begin this section by exploring the work of Setten (2004), she argues that:

> "The landscape is bounded by the people shaping it, through their ideas and aspirations as they have been both historically and geographically constituted. It is a *lived* and *practised* landscape." (Setten, 2004, p. 391, emphasis added)

Setten's (2004) notion of a lived landscape informed by the past, whether that is ancestors, politics, or policy, is one of notable importance, particularly in reference to the farming community. This notion of a lived and practised landscape is echoed in Gray's (1999, 2010, 2014) ethnography of farming communities in the Scottish borderlands. Gray (1999, p. 441) also argues that the farmers have a "special, sensual and intimate" relationship with the land on which they work. The work of both Setten (2004) and Gray (1999, 2010, 2014) therefore highlights the importance of lived experiences on the land and the utility of a phenomenological approach to understanding 'being-in' a lived and practised landscape (Shotter, 1993). Setten in particular also highlights the historical and geographical context of the landscape; similar to Bender's (1992, 1998) interpretation of landscape as one of needing

to understand the people who have wandered the landscape before you and the political context of the landscape.

This way of understanding landscape can reveal more about the people who live within the landscape than taking a detached approach and observing the landscape at a wider scale (Cosgrove, 1984, 1985; Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988). Gray (1999) argues that it is more beneficial to understand landscapes through the people who create meaning within them as then a narrative can be told and these meanings uncovered. An example of understanding what the landscape means to farmers, and how it can create *emotional* landscapes, is evident from the Foot and Mouth crisis in 2001 (Bennett *et al.*, 2002; Convery *et al.*, 2005; Burton *et al.*, 2006). This pertinent example, combining heritage, agricultural, and environmental implications was a pivotal moment in the history of the Lake District's cultural landscape. The destruction caused to farmers was vast and widespread; the cultural, economic, and emotional repercussions continue to this day. Bennett *et al* (2002) and Burton *et al* (2006) both conducted reports which demonstrates these economic, cultural, and emotional losses for the farmers in the LDNP. They argue that this event caused a widespread distrust of 'experts', alongside the vast loss of knowledge due to the hefted flocks that were lost. A heft is a piece of upland pasture which animals roam on and have been hefted to, therefore they are known as hefted flocks (Rebanks, 2015). The heft is kept in place through constant shepherding and over time the behaviour is learned from the ewe to the lambs over many generations, therefore disrupting this cycle is detrimental to that knowledge being passed on. Yarwood and Evans (2006) also highlight how important cultural capital is to farmers, such as the knowledge about sheep breeds, the advice and education passed through generations at shows and shepherds meets. Foot and Mouth led to a traumatic year for the farmers within the LDNP, questioning their meaning, identity, knowledge, and trust in the government. Their livelihoods

were threatened and they felt unsupported. Foot and Mouth demonstrates how the farmers' livelihoods are so much than just earning a living; farming is their identity, bound up with the livestock and the land (Wallman, 1979). This is a crucial event for understanding how entwined landscapes are with the communities that live within them.

Thus, understanding these 'everyday feelings' of people who live and work within a heritage landscape is vitally important to produce policy that works with them and not against them. Convery *et al* (2005) use the term 'lifescape' – similarly to Ingold's (1993) use of the term 'taskscape' – to explore this reaction to the Foot and Mouth epidemic. Convery *et al* (2005) argue that through this notion of 'lifescape' you can understand the emotional and experiential attachment farmers have to the landscape, and to their livestock. The farmers that Convery *et al* (2005) spoke to conveyed a sense of failure and loss, both of themselves and of their livestock. They embody the landscape in this way and develop an interrelationship between them and the land. Thus, when a disaster such as the Foot and Mouth epidemic occurs, the farmers' livelihoods are affected as much as the livestock and the landscape, highlighting the relationship between *people* and *place* that Ingold (1993) has previously explored. Yarwood and Evans (2006, p. 1317) also argue that "animals' bodies are more than inscriptions of culture, but actively engage with the landscape in a way that helps to develop taste, social action, and engagement in farming practice" again highlighting the connection between farmers and their livestock, as well as the land.

2.5.2. Knowledge

There has been a continuous interest in farmers' knowledge within the literature, peaking in the early 2000s, concerning how it is gained, how it is different to that of other stakeholders and how it can be utilised for policy, in particular agri-environment schemes (AES) (Burgess *et al.*, 2000; Burton, 2004; Calvo-Iglesias *et al*, 2006; Daugstad *et al*, 2006; Morris, 2006;

Yarwood and Evans, 2006; Ingram, 2008; Riley, 2008). This body of literature concerning farmers' knowledge is a useful point for exploring the importance of the experiential and embodied relationship farmers have with the land and livestock. Farmers' knowledge is generally acknowledged to be place-based and informed by the daily activities on the farm, Burgess *et al* (2000, p. 130) argue that "farmers' intense, contextual, specific knowledge and experience of the land" comes from their familiarity with it, farmers see the farm on a daily basis, they interact with it, and they observe it. It is also often argued that farmers' knowledge forms a basis for understanding landscape change over a period of time; often the farm has been in the same family for a considerable period of time (Calvo-Iglesias *et al.*, 2006; Riley, 2008). Therefore, it is argued that temporality is an important aspect when understanding farmers' knowledge. Riley (2008) in particular argues for the use of embodied, tacit knowledge that is temporally informed and argues that this knowledge is more useful for landscape management than management plans developed from a detached perspective that do not understand the experiential performances that take place on a farm. For instance, Riley (2008) demonstrates this by explaining that a farmer he interviewed pointed out areas where the previous farmer had highlighted where there was significant growing importance. This act of walking and talking thus demonstrating a relationship with the land and knowledge that is to be passed on is what Riley (2008) argues is missing from the 'detached' perspective that others such as environmental scientists or conservationists often have. This demonstrates that farmers' knowledge is often in conflict with that of 'experts' such as, environmental scientists. Whatmore (2009) argues that knowledge controversies, such as this conflict of expert versus the people who experience the landscape on a daily basis, are evident throughout different environmental management dilemmas. Whatmore (2009, p. 594) gives an example of flooding and argues that "at the heart of the knowledge controversies associated

with the flooding is a dissonance between the first-hand experience of flood events…and the hydrological and hydraulic science that underpins flood risk estimation and management". This work echoes Riley's (2008, p. 1292) call for experts to take on farmers' knowledge that is more intimate than their own and understand that farmers' knowledge is "deeply socialised" and intricate. In addition, Maderson and Wynne-Jones (2016, p. 92) acknowledge these knowledge controversies are frequent in relation to bee-keepers' knowledge; arguing that the "nature of direct experience" is irreplaceable in bee-keeping and that the politics of knowledge has received increased attention in recent years due to an interest from the government in including more types of knowledge in participatory decision-making. Both these examples of flooding and bee-keeping demonstrate that there are knowledge controversies surrounding first-hand direct experience of an environmental problem versus the science and 'expert' knowledge of the same environmental problem. I will explore these knowledge controversies in more detail in Chapter Six in relation to farmers and the policy practitioners they interact with in Deerdale.

Cohen (2009) argues that knowledge making practices should be viewed through a georgic lens and that they need to be given more attention. The georgic ethic puts the emphasis on the farmers themselves and their hard work. It does not give an idyllic pastoral view of the world where the farmers are passive and not engaged with the land around them. The georgic highlights the importance of active engagement in the relationship between farmers and land. We need to learn how "knowledge is born of working and living on the land" (Cohen, 2009, p. 157). I will use this emphasis on active engagement to provide a basis for understanding how farmers' and policy practitioners' relationships with landscape develop and how they can learn from one another. Cohen (2009, p.162) asks "*whose* practice, in *what* forms, from *which* value basis, and towards *what ends* matter". These questions resonate with my research; both

farmers and policy practitioners create knowledge from their interaction with the land which has informed their values. It is also important to consider how giving "further attention to the experiential, practice-based component of farming" (Cohen, 2009, p. 163) could make policy more understanding of the relationship farmers have with their land and respect their knowledge production.

Further to the environmental knowledge from their embodied relationship with the land, such as protecting species through AES, farmers are also seen as upholding cultural traditions and values. Farmers have a breadth of knowledge regarding farming techniques and practices which have occurred for hundreds of years. This is also place-based cultural knowledge; combined with the environmental knowledge farmers possess this could be utilised when considering the management of the LDNP and World Heritage Site. Being a national park and world heritage site, means both the cultural and environmental aspects of the landscape heritage are of importance when considering the management of the Lake District. Aglionby (2014) highlights the importance of maintaining common land, hefted flocks, and traditional farming practices. In addition, Aglionby (2014) argues that the farming community in the Lake District relies on the utilisation of natural resources for maintaining their livelihoods.

Similarly, Daugstad *et al* (2006) explore the idea of farmers preserving cultural heritage, as well as environmental, and argue that traditional farming practices can be linked to sustainable environmental benefits. Thus, keeping the traditions and customs of rural communities alive, through *living* cultural landscapes, can arguably benefit the landscape – environmentally and culturally (Daugstad *et al.*, 2006). Daugstad *et al's* (2006) idea that traditional farm practices can be linked to sustainable environmental benefits resonates with work by Nzama (2009), MacRae (2017) and Parts *et al's* (2011) work on sustainable livelihoods in heritage landscapes. Parts *et al* (2011) explore heritage based livelihoods in

Estonia, examining how traditional woodworking and craft building can be preserved and sustained in an institutionalised framework, such as educational institutions so that there can be "intergenerational transmission of craft-related skills and practice" (Parts *et al*, 2009, p. 420). This example from Estonia demonstrates a way that farmers in the Lake District could potentially pass on their intangible cultural heritage, for example their farming knowledge including gathering, hefting, the continuation of shows and shepherds meets, and the customs of the common land management. This would enable the landscape to be a living cultural landscape in which the traditions and skills are being used, taught, and passed on so that the sustainability of the farming culture is assured for the future. Narotzky and Besnier (2014) argues that livelihoods are made differently in different social and cultural contexts, and that there are various understandings of practices that create a livelihood, as previously explained, this can incorporate identity making (Wallman, 1979) – not just earning a living. The heritage based livelihoods approach put forward by Parts *et al* (2009) provides a way of incorporating the farmers history and identity as well as ensuring it is maintained for future generations.

Utilising the knowledge of current farmers to preserve the culture would, I argue, maintain the authenticity of the cultural landscape. Further to this, Nzama (2009) and MacRae (2017) argue that farmers, whose livelihood is part of the world heritage designation, need to be included within the decision-making and they also need to maintain authenticity such as by using the natural resources they have been using for hundreds of years. Threatening the authenticity of the farmers livelihood and lifestyle can threaten the authenticity of a whole site (MacRae, 2017). Therefore, finding methods to ensure the sustainability of the culture, whether that be through educational institutions or oral histories, is vital to preserve the knowledge, traditions, skills, and customs of a farming community.

Farmers' knowledge of the land, biodiversity, and traditional farming practices from their embodied relationship and performances with the land places them in a position of privilege regarding landscape management (Burgess *et al.*, 2000; Burton, 2004; Calvo-Iglesias *et al*, 2006; Daugstad *et al*, 2006; Morris, 2006; Yarwood and Evans, 2006; Ingram, 2008; Riley, 2008). As this section has demonstrated there is a substantial body of work arguing that farmers should be incorporated into decision-making processes and their tacit knowledge should not be side-lined in favour of scientific 'expert' knowledge. Setten (2005) argues that farmers value the past, and the knowledge they have gained, and that this is embedded within their everyday practices. She draws on an interesting notion of the past, temporally exploring farmers' connection to the landscape and how they gain knowledge. This will be explored in the next section, focusing on heritage and farmers.

2.5.3. Farming Heritage: Maintaining Livelihoods

Setten (2005, p. 70) succinctly argues that the knowledge farmers gain from interactions, either with each other, the land, or from past generations are intimately tied up within the farm and produce a "symbolic heritage" that is exceptionally private. She argues that this knowledge is *practice based*, through the embodied experiences they have every day, and that due to this their knowledge is *place-bound* and thus their own landscape heritage is understood temporally (Setten, 2005). She argues that landscape heritage can be personal and practised, they are understood through the experiential, the embodied, and the tacit knowledge. This way of understanding heritage provides a way to untangle the complexities associated with heritage – it can be represented and constructed in different ways and ignore the people who actually live within the landscape.

As Harvey (2015) argues, there is a need to get people's own narratives heard within a heritage landscape and get them involved in the representation of their own communities and

decision-making processes. There needs to be space for personal narrative, the history of a person's life and their interpretations of how landscape is constructed (Riley and Harvey, 2005). Riley and Harvey (2005) argue that if we make space for farmers' narratives within landscape heritage studies then this opens up for discussion: what is meant by heritage and landscape? This debate will be influenced by varying interpretations and representations of what people believe heritage and landscape to be, using an example from Devon, they explore how farmers' knowledge of the landscape can be integrated within heritage practice. They argue that we should explore different knowledge bases, different representations, and different interpretations of heritage and landscape and not overlook practical knowledge in replacement of 'heritage experts'. Olwig (2001) also argues that for us to understand our environment, that has been shaped over many years by custom, we must come to understand the customs at play if the management of the environment is to be effective.

As previously explored, Harvey (2015, p. 921) puts forward the idea of developing a "heritage sensibility" in which an awareness of people's personal biographies, experiential understanding of place, knowledge creation, and customs and communal rights should be developed. Developing a heritage sensibility for the farmers within the LDNP and World Heritage Site would allow for management plans which were more cognizant of their own personal needs and desires, likewise if the farmers also develop a sensibility to the policy practitioners and understand where their values lie, then common ground can be found around caring for the landscape. Simply put, to understand how to manage both the landscape and heritage effectively we must incorporate personal histories, knowledge, and practices into the management of such a site. Heritage is constantly altered, created and practised through living communities within landscapes (Olwig, 2001). Understanding heritage as experiential and personal means that there is room for individual narratives to be developed and for them to be

understood and heard. These personal narratives, for example from farmers, can provide policy makers with a foundation of knowledge and expertise in relation to the landscape they are managing.

Change is also an important concept to consider within farming heritage, as discussed previously in section 2.4.3. (Wynne-Jones, Strouts and Holmes, 2018) authenticity and change are key debates within heritage studies. It is crucial that when developing a heritage sensibility, we are aware of how much change is acceptable on a farm, and what is deemed authentic. Emery's (2010) work on conceptualising *fettling* and *improvement* highlights differences in how farmers may perceive change – long term, short term, and with different benefits. In sum, fettling being associated with the maintenance of something and its longer-term condition, and improvement being associated with shorter term, more immediate and profit-pursuing changes. Emery (2010) also allies these ideas of change with *hard work*, recognising through ethnographic work with farmers in the North York Moors that these changes are achieved through hard work on the farm, whether that be maintaining dry stone walls, keeping hedges tidy, or clearing pathways. Emery (2010) argues that both hard work and change are inherently valued in farming culture; authentic hard work and change lead to authentic improvements. Thus, the farm should not be 'frozen' in time and museumification (Wheeler, 2014) should not happen, it must be constantly allowed to change, but the changes must be authentic. I will discuss in Chapter Six whether current changes are authentic in the Lake District in relation to world heritage and the affects these changes might have on farmers livelihoods. Questions to consider in regard to this are: what is an authentic livelihood? Are short-term gains, through AES, authentic hard work? Or is a longer-term investment in the farm over generations, more authentic hard work, perhaps? I will untangle these questions in Chapter Six, and consider three different understandings of living throughout the process:

> (1) the landscape as alive and changing; (2) the act of being in a place, of *living*; (3) earning a living, a *livelihood*.

Untangling these ideas will lead to a better understanding of whether the Lake District's world heritage status can be used to galvanise new farming families into more '*authentic'* farming to secure the future of these heritage-based livelihoods. I will consider livelihoods as more than earning a living; as a way of life, that shapes the farmers' identity. Emery (2010) demonstrates how farmers continue with uneconomical work practices due to their symbolic nature; I will explore the authenticity of these practices in the Lake District and the reasons as to why, even though they may be uneconomical, the farmers continue to do them. These ideas will be explored specifically in Chapter Six, and the idea of authenticity and change within the Lake District farming community will be examined. I will now look to examine literature concerning the relationship between farmers and other stakeholders, such as policy makers and conservationists.

2.5.4. Farmers and Other Stakeholders

There is a substantial area of the farming literature concerning farmers' behaviour and interaction towards other stakeholders involved in environmental policy and landscape management (Burgess *et al*., 2000; Morris, 2006; Emery, 2010, 2014; Emery and Franks, 2012; Sutherland and Darnhofer, 2012; Riley *et al.*, 2018). Within this body of literature, farmers and other stakeholders are often placed in opposition. Setten (2004), for example, argues that farmers' experiences of landscapes are more experiential and intimate and that of other stakeholders are more detached and do not have this embodied relationship/knowledge.

> "Planners, administrators and bureaucrats approach nature, and hence landscape, in ways that seems to follow different principles or rules from those of the farmers. We often learn that bureaucratic knowledge is perceived and presented as objectified,

> technical, neutral and distanced. It would consequently be reasonable to suggest that, in contrast to the farmers, planners often interact with and know nature through maps and plans as abstract representations of nature." (Setten, 2004, pp. 402-403)

Setten argues that planners interact with nature often via representational means, such as maps and planning applications, with an abstract and detached view. In contrast to farmers, who she argues do not and instead interact in an embodied way as their daily lives are out and on the land. I would argue that it is more complex than this division, to an extent they both have an embodied attachment to the land; however it is very *different.* They conceptualise the landscape in different ways – for example, the individual experience versus the collective experience and I will explore and demonstrate this throughout my empirical chapters. Setten (2004) is to an extent, accurate in her argument that farmers and planners interact with the landscape differently, however, I will develop this argument and demonstrate that planners and policy practitioners as well as farmers all experience and abstract the landscape, but in fundamentally different ways and with different reasons. Therefore, they come to different conclusions and there are different consequences with regards to land management. The rhetoric of knowing by *seeing* and knowing by *being* needs to be overcome if management is to be holistic and encompass a wide range of stakeholders within the decision-making process. Multiple groups can both know by seeing (abstract representations, e.g. maps) and know by being (embodied interaction and attachment to land) – breaking down the dichotomy of you are either knowing by *seeing* or knowing by *being* is vital for understanding how and why people interact as they do with landscape. Bell (2010, 2013) develops this argument and demonstrates how within the partnership that manages Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site, the heritage practitioners do have a more complex relationship with the landscape and heritage, it is not as distanced, neutral, or objectified as Setten (2004) may argue.

> "He could not separate his professional responsibility and his own principles and value judgement from the argument." (Bell, 2013, p. 127)

Bell (2013) demonstrates one of the significant tensions within partnership decision-making, an individual's inability to remove themselves and their personal interests from their professional decision-making. Bell (2013) discusses the management of Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site, and how within a partnership it will often be impossible for individuals and organisations within that partnership to ignore their own personal values and priorities. Bell (2010) explored how one of the heritage providers at Hadrian's Wall had a long established personal, as well as professional, association with the site, and she argued that he demonstrated both emotional and experiential involvement within the site which influenced his decision-making. During her time interviewing him, he used examples from both personal and professional perspectives, demonstrating that he does not readily separate his work from his personal life and thus has a "complex relationship" with the site (Bell, 2010, p. 184).

Bell argues that this tension of personal and professional is an "endemic difficulty for partnerships" (Bell, 2013, p. 130) and one that will not disappear. It is something that partnerships have to learn to deal with, and accept. Bell (2013) argues for a values-based management approach. She argues that increased accountability and transparency is required, especially for social and environmental issues, and that working towards a shared vision is vital for this increase in accountability and transparency (Bell, 2013). Partners should move away from their own priorities and work towards the management of the whole site instead of focusing on the desires and aspirations of individuals or partner organisations (Bell, 2013). This is often easier said than done, however. Bell (2010, 2013) argues that understanding individuals' personal heritage with the site, and considering the values of the site can help overcome these tensions, and compromise has to be accepted as part of working within a

partnership. Therefore, Bell's (2010, 2013) work demonstrates how the heritage practitioner has his own personal relationship with the heritage, and this in fact often is in conflict with the more abstract relationship he is required to have as a practitioner, and his own personal feeling can cause tension when deciding what is best to do with the site. The relationships of other stakeholders, such as planners and practitioners are complex, and I will develop this argument from Bell (2010, 2013) and Setten (2004) throughout my thesis. I will now move on to exploring partnerships in more depth and understanding the complexities and practicalities of managing national parks and world heritage sites.

2.6. Practical Difficulties of managing National Parks and World Heritage Sites

It is widely noted within the literature (Jones and Little, 2000; Derkzen *et al*, 2008, Derkzen and Bock, 2009; Bell, 2010, 2013; Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016; Glover 2019) that partnerships are a valuable way to manage world heritage sites and national parks, however, they are fraught with tensions and practical difficulties. Managing and balancing the interests of multiple partners and other stakeholders within the community presents many challenges including, how governance structures are held to account, how to manage different priorities and interpretations from various people, as well as how the effectiveness of decision-making is measured. Using the literature, I will explore examples from Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site (Norman, 2007; Bell, 2010, 2013; Hingley, 2011), Angkor Wat World Heritage Site (Winter, 2004; Baillie, 2006), Northumberland National Park (Waterton, 2005; Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016), and the Peak District National Park (Dougill *et al*, 2006; Clark and Clarke, 2011; Edensor, 2017) concerning their management styles and the issues they face. I will begin by explaining the tensions that can arise within partnerships and the politics of which influences the decision-making.

2.6.1. Political Partnerships: Who has the power?

As previously demonstrated by the work of Bell (2010, 2013), world heritage sites such as Hadrian's Wall face tensions between the personal and the professional when heritage practitioners are trying to make decisions about a heritage site. Tensions arise over whether it is best to listen to your own personal understanding of the site and why it is important to you, or think more holistically about what is better for everyone and the site itself.

Further to this, partnerships face issues such as uneven power structures, self-interest of partners, a lack of representation, and uneven resource allocation (Jones and Little, 2000; Boyd and Timothy, 2001; Derkzen, Franklin, and Bock, 2008; Derkzen and Bock, 2009). Partnerships are in principle a working solution to managing such vast areas, such as national parks and world heritage sites, however it needs to be acknowledged that they come with a plethora of tensions. For example, Jones and Little (2000) argue that:

> "…there are a number of questions to be asked about the partnership process, particularly surrounding issues of the level and control of resource allocation, the domination of the partnership by the Local Authority and the louder voices within the community, the failure to build a genuine common agenda between the partners and the importing of differing sectors, pre-partnership conceptions and agendas into the partnership." (Jones and Little, 2000, pp. 174-175)

Jones and Little (2000) raise an interesting point regarding the domination of a partnership. In theory, the partnership should be equal, however, in reality they are often dominated by whoever can shout the loudest, has the most resources, and the most statutory power. In the case of national parks, it would be the park authority who has the most 'power' in this sense, however, in the case of a world heritage site it is not as straightforward. For example, other partners such as Historic England or the National Trust, with a heritage focus, may have more actual power over decisions. Working out who has the most power within these settings is

difficult, and requires a study of the partnership itself, to demonstrate as Bell (2010, 2013) has that the individuals within the partnership often have conflicting views themselves and this makes it harder to work out where the power lies. I will first focus on national park management, looking at Northumberland and the Peak District national parks to examine these tensions affecting partnerships in context.

2.6.2. National Park and World Heritage Site Management

In this section I will be exploring factors that influence partnership working specifically in Northumberland National Park in England such as such as historical relationships, leadership, community involvement (Waterton, 2005; Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016). I will then compare this with the Peak District National Park in England and the different management approaches that have been taken there, such as adaptive governance (Dougill *et al*, 2006; Clark and Clarke, 2011; Edensor, 2017). Following this, I will examine examples of world heritage site management, and the practical issues they face. I will explore Angkor Wat World Heritage Site in Cambodia (Winter, 2004; Baillie, 2006) and the issues this site faces regarding the 'living' elements of heritage and change. I then examine Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site (Norman, 2007; Bell, 2010, 2013; Hingley, 2011) and discuss the practical implications of managing such a large site that crosses counties, includes multiple stakeholders, and is centred around ancient monuments.

2.6.2.1. Northumberland & the Peak District: The successes and failures of partnership working

Northumberland National Park, in the North East of England, was designated as such in 1956 and it also includes the central section of Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site which was inscribed in 1987. Austin, Thompson, and Garrod (2016) argue that the success of the

partnership is dependent on various factors, such as inter-personal relations between individuals from partner organisations, leadership of the partnership, and reputations of organisations (Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016). It was noted that mutual respect and good working relationships are required within the partnership for negotiating decisions. Their participants highlighted the need for "a good relationship between the actors" (Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016, p. 121). A good relationship is needed to build trust and to try and keep power dynamics equal. Likewise, a good leader, such as the chair of the partnership, is vital for the smooth running of partnership meetings and decision-making. They argue that an effective chair does more than just ensure the running of meetings is smooth; they guide the partnership and allow space for discussion to build motivation (Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016). Furthermore, it was noted within this study that reputation can influence partnership dynamics, for example, an organisations' reputation or an individual. Several of their participants noted various organisations that they had issues working with (Natural England, Environment Agency, Forestry Commission) and these issues are remembered within the institutional memory of the partnership. Thus, Austin, Thompson and Garrod (2016) argue that even if the partnership is largely successful, historical relationships will still cause certain organisations or individuals to be judged; they argue that personal history and organisational history is not forgotten. This can have a detrimental impact on the effectiveness of the partnership; I will be exploring these tensions within the LDNPP in Chapter Five. Therefore, for partnership working to be effective, all these factors must be taken into account and it would be useful for the partnership to reflect on historical relationships, personal relationships, and leadership. The differing aims and objectives from each partner organisation need to be overcome to "negotiate a sustainable future" (Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016, p. 123).

Waterton's (2005) work based in Northumberland National Park looks at the ideas of community value within local heritage management. Her work also draws on phenomenological work previously done by Ingold; believing that landscapes should be understood as living entities in which social processes can mediate the community values (Ingold, 1993). Waterton (2005) argues that there needs to be reflective consideration of what it means to manage heritage; she argues that power, knowledge, and ownership need to be addressed. In particular, these elements of heritage management are important to consider within my research because there is a living population within the Lake District. Regarding power, she argues that the notion of the 'expert' within heritage management has meant that the local people living within the landscape are usually side-lined and not included within management decisions (Waterton, 2005). This demonstrates another dualism at work within the management of a heritage site or landscape; that of expert knowledge/ local knowledge. Waterton (2005) argues that this expert knowledge stems from the imperatives of heritage conservation being concerned with materiality, authenticity, and preservation. These approaches to heritage need to be refocused and rethought when considering a site with a living population (Miura, 2005; Waterton, 2005; Waterton and Watson, 2013).

Waterton (2005) thus argues that heritage management needs to be broadened and include intangible elements of conservation such as values, meanings, and beliefs. To successfully do this the local 'living' population also needs to be involved. This resonates with a phenomenological approach to landscapes as this would see the landscape as more than just a physical element on which the heritage is placed; it would be a living landscape in which people and their beliefs are involved in the decision-making and going about their everyday lives. Waterton's work shows how, within a national park setting, there needs to be more community involvement in decision-making and that the role of the 'expert' needs to be

challenged. From her research in Northumberland National Park it is clear that the participants felt a strong attachment to place and that they had a robust knowledge of the landscape over the years. This should not be ignored in favour of the 'expert' opinion. Waterton (2005) ultimately acknowledges that the local community should be involved within decision-making and the management of the landscape, however, she offers little practical explanation of how this can be achieved, especially if we consider the tensions that the partnership already has, as identified by Austin, Thompson and Garrod (2016). I now turn to another national park for some practical suggestions of how to involve communities in the governance of the landscape in which they live.

The Peak District was England's first national park, designated in 1951 (Edensor, 2017). Edensor (2017) explores the varying uses of the national park and the various stakeholders involved in the management of it. He argues that the power and meaning behind rural landscapes is shaped through symbolic representation (cf. Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988). He also points out that, more importantly, the landscape is most intimately known via the inhabitants who experience it every day (cf. Ingold, 1993). He goes on to argue that this embodied knowledge should be used when considering how to manage such a vast landscape. The Peak District, similarly to the Lake District, is often portrayed in literature, media, and art as a *romantic wilderness* (Squire, 1988; Edensor, 2017). These theoretical arguments surrounding national parks and *what* they represent, and more importantly *who* they represent once again leads us to ask (Hall, 1999; Tolia-Kelly, 2007) – how can we involve local communities and their representations within the management process? One suggestion that has been put forward is that of adaptive governance (Dougill *et al.*, 2006; Clark and Clarke, 2011).

Adaptive governance involves connecting different groups of stakeholders and individuals at different organisational levels; for example, local, national, and international (Clark and Clarke, 2011). The idea is to create social networks between these groups and to utilise their different types of knowledge and experience to create functioning policies (Clark and Clarke, 2011). Within the context of national parks, such as Northumberland and the Peak District, there are obvious reasons as to why this approach may be considered beneficial to involve local communities, and address representational issues. If we also consider the LDNP and the fact it is now a world heritage site, it is evident again how this approach to policy planning may be useful. Establishing networks of knowledge and experience between the LDNPP and the local community will be vital for the smooth management of the landscape. Edensor (2017) argues that it is crucial to understand the ways in which groups who interact with the national park form their embodied practices and how they shape the landscape. Therefore, understanding the experience and knowledge of stakeholders at different levels is vital for the management of a national park.

2.6.2.2. Angkor Wat and Hadrian's Wall: Issues of Change, Authenticity, and Power

Winter (2004) and Baillie (2006) both explore the management of Angkor Wat World Heritage Site. Both argue that within the practical management of the site, the 'living' aspects are generally neglected and that what still takes precedence is the preservation of ancient monuments. These ideas of preservation stem from the Western discourse surrounding heritage management that focuses on the preservation of objects; the material aspects of heritage are arguably given more importance than religious or spiritual aspects of heritage within the Angkor Wat site (Miura, 2005; Baillie, 2006; Poulios, 2011). Baillie (2006) argues that aesthetics, materiality, and preservation dominate heritage discourse, however, it should

also focus on the intangible elements of heritage. Despite the 'Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage' that came into force in 2003, there is still evidently a gap between rhetoric and practice; Waterton and Watson (2013) also argue that heritage management needs to focus on *engagement* with heritage rather than just on the *materiality* of heritage.

Within Angkor Wat, this has caused struggles for the living population, for example, monks have been banned from performing religious ceremonies in the main temple locations of the site (Baillie, 2006). This demonstrates how designation as a world heritage site can negatively affect the living population within it. Their spiritual needs are side-lined in favour of preserving the site as *frozen* in an ancient time period; Angkor Wat has been described as a 'dead' or 'lost' civilisation despite the fact it is considered a living heritage site (Winter, 2004; Miura, 2005; Baillie, 2006). These restrictions on world heritage sites are important to consider in the case of the Lake District; this raises questions surrounding the representation of farmers and agricultural change. The decision by the United Kingdom to leave the EU will inevitably have significant impacts on agricultural policy; it may lead to drastic changes in the ways in which British farmers run their farms vis à vis environmental and economic change. If the Lake District was to be 'frozen' as a palimpsest of past, traditional activity then how would the farmers adapt to changing European and international policy? Agriculture is influenced by numerous local, national, and global factors and as a living landscape this will need to be acknowledged; the Lake District cannot simply be frozen in time and mummified. Elements of both tangible and intangible heritage will need to be worked into the management of the landscape. Winter (2004) argues, with regard to Angkor Wat (but this can be applied to other living world heritage sites), that there needs to be a more anthropological understanding of the site. People's values, beliefs, religious and spiritual views all need to be taken into

account when considering the management of a living heritage site. In international rhetoric, Winter (2004) argues that Angkor Wat is defined as 'ancient' and that preservation of the temples takes precedence over understanding the living, contemporary population within the site.

From this discussion of Angkor Wat, it can be seen that there are contestations and issues over representation of heritage management when the site is said to be a *living* one. It can be argued that the dichotomy of tangible and intangible heritage needs to be overcome to ensure that management is relevant to the living population (Baillie, 2006). Winter (2004, p. 336) states that Angkor Wat as a "landscape fails to incorporate more inclusive understandings of how the site is imagined, practised and valued by Cambodians today". Therefore, it can be seen that the practical management of this site has been influenced by a specific rhetoric regarding authentic, materiality, preservation, and conservation (Waterton and Watson, 2013).

For this to be overcome there needs to be a more anthropological understanding of the living population and ways of incorporating their sociocultural practices into the day-to-day management of the site (Winter, 2004). Within heritage studies, a wider range of theoretical applications are needed to understand lived experience and meaning (Waterton and Watson, 2013). I argue phenomenological theory can, to some extent, offer an insight into the lived experiences of heritage management; it can help to understand the everyday practices of the living population and understand what is important to them. We can ask the question: what is *their* heritage? What do they want to highlight as important to *them*? Returning to Waterton's (2005) earlier work concerning the management of Northumberland National Park it is also important to note the need to be reflective in heritage management and consider the implications of power, knowledge, and ownership of a site. Phenomenological theory could offer an insight into how the living population of a site are emotionally driven, how they

develop their knowledge of the landscape and whether they consider themselves ‘owners’ or ‘stewards’ of the landscape.

However, phenomenological approaches to landscape can also be seen as lacking in political charge, as previously discussed, with reference to Emery and Carrithers (2016) who argue that those who live within a landscape, informed by their embodied experience with the land, can deploy political manipulation just as those who are considered ‘elite’ and ‘powerful’. This raises interesting questions surrounding the management of a living landscape, with regards to policy makers and ‘experts’ (cf. Setten, 2004). Similarly, to Cosgrove and Daniel’s (1988) work, Setten (2004) argues that the landscape is ‘observed’ or ‘seen’ in different ways from different groups of people. I argue policy makers and heritage ‘experts’ must also experience the landscape in an embodied way and that they cannot be detached completely from the landscape in which they work (cf. Setten, 2004); the rhetoric of knowing by *seeing* and knowing by *being* also needs to be overcome if management is to be holistic and encompass a wide range of stakeholders within the decision-making process. Landscape is a contested area, as previously explored, they are often sites of tension. Understanding the embodied experiences of people living within a landscape as well as those charged with governing it is vital for understanding their motives and everyday behaviour. However, to add more political substance to this it is also imperative to look at how the population can politically represent itself (Emery and Carrithers, 2016).

I earlier explored tensions within Hadrian’s Wall World Heritage Site around partnership working through Bell’s (2010, 2013) work, and I will now explore issues faced at this site concerning participatory management (Norman, 2007) and authenticity (Hingley, 2011). Norman’s (2007, p. 166) work focuses on participatory management and addresses tensions and issues faced at Hadrian’s Wall World Heritage Site, such as, stakeholders needing to be

aware of a "group mentality" when making decisions, bigger, louder, voices tended to be heard and then the rest of the stakeholders went along with the decision. To avoid this, everyone needs to be given time, or a format, to input their ideas and be heard. Norman (2007) also points to cynicism, and stakeholders having preconceived ideas about each other, similar to the previously discussed work by Austin, Thompson and Garrod (2016) in Northumberland National Park. Historical grievances seem to play a part in who is trusted with decision-making, and certain stakeholders are looked on cynically, both within a world heritage and national park context – making participatory management difficult. Similarly, Norman (2007) argues that sites which are large and complex often lead to ineffective communication as too many groups are involved in the decision-making process, if communication is not effective and you do not know what each group is doing it is difficult to hold people to account and be transparent about decisions. Norman (2007) argues that having too many meetings though would lead to a meeting fatigue and lower attendance, therefore other means of communication should be sought such as, online, or hard copy newsletters or online conferences. Participatory management approaches are not easy, requiring a lot of work from each stakeholder, and trust to be built. Stakeholders need to be more proactive and not wait until they are told to do something (Norman, 2007). If each stakeholder is actively involved in decision-making and work together then decisions should be more cognizant of everyone's aspirations, but there is a lot of work required to get to that point.

Further to these practical difficulties, theoretical difficulties arise within decision-making also. Hingley (2011) argues that Hadrian's Wall is a living wall, but up until recently, it has been treated as an ancient monument to protect. Hingley (2011, p. 51) states that "this living relevance of the wall's landscape is of vital importance to the economy of the north of England today" as it provides a livelihood for many people who live along the wall. However,

historically the wall has been viewed as ‘closed’ and aimed at preserving the Roman monuments and little else. It has been frozen in time as Roman, and the living history of the wall over centuries has not been deemed as important as the Roman military heritage. However, Hingley (2011) argues that:

> “…like all ‘landscapes’ in their perceptual and representational dimensions – the result first of the work of generations of people, not only in Roman times, who have helped to build and rebuild the structure in physical and conceptual terms, and second of the present day perceptions and ideas of contemporary people. In these terms, *there is no entirely authentic Wall*, since it has been remade in physical and metaphorical terms by each generation. If this process of remaking ever ceased to occur, the Wall would truly have died.” (Hingley, 2011, p. 57, emphasis added)

Hingley’s work resonates closely with that of Bender (1998), arguing that landscapes are contested, reworked, and reimagined. Hingley (2011, p. 57) argues that there is no authentic wall, as it has been reworked over time, by generations of people – the wall is a palimpsest. He argues that this is what makes the wall *living* and without this constant reworking and remodelling the wall would “truly have died”. Continuing to live, creates jobs, creates experiences, and creates memories for the people that live, work, and visit the wall. Therefore, the living element should be embraced, rather than maintain a closed version of the wall in which Roman history is the only significant story. This debate over a living landscape highlights theoretical and practical tensions when maintaining a world heritage site that is also over a vast landscape and I explore these difficulties in Chapters Five and Six in relation to the LDNP and World Heritage Site.

2.7. Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature theoretically and practically concerned with both heritage and landscape research. The chapter has explained the move from representational,

non-representational, to the more-than-representational approaches taken within heritage and landscape research and explored the phenomenological origins of this work. This thesis aims to build on the more-than-representational approach to heritage and landscape research through building more emphasis on an anthropological lens which incorporates understanding historical and political sensitivities through the use of Harvey's (2015) 'heritage sensibility'. Through the work of Waterton (2014, 2019) and Harvey (2015) this thesis aims to build on more-than-representational understandings of heritage and landscape through stakeholder's own understandings and knowledge (Setten, 2004; Cohen, 2009; Bell, 2010, 2013). In addition, it also aims to understand the relationships they have with living in and managing a world heritage site and national park which is a site of contestation regarding: change, authenticity, and rewilding. Throughout the thesis, the importance of historical and political context will be engaged with (Bender, 1992, 1998, 2002) in regard to these debates within the national park and world heritage site.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1. The ‘messiness’ of geographical research

> “This embracing of messiness has not been accompanied by a widespread acceptance that failure is an integral part of what we do. Although we as geographers often inhabit an untidy and sometimes chaotic research process, this is often *unacknowledged* when we write and speak about our research.” (Harrowell, Davies and Disney, 2018, p. 230, emphasis added)

In this chapter I will explain the thought process behind my chosen methodology and explain in detail how I conducted my research; I will go back to the beginning. Throughout the research process, I have often thought back to the beginning, the beginning of my interest in heritage and landscape. This interest has been significant since I was a child, and continues to develop, even as I write this. Therefore, I will focus predominantly on research as a *process* and the complexities which this process encompasses and as such, I will examine within this chapter the ethical, representational, and personal dilemmas I faced during my time in the field. Further to these issues, I will examine how feminist critiques helped me reflect on, and understand, broader links to the everyday, affective, and phenomenological elements of my research. I seek to present an honest and open account of my research; I do not wish to ‘gloss over’ any elements of my research that may not have gone as well as I had hoped. I will begin in this vein, and consider the ‘messiness’ of research, specifically, geographical research in place.

I will explore the ‘messiness’ of my geographical research; echoing Harrowell, Davies and Disney’s (2018) approach to their respective ‘messy’ pieces of ethnographic fieldwork in which they critique the masculinist origins of geographical research. I too will focus on feminist critiques from Haraway (1988), McDowell (1992), Rose (1997), and Coddington

(2015). Research is a process which changes course, encounters ethical and emotional dilemmas, and these must be reconciled when writing the thesis (Marcus and Cushman, 1982; Crang and Cook, 2007; Billo and Hiemstra, 2015; Harrowell, Davies and Disney, 2018). This chapter will begin with an overview of how, within the research process, I found my 'theoretical' feet, and how theory influences methodology and vice versa (Billo and Hiemstra, 2015). I will then provide a brief overview of methodological literature, and what constitutes being in the '*field'* (Katz, 1994; Ingold, 2014) before touching on ethical entanglements and positionality within the research process (Haraway, 1988; McDowell, 1992; Pini, 2004; Chiswell and Wheeler, 2016). This chapter will then explain my own personal research story, and the process of undertaking my own fieldwork. I will examine my own ethical dilemmas, representational concerns, and my own positionality throughout this research. Finally, I will explain the data analysis, writing process, and summarise my feelings on my research; what I felt any failures or successes were, and ways in which I would have done elements of my research differently.

3.2. Finding Theory

Theory is one of those constant worries: how will my work fit into theoretical frameworks? How do all these practical elements of my research link to the *grand* theories within the geographical literature? Is there any point to these frustrating practicalities – can they ultimately be linked with theory? These are questions that constantly went around in my head during the research process, from the very formation of the research proposal to the writing up stage. Similar to Billo and Hiemstra (2015), I often found myself confused at how to link the method and the theory together. Before I went into the field, I had written my literature review, I had ideas in my head informed by phenomenology, non-representational theory, and more-than-representational theory, and I was going to focus on the *everyday experiences* of

my participants. I had never explicitly decided to undertake methods informed by feminist theories. However, I did, as I focused on the *everyday* practicalities of life for my participants (McDowell, 1992) and understanding why they thought like they did and how this influenced their decision-making. Despite ending up undertaking these feminist methodologies and focusing on the everyday, I still found it hard to reconcile theory and method when I was undertaking my field work.

> "She struggled to understand where theory might fit, and if she could 'do' both fieldwork and theory when so much of her day was consumed with practical details, and figuring out information she still needed." (Billo and Hiemstra, 2015, p. 318)

This description from Billo and Hiemstra (2015) could have just as easily have been written in my field diary. During the fieldwork I often felt consumed by tiny details – where would my next interview be? How would I get there? Is it accessible by foot or do I need transport? What if the person is not receptive? These practical details tended to overshadow any theoretical thinking at the time – I occasionally looked upon my literature review to remind me of the theoretical engagement I had before the field work, but I found it difficult to engage with fully when, as Billo and Hiemstra (2015) explain, your day is consumed with practical details.

The theoretical engagement within my research came in waves, at first it was a very heavy engagement with the construction of the literature review, reading a lot of books and papers about phenomenology, non-representational, more-than-representational theory, heritage ontologies, and thinking about the everyday embodied experiences of different groups of people. However, these abstract concepts were not as useful in the 'field' as out, in my experience. During my time in the 'field' I was stressed, panicking about interviews, ethnography, and ultimately spending a lot of my time chasing emails and phone calls for

organising interviews. I do not see this as a failure of my research process, I see it as understanding the dynamism of research and the different stages that you go through (Harrowell, Davies and Disney, 2018). Some elements of work, such as initial proposals, literature reviews, and writing will heavily involve finding your 'theoretical feet'. Whereas, other elements of work, such as practicalities of arranging interviews and sorting out where to stay for ethnographic work, are equally as important and part of the process; these are the parts of the process where you are finding your feet in your chosen 'field' (in my case, a *literal* field). I will explore throughout this chapter my reflections on theory and where it fits into the research process, and how my research grew over time and expanded into new areas of theoretical engagement.

3.2.1. Experiencing the 'field': power, knowledge, and ethics

It is widely acknowledged in geographical, and anthropological literature, that being in the 'field' is difficult to define (Katz, 1994; Simpson, 2006; Ingold, 2014). Simpson (2006) argues that during the course of being in the 'field' we develop as people, and ultimately age. We are different from when we first started, the research is not only in different spatial locations but temporal ones; during this time life takes its course and affects the fieldwork and vice versa. The boundaries between 'field' and 'home' are often blurred – especially if your field location is near where you live. Katz (1994, p. 67) further argues that you cannot escape your work in your life – they are bound together in this space of "*betweenness*". I will explore these notions of betweenness and separating the field from home in this chapter. I will also explore how I acted in the 'field', where my 'field' began and ended, as well as how my positionality impacted upon my research. As Simpson (2006, p. 129) argues, there is an "inescapable relationship between power and knowledge" – echoed by Haraway (1988) and McDowell (1992). It is unavoidable – gender relations, power, knowledge, and embodied

knowledge creation are all tied together; this can lead to ethical dilemmas that need to be made within the field and during the writing process. These will be discussed later within this chapter in reference to my own experiences. I will now detail my own research story – considering my own positionality.

3.3. The Research Story

Within this section I will explore my own reasons for undertaking this PhD, further to this I will explain the who, what, how, and why of my research process. As individuals we are influenced greatly by many things, whether that is our family, our upbringing, our partner, our research interests, or the wider policy rhetoric. It is impossible to ignore all of these factors when undertaking research and thinking about how you are conducting yourself and why you are doing it. In this section I will address these factors; I will explain where my research interests stem from, and the role my family have played within this. Further to this, I will explain how I conducted my fieldwork, and where.

3.3.1. From the beginning

My research story started a long time ago – I have always been interested in national parks and heritage sites. I used to spend long, warm, golden weeks away during the summer holidays in Lincolnshire and Norfolk with my grandparents. I visited the Lake District and Peak District national parks frequently with my parents, my grandfather also for a time lived in the Lake District, exploring the likes of Chatsworth House and Derwentwater. I am fully aware that I have a romanticised notion of these places due to these experiences, in particular Lincolnshire, where I spent the largest amount of time during my early to mid-teenage years. These romantic ideals of rolling, pastoral landscapes have influenced the way in which I

believe these landscapes should look and be used – something I am acutely aware of throughout my thesis and acknowledge throughout.

The love of these places culminated in my decision to undertake an undergraduate degree in geography; discovering my love for environmental governance and seeking to understand how different groups represent and interpret the landscape. I was interested in knowing more about how people lived and worked within these landscapes; this interest reached a peak in a second-year lecture concerning farming and phenomenological approaches to understanding the landscape. Ever since, that lecture has remained with me and inspired my research for my undergraduate dissertation, and ultimately led me down the path of undertaking a masters degree in anthropology to further explore these areas of theoretical and methodological interest. These longstanding interests and my love of these special places meant I wanted to learn how to protect them, and ensure they continued to be there for if I ever have children. Thus, in the autumn of 2016 I started putting together my PhD proposal, the timing you might argue was perfect, the Lake District had put in their bid to be a world heritage site (and was later successful in July 2017). So, I sat down with my then undergraduate, now PhD, supervisor, Steven Emery, and we brainstormed some ideas around heritage, management, and national parks. My PhD was born - it was embryonic, but those initial ideas have stayed with me throughout this whole process. For me, personally, this PhD marks the end of my formal education, but the continuation of my life-long desire to protect these special places and to understand them more deeply. When I began this PhD, I was at the most enthusiastic I've ever been and that has thankfully been continued throughout the fieldwork (even on the worst days), and through the delightful participants I have met during it.

> *"The Lakes definitely has a certain something in its character, the depth of the mountains, lakes and the endless drystone walls zig-zagging across the land. You can see why this landscape has a world heritage site designation." (Fieldnote 29-06-18)*

My fieldwork began in June 2018, on an exceptionally hot week, that reached 30 degrees centigrade (in North West England!) and within the first couple of days of being there I scribbled down the above extract within my field-diary, which I still fully agree with, the Lakes certainly does have a very special character, but since I wrote this it has been evident that this character is a major source of contention. The first week of fieldwork was one of the most enjoyable, and one of the worst weeks of my life rolled into one – this gave me some serious perspective regarding how I was going to do this PhD and why I was doing it. I'll get to the reasons for why it was the worst shortly, but first, some serendipity.

My fieldwork began in Deerdale[1]; this was not intentional. I had contacted my first participant, who works for the National Trust, and he informed me he was happy to help in any way with my research, so why don't I come along to Deerdale with him and some colleagues to partake in the world heritage training day they were running. I agreed wholeheartedly. What I did not know at the time, is that the bulk of my fieldwork would also end in Deerdale the following Spring, completely by chance and a strange set of circumstances that meant I ended up there. On reflection, this coincidence that I began and ended in the same place, made me feel complete and made the fieldwork seem like it had been bookended correctly.

For now, I will explore that first busy week; it was enlightening, and I met some of the most helpful participants I could ever have asked for, whom I still am in contact with regularly. The

[1] Deerdale is the pseudonym I have given the valley in which I undertook a significant portion of my fieldwork and I have chosen to anonymise it to protect my participants.

fieldwork seemed like it was off to a flying start, I filled up pages and pages of fieldnotes, I interviewed five participants, as well as attending this training day in Deerdale. This all came to a complete halt on the 5th July 2018, as I received the news that my grandmother had passed away. I was in the middle of a joyful week and had not had time to ring her, this hit me, excuse the cliché, like a tonne of bricks. I had heavily prioritised my work, my research, over keeping in touch with her when I knew she had not been very well for some time. This made me realise, immediately, that as much as I enjoy my research, never again would I prioritise it above family – whether it be special occasions, that one phone call, going home to see people, or spending time with my partner.

This event greatly influenced me from the beginning, and I believe influenced the way in which I undertook this fieldwork. It meant no matter how good the offer was of an interview, a farm to stay on, or another training event to attend - I would always check that it was logistically feasible. I would make sure I was contactable as much as possible, that I was able to get away at a moment's notice, and that I did not ignore any family occasions. For some, this approach might not be the '*right'* one – it could be argued I should have lost myself in my ethnography, I should have cut off from the world, I should have lived exactly like my participants. However, I did not want to lose myself in my research if it meant I lost anyone else, thankfully no other relatives passed away, however I did endure a great deal of heartbreak, lost contact with friends, gained plenty more, and learnt a lot about myself. This fieldwork was one of the most frantic years of my life – I moved three times, I was unpredictable and upset during the late summer of 2018, and I relied a lot on my family, friends, and supervisors for support. They have been vital in the completion of this PhD. Now, I will explain what I did, how I did it, and what happened during my research, starting with my interviews.

3.3.2. Interviewing

During the course of my fieldwork from June 2018 to July 2019 I conducted forty-five 'interviews' with forty participants and gained written or verbal consent dependent on what was most appropriate at that time (see Appendix I). In the following section I will explore the various interpretations of what classifies as an 'interview' (McDowell, 1992; Bennett, 2002; Valentine, 2005; Longhurst, 2010; Waterton and Watson, 2015). Participants were recruited via the sending out of scoping emails to partnership organisations to see if they had anyone willing to talk to me, and then from these interviews I got more recommendations of people who I could talk to – this snowballing approach worked effectively for me as it allowed me to specifically locate the people who had been involved within the world heritage bid and nomination document. In the case of farmers, my interviews were more ad hoc, and there was no sampling strategy per se, I explored local areas near where I was staying, as well as further afield in the north and central Lake District, interviews were gained by turning up to farms, ringing farms, and posting letters to farms. Additionally, once I was undertaking my period of ethnographic work on the farm in Deerdale, word of mouth allowed me to gain multiple interviews with farmers, and I was regularly introduced to neighbouring farmers by the farmer I was staying with.

Interviews are hard to define: what is an interview, and what is a 'chat'? I classed these forty-five as interviews, in which I had a semi-structured approach, a list in my field-diary of possible questions and prompts if the discussion went off topic, and they were either recorded or I took notes depending on the situation and the individual's preferences. Twenty-nine of these interviews I would consider to be 'formal' semi-structured interviews, they were pre-arranged, recorded on my dictaphone, and with written consent. The remaining sixteen I would consider to be 'informal' as they were only sometimes pre-arranged, otherwise they

were on the spot, for instance, over a farm gate, and verbal consent was given as I explained my research and the purpose of the interview and they were not recorded, instead I took notes. The interviews generally lasted between thirty to ninety minutes, on one or two occasions, longer. During the period of thirteen months, it was impossible to quantify the quick chats after meetings, someone grabbing me in the hallway of the LDNPA office building, having five minutes over a gate with a farmer, and catching up over a cup of tea with participants. This became especially hard to differentiate once I was undertaking my ethnography, which will be explored in the following section. I also undertook second interviews with willing participants within this forty-five, there were five participants who were willing to speak to me twice, formally, to explore ideas in depth and explain certain things they had previously mentioned. As well as exploring previously mentioned ideas in more depth, I undertook these second interviews to gain a deeper understanding of why they do their job, and where their interest in the Lake District stemmed from. We discussed their upbringing, childhoods, and their academic interests. Aside from these formal second interviews, I also saw a lot of participants multiple times informally as I attended ten different events, talks, and meetings throughout the fieldwork period. This is why I find it hard to differentiate between formal 'interviews' and the process of building a rapport over thirteen months with many participants which included multiple meetings, chats, quick exchanges in corridors, and over gates. For a handful of my participants this relationship has extended further than the fieldwork 'period' and I have since been to the Lake District after this period, in January 2020 met up with a participant for a coffee and have seen others at an event at the University of Cumbria.

3.3.2.1. Interviews as performance and affective

There are multiple debates defining what an 'interview 'is (McDowell, 1992; Bennett, 2002; Valentine, 2005; Longhurst, 2010; Waterton and Watson, 2015). I will explore these debates

within this section and more broadly within this chapter. I stated that I had a widely semi-structured approach to my interviewing – Longhurst (2010) describes semi-structured interviews as a method in which:

> "Although the interviewer prepares a list of predetermined questions, semi structured interviews unfold in a conversational manner offering participants the chance to explore issues they felt are important." (Longhurst, 2010, p.143)

For each interview, I did take with me a list of possible questions and prompts in my field-diary to keep the interview on track so to speak. However, I was also open to letting my participants explore what they felt was important, particularly in reference to what they believed to be significant in terms of heritage or landscape. Longhurst (2010) argues that semi structured interviews are more than just 'chats' due to their slightly predetermined nature. This is why I would class the twenty-nine semi-structured interviews as 'formal' interviews, despite the conversational tone of many – they were pre-planned and had predetermined questions and themes.

However, this was not the only way in which I gathered data – whilst I was staying on the farm, for example, I conducted what I would call 'on the spot' interviews, chats, and active interviews. Longhurst, Ho, and Johnston (2008) and Duffy *et al* (2011) both conducted interviews that were 'performative' in nature, involving *doing* something whilst interviewing. For example, cooking or dancing. Similarly, I conducted performative interviews such as this whilst out on my daily round with the farmer I was staying with. Whether that be on the quadbike, moving sheep into a different field, or walking up the fell. Whilst undertaking these activities I was chatting to the farmer and trying to gain a deeper understanding of his everyday activities, and discussing how and why he did certain things. In addition to these activities on the farm, I also undertook tasks such as helping with the cooking and cleaning

both in the farmhouse and on the campsite with the farmer's wife. Again, during these activities we would often discuss my research and she would use this time to voice her opinion on something. Having these discussions whilst doing any of the aforementioned activities meant that I started to develop a more embodied understanding of why my participants were doing certain activities – similar to Waterton and Watson's (2015) experience of 'go-alongs' with their participants at heritage sites. Doing the activity with your participants allows space for discussion as to why and what they are doing, and getting to see it and partake yourself, rather than just discussing it and asking questions in a formal semi-structured approach. It allows for the researcher to converse with the world that we are researching (Haraway 1988; Knudsen and Stage, 2015). As we are, ourselves, "part of – affecting and affected by – the research process" (Knudsen and Stage, 2015, pp. 5-6). Thus, these different types of interview allow space for different knowledge to be understood. Active, performative interviews are useful for gaining the embodied knowledge of *everyday* activities, and for understanding how participants feel (Knudsen and Stage, 2015; Waterton and Watson 2015). Semi-structured interviews, on the other hand, are good for addressing particular themes or topics in a slightly more formal manner, but still allowing space for conversation and the participant to take the lead on something they find interesting.

Moreover, it is worth acknowledging that interviews, performative or not, contain elements of *performance;* as the researcher you are acting. You are trying to gain the information you want for your research from someone, and sometimes this can require a performance to make them feel comfortable doing this. During interviews, I often felt nervous, and when I am nervous, I often get quieter or louder depending on who I am with. In this case, I would often get louder and chattier (the fear of awkward silence) – which in itself is a performance. This demonstrates my interest in the discussion and allows me to keep the conversation flowing, or

so I hope, it also offers me the chance to ask questions to my participants and learn from their knowledge. Not being a farmer and interviewing farmers thus allows a certain advantage as, from my experience, the farmers I have spoken to like to educate you about their farm and what they do – similarly Bernard's (2011) argument that you are putting your participant at ease if you wish to learn from them, for example, ignorance of farming could be seen as an advantage in this context. I certainly found this myself, and by asking questions regarding the farm and the activities on it the farmers seemed more willing to open up to me and teach me. I will now explore the ethnographic elements of my research and what constitutes an '*ethnography'*.

3.3.3. Ethnography

Ethnography is something I also find hard to define, much like I previously touched on while defining what an 'interview' is. Before I explore what ethnography means, and how researchers can conduct ethnographic research, I will explain what I believe *my* ethnography to be. As previously stated, I began my fieldwork in June 2018 – I would argue this is the start of my ethnographic work. I was in the Lake District once, sometimes twice, a month for a period over thirteen months, and within this I also had an intensive five weeks of living and working on a farm in Deerdale during Spring 2019. In the traditional sense, this five-week period was 'proper' ethnography; I lived there, I immersed myself in the lifestyle, I worked on the farm, in the farm shop, and on the campsite (Hammersley, 2006). This typically fulfils the anthropological definitions of 'ethnography' - except it was for a shorter period of time than would be expected anthropologically, such as one year, or possibly more (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

However, I see ethnography, and my ethnography in particular as more of a process in which I moved within an "unstable *space of betweenness*" (Katz, 1994, p. 67). As I did not live

within my field site for the thirteen months continuously, I was constantly in transit between my field site, my home, my partner's home, and my office. It was a strange space to be in, but one that worked for me, and allowed me to reflect upon each visit to the Lake District immediately after and write notes, thoughts, and critical discussions down. Practically, it allowed me to transcribe interviews as I went, so I could become familiar with them quickly, and arrange second interviews with people if I felt they were needed. My method of ethnographic research may not fit the typical anthropological standard, however, it allowed me to think about space and time, and how I interacted within these different spaces at different times of year.

Katz (1994) explores this space between fieldwork and home; she argues that as a researcher, we often act differently between these two spaces. I did not feel like I acted any differently between these spaces at the time, however, on reflection I did. Whenever I was in the Lake District, I would wear different clothes – the usual walking gear – and at home I would wear my usual – hippy *'Florence Welch'* style – floor length dresses, skirts, and floaty fabric which would cause a *real* safety hazard on a farm. Even the way in which we dress as researchers can affect the way we think and act. As Katz (1994) argues, we act differently, which can be influenced by a number of things. Similarly to how a *performance* is taken when interviewing participants, it is also taken during ethnographic work – you try and fit in, much like Rapport (1993) states:

> "Fitting in was the important thing, and at least initially, avoiding the accoutrements of formal sociological research: camera, note-books, tape-recorder for these smacked of the outsider – the tourist, the official, the bureaucrat, the busybody – and an intrusive one to boot" (Rapport, 1993, pp. 70-71)

I agree with Rapport that you certainly do not want to be seen as an outsider when trying to gain participants' trust. This is further demonstrated as my fieldwork was one of two elements. The first, interviewing farmers and living on a farm, and the second – interviewing policy practitioners and partaking in an array of their meetings. As I stated I dressed in walking gear for the farmer elements of the research; and for the policy practitioner elements I was considerably smarter than usual. Opting often for smart trousers, a shirt and certainly not walking boots for the various meetings and interviews. This, of course, was all an attempt to blend in with each element of my research – whether that be out on a field holding a sheep down, or offering my thoughts in a partnership meeting. Demonstrating that as Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue, you are part of the social world in which you are researching. Thus, the accounts of your research, the written word, are constructions of the world you experienced but reflect your own values, position, and background (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). I reflected on the fact I felt more comfortable in partnership meetings than on the farm – I am used to being in meetings at universities, and have grown up with a father who wears smart clothes to work and spends a lot of his time in meetings. I began to feel more at home on the farm by the end of my ethnographic research, however, it was still never quite as comfortable as being in a training day, marketing event, or partnership meeting. As Rapport (1993) argued – note-books smack of the outsider – however within a partnership meeting a notebook was the exact thing that made me feel comfortable, as everyone around me had one and was taking notes. This demonstrates how different elements of fieldwork have different constructions of what an outsider or insider is. By being an insider in a partnership meeting, I was being an outsider on the farm and vice-versa; this was a difficult space of betweenness to navigate ethically, as I will explore later.

3.3.3.1. Observation or Participation?

Participant observation is one of the significant methods of undertaking ethnographic work. To observe the people you are researching; to participate in their world. This approach is at the forefront of anthropological research methods, first pioneered by Bronislaw Malinowski in 1922. Malinowski stated that "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world" (Malinowski 1922, p. 25, emphasis in original) a researcher had to be in situ. The extent to which participant observation is more about observing or participating has been extensively debated (Laurier, 2010; DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011; Ingold, 2014). In my opinion, and from reading various ethnographic accounts (Rapport, 1993; Emery, 2010; Waterton and Watson, 2015) participating seems to allow for the creation of more embodied knowledge and a deeper understanding of the people you are researching. For example, within heritage studies, Waterton and Watson (2015, p. 116) argue for a research style that "seeks to access sensual, emotional, and reflexive embodied performances". These more participatory, embodied approaches allow for widening theoretical understandings of heritage as performative and affective - focusing on the everyday embodied performances (Waterton and Watson, 2015). Whilst I was staying on the farm in Deerdale, I regularly considered questions such as: Why is this happening? Why do the farmers do this? What do they do this for? I often found the answer to be 'tradition' or 'because we always have'. Which leads to the widening of the theorisation of heritage to view heritage as a *performance* that is undertaken – moving the sheep, the rhythmic daily walks around the fields, the emotion felt when a lamb dies. I will explore this in the following chapter. Therefore, I would argue that participating within your participants' everyday lives allows for a much more in-depth understanding of why they do what they do than just observing them does – allowing

you to see the performances- to be affected by and be part of the research process (Knudsen and Stage, 2015).

3.4. Fieldwork fraught with happenstance

Fieldwork is often untidy and chaotic (Harrowell, Davies and Disney, 2018), you often have to take chances with interviews, and planning is often thrown up in the air once the realities of your fieldwork are realised. Within this section I will explore my own dilemmas, chance encounters with participants, my reliance on friends and family, and practical issues. I will begin by explaining how my fieldwork came to both begin and end in Deerdale.

3.4.1. Chance Encounters

As much as you can try and meticulously plan your fieldwork, there will be situations where things happen completely by chance. As I explained previously, it was not on purpose that my fieldwork began and ended in Deerdale. This was due to a lot of chance encounters and contacts through my supervisor. My fieldwork began in Deerdale only because the participant I was meant to be interviewing that day instead invited me to the world heritage training day the National Trust were running there. It was held in a village hall, that at the time felt alien to me, little did I know a year later it would feel very familiar indeed. My search for a farm to stay on began early, I sent out emails and enquired with a few farms and asked participants if they knew of anyone who would be willing to have me stay – generally the answer was no, or 'you'd be lucky'. I started to get down about the likelihood of actually being able to conduct an ethnography on a farm for any length of time, let alone a long period of time. However, when I was having a supervision meeting in September 2018 and my supervisor informed me he knew of someone, who knew a farmer in Deerdale, we agreed it was worth a shot at

emailing the family to see if they would be interested in having me stay. Thankfully, Edith[2] replied very quickly and was willing for me to visit to have a discussion regarding what I was looking for - I must acknowledge here that Edith had done a PhD and she did it at the University of Birmingham. This helped me somewhat because she understood the demands of a PhD and that I needed to do fieldwork.

I visited the farm in October 2018 and discussed what I wanted from them, and what they wanted from me in return. We came to the agreement I would stay in Spring 2019 and assist with lambing, tasks in the farm shop, and the camp site, for a later agreed length of time, which ended up being five weeks. If I had not had that contact from my supervisor's colleague, it would have been very difficult for me to find a farm to stay on, if my experiences of summer 2018 were anything to go by, with everyone saying no. I was lucky, and it was completely by chance, that a family who had a busy working farm, shop, and campsite would take me. They always needed an extra pair of hands, especially during lambing time and they were grateful for the help (I think!). This experience demonstrated to me that planning your fieldwork can only get you so far, you can have an idea of what you want to do but until you meet the right people willing to help you with that plan it is impossible to plan fully – some things have to be left to chance. This, for me, was a stressful experience, as I am a known control freak, and not having a farm sorted for the ethnography from the outset was a great source of worry.

Further to this, chances had to be taken when interviewing farmers in particular. I personally cannot drive, which is quite problematic when trying to get to remote farms in the Lake District. Therefore, I always had to rely on someone driving me around, whether it was my

[2] Edith is a pseudonym; all participants are given pseudonyms in order to protect their identity.

partner, a colleague, a farmer, or a friend who had come with me. This does, however, come with benefits in terms of physical safety and working in such remote locations, as Chiswell and Wheeler (2016) identified, being a woman working in remote locations with no mobile phone service, in a predominately male environment, poses risks. Having someone with me to drive, and know where I was, was a great help and took the weight off my shoulders with regard to worry about any physical risks. I would go and interview my participant, and whoever had driven me was usually no more than a mile away in the nearest warm café having a cup of tea. In February 2019 I went to the Lake District for a week with one of my close female friends who also researches rural geography. We were driving around for the week looking for farmers for me to interview, we decided to take a different approach to what I had tried before of ringing up in advance and arranging a date and time. We opted to get a map, mark on some areas, and just go. We drove around various parts of the Lake District, from the central lakes to the northern lakes. This method was somewhat effective, however I would not recommend it if you hate knocking on farmers' doors and being faced with immediate questioning… If the farmer was receptive (and not busy) this strategy worked fine, and I managed to get three who were willing to be interviewed on the same day as we knocked on their door. Admittedly a lot of doors went unanswered or they said no.

However, the three who did respond were forthcoming and gave up a considerable amount of time to speak. In particular, Ian Lynas gave just over an hour of his time on a wet and windy February day, after myself and my friend had pulled over by two men fixing a drystone wall, to later discover they were his sons. We had asked if they were willing to talk or whether they knew anyone who was, and one of them commented that their father was in and if he was not asleep would be willing to chat. I was thrilled that I had managed to get an interview like this; but this technique was not that effective overall. I largely stuck to my tried and tested method,

of ringing farmers and confirming dates and times prior to the interview. Driving around and knocking on doors ultimately wastes a lot of time (and fuel) thus ending up being expensive and slow. I feel it is important to acknowledge that these methods might work for some and not for others, Emery (2010, p. 76) had much more luck with this method of simply "turning up in their yard". As Chiswell and Wheeler (2016) identify though, being a female researcher in these conditions poses threats to physical safety and I, much like them, always felt better when I had an interview pre-planned and somebody knew where I was going. Even when I stayed on the farm in Deerdale, I would always alert Edith or Peter to where I was going, who I was seeing, and how long I expected to be (walk and interview time included). Sometimes, the interviews went on for hours, and a lot of tea would be consumed, I felt that, again, similar to Chiswell and Wheeler's (2016) joint experiences that sometimes the farmers treated this interview as a chance to vent, open up to someone, and discuss any issues they were having. If you consider the amount of lone working these hill farmers do, it must be quite a nice opportunity to have someone come into your house for a couple of hours and want to listen to you talk. I often would be asked, so why are you doing this? To which my response was always to give you a voice, and make sure your knowledge is not overlooked when it comes to management decisions.

> "We often felt that farmers found talking to us cathartic and many took the interview as an opportunity to disclose personal and sometimes tragic stories. We also felt advantages conferred by our age and gender were exacerbated by our non-farming status." (Chiswell and Wheeler, 2016, p. 232)

I would therefore agree with Chiswell and Wheeler's (2016) statement that often the farmers appeared to find these conversations 'cathartic' – and that my status as a non-farmer helped this also. By not knowing the intricate levels of detail about farming that they possess, it felt as though a lot of the farmers I spoke to took great joy in the fact I was constantly asking

questions such as: What does that mean? Why do you do that? How does that work? Because they appeared to be passing on their knowledge – that very knowledge I was there to understand further – as explored in section 3.2. (Bernard 2011). Thus, being a young, female researcher in a rural environment can have benefits as well as downsides – these will be explored in full in a later section. I will now continue with my explanation of chance encounters within my fieldwork.

3.4.2. Friends, Family, and a little bit of luck

As I previously explained, I do not drive. This was one of the biggest pragmatic hurdles of my fieldwork. Thankfully, I must acknowledge here, that I always had someone with me in the end to drive me to interviews where necessary. Equally, if I could, I walked. This meant I was reliant a lot on friends (and their goodwill) – I also must acknowledge how without my family this fieldwork would not have been possible. I feel that within a methodology it is important to openly acknowledge the elements of your research that mean it was possible – and any privilege you may have. I was, for example, privileged enough to have friends and my partner to call upon to drive me to interviews. I was also privileged enough to never have to pay for accommodation, my great-uncle owns a second home just outside of the LDNP and World Heritage Site. Therefore, whenever I went to do fieldwork, whether that was once or twice in a month, I always stayed there – which kept my costs sufficiently lower. The only elements I was paying for were fuel and food. If I had not had this house to stay in my fieldwork would have been considerably harder, and probably financially impossible, even with extra funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). As money for events such as this is expensed, not provided upfront. Thankfully, my friends and family helped me get around this issue and without them it would not have been doable. Equally, I relied on the goodwill of my participants and the farm in Deerdale that I stayed on. Without the enthusiasm of all these

people, I would not have been able to undertake my fieldwork for the prolonged period of time I did and would have had to have been a lot more careful about planning routes due to fuel cost.

Instead, I was lucky enough to be able to take chances, as explained earlier and drive around the Lakes and stop at farms and knock on doors, explore areas which are inaccessible by public transport, and spend time with a family in Deerdale to whom I am ever grateful for taking me in. These chance encounters helped shape my research, among all the structured elements such as interviews, deciding on interview questions, and knowing I had roughly a year within my funding to complete my fieldwork. The chances I took due to these advantages, such as never paying for accommodation, meant that I got a lot more enjoyment out of my fieldwork as I was not as stressed as I could have been over finances, or booking hotels. These are important privileges to acknowledge as I will now explore the ethical entanglements within my research, and how these affected me during my research and during the writing process.

3.5. Ethics, Emotions and Entanglements

The process of undertaking fieldwork is fraught with ethical and emotional entanglements; I gained ethical approval from the University of Birmingham for my fieldwork in April 2018, however, long before this and long after, certain questions have constantly been on my mind such as: How should you conduct yourself with participants? Should they be anonymised? How do you maintain friendships after the fieldwork ends? How is the knowledge created; do you credit your participants? Some are easier to answer than others, and thanks to university ethical procedures, questions such as should they be anonymised? Are easily answered with a yes. To protect the participant and allow me, as a researcher, a degree of freedom to use their quotations without fear of them being identified. This, however, still has its own issues within

a small community – as I will explore in section 3.5.2. Some are harder to answer, such as how do you maintain a friendship after the fieldwork ends? This can cause ethical dilemmas regarding updates on how your work is progressing, whether or not this is someone who could be a potential employer in the future (thus still considering how you act around them), or whether you simply want to be friends and continue your relationship. These all raise potential ethical entanglements, as the line between research and life is blurred. Continuing these relationships outside of your defined fieldwork 'period' causes this betweenness to shrink and for the research to become part of your normal life.

As well as these ethical entanglements, there are emotional ones. There is a body of literature which engages with emotions, the relationality of emotions, and how emotions are expressed within research (Bennett, 2004; Bondi, 2005; Thien 2005; Bennett, 2009; Bondi, 2014) which has informed my research. Bennett (2004) also raises interesting discussion points concerning what emotions mean for research. She argues that emotions affect the research at every level; before, during, and after the research is conducted. This was true of my own research, before my fieldwork I felt an array of emotions, ranging from excitement to being completely terrified I would do it all wrong. Then, during my fieldwork I again felt an array of emotions, both myself, and empathising with my participants – in particular there was an incident with a lamb that is explored in Chapter Four that highlights this empathy and how my emotions were connected to my participant in some way. Once my fieldwork was over, I felt predominantly sad that I could not continue and that was it, however, I was also very satisfied with my research and happy I could now start writing. The feelings did not end there though, the writing process has caused more erratic emotional responses than I could have ever imagined, ranging from guilt at wondering whether doing my participants justice in my writing, whether they would like what I am writing, whether they are anonymised enough, and the sheer

frustration at writing such a large document that has to make sense and tell a story. I do not want to leave out my emotions, much as Thien (2005) argues, there should be a push to include these often 'invisible' aspects of research as emotions affect us, and we are affected by our participants' emotions.

Emotions help us, as researchers, to understand the social world we are studying, Bennett (2004, p. 416) argues that "emotions that mediate fieldwork can provide researchers with clues – insights and information". I believe this is true of my fieldwork, and the experiences I had with the farmer I stayed with. I frequently spent long periods of time with him, and felt often, what he felt. Bondi (2003, p. 71) describes this feeling of empathy as "a process in which one person imaginatively enters the experiential world of another". Bennett *et al* (2015) suggest that working with emotions is about simply listening, and listening better. They argue listening whilst doing is a valuable asset to research as it brings experiences and feelings to the fore in research. For example, "attending to gesture, textures, atmospheres, things and the context of happenings" (Bennett *et al*, 2015, p. 9). Understanding all of these elements of experience and feelings enables the researcher to empathise more with the participant/s. Much as I did with the farmer I stayed with.

This does then, however, mean that the researcher and the participant are "implicated in each other's emotionality" (Bennett, 2004, p. 419). This means that emotions are not just felt, but are used by the researcher and the participant, Bondi (2005) argues that typically research is thought to be objective, detached, and not subjective and influenced by emotions, however, post-structuralism critiques this approach of objectivity and argues that emotions are bound up in our research. Emotions play a part in our research process, reveal how we feel, how our participants feel, and shape our research. Bennett (2009) argues that emotions are relational, and that feelings are explained through our relationships with others and in context. Emotions

need to be understood in context, and how they are created between the researcher and the participant (Bennett, 2004). Bennett (2004) uses an example from fieldwork in Cumbria on the impact of 2001 Foot and Mouth disease outbreak where she interviewed a female farmer about the impact on her farm. The emotions felt by both the participant, and by Bennett need to be contextualised to be understood, this outbreak was disastrous for communities in Cumbria, and the North of England more broadly, and impacted local community relationships, livestock, farmers' mental health, and their familial relationships (Bennett, 2004). This example from Bennett (2004) demonstrates how emotions are entangled with research, how they cannot be separated from their context, and how they move both the participant and the researcher. I will consider this work on emotions and their relationality in Chapter Four when I tell my own story, of how I and the farmer I stayed with reacted to an incident with a lamb.

I will now explore ethical entanglements within this section – using my personal experience and methodological literatures to exemplify them. I will compare my experience to others, and consider how these ethical entanglements could become less 'messy' or whether they should in fact remain 'messy' and should not be hidden within the presentation of the finished research process.

3.5.1. Power and gender: awkward encounters?

I have already acknowledged that being a young, female researcher comes with its own set of advantages and disadvantages in sections 3.2. and 3.3 – and through the work of Chiswell and Wheeler (2016). Something I have not yet explored is the power dynamic between myself and the largely male participants I interviewed.

> *"Alan was also forty minutes late and I started chatting to the receptionists, and they made me tea. Elizabeth, his PA, also came and apologised. Ultimately, I only got a 30-*

> *minute interview, shorter than the length of time I wanted, and when I returned my ID badge one receptionist raised their eyebrows and asked if the meeting was worth the wait."* (Fieldnote 19-10-18)

The point of this extract is to demonstrate power dynamics, emotions, and my frustration (Katz, 1994). Most of my participants were male, only a handful were female, I often found myself in situations such as the one above, waiting. One time, I even got 'stood up' as my participant did not show and did not send an apology email until two days later. I am always thankful to people who give up their time to talk to me, especially when they are very busy. However, situations such as these became frustrating, and I did begin to wonder if I was a man, or older, if I would be left waiting as long, or stood up for an interview? (McDowell, 1997; Pini, 2005; Sharp, 2009). Another consideration was that some of the people I was interviewing were some of the most senior within their organisations – clearly, they would be powerful, wield influence over people, and be very busy. I appreciated this – but by the same token, I was, as I said, increasingly frustrated at being left waiting for long periods of time, after always being on time, and then during interviews occasionally having to deal with a flirtatious level of chat. This made me consider power dynamics and the influence of gender to a greater extent than I had previously. As mentioned in section 3.2 the farmers I interviewed almost seemed to use the interview as a cathartic experience – whereas some of the more senior participants I interviewed were less open regarding the research, yet happy to chat about themselves and about me. I frequently considered how the situations would be different if I were a man.

However, on the flip side, these power dynamics often helped me. I did not seek out to use these relationships to any advantage – however, through knowing the people I did it allowed me to access a greater number of participants and meet more people. For example, in one partnership meeting I was sat next to a senior member of one of the partner organisations, and

he continually chatted to me, and had personally invited me to the meeting. This clearly came with some advantages – he was one of the most '*powerful'* members in the room, and thus people became interested in who I was and what I was doing. During the coffee breaks I had numerous people come up to me and ask what I was researching – which in turn helped me gain more participants to interview. Therefore, it can be seen that power and gender dynamics do play a part in research – whether advantageous or not. In keeping with my premise for this chapter, that I would not ignore any element of the research process, I felt it important to note these experiences and reflect on them.

3.5.2. Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality is key in any social research – the participants need to be protected. All of my participants signed a consent form or verbally gave consent, and were allocated a pseudonym, as well as having their ages changed. I had no issue with this – however, I did consider one day whilst I was writing field notes on the farm that in such a small community anonymity becomes difficult. Everyone knows everyone – and the way in which I gained more participants was via snowballing. This raised questions, which I discussed with friends who were working in similar contexts. Protecting the anonymity of your participants we agreed was the key thing – if by chance the participants all happen to know each other and can see beyond the anonymising, there is not much you, as a researcher, can do about that. You want to give an accurate representation and account of your time in the field, but within the constraints of anonymising participants and places as far as is logical to do so. Therefore, I decided that anonymising the participants and the valley I stayed in was crucial for protecting participants' anonymity, however, to make the thesis contextually understandable I have not anonymised the organisations for which my participants worked. I considered anonymising the partner organisations of the LDNPP but decided against it as it would have led to a

confusing analysis that was not very practically helpful. Therefore, the organisational names will be used, however, the individuals will be anonymised and I have emitted specific details that would have revealed too much information about them. Further to this, I do also use job titles, for context in decision-making scenarios, however, I have ensured that the detail of the participant is limited when I do this or have used a more vague term such as 'senior employee/member'. These decisions were taken in the interests of managing risk to individual participants. I will discuss concerns of '*truthfulness'* and representation further in section 5.4. when I explore the issues I faced writing.

3.5.3. Romanticism and the rural idyll: being reflexive

As I previously stated in section 3.2 – I am aware that I tend to romanticise the countryside. I felt it important to mention this again here before I move into subsequent sections about writing and representation. I romanticise my time in the countryside, out in the open, and with 'nature' because of my time spent as a child and teenager on various trips and visits with family members. They are fond memories that cannot be separated from how I now act – they shaped me, and my understanding and perception of landscape and heritage. Throughout the writing process, I have tried to avoid this level of romanticism as much as possible – however, as stated before we cannot completely remove ourselves from our research.

> *"As I sit here and stare out at the screes, and consider this – where do I belong? Do I belong here, there, or everywhere? Ethnography becomes part of you and you part of it, they are as I say inseparable."* (Field note 15-05-19)

At the end of my period of time on the farm, and at the end of my thirteen months of fieldwork, I became reflective about myself, the *betweenness* of fieldwork, and the fact that you cannot remove yourself from your research. As a researcher you have to actively think to remove yourself and consider your biases – as I have tried to do in this chapter, addressing

various ethical entanglements I had along the way. The research for me was a transient space, and one that personally affected me a lot – which I have reflected on continuously throughout my analysis and writing.

3.6. Data Analysis

This section will explain the details of my analysis. I will explain the process of recording interviews, transcribing interviews, and ultimately how I coded and created thematic maps from these transcripts. I will also detail how I kept a field-diary and how this then transformed into an analysis diary. Finally, I will reflect on these processes and explore how I grappled with writing; deciding how *true* to my research I should be whilst considering representational and anonymity concerns.

3.6.1. Transcribing: interviews and field-diary

I recorded nearly all of my formal interviews on my dictaphone, the only exceptions were participants where we were outside, on a farm for example, and the background noise from animals and wind would have been too much for me to have reasonably recorded anything that I could transcribe. In those cases, I took notes in my field-diary instead. With the recorded interviews I transcribed them all myself, sometimes whilst I was in the field and sometimes when I was back in Birmingham or Durham. Transcribing them myself meant that I quickly became familiar with the data – transcribing as I went, after each interview, also ensured I remembered the context of each interview and could add notes relating to participants inflections. This was made more robust by then adding my notes taken before and after the interview. I contextualised each interview for myself – noting how I felt, where I was, who I was talking to, how it went, what went badly/well. These notes helped me understand the situation I was in and the way in which the participant was speaking – whether

they felt they could speak openly, or not, for example. Once all the interviews were transcribed, I read back over them to check them over for any mistakes, and to become more familiar with them. Similarly, I typed up my field-diary so that I had another copy of it in case I lost the hardcopy. This also enabled me to copy and paste notes across to transcripts if needed, and to input all the transcripts and notes into NVivo.

3.6.2. Coding

As stated in the previous section, I did upload my transcripts and fieldnotes to NVivo, however, I did not feel that NVivo provided the correct type of space to code and analyse my interviews and fieldnotes. I only began coding a small number of my transcripts on NVivo. The nature of this ethnographic work meant that a lot of data relates to feelings, emotions, physical places, and people exemplify things through their personal experiences. The removed, unfamiliar approach for coding provided by NVivo did not feel right for understanding this type of data.

I proceeded to do my coding by hand and took an 'open coding' approach (Crang and Cook, 2007). I began simply by reading the transcripts and fieldnotes, and identifying interesting extracts, writing notes and thoughts on the transcripts and fieldnotes (Glaser and Strauss, 2008; Benaquisto, 2008). This approach was influenced by grounded theory, discovering codes within the data, and then eventually grouping them into wider themes. Once I had read the transcripts and fieldnotes once and added my initial notes and thoughts, I read them again, this time looking for codes relating to one another – taking an axial approach to coding. I began to group codes together such as: trust, accountability, passion, sense of place, contested landscapes, and ownership to name a few. These codes then eventually built into bigger overarching themes, which I then created a thematic map for (see appendix II). These codes and themes provided the basis for my analysis of both the transcripts and fieldnotes.

3.6.3. Themes

As stated previously I began identifying areas of interest which then became codes and eventually themes. Themes were then colour coded on transcripts and fieldnotes, this gave me a great familiarity with the data. I was able to easily locate a quote I wanted, or find an excerpt from my field-diary. Some of my overarching themes became: personal experiences, ineffective governance, partnership working, passion and sense of place. These were then broken down further relating to events and concepts, such as: aesthetics, rewilding, contentious landscape, false dualism, natural vs. cultural, them vs. us, and balance, again to name a few. I then sought to bring together the pragmatic elements of my research such as governance mechanisms, statutory power, and political mobilisation with the more personal experiential stories from participants. I also kept an analysis diary (Lorne, 2015) whilst doing this – a space that allowed me to write down ideas, thoughts, how different codes linked together, examples to use to illustrate arguments and links to literature. The analysis diary became a very useful outlet, it provided a space to write informally, and whenever an idea came to me. I will now explore how the writing process allowed for the personal and the pragmatic to be reconciled and how I dealt with concerns over being truthful to my participants.

3.6.4. Writing and Representation: "I do reckon that you should be honest…"

This comment from a participant, "I do reckon that you should be honest…", has hung over me ever since my last interview, and throughout the writing process. It has caused me a great deal of anguish over how I should represent my participants and their knowledge; how their knowledge, experiences, and enthusiasm relate to the knowledge in this thesis. I feel that I will never be able to *fully* represent or present my participants' knowledge and experience

accurately – it is all influenced by various ethico-political factors. As Marcus and Cushman (1982) argue:

> "Ethnographic description is by no means the straightforward, unproblematic task it is thought to be in the social sciences, but a complex effect, achieved through writing and dependent upon the strategic choice and construction of available detail" (Marcus and Cushman, 1982, p. 29)

For example, anonymity means the whole truth can never be told, as previously discussed, though this has the advantage of protecting participants. These ethical decisions thus influence the words that are on these pages and the knowledge that is created – other factors to consider come in the form of my own positionality – Who do I want to work for in the future? Who am I friends with? Do I want to share all my emotional experiences? Decisions must be taken when writing – decisions on *how* and *why* something gets represented and something else does not – this is as, Marcus and Cushman (1982) state by no means straightforward. Similarly, Carrithers (1992) argues that manipulating material is often difficult. How we make these decisions ultimately effects the knowledge that is created within the thesis; therefore, it must be acknowledged that various ethico-political factors influence the writing. It is not as straight forward as just 'being honest'.

Clifford and Marcus (1986, p.13), ask within these issues of cultural representation within writing "Who speaks? Who writes? When and where? With or whom? Under what institutional and historical constraints?". As well as considering my own positionality, for example the constraints of the institutional context I am in, my own biases as discussed in this chapter and my own emotions – I also must consider who I am giving a voice to and why. What is it that gives me the authority to give someone else voice – the institutional context – the fact that doctoral level knowledge is valued, and this knowledge creation is valued? I feel

it is my duty to use this privilege, and this value, to give a voice to the groups I have researched, in particular the farmers I have listened to, who themselves feel ignored by larger governance structures such as the LDNPP. However, the process of writing feels so far removed from my fieldwork – I am no longer based regularly in the Lake District (though I still visit when I can, however, Covid-19 restrictions have severely limited that) so I feel detached, this masculinist approach seems unavoidable during this part of the research process. You are spatially removed – I am in a different mindset to how I was during my fieldwork. This will also affect the knowledge created within this thesis. Whenever I am in the Lake District and I am writing, I feel considerably more involved, the writing becomes embodied – it is an affective performance; I am giving life to the research from the place the knowledge was created (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000). Therefore, when, as researchers, we are writing – we should not forget the place we are writing about, we should not forget the embodied knowledge, experiences, or the way we felt. We should include all of this to contextualise the knowledge creation – acknowledge the authority, the voices, the choices we make. We should be as honest as we can be within our institutional and historical constraints. Thus, throughout my thesis I have decided to write in a way that will acknowledge my positionality; my privileges, my emotions, my gender, my background, I will embrace the 'messiness' of geographical research (Crang and Cook, 2007).

3.7. Chapter Summary: A reflection on research as a process

This chapter has looked at my research story – acknowledging the reasons why I did this PhD. I have examined my choice of methods, how I will represent the knowledge creation from these methods – and the ethical entanglements that come with this style of qualitative research. Open communication, as discussed by Harrowell, Davies and Disney (2018) is vital for geographers who wish to embrace failure, as well as the messiness of research. To

embrace what you consider a failure – whether you did not go to that interview, you missed a chance for that chat, you were too stressed to organise pragmatic details of your ethnography. These may, at the time, feel like failures and make you feel stressed and question the point of your PhD, it certainly did for me, every missed opportunity with an interview, every farm that said no to me made me doubt. However, being open about these, with myself, with peers, within my writing, makes me recognise it is all just part of the process and is not a failure. Research is dynamic, changing, and really rather stressful and if we are honest and open about this, we can learn from each other. We can acknowledge the context in which the knowledge has been created, and how we felt about that process.

Thus, the following chapter continues in this theme – setting the context. I begin with a detailed description of Deerdale, and the farming family I lived with during my time there. I seek to examine how knowledge is created within this community and explore why different types of knowledge are valued over others – as I have discussed within this chapter.

Chapter 4 – Experiencing the Landscape

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter I will introduce Deerdale, the valley within the LDNP and World Heritage Site where I undertook my period of ethnographic fieldwork. This chapter will look at how two groups, farmers and policy practitioners, experience landscapes and how they create knowledge from these experiences. Therefore, this chapter will, to an extent, discuss the way this ethnographic research can contribute to theoretical engagements around landscape experience; bridging the gap between phenomenological embodied approaches and the political and representational elements of this interaction (Setten, 2004; Cohen, 2009; Emery and Carrithers, 2016). These experiences shape the two groups' values and opinions and can influence how each group understands and perceives abstract concepts such as 'heritage' and 'landscape'. This chapter will also unpick what is meant by 'heritage' and how it is *lived* through these two groups, thus contributing to theoretical and ontological arguments concerning the definition of heritage and whose heritage should be preserved (Hall, 1999; Waterton, 2005; Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2013; Waterton and Watson, 2013; Winter, 2013). These ideas and definitions of heritage are important when trying to unite two groups with diverse experiences of landscapes and different knowledges and values within their work and leisure time. Understanding and actively engaging with these ideas and definitions to see how they converge and diverge will offer ways of understanding how management plans can be formed for places such as the LDNP and World Heritage Site. These plans need to be holistic and engage the people who manage the area as well as the people who live in the area; though these are often one and the same. I will develop these ideas for management plans and exploring the decision-making of other stakeholders in Chapters Five and Six.

Firstly, I will look at these lived experiences and understandings, both individually and collectively, to see how relationships could be improved for the betterment of the management of the LDNP and World Heritage Site. This chapter will start with some historical and political context about Deerdale, and one of the main stakeholders in the valley – the National Trust. The National Trust play a vital role in the management of this valley and their relationship with other stakeholders is of substantial importance when understanding different landscape experiences.

4.1.1. Deerdale and the Influence of the National Trust

Deerdale is a valley within the boundary of the LDNP and World Heritage Site. Deerdale is a prominent example of the farming systems that the world heritage status designation draws attention to, for example; it has a medieval pattern of field walls on the valley floor, 17th century vernacular architecture in the form of farmsteads and buildings, and it also has vast open fells with two commons that are still in use (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2015). Being within the LDNP and World Heritage Site, Deerdale's management is coordinated by the LDNPP and within this partnership there is one particular partner who has the largest influence in the valley: the National Trust. The National Trust owns and is responsible for the management of 6,677 hectares of land in this valley and 6,547 hectares of this land is inalienable (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2015). Inalienable land means that this land cannot be sold, mortgaged, or purchased by the government without a debate in parliament. The National Trust has this level of control due to the National Trust Act of 1907 (National Trust, no date a). This power means that land, estates, country houses, and areas of natural beauty are protected 'forever' by the National Trust, encompassed in their slogan 'For Everyone, Forever' (National Trust, 2020).

The National Trust own a significant proportion of the LDNP; 20%. Within this 20%, significantly there are ninety farms and 70% of the world's Herdwick sheep (National Trust, no date b). Herdwick sheep are an important aspect of the Lake District's heritage; their ancestors go as far back as 10,000 years to some of the earliest domesticated sheep. Herdwicks retain traits of wild sheep, such as woolly waistcoats and protective outer hair that is not affected by the wind unlike with other sheep breeds. They also have a strong "home range tendency" (Herdwick Sheep Breeders Association, 2020) and their natural instincts have been encouraged through hefting. As a hardy sheep breed they can withstand hostile conditions in the uplands, these traits are therefore favoured in these areas and the hefting has led to the pastoral system we see today; the social aspects of farmers working together, shows and shepherds meets, and moving sheep across the fells (Burton, 2018). These sheep are vital to the intangible aspects of heritage; maintaining local traditions like hefting, shows, and Shepherd's Guides (McCormick, 2018). McCormick (2018, p. 183) describes the farming heritage that has shaped this landscape as a "special pedigree of social capacity, skills, knowledge, and economic resourcefulness which has enabled fell farming and the landscapes and places it manages to endure". Within Deerdale, there are twenty-three fell-going flocks of which thirteen are registered Herdwick flocks. These statistics are significant, and the power held by the National Trust is almost unattainable for other conservation organisations in this area. This sets the scene for the management dilemmas within the LDNP and World Heritage Site. The politics and power at play are intricate and wrapped up within individual and collective experiences of the landscape. How people experience these landscapes and the purposes they believe they have, shape the knowledge and values that are ultimately influencing the management of this national park and world heritage site. Experiences are significant for shaping the way in which this landscape is represented and for deciding how

and what is preserved for either natural or cultural reasons. I will now explore Deerdale, and the families within it in more depth.

4.2. Deerdale – A Farming Heritage

Deerdale is an archetypal valley within the LDNP and World Heritage Site; it is surrounded by screes, mountains, commons, and currently rather a lot of tree planting in and around it. The valley is sweeping, and glorious in its colours; from the dark greys, reds, and browns on the screes, to the lush, green grass that the farmers walk over every day down in the Blackdale fields towards the valley head. Deerdale has a vast lake, spanning over five miles down the centre of the valley, glistening and blue. You can see why this landscape has been designated as a world heritage site just from standing in the head of the valley and looking back towards the villages. The drystone walls, stubborn and grey, unrelenting in this landscape, hug the fells and sweep down towards the farm buildings. The sheep roam the common, hefted to the landscape. As stated in Chapter Two, a heft is a piece of upland pasture which animals roam on and have been hefted to (Rebanks, 2015). Hefting is the process of generations of ewes teaching their lambs where their heft is. This process of 'hefting' is initially done through active shepherding, to teach the ewes where their heft is and eventually this learned behaviour is passed down between the generations of sheep. I will explore later in this chapter how farmers also heft themselves to the landscape (Gray, 2014). This traditional management method of hefting is particularly special and plays a large part in the management of the uplands here. These traditional methods of management are part of the agro-pastoral system that the world heritage designation seeks to protect. Hefting systems require the knowledge and skills of the farmers and the ewes, over generations, and the practical skills of the farmers gathering collectively. These are some of the intangible elements of the living heritage that need to be protected as they have, and continue to, help shape the cultural landscape as we

know it today. Without these systems and management techniques the landscape would look very different.

Deerdale is not without its own contestations, the National Trust are removing sheep from Deerdale Common and this is a significant problem in relation to the valley's farming heritage. It is significant because removing the hefted flocks, permanently or even for a short time, will affect the movement of other farmers' hefted flocks on the same common. It will fundamentally alter the hefting system in place on that common and will mean the farmers will have to travel further and gather for longer. This is a problem for older farmers in particular, as they cannot travel such vast distances to gather their sheep. In addition to this, it could lead to other hefted flocks being withdrawn and this would make the overall management much more difficult as the sheep, as well as the farmers, would have more space to get lost in, move into, and it would cause a breakdown of the hefting system, thus damaging the sustainability of this management approach. Additionally, a large proportion of the farms in Deerdale, over twelve, are owned by the National Trust and tenanted, others are left empty as the National Trust decides what it wants to do with them. The remaining farms in the valley are either privately owned, such as the farm I stayed on, or tenanted from a private landlord, such as the Lowther Estate. These different types of ownership make for multiple tensions and conflicts which regularly arise from the management of farmland in the valley, in regard to sheep numbers, tree planting, and building new developments for tourists.

The farm buildings dominate the landscape; barns and farmhouses – all stand mighty and proud. This landscape has been shaped by these families, who have been here mostly for two or three generations. In the valley head in particular, the Draper family have been here for three generations, if you take a stroll into the church graveyard, you will discover that for yourself. Tall, grey, headstones with the name Draper on them stand all around you. There

truly is a sense of belonging in this place; the families all help each other, by lending farming equipment, collectively gathering, working together to run the village fête, and running an annual shepherds meet every autumn in October. This collective working is something that struck me as unusual, as some previous farming literature suggested that farmers were very individualistic people and would prefer working in isolation rather than collectively (Siebert *et al*, 2006; Sutherland and Burton, 2011; Emery and Franks, 2012) – not entirely true in this valley. This may depend on the level of collective work, for example, formal cooperatives or just sharing machinery. However, within Deerdale the collective work could be defined as informal and takes shape mostly in the form of gathering collectively and sharing machinery and supplies. They may all joke and mock each other, but actually there is a strong sense of belonging and of collective work that has gone on for generations between the farmers. During my time in Deerdale, I witnessed examples of this such as: borrowing machinery from one another, sharing lime for their soils, as well as searching for and rescuing sheep for each other when they went astray or got stuck in a bog. This sense of collective work was also evident as I went and spoke to seven of the farming families in the valley, and six in the neighbouring valleys; they all reiterated the importance of working together. Despite sometimes being separated by mountains, the families knew of each other in different valleys and would often walk over the fells to go and assist one another. This collective farming identity was underlined by discussions I had with the Johnson family, regarding the passion that motivates the farmers to do what they do. This will be explored further in this chapter. First, I would like to fully introduce the families in Deerdale that participated in my research, beginning with the Kilcullen family, whom I stayed with for five weeks.

4.2.1. Relationships, Farms and Families

In this section I will detail the Kilcullen family, and their everyday activities on the farm and in Deerdale more generally. I will also focus on the Johnson family as a second case study. I will discuss how these families produce and re-produce heritage within Deerdale, as well as exploring how their experiences of the landscape are similar to, and different from, those of policy practitioners. The remainder of this chapter will look at these two groups' experiences of the landscape and how these experiences inform their knowledges, values, and work life. I will then assess whether or not the *georgic ethic* (Cohen, 2009) provides a basis for understanding these differing yet similar relationships and look at ways in which these two groups can actively engage within the management of the landscape together. As previously explained in Chapter Two, the georgic ethic puts emphasis on the farmers and their active engagement with the land; arguing that knowledge making practices should be given more attention and that knowledge is born from their living and working on the land (Cohen, 2009).

4.2.2. The Kilcullen Family

The Kilcullens - Peter, fifty-five, and Edith, forty-nine, live and work at Rosings Farm. Their farmhouse stands tall in the village landscape, the whitewash stone, striking wooden beams, and the old village hall which became part of the farmhouse in the early 20th century, make it an interesting building architecturally. The oldest part of the farmhouse is 16th century and the original beam can be found in the kitchen. The farm is 280 acres including 30 acres of woodland. Peter and Edith's farm has been in Deerdale since 1547 and has only had three families owning it, of which Peter and Edith are the third. Despite the age of the farmhouse, Peter and Edith themselves are relatively speaking, newcomers into Deerdale. They had only been at Rosings Farm for six years at the point in time I stayed with them.

They have 700 Herdwick sheep of which 100 are put to the Texel ram and this produces their cross bred lambs, whereas the remaining 600 are pure bred Herdwicks. Rosings farm is also part of a Higher-Level Stewardship (HLS) AES and includes land which is in a Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI). Like most of the farms in Deerdale, the pure breed Herdwicks are their prized possession, and these are the significant breed in terms of maintaining that heritage I discussed earlier. I will explore later in this chapter how Peter *'reproduces'* heritage and how these Herdwick sheep play a part in that.

Peter and Edith farm with Peter's brother, Norman, sixty, and his nephew, Simon, twenty-eight. Peter and Edith also have a daughter, Emily, eight, who enjoys looking after the lambs and running around the farm. Peter is a determined farmer, with a clear passion for his livestock, and a drive to change relations in the valley with other stakeholders such as the National Trust. Peter believes that the way the National Trust currently conduct themselves in the valley is not conducive to collective work with the farmers. Peter eventually wishes to extend the size of his farm – and ultimately control a larger portion of the valley so that the National Trust does not eventually end up having the monopoly in Deerdale. Peter is very involved within the village, and the valley as a whole, he has run parish council meetings for a few years and is actively involved in trying to use the world heritage status for the good of the valley in favour of a small infrastructure development at the valley head, this will be explored later in the chapter. This development would bring benefits to both the farmers and the tourists visiting the Lake District.

Peter's wife, Edith, is also an exceptionally active member of the community, she runs the campsite on the farm, inclusive of traditional camping, shepherds' huts, and caravans. Edith also runs their shop on the campsite and employs a number of staff to help with the day-to-day running of the camp site and shop. In addition to this, Edith helps arrange the village fête

and participates in the community activities regularly, such as the ‘Shepherds Meet’ in October. Edith has good relations with the other farmers’ wives, in particular Rosie Moss from High Bark Farm who at a moment’s notice can come and help in the shop or with the gardening. Edith wishes she could do more on the farm, as when they first arrived on the farm she often went out with Peter, but with the success of the campsite and the shop someone needs to be permanently around to manage it all.

Peter’s brother, Norman, also lives on the farm, in a bungalow behind the shop. Norman works alongside Peter and is often seen out on the farm chasing a sheep or injecting a cow and dealing with new-born calves. They have recently introduced a few Hereford cows on to their farm and hope to get more. Norman is a quiet man, with a clear drive for what he does, he will go out of his way to make sure the sheep and the cattle are fit and healthy. He has a vast knowledge about the health of these animals, which was demonstrated one morning on the farm when I went with him to check on the Hereford which had just calved a few days prior. Norman had a suspicion that the Hereford had developed mastitis after calving as the cow had sore teats, and so would not feed the new calf. Norman decided to get some cream for the teats and apply it every morning, at first the cow roared in pain but as the days went on the cow’s condition improved and Norman’s diagnosis had been correct. The cow’s teats were no longer sore, dry, and cracked after the application of the cream and the calf was back to feeding. Norman frequently has vets shadowing him, as he did for a week during my time at the farm, and he is often engaged in conversation about the health of the animals.

Simon, the nephew, was staying with Edith and Peter for a period of time before moving away and getting a job. He quickly learnt about farming and became Peter’s right hand man, albeit even if sometimes he did leave farm gates open, which often made for a firm telling off from Peter! Simon was enthusiastic and keen to learn about the sheep, and chase after them to

move them from field to field. He often ran, or drove the quadbike, back to the farm in the case of lambing emergencies and once he and I were left holding a lamb each as Peter frantically drove back to the farm with their mother. The Kilcullen family are a very dynamic family in the valley and are often pushing for change and for farming voices to be heard more with regards to the management of the valley. They are also good friends with neighbouring farms, as I pointed out earlier, particularly Coates Farm and High Bark Farm.

4.2.3. The Johnson Family

Scott and Frieda live at Coates Farm in Deerdale. Scott has lived in Deerdale for fifty-eight years since he moved with his parents. This was initially on a different farm, which eventually became amalgamated with two other farms. This amalgamation is now Stag Fell Farm where Scott and Frieda's son and his family live and have done for the past fifteen years. The reason for the amalgamation was that one farm could not provide enough income for a whole family. Once Scott and Frieda's son took over Stag Fell Farm, Scott and Frieda moved up the road to Coates Farm and are now on a fifteen-year farm business tenancy (FBT) with the National Trust. Scott has a significant personal investment in Deerdale, and its management, having lived there for fifty-eight years and moving around numerous farms in his time. Importantly, the tenancy that his son is on is a successional tenancy so the National Trust cannot cut short the tenancy or influence what happens on that farm as much as they would like. These successional tenancies are not a National Trust invention but come from the Agricultural Holdings Act (AHA) 1986; if a tenancy was granted prior to 12th July 1984 it is a succession tenancy under the AHA of 1986 (Holmes, 2012). These successional tenancies have their roots in post-war ambitions to improve food production. The Johnson family have one of these tenancies, which works in the following manner: two successors from the original tenant can take over the farm. So ultimately, it is in the same family for three lifetimes and

succession can occur after death or retirement (Holmes, 2012). However, these have now been abolished and the usual tenancy length is now fifteen years on an FBT such as what Scott and Frieda are currently on and this comes from the Agricultural Tenancies Act (ATA) of 1995 (Holmes, 2012). These successional tenancies were replaced with these fifteen-year tenancies because there was the general feeling that the three generational tenancies had caused stagnation in the market and it meant that landlords such as the National Trust could not alter the land as much as they wanted if they had an unwilling tenant, for example.

Scott is a level-headed man, who used to have a high level of respect for the National Trust and was happy to work with them. However, he now describes the valley as having an "anti-National Trust feeling" which stems from confusion over their policy direction and the fact that they don't seem to know what they are doing. Scott sees the UNESCO designation as "salvation" for the farmers and acknowledgement that the landscape is man-made and that elements of it need protecting. Scott is also confused by the National Trust's desire to 'rewild' and plant so many trees; he argues there is already a lot of tree coverage and wildlife in Deerdale and that the traditional flocks need to be kept, not be pushed out in favour of tree planting. He believes that the National Trust are making a mistake with the heads of valleys such as Deerdale, and he highlights the importance of these farms remaining functional and 'living':

> "They're going to make a massive mistake up at the head of these valleys as well and that's important where world heritage is concerned, those hefted Herdwick sheep, they are decimating the numbers to where, to a number where nobody can make a living off them, they've got to, they've got to give it a, bit more leverage to the farming part of the equation so there can be a living out of those farms" (FJ and SJ interview, 03-05-19)

Scott and Frieda are both exceptionally animated about the National Trust and disappointed that they no longer have the same relationship with them that they used to have – due to the lack of trust. Frieda got very passionate about this over a cup of tea, and despite not being from a farming family herself, she can see and understand the farmers' struggles in the face of National Trust policy always "chopping and changing". Scott and Frieda have lost their respect and trust for the National Trust since they were in a scheme about ten years ago that failed. The scheme involved selling beef to a local supermarket chain, with National Trust branding. However, after a short period of time the sales stopped and there were beginning to be three week waits for the beef to be slaughtered, and Frieda got the sense something was wrong, but nobody from the National Trust informed them of any problems. Ultimately, the issue was the National Trust head office had said that the regional office for the National Trust in the Lake District could not use the logo because the National Trust was trying to make a deal with a national supermarket chain. Scott and Frieda ended up losing a lot of money (as they did not have anywhere else to send their beef – they had 'put all their eggs in one basket' as it were) and therefore lost their faith in the National Trust. The National Trust's communication throughout the situation had been non-existent and they had not been warned about the impending problems with the local supermarkets.

This situation, mixed with the National Trust's confusing policy agenda, has ultimately meant that a lot of farmers in Deerdale, including Scott and Frieda, no longer have cordial relationships with the National Trust and are sceptical of everything they do. This scepticism is also shared by neighbouring farms in the valley, High Bark Farm is down the road and around the corner from Peter and Edith at Rosings farm and has 200 Herdwicks and Swaledales on its 158 acres and is farmed by Nigel and Rosie Moss. High Bark Farm has been in the valley for a considerable period of time, since 1757. In addition, Low Holly Farm

over the fell has 380 Herdwicks on its 407 acres and is farmed currently by John Waldbeck but he is retiring soon, and the National Trust will need to find a new tenant, a process that was beginning during my time in Deerdale. This valley is significant for its Herdwick breeds and fell going flocks, and the rich history of the farms.

In the following section I will now explore the farmers' everyday lives, predominately describing Peter's daily activities on the farm, and his interactions with the neighbouring farmers to understand how he, and they, create knowledge through these experiences with the landscape.

4.3. Farmers' Experiences, Knowledge, and Values

In this section I will be exploring Peter's *everyday*, beginning with a description of a typical day on the farm, followed by a detailed description of death on the farm and how myself and Peter reacted to this. Further to this, I argue Peter and his family are hefting themselves to the landscape through their repeated actions and interactions with other families in the valley. Finally, I will explore how heritage can be mobilised, looking at how all these everyday experiences and this living heritage can be mobilised for the farming communities' own gain.

4.3.1. The 'Everyday'

Peter's day, during my time on the farm, started by going out early to check if there had been any new lambs arrive over-night or any deaths. By 8am Peter would be back inside and helping to send his daughter, Emily, off to school and would fill me in as to the number of new arrivals or losses over-night whilst I ate my cereal or made a cup of tea. Following this, Peter, Simon, and I would head down to the fields at Blackdale to do the morning round there. We would be sent across these fields to check the ewes and look for either ewes in labour or ones with new lambs. Peter had a very good eye for the ewes, he could tell if they were a

matter of minutes or hours away from going into labour, by the way they were sitting, where they were sitting (Peter regularly pointed out that the ewes gave birth in sheltered areas or up against a wall) and the noises they made. I never quite picked up on this myself, five weeks was not long enough to fully grasp the ewe's behaviour. Whereas Peter by this point had six years of experience and was exceptionally good at this. I asked him how he had learnt so quickly one morning and he informed me that when he and Edith first moved to the farm six years ago, they asked the neighbouring farmers for help and advice. This struck me as interesting, and particularly so given that they had bought a fell farm in Deerdale that has such a vast number of Herdwick sheep. These sheep, as previously stated, are significant from a heritage perspective. Peter was placing himself at the centre of a community which has heritage significance and was happy to take on the challenges that came with this. Peter continued on, pointing out his 'model' Herdwick on the field – white face, white legs, dark body, sturdy legs, the perfect Herdwick. Yarwood and Evans (2006) argue that breeding sheep is culturally as well as economically significant, as it reflects the knowledge gained about the particular sheep breed. This was demonstrated by Peter, as he was particularly proud of this Herdwick and talked about him in great detail. It is outstanding that in six years, Peter has developed this intimate knowledge about this breed of sheep (Yarwood and Evans, 2006) and a clear passion for breeding, frequently he would comment on how he wants to keep his sheep away from the neighbouring sheep on the common as they have an issue with lice and he does not want his sheep to be infected. He was very protective of them and went to great length to keep them on their heft and away from other sheep.

Whilst Peter was talking about asking neighbours for advice and help, I considered this as *living* heritage – it is living in the sense people are acting it out, performing it, he is re-producing the sheep he has seen, and what he knows is a 'model' Herdwick. Peter is using

this knowledge he has gained through communicating with neighbouring farmers and he is using it to his advantage to have a model breed of sheep. This creation of knowledge is in itself part of the living heritage that the world heritage designation seeks to protect; it is the cultural capital (Yarwood and Evans, 2006). Knowledge creation, sharing knowledge, and understanding other famers' values has made Peter the farmer he now is, and he has very strong opinions on what a Herdwick should look like and how they should be bred. This knowledge is intangible, there is no way to quantify this knowledge about Herdwicks, or how to judge a 'perfect' 'model' Herdwick, it is something you learn over time and after a lot of trial and error with breeding. This is a tradition that goes back hundreds of years and why the farmers in the Lake District have shepherds meets and shows to judge their Herdwicks. This is an example of developing cultural capital through maintaining the specific breed characteristics (Yarwood and Evans, 2006), such as the white face, white legs, dark body, sturdy legs, woolly waistcoat, and protective outer hair. The ability to judge a Herdwick is passed down from farmer to son or daughter, through attendance at these shepherds meets and shows, cultural capital is accumulated (Yarwood and Evans, 2006). Experiencing these events leads to a deeper understanding of the Herdwick breed and it gives an opportunity for farmers to share advice and knowledge about the breed. The livestock are more than just "'blank sheets' on to which breed societies and farmers project ideas, but are themselves agents in which farming practices are passed on to new farming generations" (Yarwood and Evans, 2006, p. 1317).

This is particularly interesting in the case of Peter, being a 'new' farmer. He has not been in Deerdale for fifty-eight years like Scott, he has not had two generations of his family before him farm in Deerdale like the Drapers. Not having this familial long-term historical engagement does not seem to impede his knowledge creation and passion. He is willing to

share and learn and reproduce this as his own heritage, his own *living* heritage. Peter has settled into Deerdale, and bought into this heritage, and wishes to protect it and reproduce it in his own way with his family. This has included creating a camp site, a shop, shepherds' huts, and involving themselves in the village activities.

Peter has also developed strong relationships with the neighbours who are not farmers. Once we had finished the morning at Blackdale and were headed back to the farm, we called into a neighbouring house. This house was grand, grey, and stood tall behind its gates. I was inquisitive as to who lived here, it was not a farm, despite being surrounded by Peter's fields. It soon became apparent that this house was the home of one of the senior members of the LDNPA, Bernard, and Peter was very good friends with him. This friendship initially struck me as an odd one, and the fact that this member of the LDNPA was also friends with a lot of the farmers in Deerdale, and regularly attended the parish council meetings to hear their struggles. The reason this friendship initially struck me as odd was because over the years there has been this false binary placed on farmers and policy practitioners, arguing that they operate in different structures and that farmers have a more embodied, intimate attachment to the land, whereas policy practitioners have a more abstract and bureaucratic approach to the land (Gray, 1999; Setten, 2004). However, since beginning this fieldwork in June 2018 I have seen evidence that challenges this binary, such as farmers becoming farming officers and working for the LDNPA and being politically active, farmers attending meetings with policy practitioners, and policy practitioner's exemplifying their own personal, intimate relationships with the land. However, no relationship was as significant as this one in breaking down this dualistic way of thinking.

Peter and Bernard are very good friends and their wives also both get along. So much so that we all went around for dinner during my time in Deerdale. Immediately this divide between

‘them’ and ‘us’ was overcome, though it is important to still consider that Peter has only been farming in Deerdale for six years and does not have this familial long-term historical engagement that other farmers in the valley have. However, Peter still regularly described to me that he felt like the ‘them’ and ‘us’ dichotomy was accurate. We were in Bernard’s house, a senior member of the LDNPA, and we were discussing all kind of issues from rewilding, the partnership, governance of national parks, and agricultural tenancies. Bernard has lived here since the 1960s and has a vested interest in this valley. Bernard has his own familial heritage to protect and has a great love for Deerdale. I will explore more of these relationships and experiences in the following chapters.

4.3.2. Tragedies and Miracles: The Importance of Experience

During my fieldwork there was a particularly stark moment that is still with me now. A moment of death, a moment of realisation, a moment of extreme frustration. Peter and I had gone to Blackdale, as usual, for our morning check. Simon was not with us this day as he was busy elsewhere. Peter and I chatted away as we walked round the fields, we discussed how fifteen-year FBT are not long enough for farmers, and that the National Trust need to bring back longer ones. We discussed how rewilding plans seemed to be taking shape between Deerdale and a neighbouring valley. However, this was abruptly interrupted by the sound of a ewe struggling, the ewe was being exceptionally vocal, so Peter went over and checked on her more closely. He took his dog and I stayed up higher on the hill and watched them from above. Peter then yelled up to me and called me down to him and the ewe, Peter had been correct, and she was indeed struggling. The ewe’s lamb was coming out backwards and Peter was frantically pulling on the lamb’s legs so as to not get them stuck, eventually he managed to get the lamb out but there was a vast amount of blood loss and the lamb was also not breathing. Peter began to give the lamb CPR and then mouth to mouth, and he threw the lamb

towards the floor as if to shock it awake, to no avail. The lamb was not waking up. Peter quickly jumped up and told me to sit on the ewe and hold her down and keep an eye on her blood loss whilst he jumped on the quad bike and drove back to the farm to get the trailer. So, I was left with a dead lamb, who we placed in front of the mother's nose, and I was sat on the ewe comforting her as she had clearly gone into shock and was suffering from the blood loss. The entire event was very traumatic, for me and the ewe both, we sat for what felt like thirty minutes (I had no gauge of time as I was not wearing my watch or had my phone on me) and I spoke calmly to the ewe to try and soothe her and she continued to sniff the dead lamb in front of her. I started crying and wondering how farmers do this on such a regular basis, there is so much life but also death, and they develop such a connection to their livestock. I was upset just watching this one ewe sniff her dead lamb. I continued to stroke the ewe and speak to her until Peter arrived back with the trailer. We bundled both the ewe and dead lamb into the trailer and began the drive back across the fields to the farm.

Peter began to mutter to himself in the trailer, and I asked what was wrong. He blamed himself for the death of the lamb and he was angry at himself, the muttering quickly turned into shouting and swearing. Peter had noticed earlier when we first arrived at the fields that the ewe seemed to be struggling, but he thought she could handle it so he left her and thought he would come back later that afternoon. However, once she got more vocal and was clearly struggling, that was when Peter regretted leaving her and ran back with his dog. Peter felt personally responsible and that this was his personal failing, so he started speaking to the ewe telling her "it's okay we can perform a miracle we'll get you another lamb don't worry" and he turned to me and said "it's all tragedies and miracles at lambing time". Peter had a plan, and he was going to do it. The previous day there had been triplets born, he was going to take one of those triplets, skin this dead lamb, and dress the triplet in what Peter refers to as a

‘jumper’ and then give the triplet to the mother and hope and pray that she took to it. Thankfully, she did, and we kept an eye on her for the following few days as she stayed on the farm rather than being put straight back out into the fields.

This entire experience was quite traumatic for me as it happened on my third day staying at Rosings Farm, but it also demonstrated to me that experience is fundamental to farming and only with time will you gain that level of judgement required for such emergencies. The way in which Peter was so angry with himself and blamed himself, showed me how much he is invested in this farm, in these ewes, and in this way of life. He was so frustrated and angry that he had not been able to help and save the lamb, and he ultimately was most angry at the fact he had ignored the ewe on our first round of the field and assumed she could handle it. Only with time, experience, and a lot of practice would anybody have been able to tell, from the screeches of a pregnant ewe, whether or not she can handle her labour unassisted. Thus, this experience highlighted to me how knowledge is created through experience, and despite Peter’s six years of knowledge and the fact it still grows each year, he can still come up against frustrations as he goes through another lambing season. By the time he has experienced twenty lambing seasons he will have a much greater knowledge of the ewes, of how they act, how they vocalise pain, and when he can help. There is a significant amount of emotion wrapped up in experiences such as this, I personally ended up crying, and Peter ended up visibly angry and frustrated. These experiences shape how you act, and what you think about certain situations. I was terrified of being left alone with a shocked ewe and having to sit on her and comfort her whilst Peter got the trailer. Peter was angry and upset he had not managed to save the lamb despite the CPR and mouth to mouth. We were both drained after this morning and its activities – so much so Peter told me to spend the afternoon doing something different.

These tragedies and miracles require experience, and knowledge, of how to deal with them. To me, a newcomer on the farm who had never experienced anything like that before it was upsetting and terrifying, to Peter a relatively new farmer it was frustrating and proved that farming has a steep learning curve. To an experienced farmer of twenty or maybe thirty years this may again have had a completely different impact. This experience proved that your own feelings cannot be separated from these experiences and that knowledge builds off the back of these unspoken experiences. How you react one time will be different to another and each time you will learn new skills, new methods of dealing with it, and methods of how to control your own feelings better, whether that be anger, sadness, or annoyance. These feelings will still be there, but you might be able to react in a more level-headed and calm manner, though of course there will still always be times where you are frustrated and angry regardless of your amount of experience. These experiences demonstrate how you do not need that familial long-term historical engagement with farming to understand it and be devastated when something goes wrong. This provides a space for understanding; if 'newer' farmers can understand the struggles, trials, and tribulations of farming and be emotionally invested in it, just as much as farmers who have had families farming for generations. I would then argue that the policy practitioners who work with or alongside the farmers could also empathise more with the farmers, and understand how difficult this '*job'* can be and how it is so much more than a job; it is your life, your livelihood, out there walking on the fells. Peter is undergoing a process of not only hefting his sheep to the fells, but himself too; he is entangled in this process. He is hefting himself and his family to this valley – they are becoming one of these farming families and they are reproducing this heritage that is so revered and protected by the world heritage designation.

4.3.3. Entangled 'Heritage'- what is '*heritage*'?

I ended the previous section stating that Peter is hefting himself, and his family, to Deerdale valley. He is making this valley his own, he's making his own *heft*. John Gray has previously developed the idea of the 'genetic metaphor' (Gray, 1998; 1999) – in which he explored how farmers and their families in the Scottish Borders have an array of attributes that are 'bred' into them and make them 'good' farmers in this region. Arguing that, much like the sheep that are hefted, and their knowledge transmitted genetically, so are the farmers themselves (Gray, 1998). The farmers Gray (1998) speaks with argue they are 'bred' in a specific way which is transferred through conversations, actions, and knowledge from one generation to another. They also argue you need these genealogical links to be a 'good' farmer. Developing this idea of the genetic metaphor and exploring how these farmers create a sense of place, Gray (1999) examines their 'place-making' activities and how the farmers experience the hills and thus create meaning. Gray (1999) states that this identity and place making is a cultural process, and one in which the farmers also convey themselves with a "historicized image of themselves as people of the Scottish Borders" (Gray, 1999, p. 440). This is an interesting statement when considering how Peter has made himself at home within Deerdale valley, and how he represents himself, his Herdwicks, and how he is 'reproducing' the heritage of Deerdale farmers. Peter demonstrates how, even without the genealogical knowledge and successional tenancies, he has managed to create a home within this valley. He has successfully made friends with other farmers, and non-farmers, he has bred Herdwick sheep he is proud of, and he has involved himself in gathering and shepherds meets. Peter is reproducing the activities that the other farmers in the valley undertake on a daily basis, and have done for years, and for some of them their fathers before them, such as with Scott and

Frieda. Therefore, this section will discuss to what extent Peter is reproducing this protected heritage and how he is hefting himself to the landscape and more widely the valley.

Peter encounters heritage daily; he is entangled within the process of reproducing heritage. His actions themselves are creating heritage – for example, the continuation of active shepherding and teaching the sheep where their heft is, gathering with neighbouring farmers on the fell, and breeding Herdwick sheep. All these actions are mentioned within the world heritage designation document (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2015) and seek to be preserved to keep the agro-pastoral landscape that the Lake District currently has. The authenticity of these actions, however, is to be questioned. If Peter, a farmer of six years in Deerdale, is undertaking these same actions as Scott, a farmer of fifty-eight years in Deerdale, it could be argued that Peter's heritage is different from Scott's heritage, but ultimately it is part of the wider farming heritage that the world heritage designation seeks to protect. It is a 'living' heritage that continues to evolve and welcome new farmers into it.

Bender's (1993, p. 3) work on landscape echoes this idea of evolution within heritage, in that "people engage with it, rework it, appropriate it, and contest it". These landscapes are always changing, but the heritage significance remains through the sheep, the breeding, the active shepherding, and the shepherds meets – the intangible aspects of the heritage. In the sense that Gray's (1998) work focuses on the genealogical and successional attributes of farming in the Scottish Borders, I argue that this familial long-term historical engagement is not necessary for the continuation of this heritage in the Lake District. New farmers can reproduce, and create their own, heritage within the place they live and work. Peter's reproduction of this heritage through the daily actions of walking the fields, gathering sheep, breeding pure Herdwicks is no less 'authentic' than that of Scott and Frieda's. He is still experiencing the same level of frustration, as demonstrated with the lamb incident on my third day, and he also

still experiences the same level of passion. Peter frequently expressed to me that farming is a passion, he makes next to no money from the farm itself and referred to himself as 'mad' for continuing to do it. However, he continues to do it because he loves it and he invests in the livestock, an emotional investment as well as for breeding purposes. During a discussion down at Blackdale one morning, Peter, Simon and I were discussing how much money Peter would make for one ewe, he told us £30. Simon could not believe how much physical labour and emotional investment went into one ewe that may or may not fetch £30 at market. This demonstrates how Peter, even though he is a new farmer, has established this identity as a passionate farmer who is 'mad' for doing something for next to no money; Peter and Edith's main income is from the campsite and shop. There is a feeling, among the farmers in Deerdale I spoke to, that it is certainly more about passion than money, Frieda reiterated this to me as she said "it's quite special to be involved in it you have to have a passion for it and enjoy it". Peter is reproducing this farming heritage through his identity as a passionate farmer, much like the farmers who have been engaged in the farming for years or even multiple generations. Passion is a key attribute of the farming heritage in the Lake District – having a real passion for the sheep breeds, knowing your land, working together, and bringing together communities over shepherds meets and shows. Similar to how Gray (1998) identifies genealogical attributes to be important for farmers in the Scottish Borders, I would argue that the passion is the attribute which makes a farmer in the Lake District distinct. This is not to say that farmers in other areas are not passionate, but the passion among this community struck me as significant, and was mentioned again and again.

Peter therefore manages to reproduce this heritage through his passion, and his growing knowledge. The experiences he has, such as during lambing time, only increase his tacit knowledge and understanding of hill farming in the Lake District. As Gray (1999, p. 440)

argued that the Scottish Border farmers were creating a "historicized image of themselves" I would argue that Peter is also doing this; he is creating an identity for himself as a hill farmer and doing so through developing his knowledge. He is gaining tacit knowledge from his experiences on the farm, being out on the fells, and from communication with other farmers in the valley. This is a cultural process based on social relationships and experiences - Peter is creating for himself an authentic living farming heritage through experience. This the Kilcullens' own *living* heritage. It is what they do day in, day out, and it is creating their *heft*.

4.3.3.1. Mobilising Heritage

As I have explored so far, the farming heritage in the Lake District is largely made up of intangible elements. There are of course tangible elements as well such as drystone walls, farmsteads, and shepherds' guides. Peter often spoke about the world heritage designation on our daily walks, and one day he invited me to the parish council meeting in the evening as he thought I might find it interesting to see what they discuss and the extent to which world heritage is mentioned. After a day out in the fields, evening came and I attended the parish council meeting, I recognised a lot of faces at this point, and sat near Bernard and his wife. The meeting started without issue, however, by the time we got half down the agenda, the issue of the small infrastructure development at the valley head came up. This, I knew, had caused debate in the valley for quite some time, and most of the people living in the valley seemed in favour of it. This is due to the fact that this development would stop tourists trampling all over the farmers' fields to find somewhere to have a rest break and would also stop them using the local pubs for similar needs too. Therefore, the farmers and local business owners are in favour of this development. It has been ongoing for a while and been stopped and started numerous times due to planning permission issues and objections from various charitable groups. Peter was leading the parish council meeting and he came up with an idea

of how the community within Deerdale could work together to ensure that this development goes ahead; mobilise the world heritage status.

Peter's argument was as follows; with the Lake District having this new world heritage designation and Deerdale in particular being one of the archetypal valleys that demonstrates the intangible and tangible heritage they would probably have an increase in tourists visiting the valley. This is good for business, for local pubs, campsites, and shops, however, it is not good if the tourists wish to visit the valley head and go mountain climbing. There are no facilities, major shops, or cafes in the valley head. Historically this has caused people to use farmers' fields and the local pub for *all* their needs. Peter proposed that they, as a community in Deerdale, write a letter to the head of the LDNPA and explain how with this new world heritage designation the number of tourists was likely to increase, and that there would be undue pressures on the valley, that ultimately would detrimentally affect the landscape and the attributes of the world heritage designation. For example, on the narrow roads down to the valley head, cars frequently crash into the drystone walls (this happened during Easter weekend when Peter and I were out in the fields) and litter is left all over the valley after a busy weekend and this can affect the wildlife as well as the aesthetic of the valley. Peter proposed he would write this letter with all the examples of issues they have recently had, and he would use the world heritage designation as a lever to pull the LDNPA's interest in. The land is largely, as I mentioned earlier, owned by the National Trust, but Peter felt they had not done anything sufficient to combat these problems, so he felt it was time to go to the LDNPA, as they deal with planning applications.

I found this parish council meeting intriguing and the fact they were planning to use the world heritage designation to get what they wanted out of the LDNPA exceptionally interesting. They are, as a group, mobilising heritage to be used in a political game with the National

Trust and the LDNPA, similar to how Campbell, Smith and Wetherell (2017) argue that nostalgia can be mobilised for political reasons. However, this community is not using nostalgia as the driving force for their decision, they are using their mutual understanding of heritage and the world heritage designation. By understanding that their valley is special, in the sense that it demonstrates the OUV significantly, they intend to use this to their advantage to gain political will for this small infrastructure development. Thus, demonstrating that shared understandings of heritage as well as nostalgia can be used for political means and for a community to get their argument across.

They are going to the LDNPA rather than the National Trust, as they know they have statutory power regarding planning, and that ultimately, they market the Lake District based on the world heritage designation. Bypassing the National Trust with this letter is a political move, to get the LDNPA to sit up and listen and cause division in the LDNPP between the National Trust and LDNPA. The power dynamics involved in this scenario show how powerful this heritage discourse can be – and how acting cohesively as a community you can pull on your own heritage to make these arguments heard. The farming community in particular is at the core of this world heritage designation, so the fact that the farmers are pulling together and mobilising their heritage in such a way that they can hopefully influence a management decision is of significance. I have previously stated that Scott believed the world heritage designation to be a "salvation" for farmers in the Lake District and this example demonstrates one of the ways in which they can utilise this world heritage designation and use it for their own good, and the good of the valley. By developing a collective understanding of heritage, they are in a good position to address the issues with this development and make their case for why they want it. They are as a group, using their collective experience of living and working in the valley and seeing how tourists treat it –

they have first-hand experience of litter being left on the farms, wild camping on their fields, and gates being left wide open so the sheep escape.

In the following section I will explore how these other stakeholders, from within the LDNPP, experience landscapes and how they also create knowledge from these experiences. This will then be examined alongside the farmers' experiences to consider where their experiences converge and diverge. I will then explore what can be done to provide a way of understanding and moving forward, so that these groups can work together for the improvement of the management of the LDNP and World Heritage Site.

4.4. Experiential Understanding of Multiple Stakeholders

This section will explore multiple stakeholders' experiences of landscape and how this informs their personal, as well as professional, life. I will use individual case studies from various partner organisations of the LDNPP who I interviewed. The partner organisations I will draw these individual examples from are: the National Trust, LDNPA, United Utilities, and Natural England. I will examine their different types of engagement with the landscape and discuss how this affects their ideas, values, and knowledge creation, similarly to the farmers I discussed earlier. The individuals within these partner organisations have differing levels of engagement and different types of engagement with the landscape, although ultimately, they all share a passion for their jobs and for the protection of the landscape, but not necessarily the same landscape. The landscape is conceptualised differently between partner organisations as well as between policy practitioners and farmers. First, I will explore these experiences of the landscape within the realms of *work* and *leisure* to see how one informs the other with regards to the management of the LDNP and World Heritage Site. I will then examine how far these stakeholders are 'knowing-by-being' and how this could be used to inform their engagement with each other and farmers.

4.4.1. Work and Leisure

> "People are happy to go above and beyond for the sake of their job, I mean as a planner you sometimes didn't get a chance to do your work, you know get out to a site in the week then you'd go out at the weekend and rope it into a walk, I wouldn't have thought of doing that when I was working elsewhere. Just so you can have a look from another perspective or go up higher which you probably didn't have time to do when you're working and then go out and do the same thing for enjoyment, but you rope that in as well" (CB interview, 15-01-19)

The above extract comes from Cecilia Boyd, an employee of the LDNPA. She has been a planner for twenty-eight years in various locations, the latest of which is the Lake District. She has been at the LDNPA for fifteen years. Cecelia explains how her fellow employees are happy to go "above and beyond" for their jobs at the park authority and that working here has proven to be a challenge but one that she enjoys very much. Cecelia combines both work and leisure occasionally, as she explains above, by going out for walks at the weekend that also include some of her sites that she is currently working on. This is a significant experience for Cecelia to mention. The fact that she combines her leisure time with elements of work is in opposition to discussions that planners only work within bureaucratic structures and are often detached from the landscape in which they work (Setten, 2004). Cecelia is demonstrating that she experiences the landscape in a personal way, which gives her enjoyment, but also to gain a different perspective for her job. She goes on to explain that:

> "Yeah, so you choose a walk and perhaps you're looking at a farmstead and perhaps during the day in the working week you've been out to see the farm and the immediate landscape and you're thinking it would be a good idea if I could see it from the high fell just to appreciate the other public and visitor view!" (CB interview, 15-01-19)

This demonstrates that Cecelia is considering a more holistic approach to the management of the LDNP and World Heritage Site. She is considering other peoples' experiences and views

– and wishes to experience them herself, so does so at the weekends out of work time. She puts herself in the shoes of a visitor instead of just that of a planner, it is also worth noting that she does not only put herself in their shoes but also sees through their eyes. As Cecelia says she likes to appreciate the public and visitor view, so she is still to an extent seeing the landscape from an aesthetic point of view, she is considering how it looks for different sets of people. She is ultimately engaging with the landscape in different ways to understand it better – both through walking the fells and appreciating the fells visually. She does not only want to see the farm from her point of view, as a planner, she wants to build her knowledge and experience it from the perspective of the farmer, the local residents, and the visitors. Cecelia shows how work and leisure can be integrated and how this can inform her decision-making at work. She enjoys walking up the fells in her leisure time, and this can also give her an insight into how other people would also feel when walking the fells. This approach is useful when considering the management of such a large site, as there are so many stakeholders to consider with different perspectives. Going out and experiencing the landscape for yourself helps to understand the issues people face when out walking, to experience the same views as them, and to see how the landscape fits together as a mosaic of farmsteads, houses, lakes, trees, and rivers. These embodied experiences and visual appreciations are vital for understanding the landscape and Cecelia in particular shows how she is not viewing the landscape solely as an abstract concept that she needs to represent in her work, she is going out and physically and experientially engaging with it and using these experiences to inform her work.

Similar to Cecelia, Matthew, who has worked for the National Trust for the past twenty years, also has his own varied engagements with the landscape. These range from small engagements when out with his family, to gaining a deeper academic understanding of the

sites he has worked on. Matthew has been based in the LDNP for twenty years and has worked on a variety of valleys, projects, sites, and as a result has a good knowledge of the history of the LDNP. Matthew started his work based in the eastern valleys of the LDNP recording and documenting the cultural landscape:

> "It was just this kind of enigmatic ruin which was a bit sorry for itself but appeared to tell this amazing story about looking through different coloured glasses and the picturesque but it was all completely undeveloped intellectually, the Trust had done nothing with these places so even with my first attempt to scratch the surface and find out a little bit about their history seemed so exciting" (MD interview 18-01-19)

Matthew has developed a deep affection for this valley where he first started working. He spoke multiple times about how he had never realised how much the Lake District draws you in and becomes so special to you. He expressed that he takes great enjoyment in learning more about it and developing his knowledge and understanding the history behind movements such as the picturesque and the Romantic. He finds the mystery a draw, and always wants to learn more, he is very emotionally invested in projects that he is currently undertaking. He speaks about the Lake District as if it were his home for his entire life, despite the fact he grew up on the outskirts of a different national park. This engagement is emotional and intellectual, but less embodied, he finds working here exciting and wishes to improve the landscape as much as possible whilst also still retaining these elements of the cultural landscape that he spent five to six years documenting. This engagement with the landscape is both emotionally and intellectually fuelled and comes from Matthew's desire to keep learning about the place he enjoys spending so much of his time. For example, Matthew experiences the landscape in a more embodied way with his family, he told me at length about how he frequently takes his family to different lakes and enjoys playing there with his children, and taking them on a boat. He does gain personal enjoyment from this landscape, however, it is

separated to a degree from his work engagement with the landscape. I argue that in the case of Cecelia and Matthew, their engagement with the landscape can be seen as an engagement for work rather than a working engagement. They are entangled within the landscape, both personally and professionally; however, they do not have the same type of *working engagement* that Peter has demonstrated on the farm. Matthew's knowledge of the cultural landscape is demonstrated in a current project he is working on in a contentious valley – it is contentious due to the amount of heritage that is at stake from flooding, he goes on to explain:

> "We've done the hydrological study, all flood mapping and the risk mapping and there is something there, there's definitely something there where we could reduce the risk from flooding, we could manage the water more effectively and we can reduce the risk to the farmstead which I feel might deliver some sustenance really because it's in no one's interest for that farm to be washed away" (MD interview 04-07-18)

This conversation with Matthew revolved around the importance of the farming heritage in this particular valley. The farm he is referring to is a National Trust owned farm that has a 17th century Grade II listed farmhouse that is significant in terms of the world heritage designation – it is part of the tangible aspects of the heritage that need protecting. It is also one of the last farms on the successional tenancies I previously mentioned. It has the intangible qualities to protect as much as the tangible. The skills and knowledge that have been passed down between generations of this family need to also be protected. However, the farm happens to be in a valley that is exceptionally prone to flooding. This has caused numerous issues for the farm over the years and now the National Trust are looking for ways to alleviate this problem and Matthew is one of the employees in charge of this. Matthew is a good fit for this project as he has a wider understanding of the history of the Lake District, why these farms are so important, and he is willing to engage with the farmers themselves to see what the best course of action would be. He has also arranged a group site visit for

numerous partners from the LDNPP to see the area and do as Cecelia does, and walk through it and experience it for themselves. Matthew and Cecelia frequently work together, and this project is one of the ones they are undertaking together. The combination of their understanding of the history, the experiences that different groups have of the landscape, and their own personal investment in the place, having worked there for a long period of time puts them in a strong starting point for this project.

4.4.2. Knowing-by-being or knowing-by-seeing?

Matthew and Cecelia both spoke at length about how they find the Lake District intellectually stimulating and that it was a challenging place to work, but that they enjoy it and Cecelia specifically ties work into her walks at weekends. This has shown how they are both starting to work together and encourage more colleagues to have similar experiences by organising site visits. Further to this intellectual element of their experiences, Paul Hastings from Natural England explained to me how he would always:

> "Rather be in the mountains all the time you know? So whether its work or leisure I like being in the mountains, I like cycling up-hill the best" (PH interview 16-01-19).
>
> "It's the mountains, so, urm, I get a tingle up my spine even just thinking about it, I have an emotional reaction to that landscape, I just go into it thinking 'wow', doesn't it look fantastic? I can't wait to get to the top. So there's an emotional and aesthetic pull to it I really enjoy" (PH interview 16-01-19)

Paul became very animated and enthusiastic about the mountains when he was talking to me, he clearly was very passionate about this element of the landscape. He frequently cycled to work, at the weekends went out cycling, and had thrown a birthday party at a youth hostel and then went climbing. Paul was a great lover of the outdoors and found himself very much emotionally involved in it. This passion also came across when speaking about his work, and he is very well versed in the world heritage nomination document and that the conservation

movement's history should not be forgotten as the farming heritage often takes most of the spotlight in these discussions. Paul used to work with farmers, as he used to be an advisor, however he is now in a more senior position and gets to go out less which he finds frustrating. Paul demonstrates how this passion from his personal life can be transferred to passion for his job. He sees the two as quite inseparable as when he is out cycling or climbing, he is often exploring the flora and fauna around him:

> "There's also an intellectual challenge that I really like as well, so whether I'm cycling, or driving, or on the train, or walking, I'm always thinking whys that there? What's that doing? What's that bird? I wonder whose sheep they are...all those things that are connected with work enhances my enjoyment of the landscape because there is always something to wonder about, to look at" (PH interview 16-01-19)

Paul's statement that elements of the landscape that are connected with work enhance his enjoyment is a significant one. It demonstrates how his professional life and personal leisure time are entangled. He likes to be intellectually challenged and to always be thinking about the landscape and what goes on within it. This shows how, similarly to Peter and Scott, Paul is passionate about what he does, and he enjoys being physically out within the landscape and experiencing it himself. Both the farmers and policy practitioners create and build on their knowledge to some extent from being out experiencing the landscape for themselves. However, it is not as simple as they are all knowing-by-being (Shotter, 1993; Setten, 2004), there are still considerable differences in the way knowledge is constructed, for example Paul and Matthew in particular have very significant intellectual engagements with the landscape which I argue is more detached than the day-to-day engagement that Peter has on his farm. This intellectual engagement is acknowledged by them, concepts are discussed, and the landscape is framed in particular ways, for example through rewilding, the amount of change that is acceptable, and ultimately as a cultural landscape. Peter did not consider the landscape

in these ways conceptually, he acknowledged that rewilding was happening but saw it more as a nuisance and something that was detrimental to the commons and hefts. How things are framed and spoken about is important to acknowledge, and there is a difference between the intellectual passion that the policy practitioners demonstrated and the embodied passion that the farmers demonstrated.

In previous chapters I explored the literature regarding farmers' knowledge creation and their relationship with the landscape (Gray, 1999; Setten, 2004, 2005). In particular, Gray (1999, p. 441) argued that farmers have a "special, sensual and intimate" relationship with the land on which they work. I would argue that the policy practitioners also have a similar yet different relationship with the landscape in which they work. Paul is a significant example of this, stating that he gets a "tingle up his spine" and that there is "always something to wonder about". He is showing here that he has a more-than-representational relationship with the landscape, he is emotionally as well intellectually and aesthetically involved. Similarly, both Cecelia and Matthew are also intellectually and emotionally involved. These three policy practitioners demonstrate to a significant extent how they have a special relationship with the landscape, personally and within their work. As I mentioned earlier, it is the passion of the farmers that makes them distinct, I also believe the passion of the policy practitioners makes them distinct too, and Cecelia articulated this to me:

> "There is definitely a different type of person who works in the national park and I imagine the same with the world heritage as well, it's a passion not just a job" (CB interview, 15-01-19)

Here, Cecelia is referring to people who work within the national park and world heritage site, individuals within the LDNPP. She explained to me multiple times how her job is not just a job, it is a passion, and that seems to be the general feeling in the partnership. Everybody is

exceptionally invested in this place. Cecelia stated that “they have a real passion for the area, for the Lake District”. I asked her why this seemed to be the case, she but could not answer properly. She continued that everyone just loves what they do and wants the national park and world heritage site to be at its best. Her comment that people have a real passion for the place and that it is not just a job made me consider the similarities between the policy practitioners and the farmers, and later that same day I spoke to Keith Nicholls from United Utilities and he managed to further this comparison for me:

> “It’s fairly simple really in that I grew up in the South Lakes in a family, that, we got outdoors quite a lot, my dad was into climbing mountains, so it sort of follows that. That’s why you do and at least certainly myself and my younger brother have carried on going into the hills a bit, for different reasons entirely, I mean neither of my siblings are ecologically minded in any way particularly but for me it was just initially going out and playing in the hills and there is an element of that still now it’s just kinda viewed through different eyes” (KN interview 15-01-19)

Here Keith explains to me how he has familial links in the Lake District and how he has a keen interest in going out in the hills. He compares his job now with playing in the hills as a child, and that he has kept that element of it but through a different perspective. Again, this perspective relates specifically to the aesthetic viewing of the landscape, rather than being in the landscape. Similar to Cecelia and Paul, Keith views the landscape through different sets of eyes. This perspective he now has is one of frustration:

> “The frustrations we have here or the frustrations you have here about the lack of biodiversity or the biodegrading landscape works in two ways, it’s partly the need to make it better, like this is what I consider to be my home patch, I grew up in the South Lakes, I want to leave it, see it better, for my kids who are growing up in the South Lakes” (KN interview 15-01-19)

Keith's perspective is now not so much playing in the hills, as looking after them. He wishes to improve the landscape for his children and protect his "home patch". This is similar to Emery's (2010) research on farmers' approaches towards improving the land and thus honouring past and future generations of farmers. Keith was one of the most enthusiastic people I met concerning improving biodiversity in the fells, he is deeply passionate about leaving the biodiversity in a better state than it currently is. He also described himself and his colleagues as being on a "sliding scale of passion" stating that everyone is passionate, the level just depends on what you are specifically passionate about. This again is significant – the passion is something that constantly came through as an attribute of people who live and work within the Lake District and is something that I saw every time I interviewed somebody. People would get animated and wave their arms around, draw me maps on a scrap piece of paper, reel off an in-depth knowledge about one tiny part of the world heritage nomination document – these people are passionate and emotionally invested in their work (Bennett, 2006; Bennett *et al*, 2015).

There was however, as I earlier stated, a difference between the types of passion I was witnessing, the intellectual passion and the embodied passion. Usually they were passionate because they lived there, as well as worked there, and had worked there for a considerable length of time. They have built up an attachment to this place over time and through their experiences of this landscape. There are a lot of vested interests in the Lake District. Russell Downing from the LDNPA, for example, explained to me that he used to work in the North York Moors, but he has now been in the Lake District for fifteen years and that:

> "There's just *a lot more*, everyone's got a view on it you know? Compared to the North York Moors which was a relative backwater, relative, sort of quiet" (RD interview 14-11-18)

This once again demonstrated to me that, simply put, the Lake District is viewed in multiple ways and there are multiple groups of people with vested interests. Keith and Russell also both highlighted the fact that everyone seems to have an opinion on the Lake District, what it should look like, what it should represent and how it should do it. This comes through via that "sliding scale" of passion Keith mentioned. The passion people have can be likened staking a claim in the Lake District – they believe it is theirs to protect. Which ultimately can cause tensions and friction when making a management decision. This will be explored in subsequent chapters.

So far, these individuals have shown how their passion, longevity, and personal experiences have affected their attitude and values in their work. They have gained and improved upon their knowledge by experiencing the landscape over time. This engagement though, I argue, has some differences with that of the farmers discussed earlier. The policy practitioners discussed in this section both know-by-being and know-by-seeing. They have their own personal embodied relationships with the landscape, particularly in their own personal leisure time and also their slightly more abstract aesthetic understanding of how the landscape should look and be seen. Whereas the farmers' everyday experiences of the landscape leave them with a more tacit understanding of knowing-by-being. The two relationships, both those of the farmers and policy practitioners, are similar *yet* different. There is still a tendency for the policy practitioners to intellectualise their passion, and frame their interests within broader geographical concepts, a large proportion of them had undertaken undergraduate degrees in geography or ecology. This is not the case for the farmers I interviewed, they discuss passion in a more *everyday*, experiential manner; what they do, how they do it, and why things happen as they do.

My discussion of how the policy practitioners interact with the landscape is similar to that of Bell's (2010, 2013) work exploring the personal and professional relationship heritage officials have with Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site. Bell (2010, 2013) argues that the personal and the professional are inseparable and that the personal always influences the professional. I argue that is similar to the relationship in the Lake District between the policy practitioners and the landscape, in particular Paul Hastings demonstrates this with his enjoyment of cycling and identifying local flora and fauna. His excitement and passion for both activities are reflected in his work, he is always considering the biodiversity as this is his job and personal interest. This is a complex relationship which is hard to unpick, elements of the landscape that are connected with his work enhance his enjoyment of the landscape, and equally he enjoys the thrill of cycling through and seeing the mountains. He is influenced both intellectually and physically by the landscape and engages with it as such, personally and professionally. He also has a background in ecology and intellectually passionate about this. Having this personal enjoyment and engagement will influence professional decisions such as Bell's (2010, 2013) work demonstrated with heritage officials. The relationships individuals have with landscape and heritage are complex, and are influenced by numerous factors that can be intellectual, emotional, physical, aesthetic, and personal. Each individual has a very unique experience and understanding of the landscape and heritage. Setten's (2004) argument that planners, administrators, and bureaucrats tend to have an objectified and technical approach to landscape, whereas farmers are often more embodied and practised approach, is too generalised. There is an array of complexities that influence individuals' approaches to landscape and heritage, which I have explored in this chapter so far, and it is not as distinct as abstract versus embodied. Both policy practitioners and farmers can both conceptualise the landscape and heritage in different yet similar ways (cf. Emery and Carrithers, 2016). I will

now look specifically at engagement, focusing on Cohen's (2009) argument that humans should be actively engaging with the land, and that this engagement can form environmental knowledge that is practice based.

4.4.3. Engagement – The Georgic Ethic

As discussed in Chapter Two, Cohen (2009) argues that knowledge making practices should be viewed through a georgic lens; we need to learn how "knowledge is born of working and living on the land" (Cohen, 2009, p. 157). The georgic ethic puts the emphasis on the farmers themselves and their work. The georgic ethic highlights the importance of this space, this relationship between the farmer and the land – the *active* engagement. I will use this emphasis on active engagement to provide a basis for understanding these differing, yet similar, relationships that farmers and policy practitioners have with the landscape. There is a distinction to be made between the active engagement and the intellectual engagement. I argue that the farmers tend towards a working engagement, whereas the policy practitioners are engaging for work. I will look at how these different, yet similar, approaches can influence knowledge making and the management of the national park and world heritage site.

Cohen (2009, p.162) asks "*whose* practice, in *what* forms, from *which* value basis, and towards *what ends* matter". These questions are significant for my research and for the examples I have just discussed. It is important to consider whose practices matters, for example, Peter's practices, Scott's practices, Matthew's practices and so forth. From where their values arise is also a crucial question, for example, whether they grew up in the Lake District, are investing for their children, or seeking intellectual stimulation. 'Towards what ends' is a significant consideration when thinking about management plans for the LDNP and World Heritage Site. The end goal is a contentious subject, as demonstrated from my

examples, Keith wants more biodiversity, Peter wants more land, Matthew wants flood alleviation, and so on. All of these practices, values, and desires stem from their experiences, from their engagement with the land in various forms which can be conceptualised as intellectual, emotional, physical, aesthetic, and personal. These engagements all provide different ways in which knowledge is created, whether that is in an embodied or abstract way, and the way in which these knowledges is produced is important. It is important because it will influence an individual's management style and what they deem to be significant within the management of the national park and world heritage site. Cycling to see the mountains, walking up the fell to appreciate the view, working on the land every day to breed the best sheep you can, encouraging your children to appreciate biodiversity – these are all factors that will influence the way in which they *see* and *be* in the landscape. The individuals I interviewed have all created knowledge from their interaction with the land which has informed their values and has driven them to seek their own personal end goal (increased biodiversity or the best bred sheep, for example) as well as overall professional goals such as getting more farmers to participate in environmental schemes so that the biodiversity can increase. There is, of course, the overarching end goal, which is the management plan currently being put in place for 2025-2030 and the partnership vision for 2030. However, to achieve these overarching end goals, little goals need to be achieved within each partner organisation and in tandem with the farmers. These smaller goals come down to groups, and individuals working effectively together. I have identified a way in which they are similar, through their passion for the Lake District, this passion needs to be harnessed in a way that will be productive through ways in which both *working engagement* and *engaging for work* can be appreciated, and one type of knowledge is not favoured over another.

Cohen's (2009, p. 162) argument for the georgic ethic to act as a discursive tool for capturing "the value of lived cultural experience" and how this might then be fed into the policy arena is important here. If the partner organisations can understand how the ways in which they live and work within the landscape have some similarities with how the farmers live and work within the same landscape this could provide space for dialogue within the policy arena. This goes both ways too; the farmers also need to understand how the policy practitioners live and work within the same landscape. If both groups can appreciate and value the other's lived cultural experiences, they can look for similarities rather than differences. I have identified similarities in relation to passion, temporality, and improvement. For example, both Peter and Paul enjoy being outside, they are both learning over time, and are both keen to improve the aspects of the landscape they are interested in. These aspects may be different, but ultimately their experiences are similar, of learning whilst walking or cycling, taking in their surroundings, and having a passion to drive them to do it. If they were to work together, they could learn from one another about these different aspects and discuss a way in which to incorporate both into a management plan. This would be learning from their practices, learning each other's values, and learning towards what end, personal and professional, they desire. Thus, producing knowledge that is practice based and experiential. The knowledge may be produced differently – the policy practitioners embodied experience tends to be individual, a walk, or a cycle, not with other policy practitioners. Whereas, farmers' embodied understanding of the landscape is often, though not in every circumstance, collective. For example, gathering, shepherds meets, shows, sharing machinery, sharing supplies, and working together to save an injured animal. If these two groups could understand the values that each hold – for example the value of help and neighbourliness with farmers, and the value

of hard work (Emery, 2010), this may inform the way in which policy practitioners think and help them to work more collectively and share ideas.

This is highlighting the need for landscape management to be embodied and informed by humans' relationships with the landscape. Opening up the space between the land and humans – understanding humans' physical, emotional, intellectual, and aesthetic perspective of what the landscape is and what should be done to manage it effectively, such as Bell (2013) argues, that through compromise and consideration of each other's values stakeholders are better placed to make management decisions. The space between the land and humans can open up a dialogue between policy practitioners and farmers as they can see the similarities they have and the differences and how to overcome these based on their differing sets of knowledge. In subsequent chapters I will explore these similarities and differences further and in more detail with regard to rewilding and landscape change.

4.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter has looked at a brief history of the National Trust within Deerdale and their role as one of the main stakeholders in this valley. I have explored the embodied experiences of two groups – farmers and policy practitioners (cf. Setten, 2004). Focusing on the farmers' 'everyday' experiences and the policy practitioners' experiences of work and for leisure. From these embodied experiences I have discussed how they inform knowledge creation (Cohen, 2009) and ultimately the values that the individuals within these groups hold (Bell, 2010, 2013). I have discussed whether these experiences are engaged and active and how this could potentially lead to areas of common ground for the two groups to work together on for the management of the landscape. It is also important to note the difference between engaging for work, such as the policy practitioners, and a working engagement such as the farmers. This contributes to theoretical engagements regarding landscape experience (Setten, 2004;

Cohen, 2009; Emery and Carrithers, 2016) and I have considered how this knowledge creation is heritage in itself. Specifically looking at how Peter reproduces heritage and how he is creating his own *living heritage.* I have also demonstrated how this knowledge and these values can then be used by the individuals to demonstrate their heritage, mobilise their heritage for political action, and to hopefully work together for the management of the LDNP and World Heritage Site.

The next chapter will explore the functionality of the LDNPP and the ontological tensions that arise between stakeholders regarding what is heritage, and what should be protected. This chapter explores various individuals' interpretations and representations of heritage and landscape and how they think the partnership could reconcile all these differing understandings.

Chapter 5 – Partnership Politics

5.1. Introduction

> "The partnership is a *strange beast*, it's quite a feat to get all these people together, it was very difficult when it started" (BM interview, 03-05-19)

In this chapter I will be examining the LDNPP, the governing body for the national park and world heritage site. I will focus, in particular, on the social and power dynamics within the partnership and the functionality of the partnership as a whole, building on work previously undertaken concerning partnerships (Jones and Little, 2000; Boyd and Timothy, 2001; Derkzen, Franklin, and Bock, 2008; Derkzen and Bock, 2009; Bell, 2010, 2013). I will examine where the power lies within the partnership, based upon my observations from attending partnership meetings and interviewing twenty-five individuals (see Appendix I) from the partner organisations. Further to this, I will explore how these different individuals within the partnership interpret and represent heritage and landscape and the implications this has for management. These interpretations and representations of heritage and landscape have divided the partnership into two main areas of interest: *nature* and *culture*. This is having detrimental impacts on both policy decisions and knowledge making, which will be fully explored within this chapter.

Moreover, continuing on from the previous chapter in which I explored some of the lived experiences of these policy practitioners within the landscape, I will now examine how these experiences can influence decision-making in relation to this nature-culture dualism that has re-emerged within the partnership. I will consider how more-than-representational theory (Waterton, 2014, 2019) can help understand both these experiences and representations and how developing a more anthropological approach (Winter, 2004; Harvey, 2015) to understanding the LDNPP can be beneficial for the management of the national park and

world heritage site. Understanding individuals' historical, social, and political relationship with the landscape and heritage is vital for understanding how to improve communication between stakeholders. Finally, this chapter will explore how the partners communicate these beliefs and values with one another. I will then explore ways of moving forward and how the partnership can be more effective and held to account when decision-making goes wrong, as well as examining the current governance structures in place and seeing where these can be improved and how.

5.2. Situating the Partnership: The Nature-Culture Dualism

Firstly, I will begin by situating this chapter within the nature-culture debate and briefly examine how the LDNPP has become such a divisive space. I will then present a detailed overview of the LDNPP, identifying the organisations who are members and the organisations who observe the partnership meetings. I will detail how the partnership was first formed and the reasoning behind this as a choice of governance structure. As the introductory quote from Bernard Moyes, a senior member of the LDNPA states, it was "*quite a feat*" to get these organisations to agree to work together, and now these difficulties are arising again due to the world heritage designation. I will contextualise the management difficulties the partnership is currently facing by being both a national park and a world heritage site simultaneously. These concurrent designations have caused the partnership to be a divisive space; a dualistic way of thinking has re-emerged and strengthened since the world heritage designation was granted. The partnership has been split into two camps: one for nature and one for culture. This has implications for current and future management decisions which will be explored in the following sections.

I discussed in section 2.4.3. that debates over whether landscapes are culturally natural or naturally cultural (Philips, 1998; Olwig, 2005; Lowenthal, 2005; Denyer, 2013; Larwood,

France, and Mahon, 2017) were prominent within the literature, and they are also prominent within the partnership. I frequently got told by participants that there was a 'divide' or a 'split' between those for nature and those for culture. There are ongoing debates within the partnership as to whether rewilding and nature-oriented farming schemes will affect the significance of the cultural landscape and fundamentally alter the physical landscape. This debate struck me as significantly incompatible with the management of a landscape that had been inscribed as a *cultural landscape* which demonstrates the work of humans and nature in tandem with each other. I began to question why there was this split and that surely for the management of such a vast landscape to be successful both nature and culture would have to be thought of holistically. Furthermore, within the OUV, the conservation movement is specifically mentioned, as is the National Trust; they are mentioned as having been derived from the "interaction between people and landscape" (See Table 2). Therefore, from this point of view, both people and nature should be interacting and not in opposition to one another. It is also important to note that the conservation movement and the creation of charities such as the National Trust play an important role in the heritage of the Lake District, as well as the farming community. Frequently these two are compatible, with nature-friendly farming and also the National Trust preserving heritage sites such as Wray Castle and Hill Top Farm. So, the division within the partnership appears to be a peculiar one, and I will explore some reasons why it exists. I will look at individuals' interpretations and representations of heritage and landscape to seek to understand if personal understandings are causing conflict with professional ones.

Castree (2001) argues that there is a long-standing distinction that nature is external and different from society – and this understanding of nature seemed to be one that reared its head in conversations with members of the partnership. Nature always appeared to stand alone, not

in conjunction with the farming heritage, and to be seen as a threat to the farming heritage and culture; this is not always the case, as Prior and Ward (2016) exemplify, but in the case of the LNDP and World Heritage Site there is a feeling that rewilding projects are exclusionary and this will be explored later in the chapter. In addition to this, with the recent conservation trend towards rewilding and 'back to nature' approaches there seemed to be an understanding that the partnership should be pushing for more of these approaches. As identified in section 2.4.3. through the work of Wynne-Jones, Strouts and Holmes (2018), rewilding schemes can often jeopardise farmers' livelihoods and cultural heritage. Therefore, it seemed imperative that I addressed the dualistic way of thinking that the partnership has, particularly in regard to the world heritage designation as a cultural landscape. In this chapter I will address these changing conservation goals, and the alternating between a nature focus and a culture focus within the partnership

5.3. Partnership Overview

As mentioned in previous chapters, the LDNPP is currently made up of twenty-five diverse organisations (see Table 1); composed of public, private, third sector, and community initiatives. The LDNPP was formed in 2006, by Tim Willis at the LDNPA, and this is when the partnership came up with their 'vision' for 2030. This was an ambitious vision, spanning twenty-four years – a lot has changed in this time, most significantly becoming a world heritage site.

The LDNPP also has two organisations that currently only observe: the Woodland Trust and the Freshwater Biological Association. It is also important to note that the Federation of Cumbrian Commoners (FCC) has previously been invited to observe and attended a few times but have struggled to attend since. Likewise, the Herdwick Sheep Breeders Association (HSBA) do not attend, despite sending a representative to the Technical Advisory Group

(TAG), which I will explain shortly. These are important organisations to bear in mind when considering the relationship between the LDNPP and farmers, and this will be explored in more depth in subsequent sections. As can be seen from this list, the partnership is a vast entity made up of extremely diverse organisations who have very different individual aims and objectives. However, for the sake of the national park and world heritage site they must all govern together. The reason for the creation of the LDNPP was due to the feeling that "many organisations with a role in the Lake District National Park did not have a real sense of involvement in its management" (Lake District National Park Authority, 2019). Throughout this chapter I will consider this reasoning for the creation of the partnership and examine whether the organisations I spoke to felt like they had any significant involvement in the management or not.

I was involved with ten of the organisations listed in Table 1, numbers one to ten, and then during my thirteen months of ethnographic research I also attended both public and training events, interviewed individuals, attended both partnership and sub-group meetings, during which time I was able to interact with and observe the other fifteen partners I was not directly involved with. The sub-groups I attended were the TAG and the World Heritage Steering Group (WHSG). I will give a brief overview of what each group does:

> **TAG** – This is a committee made up of specialists, a forum for advice on world heritage technical issues, and they make recommendations on issues and ideas that are related to the Lake District's outstanding universal value and inscription. It is part of the wider network of the partnership, and reports to the WHSG.
>
> **WHSG** – This committee acts on behalf of the LDNPP on anything related to the world heritage designation. It provides advice to the LDNPP (informed by TAG) about world heritage issues and on any work the partnership is undertaking to assess if it fits within the remit of world heritage. For example, one of the activities for the

> WHSG is it "ensures that the WHS Programme remains aligned with the strategic objectives of the Lake District National Park and WHS Partnership Plan." (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2020c)

As can be seen here, both of these committees play a crucial role in the governance of the world heritage site, which is why I chose to attend one of each of these meetings. Specifically, the WHSG is vitally important for keeping the right balance between the environmental aspects of the national park and the significant heritage aspects of the world heritage site as one of their roles is to ensure the two remain aligned. There is also a third arm of governance for the world heritage site and this is the World Heritage Site Marketing Group (WHSMG), of which I attended one of their events in July 2019. These three groups provide the partnership with advice, recommendations, and marketing material for the world heritage site.

During my research I built and sustained relationships with individuals from various partner organisations, who also sit on these committees, and who I am still now acquainted with. These were the people who helped me from the very first day of my fieldwork until the very last. I spoke to individuals with varying job roles – from some of the most senior within their organisations and the people who are out on the ground every day. Everyone I spoke to was enthusiastic about their jobs, but some were more sceptical than others about the effectiveness of the partnership and whether it is a good model, equally some argued for the partnership saying it is the best way to manage such a vast landscape.

Nearing the end of my fieldwork, I made a bullet point in my field notebook stating that there was an *"illusion of a 'united front' in the partnership" (Fieldnotes, 20-04-19).* By this point I had been interviewing individuals as well as attending events and meetings for almost twelve months, and had one more partnership meeting left to attend. I was contemplating the idea that the partnership is in fact an illusion which is there for show and has very little *actual*

functionality. It has *aesthetic* functionality and gives the illusion of good governance. I was writing these comments in my field notebook due to the fact I had recently met the new chair of the partnership. He was an energetic man, and very enthused by his new role as chair, but he was also sceptical of the functionality of the partnership – or that was the impression I got. In the preceding months to this meeting I spoke with Alan Sykes, another senior member of the LDNPA, about the effectiveness of the partnership and he had stated that myself and the chair were asking similar questions:

> "Yeah, he's got a thoughtful way about him, he's very considered and capable so he's going around and asking the same kind of question as you really, is the partnership going in the right direction? How do people feel about it? Is it effective? What's it got to do for its big upcoming challenges and how is it set up to do those?" (AS interview, 19-10-18)

I was happy that somebody within the partnership was also asking the same questions as me due to the amount of scepticism I had encountered over twelve months. The partnership is a '*strange beast'* and to maintain good relations between so many organisations and to make effective, informed decisions seems like a monumental task. During a conversation with Bernard Moyes, the previously mentioned other senior member of the LDNPA, he argued that the partnership had become:

> "…a bit higgledy-piggledy, to include, you probably know, twenty-five entities which is to say the least a little unwieldy" (BM interview, 03-05-19)

The problem which I have referred to, and what Bernard is insinuating here, is that it is *too* diverse having twenty-five partner organisations, there are too many different aims and objectives from organisations and individuals; they all have their own agendas which they are trying to fit into the partnership vision, making it unwieldy. I will consider throughout this chapter what the ideal number of partners might be for effective partnership working.

Speaking for nature within the partnership comes primarily from Natural England, the RSPB, United Utilities, and the Cumbria Wildlife Trust. Whereas speaking for culture often comes from Historic England, the National Trust, and the LDNPA. Though it must be noted, within the meetings I attended this was often the case, I cannot speak for all meetings; I can only rely further on my participants and their experiences from other meetings. For example, it is noted that often mixed messaging can come from different parts of the National Trust and the LDNPA, as these are both large organisations with many individuals who have different opinions. The problem then arises of which do you prioritise, nature or culture, a question that during my time in the field, came up again and again. Putting this in the context of the world heritage designation, Keith Nicholls from United Utilities put it as such:

> "And I know from talking to Matthew Davies and others who were involved in writing it [the world heritage nomination document] that they hoped it would bring the two sides, if you like, of the argument, together, round some, coalesce around this common thing of world heritage status, but actually it's gone the other way and it has polarised the argument" (KN interview, 17-10-18)

This demonstrates how an already fractured partnership has become even more polarised since 2017. Matthew Davies reinforces this fracturing within the partnership by saying:

> "When I sort of get to farms that are failing economically and failing environmentally I stand there and say 'these are landscapes of which nobody can be proud' this is evidence that we've all failed in managing the Lake District over the last twenty years so because we're all failing its behoving to us all to say let's try something new, lets break this cycle and work as a partnership and burst out of these silos and pool our resources and hopefully we'll, we'll, our decision making will improve our money will go further" (MD interview, 04-07-18)

> "The partnership hasn't been functioning well and that some people would like to be outside the partnership and there's all sorts of tensions running through the partnership" (MD interview, 18-01-19)

As can be seen from these conversations I had with both Keith and Matthew, the partnership has not coalesced around the world heritage designation as was hoped and it seems to have put partner organisations in further polarisation with each other – some now wanting to defend the heritage of the Lake District and some wanting to defend nature in the Lake District. This dualistic way of thinking that appears to dominate the LDNPP has brought to the fore the major argument of nature versus culture – a way of thinking that, as I previously argued, the partnership should try to avoid. As Keith and Matthew both argued, the world heritage designation has put these groups in further opposition to each other – there have always been tensions and indecision about what should be protected and conserved, however, this designation appears to have illuminated this tension and indecision. Both sides of the argument have their own social constructions of what they believe the Lake District should look like informed by both their own personal backgrounds, the organisations they work for, and the current political agenda. The partnership was created so that organisations could feel that they were involved within the management so that they could pool resources; financial, social, and territorial. Alan Sykes argues that it is "essential to have a partnership to run a place like this" but I would argue it is dependent on its *effectiveness*. There is no point in having a partnership if that partnership is at odds with itself. To be effective at decision-making and to uphold good governance there needs to be balance, accountability, and new, more effective governance structures, which I will explore later.

I wish to unpick the issues that the partner organisations are having and where they stem from. The dualistic way of thinking that has emerged has focused a lot on the idea of separating nature and culture. Different partners, as earlier mentioned, refer to 'nature', 'environment' and 'rewilding' whereas others are more focused on the 'cultural landscape' 'heritage' and 'living heritage'. These representations and interpretations of the Lake District

need to be seen in tandem for the partnership to work, the partnership cannot be split into two silos of nature and culture for management purposes. The following section will explore these different representations and interpretations of the LDNP and World Heritage Site, that come from both individuals and organisations, I will examine what individuals from some of the partner organisations believe the Lake District should look like, what it should represent, who it should represent, and how they reach these conclusions.

5.4. Nature vs. Culture: A Dualistic Way of Thinking

This section will explore the contentions within the partnership, and how this dualistic way of thinking has re-emerged through differing groups' interpretations and representations of the Lake District and of what should be conserved and protected. I will begin by exploring what has caused this dualistic way of thinking.

5.4.1. What has caused this way of thinking?

As explored in section 2.4.3. 'rewilding' as a term has been in use since the early 1990s, however, the 'watershed' moment in the UK of its use could be argued to be the release of George Monbiot's '*Feral*' in 2013 (Carver, 2016; Holmes *et al*, 2019; Jones, 2019; Wynne-Jones *et al*, 2020). Since this moment, there has been a focus on nature-friendly conservation and farming, and rewilding projects starting up across the United Kingdom. This wider understanding of restoring nature, and the public interest in it, comes in part from the decline of biodiversity. In the State of Nature Report, 2016, it was stated that "56% of UK species studied have declined over the past 50 years" (National Trust, 2016). This stark fact has contributed to shifting perspectives to restoring nature and ensuring farmers are undertaking nature-friendly farming (National Trust, 2017). Nature has, nationally, become a political hot

topic and thus some organisations within the partnership are using this political momentum to further their own ‘nature’ agendas. The National Trust, for example, has an ambitious plan:

> “By 2025 our ambition is that at least 50 per cent of our farmland will be 'nature-friendly', with protected hedgerows, field margins, ponds, woodland and other habitats allowing plants and animals to thrive. Supporting sustainable farming will be crucial for the plans to succeed. Many of our 1,500 farm tenants are already farming in a way which benefits wildlife and we will continue to work in partnership with our farmers.” (National Trust, 2017)

These aims are substantial and will have a major effect on the farmers in the LDNP and World Heritage Site, as the National Trust owns ninety farms. The environmental conservation movement has been through numerous iterations over time but the ideas of Octavia Hill, William Wordsworth, John Ruskin, and William Morris remain influential, particularly in the Lake District (Denyer, 2013; Reynolds, 2016). The Lake District was a key example of nature needing protection during the industrial revolution, with disputes over railways, reservoirs, and afforestation for commercial use. These threats to the natural beauty of the Lake District galvanised residents such as John Ruskin, Octavia Hill, and Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley to try and stop Thirlmere Reservoir’s construction, beginning in 1890. However, they failed to prevent the reservoir being built, and this spurred on further conservation interest as this event ultimately helped lead to the creation of the Lake District Defence Society in 1883. Which later became the Friends of the Lake District, now a partner in the LDNPP (Denyer, 2013; Larwood, France and Mahon, 2017). This example demonstrates the longstanding issues between nature and culture, as previously discussed in section 2.4.3., and shows how the protectionist view of nature still meant nature was seen as external to humanity, and was something that we needed to protect, and look after. (Coates, 1998; Demeritt, 2002; Lowenthal, 2005).

Moreover, as previously discussed in section 2.4.3., during the 20th century, there was a shift to more integrated ideas of humanity influencing nature as well as nature influencing humanity. There was an increased recognition that there was a relationship between nature and culture, however, they still remained seen as separate entities. I argue that these more recent moves towards rewilding and nature-friendly farming have now strengthened the existing dualistic way of thinking (Demeritt, 2002; Lowenthal, 2005), evident in the Thirlmere Reservoir example, in the Lake District. The Thirlmere Reservoir example demonstrates the protectionist ideals of protecting nature over development, and I argue that there has been a shift to this more polarised way of thinking in recent years and there has been a return to similar ideals of Wordsworth for protecting nature, and the philosophical ideas of Thoreau and Muir, for protecting nature in its in own right (Coates, 1998). There may not be the direct opposition between development and nature that was witnessed in 1880-1890s but these ideals and motivations have remained and re-emerged within the partnership as an opposition between nature and culture. This has created a divisive space in the LDNPP which will now be explored in detail through the representations and interpretations of individuals within the partner organisations.

The ideas from the 1980s through to the early 2000s of sustainable development and nature and culture working alongside each other (Denyer, 2013) are not as evident as the polarisation is within the partnership. The partners within the LDNPP are largely focusing on the recent rhetoric of ‘nature’, ‘rewilding’, and ‘nature-friendly farming’. I do believe, as I argued in Chapter Four, that some of the reasons for this focus stem from the individual personalities of the staff that currently work within the partnership. There was a large portion of my participants who had undertaken undergraduate degrees in geography or ecology and had strong personal interests in the environment, and this influences their professional life as

previously discussed in Chapter Four (Bell, 2010, 2013). These participants, for instance, expressed to me how their love of nature and restoring nature was due to personal preference and their own academic background which is why they had chosen to work for companies such as the Wildlife Trust, United Utilities, and Natural England. I argue the focus has been put back on *nature* in an environmental crisis context, at a time when the Lake District needs to be protecting its heritage after gaining world heritage status, and this has been in part caused by this wider shift in thinking towards rewilding, nature, and nature-friendly farming. I argue there needs to be a balance for both the statutory aims of the national park and the OUV of the world heritage site to both be protected. I will now look at specific examples of individuals within the partnership and examine their representations and interpretations of landscape and heritage and the direction they believe the partnership should be taking to achieve the most effective management.

5.4.2. Individual Representations and Interpretations

Debates regularly arose regarding what the Lake District should look like, who it should be representing, in what ways should it be managed, and how should it be represented to 'outsiders' e.g. tourists. These questions and discussions came up multiple times within my fieldwork; specific valleys, specific breeds of sheep, specific groups of people, specific understandings of the landscape – all create tensions. Bell's (2010, 2013) work on partnerships demonstrates how individuals can have both personal and professional interests in the landscape or heritage that are inseparable. Bell argues that this tension of personal and professional is an "endemic difficulty for partnerships" (Bell, 2013, p. 130) and poses complexities for partnership working. I will consider this argument as I examine the following examples from different individuals within the partnership. Bell (2013) suggests *compromise* as a way forward within partnerships, and I will consider how far the LDNPP has situations

where compromises are made and how much the personal influences the professional interests that are pursued.

5.4.2.1. "Flip flopping between nature, culture, nature, culture…"

> "I think you may have probably picked up with people you've interviewed in the Lake District partnership that actually there are, what I think now, two camps really, you know?" (KN interview, 15-01-19)

This section will explore the conflicting aims of different partners, and within organisations themselves, such as the National Trust. Agendas often seemed confused and there is a fluctuation between those that are nature-focused and those that are culture-focused within the partnership and specifically within the National Trust. As stated by Keith, the hope had been that the world heritage designation would bring the partners together and provide some common ground to work around. This idea of common ground resonates with Bell's (2013) work, and the idea of compromise, if there is common ground for different stakeholders to work towards then there would have to be compromises made, every partner cannot have exactly what they want, but they should look for commonalities between themselves. However, from multiple interviews with individuals, attending partnership meetings, and attending training events with the National Trust and Historic England, it has become ever clearer to me this divide is currently not getting any better and the common ground is not being found for that space that Keith had hoped for people to work together in. The partnership has firmly been split and this often became apparent in particularly contentious valleys. Matthew explains how he feels that Deerdale and Birchdale in particular are very controversial. He argues they are places where battles are fought – tourism battles, conservation battles, farming battles, and ownership battles.

> "I think places like Deerdale and Birchdale, they're really contentious places in the Lake District where battles about conservation and farming and private ownership and second home ownership, tourism, they're fought out in those places because they're held as being so special by people" (MD interview, 18-01-19)

As I explained in the previous chapter, these issues are at the forefront of the farmers' minds in Deerdale – especially the tourism and conservation battles. They are battles they encounter on a daily basis, as I explored in Chapter Four, through Peter's experience over Easter weekend 2019 at Rosings Farm. If these places are considered battlegrounds, it makes managing them complex, as different people and organisations get caught in the crossfire. There is a lot of emotional investment in these landscapes, as demonstrated in Chapter Four. This emotional investment can sometimes cause people to act irrationally, in only their organisations' best interests, and ignore advice from other partners. Matthew highlights this irrational way of thinking by explaining that the 'Wild Ennerdale' team have caused tensions within the partnership, and within the National Trust. In 2003 the 'Wild Ennerdale' rewilding project was set up in the Lake District, and the main partners within this project are Forestry England, United Utilities, Natural England, and the National Trust (Wild Ennerdale, 2020). The vision for this rewilding project is "to allow the evolution of Ennerdale as a wild valley for the benefit of people, relying more on natural processes to shape its landscape and ecology" (Wild Ennerdale, 2020). There are fifteen key principles for 'Wild Ennerdale', the first three of which are:

> "1. Protect and enhance the sense of wildness
> 2. Give freedom for natural processes to enable more robust, resilient and better functioning ecosystems to develop
> 3. Only intervene where complementary to the vision or where a threat to the vision is posed."
>
> (Wild Ennerdale, 2020)

Matthew, personally, argues that the Lake District is not the correct place for this kind of rewilding project:

> "So, if we wilded the Lake District we would lose all of that significance, why would we? You know its internationally special for its culture so it's, it doesn't seem appropriate for wilding…
>
> …and I did work with my colleagues in the Trust as we're one of the key partners and just say you know we need to get that right balance here, and it was reported to me, I mean I don't get invited I don't go to the meetings [Wild Ennerdale meetings], but some of my colleagues who I have good relationships with reported back and said it was a pretty fruity meeting and you know there were comments along the lines of we won't acknowledge world heritage site status because we kind of hope it'll go away and you know, how applicable is it in Wild Ennerdale? We're not doing world heritage we're doing Wild Ennerdale over here and I think unfortunately what it's become" (MD interview, 04-07-18)

The topic of wilding and rewilding has been particularly inflammatory and divisive within the partnership – it has been the topic of discussion in many of my interviews and within the partnership meetings themselves. Within the partnership meetings themselves there was often individuals shouting the loudest about nature; arguing that nature should be included more within the world heritage designation, however, this was often individual and not at an organisational level. As can be seen in the above quote from Matthew, he argues that the 'Wild Ennerdale' team are not interested in world heritage and only want to '*do'* 'Wild Ennerdale'. He also informed me, as did others, that the team are there for nature, they have a group who are interested in ecology, conservation, and environmental management, there is no diversity or representation from a cultural heritage perspective. This again highlights the fact that within the partnership individuals interested in nature are often not speaking on behalf of their organisation, but for themselves and their own personal interest in nature.

> "The management group there are something of a silo, everybody's there because of nature, and nobody with a cultural landscape interest gets invited to the Wild Ennerdale group project meetings, so every now and again they'll have some quite whacky ideas" (MD interview, 04-07-18)

This is a challenging mindset to have when the partnership needs to work as a whole to address these dualisms and find ways to move forward and function more effectively. Matthew, who is an employee of the National Trust, believes that the significance should be put on culture; the internationally special culture that has been recognised by UNESCO. For example, the farming systems, the traditional shows and meets, and the shepherding skills. It is also listed on 'Wild Ennerdale's' fifteen principles that they should "consider, respect and continue to monitor the historical and cultural assets of the valley" (Wild Ennerdale, 2020). However, this principle is difficult to abide by if there is not sufficient, or any, representation from a cultural heritage background and everybody is there 'because of nature'.

Matthew is in direct opposition to Paul Hastings from Natural England – who believes that this rewilding project is in keeping with the remit of the world heritage designation as it demonstrates the conservation movement evolving.

> "There's trade-offs in different places and urm I suppose I think that'll be part of the future of the world heritage site, is that the interplay between culture inspiration and conservation will be they might be different in different places although I think the Wild Ennerdale project up in Ennerdale, I think that is world heritage site in action" (PH interview, 19-10-18)

He acknowledges the need for trade-offs and thus balance, however, contrary to Matthew, he believes 'Wild Ennerdale', is world heritage in action. This interpretation would put nature conservation at more of the core of the designation if this were how the partnership interpreted it. Paul and Matthew clearly have differing interpretations of world heritage and

what it encompasses for the Lake District. Paul believes that keeping in touch with new, modern, ideas for nature conservation is continuing the '*conservation'* strand of the OUV. Whereas, Matthew, argues that it is not that important because the sole focus of the world heritage designation is not nature conservation. Matthew also expresses his concerns with the team, as they are "something of a silo" and do not communicate or even invite any individuals concerned with the cultural landscape to their meetings. Matthew provided the example that the National Trust's archaeologists have never been invited along. Projects such as 'Wild Ennerdale' further demonstrate the divisive nature of management in the Lake District. The organisations involved in 'Wild Ennerdale' – Forestry England, United Utilities, the National Trust, and Natural England – are also all part of the partnership. However, certain individuals within these organisations have created the 'Wild Ennerdale' partnership and created it purely for *nature,* which is where their enthusiasm lies – thus these individuals are pushing their own agenda and social construction of nature onto the LDNPP and within the partnership meetings. This demonstrates the heightened clash over nature and culture within the partnership; the way in which the nomination document is interpreted is the source of many contentious conversations in the partnership and sub-group meetings. For example, in the TAG meeting I attended there was tension surrounding the extent to which nature was considered an attribute:

> *"Meeting started off tense with Paul immediately laying into Duncan over last meeting's minutes - is nature an attribute and all that. Duncan got very defensive and kept trying to shut him down, but it went on for twenty or so minutes and then on to farming subsequently. Paul did later point out however that difficult issues kept being ignored or pushed aside and made Duncan tackle them head on, such as quarrying." (Fieldnotes 01-05-19)*

Paul from Natural England is, as previously stated, an advocate for nature being incorporated more into the world heritage discourse. He and Duncan from Forestry England argued over this for twenty minutes at the start of the meeting, ultimately wasting time and causing the agenda to be more rushed for the remaining three hours. Duncan, it must be noted, has a personal investment in the world heritage nomination due to being involved in it from the beginning. Paul accused Duncan of ignoring issues that are 'difficult' and argued that he needed to tackle them more head on. There was not much consensus that this was the case in the meeting, or certainly nobody else voiced this like Paul did. When I later discussed this meeting with Bernard Moyes, a senior member of the LDNPA, he stated that:

> "We are having great difficulty with Natural England at the present time they're not very effective in what they do and yet they've been a bloody nuisance" (BM interview, 03-05-19)

Here Bernard voices some of his thoughts about Natural England's conduct within the partnership and TAG meetings. He has issue with the fact there is time wasting and the pushing of a 'nature agenda'. This certainly seemed to be the case in the TAG meeting I attended, as Paul spent those twenty minutes arguing with Duncan over nature as an attribute. I also saw this from other pro-nature partners in the partnership meeting in June 2019 – there was a lot of comment from the RSPB and Cumbria Wildlife Trust about nature's place in the Lake District. Natural England is an example of where both the organisational level is pushing an environmental agenda but so are the individuals I came across within these spaces. Natural England is utilising the current 'political mood' for addressing climate change, nature restoration, and increasing biodiversity. There is nothing wrong with this approach, it of course what Natural England are for, however, individuals within the LDNPP are using this political momentum to push personal agendas, and as Bernard argues, waste time in meetings.

After this meeting, an employee from Natural England, and an observer from the Woodland Trust both spoke to me together about how they felt nature needed to be spoken about more and given more of a voice – despite the fact that most of that meeting had in fact been nature oriented. There had been a presentation about beaver reintroduction from the Cumbria Wildlife Trust and an update on a breakthrough action 'Delivering Biodiversity in the LDNP'. Since this meeting there has been success regarding the reintroduction of beavers into Cumbria – two beavers were released into an enclosure on a private estate in October 2020 (Cumbria Wildlife Trust, 2020). If anything, in that meeting, I felt that heritage was ignored and that there was not much space for discussion around farming heritage, traditional building restoration, or the continuation and support of traditional farming shows and meets, despite the fact I knew that the new farming officer was undertaking this work. The meeting was certainly dominated by individuals and their own nature agenda. I questioned in my fieldnotes why some items got mentioned and some did not – and ultimately concluded it was whoever shouted the loudest – the partnership is demonstrating its uneven power structures and the self-interest of specific partners (Jones and Little, 2000; Boyd and Timothy, 2001; Derkzen, Franklin, and Bock, 2008; Derkzen and Bock, 2009). If the person who shouts the loudest gets the most attention and their topic for discussion gets the most time, then other issues are not given as much thought (Norman, 2007). This uneven approach to meetings causes divisions to deepen as there is not an equal process for allowing time for both nature and culture issues to be discussed. The chair is responsible for running the partnership meetings and a good chair, as it has been noted (Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016), is crucial for combating these uneven power structures and partners' self-interest. In the previous example of the TAG meeting, Paul got twenty minutes to himself talking about

nature as an attribute because he was willing to speak up, and the chair of that meeting did not act decisively or firmly to stop Paul from talking.

As previously mentioned, speaking up for nature comes primarily from Natural England, the RSPB, United Utilities, and the Cumbria Wildlife Trust in these various meetings. Other partners such as the National Trust have a more confused agenda:

> "My god it's amazing how we can go full circle, twelve months ago that would have all been about nature and improvements to the environment and public benefits and public payments for public benefits but now twelve months later it's all about farming culture and supporting our squeezed upland farmers and you just think god if we could just take a moderate centre course rather than flip flopping between nature, culture, nature, culture, we wouldn't look so ridiculous" (MD interview, 18-01-19)

Matthew is suggesting that the fact the National Trust cannot pin-point its strategy is problematic. One year they are fully in support of nature, the next farming. However, these do not need to be mutually exclusive, the National Trust can support both nature and farming – and regularly do with their 'Nature-Friendly Farming' initiatives with younger, new farmers. So, why the National Trust 'flip flop' between nature and culture within the partnership appears confusing. It could be argued they take interest in whatever the '*hot'* topic is that year as to gain political will and be involved in decision-making. However, Matthew argues this makes them look 'ridiculous' and leaves them out of favour with certain groups at certain times, whereas if they took a more moderate route and helped different groups equally all the time, they could build better and long-lasting relationships as Austin, Thompson and Garrod (2016) discuss, inter-personal relations and mutual trust are crucial for working relationships within a partnership. Keeping power structures equal, mutually respected, and trusted, is vital for effective functioning of the partnership. This is important to consider with the newest Agriculture Bill (Parliament, House of Commons, 2020) as it furthers this split between

nature and culture and may cause new policy by organisations such as the National Trust to reflect this division further. The recent Agriculture Bill (Parliament, House of Commons, 2020) refers to financial assistance for:

> "c) managing land or water in a way that maintains, restores or enhances cultural or natural heritage;" (Parliament, House of Commons, 2020, p.2)

The use of the word 'or' rather than 'and' in relation to cultural and natural heritage highlights this separation and the fact that policy is still not considering management in a holistic way. A moderate middle route would be better suited for long-term policy in the LDNP and World Heritage Site where this divisive interpretation needs to lessen so that the partnership can function more effectively. Bernard Moyes confirmed that he does not trust the National Trust at the moment, due to their inability to decide on a strategy and the way in which they conduct themselves in the Lake District:

> "The rather underhand ways the National Trust have at dealing with the situation I wouldn't trust them any further than I can see them…
>
> I think there is a good case for a government review into the National Trust I really do…
>
> I'm afraid as far as I'm concerned, the National Trust are part of the problem, I can never make up my mind whether they do that on purpose or they're just that disorganised" (BM interview, 03-05-19)

Bernard is referring to the fact that he believes the National Trust are "terrible landlords" and disorganised when it comes to deciding on their strategy. He argues they go about their business in an 'underhand' way and that he would not trust them. Considering Matthew's comment previously about looking 'ridiculous' Bernard's thoughts seem to confirm this. If there was a middle ground and some consistency to what they did and how they did it, people may trust them more and develop relationships (Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016).

Bernard argues for a review into the National Trust and how they operate as he believes they are not very effective at what they do anymore – that they have lost their way in the Lake District. This echoes Matthew's opinion that they need to stop 'flip flopping' between nature and culture. The National Trust is one of the key partners in the LDNPP, they have vast amounts of inalienable land, ninety farms, car parks, and properties all over the national park and world heritage site as well as hundreds of volunteers working on projects such as 'Fix the Fells'. They are a significant partner, and if they seem disorganised, chaotic, or 'underhand' it does not set a good precedent for the other partners or help build and sustain relationships if they cannot develop trust. This section has demonstrated that there is not much room for compromise within these debates (Bell, 2010, 2013), there is a lot of tension and distrust between the partners and this does not create an appropriate atmosphere for finding common ground and compromising on management decisions. The personal interest of individuals and of organisations is demonstrated through the case study of 'Wild Ennerdale' and once again demonstrates how the personal and the professional are inseparable (Bell, 2010, 2013).

Therefore, developing a more anthropological approach, in which individuals' personal interests and values are understood, could lead to a better understanding of how the partnership functions. There is a need for different partners to develop a *sensibility* towards each other, and respect the historical, social, and political reasons for people's decision-making (Harvey, 2015). By understanding the personal social constructions of the Lake District people have it would be easier to then discuss why they have these constructions, where they came from, and work together towards a construction of the Lake District that is inclusive of both natural and cultural elements. Both the embodied experiences policy practitioners have, as exemplified in Chapter Four, and their representations of landscape and heritage, as demonstrated in this section, are vital to shaping their own ideas and decisions.

Influenced by both physical experience and their intellectual passions, they create ideas of what they believe the Lake District should look like, who should manage it, and how. This leads me into another example, of how the management of the Lake District is framed and understood by different individuals.

5.4.2.2. "Managing dysfunctionality…"

As Matthew stated in the previous section, the Lake District is often managed in silos, and rewilding has caused great difficulty for the partnership as a concept, there are many different interpretations of what the landscape should be used for and look like. Ed Cartwright from the National Trust discusses the functionality of the landscape, and he argues that the landscape is dysfunctional, and the partnership are managing a level of dysfunctionality.

> "In terms of nature conservation it's a *dysfunctional* landscape, in that discipline, it's broken, and I would say, well part of its character is, it's broken nature, so it's managing a level of dysfunctionality, things aren't working, things don't make sense, so post-industrial perspective, part of its value is it's a place where things don't make sense, rules are slightly different, but yeah you're managing dysfunctionality" (EC interview, 16-08-18)

Ed interprets the landscape as dysfunctional from a nature conservation perspective, but then argues that part of the landscape character is this dysfunctionality. This interpretation of the Lake District raises issues around what should it look like and how interpretations of landscape differ by discipline. For example, from a nature conservation perspective the Lake District can be seen as dysfunctional and broken, however, from a farming perspective this might mean there are tidy fields and the hefts are in place (McHenry, 1998; Burton, 2004). The landscape is always interpreted in different ways by the person who is doing the interpreting; there are multiple social constructions of what a landscape should be. Further to this, Ed's comment raises uncertainty over what the function of the landscape is in the Lake

District. As I discussed in the previous section, this question does not have an easy answer. The hill-farming, the nature conservation in sporadic patches, the mosaic of drystone walls, the sweeping fells filled with bracken are all part of the Lake District's individual character, according to Ed. That is its beauty – this chaotic collection of elements makes the Lake District what it is. Ed's understanding of the Lake District in this interpretation does allow space for both nature and culture, however, framing this interpretation through functionality poses some ontological issues for the management of the LDNP and World Heritage Site which I will now explore.

There are many different interpretations of the landscape that I have explored so far in my thesis which are influenced by numerous factors that can be intellectual, emotional, physical, aesthetic, and personal. These need to be taken into account when forming management plans, not just the *function* of the landscape. Considering the Lake District as a place in which people dwell (Ingold, 1993), rather than a landscape which provides functions for us (Schöter *et al*, 2014) allows for a deeper understanding of how people interact with the landscape and how they use it.

Ed goes on to argue that this collection of dysfunctional and broken elements mean the Lake District can be interpreted as a ruin:

> "You know, not saying that's what this is, there are just aspects of this landscape which I would say are you walking into what is effectively a ruin? An objectified ruin, it's a compound archaeological landscape, lots of features on the surface, lots of archaeology, you're looking at things like barns and in the Lakes in the early 20th century they're still functioning, but you're looking at what are people seeing when they come here? And are you looking effectively, and I think this is a divergence between the functionalist and nature conservation model, the idea that we are in a ruin, a living ruin, that the land erosion, the thin soils, overgrazing, you're holding a very

> fine balance, and I think those ideas are important because it's difficult in a landscape which is highly complicated and kind of dysfunctional, it has got, built dysfunctions in it" (EC interview, 16-08-18)

Ed highlights a number of issues ranging from nature conservation, farming, and to what the Lake District should represent. He argues that this all ultimately makes it a highly complicated place to manage as it has "dysfunctions in it". This way of interpreting the Lake District itself is a complex one, and a very anthropocentric one – Ed is arguing that to maintain this landscape the dysfunctions must be maintained. The character of the Lake District may be dependent upon these 'dysfunctions', however, conceptualising them as such does not allow them to be considered in a holistic way, or in a way which allows room for multiple functions, he just wishes to maintain the characterful dysfunctions. What Ed considers a characteristic dysfunction other people or organisations may consider a nuisance or a problem to be solved.

Overgrazing is a hot topic among ecologists within the Lake District. They wish to reduce overgrazing and decrease sheep numbers, broadly speaking- Ed's interpretation would suggest some elements of this should be kept as the dysfunction is part of the landscape and part of a fine balance. His idea of a 'living ruin' is certainly one that resonates with the previous chapter in which I discuss what elements of the living heritage are vital to the world heritage designation. The world heritage designation does not mean the landscape has to be freeze framed and left as a museum or ruin (Bender, 1992; Poulios, 2008; Wheeler, 2014). It can still evolve, and it can still live. These might even be the elements Ed refers to as 'the rules', the things that do not make sense – the traditions that you manage and continue. These traditions have created the landscape in such a way – a dysfunctional way. To an ecologist it might look broken, to a farmer it might look neat and healthy, to an academic it might look chaotic and unmanaged, it depends on what you are looking for. Different groups have different

interpretations of the same place and understanding where these different interpretations stem from is vital for partnership working and to look for ways in which the partnership can move forward and think beyond function. Roy Bloom from the Cumbria Wildlife Trust, and Keith Nicholls from United Utilities both agree that this landscape is not functional and is in need of serious rescue from irreversible ecological disasters:

> "From an environmental and ecological point of view, [the Lake District] is knackered, and in many places it's getting worse, we've just received an update, we're doing some re-surveying of our catchment land, after five years of agri-environment work in the higher tier scheme, so we did a baseline at the beginning, and five years in, you know half way through a higher tier stewardship scheme, you know how much benefit has been delivered and I'm afraid the simple answer is none" (KN interview, 17-10-18)

> "You can trace the grazing levels by the amount of silt in the lakes, clearly caused large amounts of soil erosion, a whole load of ecological degradation, you know there's a whole load of stuff just sitting there, very heavy grazing is very bad, and some of it seems to do semi-permanent damage or indeed permanent damage and washing the soil away is not a good idea from anyone's point of view" (RB interview, 18-10-18)

> "What I would like to see if maybe things be a little bit wilder and the agriculture to be more environmentally friendly, quite strongly more environmentally friendly and that would be, it would give you the best of both worlds, effectively you could sort out how you finance it but because it would maintain that sense of it's a cultural landscape, which people appear to want, but it would be an environmentally friendly landscape as opposed to looking out of my window and it's beautiful but the bright green grass is an ecological desert" (RB interview, 18-10-18)

These two organisations within the partnership are extremely nature focused. The Cumbria Wildlife Trust's remit includes promoting and protecting nature and bringing people closer to nature; United Utilities is a water company and is heavily concerned with water quality and

thus ecological quality in the surrounding areas. United Utilities has a sustainable catchment and management programme (SCaMP) that helps support rare species and habitats. The sustainability discourse used by United Utilities is a step in the right direction, as opposed to considering the landscape in purely dichotomist terms. Sustainability allows for space to understand how humans interact with nature. I would argue, however, that United Utilities seemed like an outlier within the partnership for adopting a sustainability discourse – this was not the 'norm' as demonstrated in the previous section. This discourse does open the door for discussions concerned with conceptualising ecosystem services and what services the landscape can offer for residents and visitors. Nevertheless, this is still a very dualistic and anthropocentric way of thinking which creates ontological tensions such as considering what nature can give us, still separating us from nature - it creates an exploitative relationship between nature and humanity (Schöter *et al*, 2014). Taking a dwelling perspective (Ingold, 1993) and breaking down the nature-culture dualism creates a more holistic approach to management, and Untied Utilities' sustainability discourse is more appropriate than that of ecosystem services and functionality. It is of course worth noting, that United Utilities is a private, for-profit company, and they are different in this respect compared to most of the other partners. Therefore, the economic pillar of sustainability is likely to be more influential in their decision-making and Keith is a particularly conservation-minded employee.

The recent trend towards the polarisation of nature and culture through rewilding initiatives, nature-friendly farming, and payments for either natural *or* cultural heritage is evident throughout the last two sections. Again, I note that this is not the case everywhere (Prior and Ward, 2016) but within the Lake District, rewilding schemes are seen as exclusionary and this became evident throughout my period of ethnographic research. As Roy and Keith both discuss, the issues facing the Lake District, such as overgrazing, and the impacts of higher-

level stewardship schemes, it is clear that they are concerned with the health of the environment. This is highlighted further by Roy commenting that he would like to see things a little bit '*wilder'* in the Lake District which is demonstrating yet another interpretation of how this landscape could look. He believes that the green pastoral landscape you can see is ecologically deficient and needs improving. His understanding of *improvement* (Emery, 2010) would thus be different to that of the farmers, Peter and Scott, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is also evident that Peter and Scott did not think in purely functionalist terms with regard to the landscape; they considered their generational links with the land, as Scott and Frieda discussed how Scott's father would be 'turning in his grave' with some of the management decisions being taken in Deerdale.

Likewise, despite not having any personal generational links to his farm, Peter understands the collective community heritage that needs to be understood and preserved in Deerdale. Preserved through the continuation of the farms – the *living* heritage. Peter and Scott are both considering the landscape in emotional, arguably nostalgic terms (Campbell, Smith and Wetherell, 2017) not functionalist ones. They value the cultural heritage, the intangible elements of the landscape, such as the feeling you get walking the fells, hefting the sheep, and attending the shepherds meets and shows. This once again highlights areas of tension between *improvements* for nature, heritage protection, and agricultural improvement. Highlighting as Matthew had previously identified, areas of contention, which are evident in Deerdale.

The environmental improvement point of view also conflicts with that of Ed and his ideas surrounding living ruins and dysfunction. Ed suggests that perhaps embracing the dysfunction is the way forward, as it is what provides the Lake District with its character. As he goes on to state:

> "EC - It's about significance, heritage from a technical point of view is about analysing significance, world heritage site status has been awarded to this place for a range of significances but not for its nature conservation, nature significance in isolation…
>
> FS – Yeah
>
> EC – That's part of the building block, it's part of the fabric, that is not the international significance of the Lake District as a piece of *nature*, a lot of significance is about how we understand nature, and how we relate to the natural world, all those sorts of things, but not as a piece of territory for nature" (EC interview, 16-08-18)

Here, Ed seems to disagree with the thoughts of Roy and Keith and their argument that the Lake District needs to focus on ecological regeneration and improvement. Ed speaks specifically about how the nature conservation elements of the designation are not as important as the others, they are the fabric from which the designation was built not the focal point of it. As explored earlier with the creation of the National Trust and issues such as the creation of Thirlmere Reservoir and railways in the Lake District – these events are the fabric from which the modern conservation movement has grown. This demonstrates once again how the world heritage nomination document can be interpreted in different ways by different individuals – priorities can be altered depending on how you read the nomination document, for example. This section has demonstrated how different priorities for different partners conflict, and that as was demonstrated in section 5.4.2.1., each individual also interprets the world heritage designation differently therefore making the creation of common ground difficult. With all these different interpretations of the Lake District and what it should and should not be, or what it should or should not offer, it is crucial that the LDNPP can communicate effectively and compromise, which I will now explore in the following section.

5.5. Communication: 'working as a partnership'

Austin, Thompson, and Garrod (2016) highlight the importance of communication both *inside* and *outside* of partnership meetings. They also highlight the importance of building inter-personal relations with individuals in different partner organisations. They argue that "without good personal relationships, partnership working cannot be effective" (Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016, p. 122). During my fieldwork, I witnessed all kinds of relationships between individuals, and all sorts of comments about where decisions actually get made, for example:

> *"There was a lot of banter pre-meeting mostly around Duncan, and Duncan also saying it was the best time for me to take notes. Decisions seem to often be made pre and post meeting (so it seemed with the previous TAG meeting). But that also appeared to cause controversy and argument, between him and Tim, as Tim had no idea what was happening and got annoyed at Duncan and reminded him rather curtly that the steering group has to sign off TAG decisions (interesting governance) and Duncan argued back for "tighter governance" so that all of the sub groups can know what is happening between them and people can cross reference the information." (Fieldnotes 25-04-19)*

What I am describing here happened before the WHSG committee meeting started. I had overhead Duncan discussing the previous TAG meeting and talking about how decisions are often made pre and post meeting. It seemed that he had made a decision, as the chair of TAG, after the meeting and this had not been relayed to Tim, chair of the WHSG, for sign off. This meant that the awkward encounter I describe occurred minutes before the start of the WHSG committee meeting. It made me think about the relationships between individuals, sub-groups, and partners. During the meeting, whenever Duncan spoke, I noticed how a couple of other individuals in the meeting caught each other's eyes and rolled their eyes and sniggered. Duncan has a reputation for detail, as I came to learn after attending more meetings. This desire for detail seems to cause some people an annoyance, it means the meetings are long,

and can be quite dry and technical. There is, however, a place for that and it is in TAG meetings – as that is for specialists in their field and they are scheduled for four or more hours. I found it interesting that Duncan called for 'tighter governance' and I found out later that by this he meant each sub-group needs to communicate better with the other, as for example, the WHSG ascribes TAG's focus and signs off their decisions. Thus, the relationship between Duncan and Tim is one of importance, due to chairing these two groups, they need to communicate better about the decisions made within their meetings.

There was clearly a power struggle between Duncan and Tim for signing off on decisions and debating where decisions should be made e.g. before, during, or after the meeting. I came to understand, after interacting with both Duncan and Tim for about a year, that both of them are extremely passionate about world heritage. Tim created the partnership back in 2006 and Duncan has been involved in the world heritage bid since the early 2000s – they are both very protective of these elements of their jobs. If they could find a way to channel their passion and instinct to protect the Lake District, they could find a lot of common ground (Austin, Thompson, and Garrod, 2016) and have less disagreements that ultimately waste time before or during a meeting. Part of the problem with partner organisations, and individuals, is that they tend to jump to protect their focus, whether that be birds, trees, heritage, or tourism – they are very protective of what they do. Cecelia, from the LDNPA, discussed the difficulties of convincing the partners to break out of their silos:

> "It's trying to persuade them to look outside the box and see if we can do things slightly differently but there's also a knee-jerk reaction from some of them that we've always done it this way and this is our remit, and our members who have bought into the charity of organisation have a particular remit, they might not want to see us doing that so it's how we get to grips with that" (CB interview, 15-01-19)

Her job is to try and get all the partners to work more effectively together for world heritage – a mammoth task. She identifies some of the problems with this, such as they are focused on only understanding their remit and not changing how they do things, but also for charities, for example, they have a membership body to hold them to account. This makes it difficult for large scale organisational change, as those members fund them and if they are not happy may withdraw their funds. The other partner organisations, however, do not need to drastically change what they are doing, they just need to look outside their box and understand what other partners are doing and to embrace the world heritage designation and see how their organisation fits into it. Utilising each other's areas of speciality is a good way to work together, for example. Focusing on each other's practices and knowledge creation, to learn from one another, is a good way for the partnership to approach these issues of how they fit into world heritage and how to achieve their smaller goals within their own organisations, whilst still embracing world heritage. As previously mentioned in section 5.3 the FCC have attended a few partnership meetings but then since struggled to attend anymore, according to Alan Sykes, a senior member of the LDNPA. He stated:

> "AS - They've come for some of it and they've gone 'all you talked about was housing'…yes…well I know we talk about everything to do with the park and recognising that they need to sit through and contribute to some of those stories and not just get animated when talking about farming is urm is something they kind of struggle with, so I've tried to encourage them in to talk about it and they kind of dip in and out so they came the other day
>
> FS – But they're not a full partner?
>
> AS – No, but there's nothing stopping them being, it's their choice, if they wanted to be a fulltime member they absolutely could be, so, we tend to kind of drag them in, so they came to the last meeting and spoke about the commons council that they'd like to set up, so we had a nice debate within the partnership about that, and I suspect we'll

> bring them back to talk about it, which is their, you know, one of their key issues" (AS interview, 19-10-18)

This demonstrates the problem that Cecelia has identified that these organisations, whether full partners or not, only appear to care about their remit. So much so in this case that the representative from the FCC only comes when farming is on the agenda and there is something specific to their needs being discussed. Whereas, if the FCC were a full member, as they could be, they could be involved in all discussions to do with the national park and world heritage site and view issues in a holistic way rather than purely in the silo of farming. As Cecelia has discovered with her job, it is difficult to get the organisations out of their silos and to view things in a different way. This is further exemplified by the HSBA who do not attend partnership meetings, and never have, but likewise have also not been invited.

However, during a TAG meeting I attended there was a representative from the HSBA because their technical expertise about the breed of sheep was required for the committee to make an informed decision about world heritage and the importance of the Herdwicks within that. This demonstrates, as I said previously, that a way of improving communication is to value each organisation's knowledge base. To value others' specialties and then work together is a way in which the partnership could drastically improve relationships, rather than each partner focusing only on their remit and dismissing knowledge from outside of their remit. Clark and Clarke (2011) suggest the creation of social networks between groups to utilise their different types of knowledge and experience to create functioning policies. For example, a member of Historic England could go and lead a discussion with Natural England about their experiences in the Lake District and what they think needs to be prioritised from a heritage significance perspective. In return Natural England could discuss with them what needs to be prioritised from a nature conservation perspective. Likewise, with the FCC and

HSBA, even though they are not partners, their expertise could still be valued and used to inform agricultural decision-making. Then a dialogue could develop between the organisations concerning world heritage. Bell (2013) argues for a values-based management approach in which partners move toward focusing on the whole site rather than their own individual priorities. Doing this via common values such as enjoying the outdoors, being passionate about what they do, and having a shared goal of improving the landscape, then this dialogue has a chance of improving decision-making. Combined with mutual respect and trust (Austin, Garrod and Thompson, 2016) this seems crucial for an effective partnership.

5.5.1. Politics, interests, and friendships

As discussed in the previous section, mutual values and interests may help individuals from different partner organisations work together more effectively. When I was discussing the partnership with Keith Nicholls from United Utilities, he commented that:

> "To try and navigate the landscape and I mean that in a sort of *political* way, work out who's who and who you know, who the sort of, how to play different situations to start and individuals but also organisations you know? What to say when, and it's a really interesting game…
>
> …and I find it interesting when I work with people in other organisations and get to know them and we're you know, eventually the conversation will come round to past history and how did you get to where you are kind of thing and it's surprising actually how often there is a similar route to where we are now kind of thing" (KN interview, 15-01-19)

Here, Keith is discussing how he finds the partnership an 'interesting game' – working out who is on your side, who believes what, and how to get to know people better. As discussed in Chapter Two, partnerships often face issues such as uneven power structures, self-interest of partners, a lack of representation, and uneven resource allocation (Jones and Little, 2000;

Boyd and Timothy, 2001; Derkzen, Franklin, and Bock, 2008; Derkzen and Bock, 2009). Keith raises an interesting point about uneven power, and who is on whose side, but he argues that once you get past the political games, and actually get to know someone, that he often finds they are similar, as I explored in Chapter Four. Those participants had similar interests such as walking, cycling, and being out in the mountains. They often also had similar academic routes, as Keith points out. When I re-interviewed some participants most of them discussed how they went through university and undertook a degree in a similar field, whether it be ecology, archaeology, or biology. The individuals in these organisations need to work to get to know each other more on this personal level (Bell, 2010, 2013). I argue it would solve a lot of the contention and arguments occurring in meetings. If you can understand another individuals' background and there are some similarities to your own, you might feel more like you can work with, rather than against, them. As Jonathon Bishop from the RSPB said to me:

> "I think it's if we can move away from the polarisation that is dominating these discussions at the moment then I think that would be a benefit" (JB interview, 14-11-19)

Jonathon and Keith have similar ideas, that the polarisation of discussion is not beneficial and is actually causing further rifts in the partnership and as Keith earlier stated is forming 'two camps'. This is not conducive to positive decision-making; it only leads to more of the political manoeuvring and trying to out manoeuvre another organisation. Jonathon further argues that there is space for everyone, and that the partnership needs to remember that:

> "I think what we forget is actually there is room for everybody to do different things and actually having a uniform approach to an entire landscape is a crap idea, it's a bad idea from every angle, from a natural environment point of view, you want lots of different things, you know the more different approaches we've got the more species are going to benefit so having some areas which are allowed to be as wild as they can

> be and just develop under their own steam is going to be a good thing for a certain species, and having an area which is grazed is going to be good for a different set and actually if you've got the right structure in place, and the right policy in place, those two things can exist quite comfortably" (JB interview, 14-11-19)

He suggests the idea of a mosaic landscape in which different elements occur alongside or next to others. For example, rewilding areas, development areas, and so on. He also argues that they need not be separate, they can work comfortably together with the correct policy in place. Thus, bringing together the nature and culture that is currently so divisive within the partnership. The need for balance is evident, as I discussed with George Heaton, who is employed by both the LDNPA and the National Trust:

> "It's all a balancing act, and compromise, and negotiation, and working together that's the main thing, we've got to all row together" (GH interview, 15-08-18)

The idea of 'all rowing together' is one that struck me as crucial for the partnership. Rather than playing games, and working out who is on your side, who is not, the partners within the partnership need to just be open and honest with each other for governance to function properly. As Jones and Little (2000) argue, there is often a dominating power within a partnership, frequently the park authority, but for the partnership to work equally, and for compromise to happen, there needs to be some common consensus (Bell, 2013). Communication is key for their success. However, this communication is based upon trust, and accountability. If the partners do not trust each other and when a partner organisation does not do something correctly, it should be held accountable, if it is not, this could cause further friction and distrust. This can also lead to strained relationships and historical grievances coming to the surface (Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016).

5.6. In practice: Accountability, Change, Trust, and Statutory Power

At the beginning of this chapter, I discussed how the partnership functions, and Bernard Moyes argued that the partnership was a 'feat' to get together in the first place. Such a vast governance structure could not work smoothly in practice; as explored throughout this chapter. The main issues that face the partnership are accountability, change, and trust. I will explore these issues in turn in this section. Various participants have expressed their frustrations with the partnership to me, commenting on the slowness of decision-making due to the bureaucratic hoops that need to be jumped through, the 'painful' nature of partnership meetings, and the general inefficiency. All making accountability difficult, trust hard to create and maintain, and with the policy arena constantly changing this means the direction of partnership meetings changes with it.

Accountability

> "I appreciate the need to be governed, but the current governance requires sign off, agreement and sign off, by the steering group and potentially also the partnership, above it, so that can add six months to any decision-making, at least three months! Whereas it would be nice if someone, and when I say someone, I'm thinking either the partnership or the someone like the LEP [local enterprise partnership] say okay well there's a pot of money you can dip into if you need, need to produce a thousand badges or book a venue or something, without having to get it signed off. But then again, I guess its early days and the governance is there to provide transparency and make sure we're doing the right thing, so we shall see!" (GH interview, 15-08-18)

George Heaton summarises his feelings about the LDNPP here; the governance, as he describes, is slow. Sometimes adding as much as six months on to decision-making processes. This drastically impacts upon decisions made within the partnership and can slow down projects to such a degree they barely get off the ground in time. This is, of course, for the sake of transparency, so each stage can be logged, signed off, and passed on. However, the

partnership needs to look for more effective ways of holding partners to account and to make their decision-making processes transparent. The Landscapes Review (Glover, 2019) written by Julian Glover states that national parks need a governance reform – in fact, Glover describes the need for an "overhaul of how our national landscapes are governed individually" (Glover, 2019, p. 140). From my own personal experiences of the LDNPP and from testimonies such as George's, I would have to agree. There are too many bureaucratic hoops to jump through for the governance to be anywhere near as effective as it should be. This is made worse by the already tense relationships between partners within the LDNPP and the lack of trust that is evident between the partners – how can they hold each other properly to account if there is mistrust, strained relationships, and no efficient decision-making; they cannot (Austin, Thompson and Garrod, 2016). One of these strained relationships was explored earlier in this chapter, as Bernard Moyes commented he would not trust the National Trust. This is problematic if we consider the power the National Trust has, explored in Chapter Four, for example that it has inalienable land throughout the national park and world heritage site and controls ninety farms. One way to overcome these issues and to hold partners accountable for their actions, is, as George Heaton suggests:

> "It's almost like you need a floating non-exec, you need a non-exec board for the Lake District to go out and provide that balance, I don't know if that's feasible or not" (GH interview, 15-08-18)

The idea of a 'floating non-exec' is one that would be hard to implement in practice. However, this idea provides some interesting ways of re-imagining accountability. George argued that the need for a floating non-executive board would provide a level of impartiality that the current executive board does not have – currently the only true impartiality within the partnership governance structure comes from the chair of the partnership meetings. These partnership meetings, as I have stated include members from twenty-five organisations, the

executive board, and the LDNPA members. The chair's job is to navigate the partner organisations and make sure the decisions made in partnership meetings are equal and realistic. However, the executive board still have their own interests, arguably steered towards the environmental aspects of the national park rather than the heritage. Backgrounds of members of the executive board extend to working for the Environment Agency, Natural England, and various county councils. There is nobody on the executive board with a specific interest in heritage or from a heritage background. In addition to this, the current C.E.O has been in place since 2007 and still remains in this position in present day (2020). This presents problems when we consider the impartiality of the executive board – or lack of in this case.

In addition, the Glover Landscapes Review (2019) calls for national park board member numbers to be smaller, nine to twelve people; the LDNPA currently has twenty members. All these governance structures need to be reimagined and reworked for the governance to become more impartial, efficient, and trusting. Reimaging these governance structures will enable the adoption of a 'heritage sensibility' approach as it will create new spaces in which partners could learn from one another and if the park board were smaller in number there would be the time and space to enable contributions to the discussion from each member, rather than the loudest voice being heard over everyone else. The lengths of C.E.O terms, I would argue, should also be limited to five years, to allow for a constant regeneration of visions, values, and motivations. As previously demonstrated, the current C.E.O has a particular interest in the environment and this has been the dominant rhetoric during his time as C.E.O. Having the same person for over ten years does allow for consistency, especially with regard to the partnership's 2030 vision mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, however, it can also cause things to become stale, and does not allow diversity in the position. Other people may be equally, or better, suited for the job and have not had the chance to do

so. It also allows for better transparency in the process of becoming C.E.O and a five-year period allows for appropriate and quick scrutiny of the person's practice and ideas. The Nolan Principles (Committee on Standards in Public Life, 1995) suggest ways in which good governance should work and follows some of what I have previously said. The Nolan Principles are:

1. Selflessness
2. Integrity
3. Objectivity
4. Accountability
5. Openness
6. Honesty
7. Leadership

The principles are mentioned on the North York Moors National Park's (North York Moors National Park, 2019) website as a guide for good governance, but not on the LDNPA's website. They could prove useful for the partnership as a whole, the executive board, and the elected members of the LDNPA. In particular four, five, and six. As discussed in Chapter Two, openness and honesty are crucial for developing strong communication between stakeholders, as well as creating a space for the "peopling of the landscape and heritage narratives" (Harvey and Waterton, 2015, p. 906). Having principles in place to encourage the LDNPP to be open, honest, and accountable would enable the LDNPP to make sure it listened to different stakeholders and made decisions that were cognizant of all their needs. For example, if a partner was to undertake a river re-meandering project that was going to cost a lot of money, and impact public lives, all this information should be easily accessible and local meetings should be run with the public affected. Providing a space for discussion and developing an understanding of how the project would affect different stakeholder groups is a step towards adopting a 'heritage sensibility' and becoming aware of why, what, and how the

groups are affected. Selflessness is also an important principle when considering a partnership of twenty-five organisations who largely act in their own self-interest and are contained to their silo of expertise. Selflessness needs to be practised by these organisations to improve the trust and openness between them, particularly if the partnership wants to move forward and become a more effective decision-making mechanism.

Trust and Change in the Future

As I previously stated, trust is important. Partners who trust each other will work better together and hopefully develop more cordial relationships which could lead to knowledge exchange and free and open discussions about issues within the national park and world heritage site (Austin, Thompson, Garrod, 2016). In section 5.4.2.1. I discussed how Bernard Moyes from the LDNPA argued that he would not trust the National Trust further than he could see them and that Natural England were also being a nuisance. Regardless of whether these are personal or professional misgivings, if the partners were more open, honest, and frequently held accountable for actions there would not be such a sense of distrust or annoyance with the partners. The National Trust had a public relations disaster in 2016 when they purchased farmland in Birchdale but left the farmhouse; this led to reputational damage as Matthew Davies told me:

> "And you know that went through various tiers of scrutiny and they were all in this same silo that said this is an opportunity for *nature*, we'll buy the land and do great things for nature and just completely ignore the house and you know it was, obviously it was a catastrophe, reputationally, so you know there is a lesson learned there and thank goodness it didn't happen when we were inscribed but it does reveal the tone and the lack of nuance in people's understanding within the Trust, I think" (MD interview 04-07-18)

The purchasing of this farmland resulted in membership cancellations, negative media coverage, and a heightening of the already tense relationship between the farmers in the Lake District and the National Trust. Still, four years later, I am writing about how people do not trust them and that there is a bad feeling from the farmers and other people within the partnership, such as Bernard Moyes. Thus, suggesting that the National Trust have not necessarily learnt from this event, despite the implementation of a farming officer and for encouraging more tenants to undertake 'nature-friendly farming'. This seems to have had the opposite effect of gaining any trust back and as demonstrated through Bernard, he also does not trust how their decisions are made or their conclusions regarding how matters are reached. If the National Trust had fully held their hands up and said we did this wrong, we should not have prioritised this farm for nature, we should have considered the cultural heritage too, then there would probably be a better feeling, especially among farmers. However, this is not the case, and there are a lot of future plans for tree planting, and a lot of empty National Trust farms for which currently, nobody is sure what the future holds. Some openness and honesty about the future of these farms would also be useful from a communication perspective and for the partnership to know which direction the National Trust is heading in for the next few years. Importantly, it would give the farmers some faith that those farms will not just stay empty and go into disrepair and the land then be used for nature. The National Trust should demonstrate their commitment to the cultural heritage as well as the natural. As previously discussed in section 5.4. they need to seek balance – not keep changing their allegiance between nature and culture, there needs to be an acknowledgement there is space for both. Therefore, the Nolan Principles could be used to set up good practice within the partnership and to improve communication between partners and the farming community.

Statutory Power

This chapter has highlighted the importance of relationships and trust between partners in the LDNPP and how these could be improved through the use of the Nolan Principles. However, ultimately a vast improvement for the LDNPP and for everyone involved in the governing of the national park and world heritage site would be the introduction of statutory power for the landscape, and this is also stated as a proposal in the Landscapes Review – "Proposal 23: Stronger purposes in law for our national landscapes" (Glover, 2019, p. 134). Bernard Moyes also explains:

> "All national parks think that we should have statutory powers for the landscape, and it doesn't make sense otherwise, it seems to me to be a sort of typical English muddle through, you're there to protect and enhance the landscape and the only statutory power you've got relates to the built environment, well how bloody stupid is that?" (BM interview, 03-05-19)

Statutory powers for the landscape would help the Lake District immensely, especially if these powers incorporated cultural heritage and cultural landscapes into their remit, as Denyer (2013) argues for there to be more policy for the cultural elements of the landscape. Currently the only statutory purposes of the national parks in England and Wales are to (revised after the *Environment Act 1995*):

> "1. Conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife, and cultural heritage
>
> 2. Promote opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities of national parks by the public" (National Parks UK, 2020)

Glover (2019) argues for the statutory purposes of national parks to be reworded and extended to Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONBs):

> "Recover, conserve and enhance natural beauty, biodiversity and natural capital, and cultural heritage." (Glover, 2019, p.38)

The current statutory purposes, however, do not have much power behind them. As Bernard argued they do not have any *actual* power to protect and enhance the landscape, particularly the cultural landscape beyond just built forms:

> "Which had powers for what? For planning, for the built environment, it doesn't make sense, we're hoping that we'll get it readdressed through Glover" (BM interview, 03-05-19)

As I discussed within the chapter, the Glover Landscapes Review (2019) is seeking to overhaul the governance of national parks and reimagine the statutory purposes. Bernard hopes the review will give some political momentum to finally get moving on statutory power for the enhancement of the landscape. Rather than just purely focusing on environmental aspects of the landscape that are currently protected by SSSI and AONBs designations. A cultural landscape equivalent with some power to protect the cultural heritage in the form of the agro-pastoral land use system in the Lake District would help the partnership by putting nature and culture on the same level as one another – statutorily speaking. This would also make the job of the WHSG committee easier – as their focus is to ensure that the strategic objectives of the national park plan algin with the world heritage programme. Having these two elements statutorily on the same level would make decision-making considerably more equitable.

5.7. Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored the LDNPP and the current tensions there are within it. I have looked at this from individual representations and interpretations of what the LDNP and World Heritage Site should be doing and how it should be representing itself, and for who. I have discussed the use of the land, and the challenges faced with regards to multifunctional

land use, ecosystem services, and ‘dysfunction’. I have also discussed the ways in which this can be moved forward and trust can be built between partners, and the need to understand that there is space for everything, it is not nature or culture, it is both. Further to this, this chapter has suggested ways in which the governance can be improved, following on from the Glover Landscapes Review (2019) and utilising the Nolan Principles.

The following chapter will look at future challenges in the LDNP and World Heritage Site, and explore three main themes within my research: change, authenticity, and rewilding. I examine what authentic change is and how much is acceptable within the world heritage site, and how this impacts farmers’ livelihoods. I propose developing a heritage sensibility, in which the relevant stakeholder groups are made aware of how the others understand heritage and landscape as well as where their knowledge and values come from. I argue that understanding the historical, social, and political context for people’s decision making is vital for moving forward as a partnership, and one that interacts with the farming community effectively.

Chapter 6 – Future Challenges: Towards a *'heritage sensibility'*

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter I will expand on recent phenomenologically informed conceptual advances from within both heritage and landscape studies concerning embodied, practised, affective, and lived in approaches (Harrison, 2013; Waterton and Watson, 2013; Waterton, 2014; Harvey and Waterton, 2015; Harvey, 2015; Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, 2017; Campbell, Smith and Wetherell, 2017; Dittmer and Waterton, 2018) to explore the challenges that are facing the LDNP and World Heritage Site in the future. These challenges are significant; an ageing farming population and resulting succession crisis, nature conservation conflicting with world heritage status, and the uncertainty of future agricultural policy. I will explore the ways in which Harvey's (2015, p. 921) notion of a '*heritage sensibility*' can be used to help understand these challenges. Including ways in which the LDNPP can work together with the farming community to create an understanding of 'living cultural heritage' that encompasses all of the differing complex understandings of landscape and heritage – through people's different biographies, histories, customs, and rights (Harvey, 2015). Harvey (2015, p. 920) argues that there are "(time deepened) interwoven lines" which we must have a sensibility *for* and engage with critically *for* the future; taking on board the "*message"* from indigenous communities, utilising their knowledge, and valuing their communal rights and customs (Harvey, 2015, pp. 920-921).

First, I will focus on the idea, and future, of rewilding within the LDNP and World Heritage Site. I will explore the imagined futures for rewilding and how these clash with the idealised futures of the farming community. I will examine to what degree rewilding projects might

change the landscape and compromise the authenticity of the world heritage designation. In addition to this, I will then explore how heritage is reproduced and how this could help maintain authenticity, albeit through new farming families. Finally, I will explore how the LDNPP could learn from the farming community and itself become more communal and less individualistic as well as how the farming community could learn from the LDNPP. I will examine how this mutual learning and knowledge sharing could lead to more effective management decisions and communication, which do not ignore local knowledge and take into account the intangible as well as the tangible aspects of heritage. The notion of developing a 'heritage sensibility' (Harvey, 2015) will be used throughout the chapter to demonstrate in both landscape and heritage studies that we should not ignore the everyday experiences and knowledge of different stakeholder groups. These everyday, repeated, experiences and practices are what shape the groups' identities and ultimately create "embedded links between people, place and identity" (Harvey, 2015, p. 920). Waterton and Watson (2013, p. 558) call for the "decentring of heritage" and for a broader theoretical engagement with heritage; to move beyond the discourse and representation to the lived experience. This chapter will seek to demonstrate how it contributes to these broader phenomenological engagements within both heritage and landscape. It also raises awareness of the concept 'heritage sensibility' and considers how this can be critically engaged with for understanding the future of the LDNP and World Heritage Site.

6.2. Rewilding – an imagined future?

> "Why is that imagined future, of a rewilded landscape, why is that more important than my actual day-to-day reality of running my business which is important to me, and important to our culture, and important to my family, why is the imagined rewilded landscape, why does that trump what I'm actually doing?" (VO interview, 09-07-19)

As previously discussed in Chapter Five, rewilding is a contentious topic in the Lake District. The ideas put forward by rewilding project groups, such as 'Wild Ennerdale', do not tend to sit comfortably with the farming community, as Vicky Owen, both a farmer herself and working for the LDNPA, elaborates. She argues that the 'imagined future' of a rewilded landscape should not take precedence over her livelihood, similarly to the debates within the literature made regarding threats to farmers livelihoods from rewilding. (Wynne-Jones, Strouts and Holmes, 2018). These threats could be economic, particularly with upland farming, and social, concerning "community fragmentation" (Wynne-Jones, Strouts and Holmes, 2018, p. 17). Vicky demonstrates these "(time deepened) and interwoven lines" which Harvey (2015, p. 920) refers to as she is invested in her livelihood and her family. Harvey (2015, p. 920) argues that these time deepened, interwoven lines are made up of numerous "biographies and histories of relationships between people and people and things" as such, Vicky demonstrates a longstanding connection with the farming culture, and its importance to her family.

> "It's just an imagined future isn't it? And people say, "oh it's taking it back", taking it back to when? I can trace that my family was here 500 years ago, why should we want to go back to sometime pre that and why are we assuming that was better?" (VO interview, 09-07-19)

Vicky's family have been part of this farming community for 500 years, there is a great temporal depth to her knowledge of farming, and as Harvey (2015) argues this temporal depth and connection to the place need to be acknowledged when considering the experiential. Vicky has hundreds of years of knowledge that has been passed down between generations – and she wishes for this to not be ignored in favour of an '*imagined future*'. Hill (2013) uses Derrida's idea of intergenerational justice to argue that there is a responsibility to others, not just the living, when writing about and understanding landscapes. This idea of

intergenerational justice (Hill, 2013) is one that allows a greater temporal understanding of Vicky's own experiences – she feels she has to defend her livelihood, her culture, and also respect her ancestors. There is a desire to maintain and continue these traditions and customs on behalf of the family members that spent the previous 500 years undertaking. These ties are deep, interwoven, and affect her decisions – her own emotional experiences are important for informing her job at the LDNPA and the decisions she makes in this role. However, as well as these experiences, there should be an understanding of memory and the historical context that grounds these experiences and emotions (Emery, 2018; Emery, 2019). Her own feelings, aspirations, and new-found knowledge have developed a new strand of her family biography, this strand is interwoven into the *meshwork* (Ingold, 2007) of previous ancestors' strands of knowledge, activity, experience, and legacy.

As Harvey (2015) discusses, there is a need for enquiry that encompasses a broader time span, looking beyond the immediacy of emotions and day-to-day lived experience. Thus, this understanding of the historical context helps understand the current lived experience – Whyte (2015, p. 927) insists that questions such as "what did it mean to walk through the landscape in the past?" are vital for bridging this gap between the representational and the non-representational (Harvey, 2015). These questions, and historical understandings, are useful for understanding people's current notions of heritage – using both the past and the present to understand how people think. It could be understood that perhaps Vicky is so passionate about sustaining her farming culture due to her familial ties, and this influences her decision-making on the farm and in her second job for the LDNPA.

Campbell, Smith and Wetherell (2017) offer nostalgia as a way of conceptualising these motivations; they argue that nostalgia can be motivating, it can affect and move you towards doing something. It can be mobilised and used for "work for personal, social, cultural and

political reasons" (Campbell, Smith and Wetherell, 2017, p. 609). This shows similarities to my discussion in Chapter Four, where the farmers in the parish council meeting in Deerdale mobilised their ideas of heritage to put forward a letter to the LDNPA regarding planning permission. These examples show similarities with Campbell, Smith, and Wetherell's (2017) idea that heritage can be mobilised through nostalgia and through an understanding of your heritage. This is complemented by Harvey (2015, p. 914, emphasis in original) who insists, to write critical accounts of landscapes we must write "*knowing* accounts" that are "temporally embedded", and contextualised within the historical and political situation (Emery, 2018; Emery, 2019). Rewilding has gained considerable political influence over the last few years, especially within the uplands, despite as Vicky argues, there being no agreed definition of what or when you are 'rewilding' back to, and in the literature the term 'wilding' is often suggested instead to overcome this problem (Carver, 2016). However, in the current political climate, which focuses on radical solutions to climate change, rewilding is a popular term and has been popularised further by the likes of George Monbiot, in Guardian opinion columns (Monbiot, 2015, 2017, 2019) and his previously mentioned book, '*Feral'* (2013). Thus, pushing farming and farming culture in particular to the near bottom of the political agenda, unless in the context of new AES (DEFRA, 2020).

The issue with this political situation is that the Lake District world heritage site designation is based upon, as mentioned in previous chapters, the agro-pastoral landscape, and this is a significant part of the designation, although not the entirety of it. This arguably conflicts with the wider societal thinking of tackling climate change, and farmers have, within the media particularly, come off as the 'bad ones':

> "I don't understand why they're always picking on the uplands as well, we're one of the areas that's actually good for wildlife, I've got so much wildlife on my farm, I've

> got the otters, the deer, yet if you go down, I mean I never really go to cities and things but I'm sure you wouldn't see as much wildlife in cities, so why isn't the focus on bringing trees and things into cities, why is the focus on the uplands, that I find quite hard to understand, that we're the ones being criticised but we're actually the people who are like day-to-day providing the habitats for the wildlife" (VO interview, 09-07-19)

I would argue that this media representation of the farmers as '*bad'* is ill informed and as Vicky argues, the uplands are one of the places in which a lot of farmers are doing good things *for* nature and have a lot of wildlife. I am in no position to state what the 'truth' is – as Harvey (2015, p. 913) argues there is "existential worry over the impossibility of 'speaking the truth'" however, we should produce what we believe is true to us. Farmers in the uplands, who I have engaged with, are largely doing beneficial things for nature but they also want their culture to be valued and understood. As I previously explored, in Chapter Four with Scott and Frieda, who argued that the National Trust would be making a massive mistake in the heads of valleys if they decided to remove Herdwick flocks. This would cause the farms to cease to exist and Scott argues they need to give farming more importance:

> "Otherwise they are just going to wither away and die, and if they wither away and die basically the National Trust are going to get their own way and plant it with trees and have corridors for the wildlife anyway" (SJ and FJ interview, 03-05-19)

Similar to Vicky, Scott and Frieda believe that the farming culture needs to be taken into account and the valleys, and valley heads, should not just be rewilded, to as Vicky states, an 'imagined future'. Bender's (1993, p. 3) notion that landscapes are "never inert" is demonstrated throughout these rewilding debates; there is constant life, tension, and deliberation within them. Bender (1993, p. 3) insists that landscapes are a way in which "identities are created and disputed". This is why contextualising them and understanding their history – social, cultural, and political – is vital (Harvey, 2015; Emery, 2018, 2019).

Understanding how and why people act and make decisions as they do in a landscape is influenced by all these factors, as Harvey (2015) argues there is temporal depth that must not be ignored in favour of the affective, emotional, experiential – they must be understood together.

Unpicking the rewilding debate incorporates these ideas – and particularly identity creation. The farmers I spoke with, Vicky, Scott, and Frieda, in particular, highlight the temporal depth of their knowledge, and the intangible aspects of the farming culture that help create these identities. If these aspects, for example, shows, shepherds meets, and gatherings, were to go, then the identity of the upland Lake District farmer would be altered. If the valley heads had their sheep removed and wildlife corridors introduced this would change the landscape, thus changing the farmers' identity. There would suddenly be no need for gatherings, shows, or shepherds meets because there would be no sheep. As Frieda and Scott argued in Chapter Four – the sheep are vitally important to the farmers – in terms of identity and culture.

> "And the whole cultural basis is around the *sheep* really isn't it as well, take away the sheep and you know you haven't got your shepherds meets, the main get together of the year" (VO interview, 09-07-2019, emphasis added)

Vicky also highlights this issue, arguing that the main cultural basis of farming heritage in the Lake District is the sheep. The sheep, arguably, could be considered as 'heritage mediators' without which, as I have stated previously, you lose the intangible aspects of their heritage, such as gatherings, shows, meets, communication, knowledge transfer and a feeling of identity and community. Gray's (2014, p. 228) work develops the idea of "shepherding as emplacing" in which the emphasis is on the relationship the farmer has with his sheep. This is then mediated through the act of hefting – hefting both the sheep and themselves to the place. I explored this idea in Chapter Four in relation to the Kilcullen family, who are a new farming

family that are ‘hefting’ themselves to the landscape. This demonstrates, as Vicky argues, the cultural importance of the sheep – without the sheep the farming culture would not be there or would be extremely different to what has been inscribed by UNESCO. The sheep themselves play a very important part in mediating this farming heritage, they are the *intimate* link between the farmers and the landscape, and they create an embodied experience for the farmers who follow the same paths and tracks through the landscape. As Gray (2014, p. 228) argues the “sense of place happens in the sensuous act of walking or biking over the landscape”. The act of hefting, gathering, and checking on the sheep creates this intangible knowledge – the farming culture that has been inscribed.

These acts of walking, feeling, and knowing the landscape, create the embodied, experiential knowledge of the land that Setten (2004) argues farmers’ have and policy practitioners’ do not. However, I argue that it is not as clear cut as this, and policy practitioners who also live and work within the LDNP and World Heritage Site could potentially ‘heft’ themselves to the landscape, and in fact may already be, as explored in Chapters Four and Five. The practitioners explored in Chapter Four have their own “sensuous act of walking and biking over the landscape” (Gray, 2014, p. 228), it is just often accompanied by the intellectual passion they have for their job and they have a tendency to abstract elements of the landscape and heritage. They do consider the whole landscape view, however, it explores a more visual aspect than that of farmers, for example considering how the landscape looks to tourists. Aesthetics and their intellectual passion play a part in their sensuous acts within the landscape. They also have their own connections and understandings of the landscape and heritage as I demonstrated in Chapter Four through Matthew Davies and Keith Nicholls in particular, as well as the Kilcullen family, demonstrating you do not necessarily need the long-term historical familial engagement of Vicky to be in and understand the landscape

(Emery, 2010). The sheep, and in the Lake District's specific case, the Herdwick sheep, are vital heritage mediators to ensure the farming culture is continued. Without the sheep, as Vicky, Scott, and Frieda argue, there would be no farming community, and farms would wither away and die, therefore, rewilding as a concept is in tension with the preservation of this farming heritage, as the sheep are required to remain on the hills. I will now develop these ideas, and expand them within the world heritage designation context – which incorporates both the farming culture and nature conservation within its remit. The issue of how these two elements of world heritage are reconciled is a major issue facing the LDNPP and the future of the landscape itself.

6.2.1. Farming or Nature Conservation?

> "I think there's a lot of nervousness about the past, but then again nature conservation is a peculiar discipline, I'm not from that discipline at all, the idea of the future is very *deeply embedded*, it's all about the *future*, and they think a lot about this primordial past, neither of which are places that actually exist, and it just, seems a lot about the pre-industrial past, do you know what I mean? There's this *peculiar relationship between past and present*, but there is something deeply historical, it's heritage, historic, about the lakes, and you can't shake that off easily even if people want too" (EC interview, 16-08-18, emphasis added)

The question of *whose* heritage do you preserve and *why* is much debated within the literature (Bender, 1992, 1998; Hall, 1999; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000; Waterton and Watson, 2013; Harrison, 2013; Harvey, 2015, Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, 2017). The question is one that is prominent within the management of the LDNP and World Heritage Site. The above quotation from Ed Cartwright of the National Trust demonstrates these issues with regards to nature conservation specifically. It relates to what Vicky previously stated – why is the imagined future so important? Nature conservation largely focuses on the future, and ignores the present Ed argues, however there is, as Ed highlights, a peculiar relationship

with the past. Rewilding exhibits this peculiar relationship well; it has a focus on returning to this "primordial past" where nature was more 'wild' yet chooses to ignore the farming heritage that was also active within this landscape at the same time, as demonstrated through Vicky and her family farming 500 years ago. This raises issues that Carver (2016, p. 5) addresses, and argues that "we should be thinking about the landscapes of tomorrow, in which rewilding can help ensure a place for new nature. While recognising the importance of some traditional and semi-natural landscapes for their cultural interest, we cannot preserve everything in aspic". Carver (2016) again focuses on the 'tomorrow' and is also looking to the future, however, he does acknowledge that some landscapes are important for their cultural value, but that it is not possible to keep everything. Again, the tension is evident between change and authenticity through rewilding. Rewilding's focus on this 'imagined future' as Vicky stated, looking forward to an imagined nature that is 'wild' does tend to ignore the immediate problems in the present, and currently the LDNPP is having to manage the Lake District as both a national park and world heritage site which is complicating decision-making, as it is hard to prioritise different elements of management. Carver (2016) does, however, have an understanding that not everything can be preserved, and this is acknowledged within the Lake District as change is discussed regularly as is the idea of the Lake District as an evolving masterpiece (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2019). As previously shown in Table 2, the three strands of OUV are now the three areas that are at the forefront of contentious discussions within the partnership and farming community through the lens of change and authenticity.

The identity strand is the one which encompasses the agro-pastoral land use system and the farming culture, whereas inspiration and conservation are more closely tied to the artistic and literary inspirations that gave the conservation movement momentum and led to the creation

of the National Trust and defending the Lake District against 'unwanted' development (Denyer, 2013). These three strands continue to be debated and interpreted differently by different people within the LDNPP and are in themselves rather contradictory. Arguably, these strands of designation demonstrate the ideas that were pivotal in establishing the nature-culture dualism (Philips, 1998; Olwig, 2005; Lowenthal, 2005; Denyer, 2013; Larwood, France, and Mahon, 2017) that causes so much frustration within the partnership and emphasise the representational aspects of the landscape in artistic and literary movements and thus in conservation activities. However, the designation also focuses on the living cultural heritage of the farmers, both the embodied and experiential aspects of this culture, for example, the farming skills, shows, shepherds meets, and communal values. There is a tension at the very heart of the designation between the representational and experiential, which causes the areas of tension between nature and culture that arise within the LDNPP, WHSG, and TAG meetings. People prioritise different things depending on their own personal relationship with the landscape and heritage – as explored in Chapter Four, and these tend to reflect these two different ways of thinking about the landscape. Setten (2004) argues however that planners tend to know by seeing, and that this is often unconnected to their personal circumstances.

> "It can therefore be argued that planning is based on a 'knowing by seeing' principle. To know by way of seeing rests on generalizations, unconcerned with personal situations." (Setten, 2004, p. 407)

I have so far demonstrated that the policy practitioners, and planners in particular I have spoken to, Cecelia Boyd for example, do not only know-by-seeing, they also know-by-being to an extent. They have personal connections to places, they 'put on someone else's' shoes and go for a walk to understand the area, they do not purely know-by-seeing. Thus, demonstrating that individuals will prioritise different things which are important to them,

dependent upon their own relationship with the landscape and heritage. This individuality is often what causes the tensions to arise in partnership meetings and will be explored in a later section in more depth. I will now explore how these are interpreted differently and the implications this has for the management of the Lake District in reference to the future of rewilding and farming.

As previously stated, the three strands of the world heritage designation – *identity*, *inspiration*, and *conservation* – have been (and continue to be) interpreted differently by different groups and individuals. In Chapter Five, I explored Paul Hastings' interpretation of the world heritage designation, who is an employee of Natural England. Paul has similar ideas to Ed Cartwright, an employee of the National Trust, as both believe there is a place for rewilding projects within the world heritage designation, as part of conservation heritage evolving, and that conservation movements change and grow into new ideas and this is all part of the heritage story:

"Rewilding is part of the heritage of the Lake District I think" (EC interview, 16-08-18)

Paul's interpretation is understandable as I have demonstrated his own personal interests in Chapter Four, Paul has a particular draw to the mountains and to the *wild*. Then in Chapter Five I explored his interpretation of the world heritage designation and how he is often perceived in partnership meetings, and frequently he fights to give nature a voice. Therefore, it would make sense he sees rewilding as part of the world heritage site in action, as he is an advocate of conservation and looking to the future for new ways of conserving nature. Similarly, Ed has an appreciation for the outdoors, and an interest in the history of the conservation movement so it would be logical that he also understands rewilding as heritage, as it is part of this conservation movement. Whereas, Vicky, as discussed in the previous section, does not believe rewilding has much of a place within the heritage of the Lake

District – she believes the farming culture and in particular the relationship with the sheep is of the most importance:

> "I think the most important thing is the traditional breeds of sheep and genetic diversity, having that and the hefted flocks that's the most important thing to me" (VO interview, 09-07-2019)

This demonstrates clearly how having the three strands of the world heritage designation can lead to differing interpretations of *heritage*. Coming back to those fundamental questions within heritage literature of: whose heritage is being preserved and why – why do some aspects of heritage take precedence over others? As I explored in Chapter Two, Lowenthal (2005) described natural heritage as the land, sea, soil, and plant life, whereas cultural heritage, is often considered as traditions, languages, arts and crafts, and buildings. The definition of natural heritage offered by Lowenthal (2005) shows similarities with what may now be considered elements of nature conservation. Bender (1993) explores the original understandings of these words and their usage. Bender (1993, p. 313) argues that "Nature and culture were not polar opposites, quite the contrary. Culture was, if anything, the worship of nature". She argues the meaning of the words has been reworked and changed over time, much like the landscapes themselves.

Within the debates over rewilding – nature seems to be placed above culture, it is seen as wild, untamed, and free (Carver, 2016). It seems to be viewed as a higher order than the tamed, managed, and controlled nature that is in itself the basis of culture. We need a return to this classical understanding of the words, where they are not in polar opposition (Bender, 1993). These current polarised interpretations have influenced how people think and understand nature and culture. As well as this, these differing understandings of nature and culture can cause tension within management decisions, shown through Ed and Vicky

prioritising different things (McHenry, 1998). This leads to questions such as Vicky's; why is the imagined future of rewilding more important than her livelihood in the present? Temporality is key in this debate – the context needs to be understood.

> "Heritage and landscape do not move as parallel lines, but are constantly folded into each other: no linearity and no stability. There is depth of time, but no convenient or uncluttered isolation of the self in the here and now." (Harvey, 2015, p. 921)

As Harvey argues, landscape and heritage are constantly folded into one another, it is messy, there is no easy linear way to see how ideas or changes occur. But temporal depth assists in the understanding, contextualising the landscape and the heritage. For instance, contextualising both Vicky and Paul – understanding why and how they feel like they do about the landscape and heritage. By knowing someone's own personal relationship with the landscape, you can begin to unpick why they think in the way they do and why they interpret things as they do. Paul is an ecologist, who loves spending time physically in the mountains, but also intellectually challenging himself, naming plant species and so on. He has both a physical and intellectual individual attachment to the landscape. Whereas Vicky, a farmer, who undertakes physical labour outside, is inspired by the 500 years of ancestors before her, and wishes to have farming culture valued. She has physical, emotional, and cultural attachments to the landscape that are part of a wider collective farming identity. I must note that Vicky's other job at the LDNPA is also heavily involved with farmers and involves frequently visiting farms, so she continues to be immersed in farming culture on her own farm and with others.

The differences between Paul and Vicky in particular can be seen, and the reasons why they may interpret the world heritage designation differently. I would argue that to an extent they both have an embodied attachment to the land (cf. Setten, 2004), however, it is very *different*.

They conceptualise the landscape in different ways – for example, Paul experiences both physical experience through cycling and walking and intellectual passion through naming and observing the flora and fauna on his cycles or walks. Vicky is passionate about her physical engagement with the land as well, through farming day-to-day and also through nostalgia and out of respect to the generations of her family who have come before her. This also demonstrates the individual experience versus the collective experience. I argue these two individuals, Paul and Vicky, are demonstrative of the wider issues within the LDNPP with regard to interpretation – there are too many stakeholders within the LDNPP with different ideals, values, and experiences for them to come to a coherent management plan that takes everyone's preferences into account. There is a need to work collectively, and with respect for previous generations of people who have managed the land. However, there are too many individual agendas within the partnership that make this hard to achieve. It also makes answering the questions of *whose* heritage do you preserve and *why* (Bender, 1992, 1998; Hall, 1999; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000; Waterton and Watson, 2013; Harrison, 2013; Harvey, 2015, Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, 2017) very difficult. This has implications for the future management regarding change and authenticity which will be explored in the following section. However, I argue by understanding people's deeper personal relationship with the landscape and heritage it may help deal with some of the interpretative issues regarding the world heritage designation. Utilising each other's areas of speciality is vital for the management of the Lake District – but you cannot do this effectively without understanding why that person thinks in the way they do and unpicking their own values and understandings. Understanding each other is the key to being able to work together effectively – we must understand and value each other's knowledge – we must develop a "*heritage sensibility"* (Harvey, 2015, p. 921).

6.2.2. Change and Authenticity: Farmers or Conservationists?

Change and authenticity are concepts that have been well discussed within the heritage literature (Lowenthal, 1985; Bender, 1992; Winter, 2004; Baillie, 2006; Poulios, 2008; Jones, 2009; Alberts and Hazen, 2010; Poulios, 2010; Hingley, 2011; Harrison, 2013; Wheeler, 2014; Zhu, 2015). They are also significant considerations within any management decisions that are taken within the LDNP and World Heritage Site. I will now, with reference to farming and rewilding, discuss how projects such as 'Wild Ennerdale' and other proposed ideas might *change* the landscape and thus compromise the *authenticity* of the world heritage site.

Within both the WHSG and TAG meetings the ideas of change, authenticity, and truthfulness were discussed. Within the WHSG meeting there was discussion around whether the inscription was "*truthful to the farming system*" and whether the intangible qualities of families working together to gather sheep were being fully understood (Fieldnotes 25-04-19). It was also noted that the number of sheep on the fells was not as important as the number of hefted flocks when concerned with genetic diversity. This was reiterated again in the TAG meeting in reference to a discussion about change, in which it was argued that "*changes need to be controlled as to not adversely affect inscription"* (Fieldnotes 01-05-19). Both these discussions made me think about change – and what '*authentic'* heritage is, in the case of the Lake District. As discussed in section 2.4.2. authenticity is a complex concept; with different people having different understandings of what is 'authentic'. A world heritage site must maintain its authenticity and integrity from the time of inscription, and if it is adversely affected the property would be removed from the World Heritage List (Poulios, 2008; Alberts and Hazen, 2010). Therefore, I considered how far rewilding projects could be put in place, especially if they begin to change the landscape, thus altering the 'truthfulness' of the

inscription. Through affecting the numbers of hefted flocks, for example, which as Vicky argued are the most important to her, and for maintaining that genetic diversity. The idea of being 'truthful' to the inscription was highlighted to me by Duncan Bell from the Forestry Commission when he discussed the practice of hill-farming:

> "Those relatively independent farmers are the *classic living landscape*, the agro-pastoralism, the way they do it, the skills they have, the shows they have, the words they use, that they largely still do what they were doing, that they were off from the land, that it's a way of life, hill-farming, and that they still use commons and so on and so forth, that's a *living landscape*. So, where I would say, you have to remember I'm somewhat biased but I think I'm right, where I would say a type of inscription that is broadly truthful to the past, where they would become less truthful of a living landscape of outstanding worldwide value is if they suddenly became conservation graziers, they earn, they work and they strive to farm." (DB interview, 04-07-18, emphasis added)

Duncan admits his bias, due to the fact he significantly contributed to the research and writing of the nomination document. However, he does raise the issue of truthfulness and change. He argues that the farmers in the Lake District are the *'classic living landscape'* and exemplifies this through the listing of the aspects of intangible farming heritage, such as shows, skills, and words – similarly to Vicky's previous points. Duncan hints at change having adverse effects on the world heritage inscription, for example, if the hill-farming was replaced with conservation grazing. This would change the aesthetics of the landscape, as well as changing the skills that were required of the farmers, there would be no need for gathering skills anymore. Patrick Evans from the NFU also agrees that changes, such as new environmental land management schemes (ELMS), would dramatically alter the landscape and be a direct threat to the world heritage status:

> "As soon as we get a big change coming in it changes dramatically and farmers can't get and some can't survive and other farmers have a different approach to them and the National Trust buy them and all of a sudden you'll see a big change and that scenario that has a direct threat to world heritage status and actually that was one of things in my meeting the other day that was actually one of the things they talked about was that recognition of shepherding and sheep as delivering this landscape." (PE interview, 16-10-18)

Patrick mentions that in a meeting he attended, shepherding and sheep were recognised as a mechanism for delivering this inscribed landscape, agreeing with Vicky's argument that sheep are important. Thus, again highlighting, as Duncan already hinted at, that if the type of farming were to change the landscape would change and therefore the inscription would be compromised. These issues surrounding shepherding, sheep, and flocks have already caused tensions within the LDNPP:

> "Anytime we've tried to make any changes to common land management for example, we are accused directly of jeopardising a thousand years of custom and practice, things like that" (KN interview, 17-10-18)

As Keith Nicholls from United Utilities argues he is struggling to make any changes, with regard to common land management, because whenever they try to, they are confronted with a backlash from the stakeholders who value the intangible aspects of the farming heritage such as custom, practice, and skills. Consequently, there is rift within the LDNPP with regards to how much change is acceptable, and what is authentic. Matthew Davies from the National Trust debated authenticity in regard to delivering environmental goods:

> "MD - We've got to deliver all this good stuff through our tenants
> FS – Yes
> MD – Because they are the ones farming our land
> FS – Yeah

> MD – We can't ever hope to take it out of their hands and do it with our ranger community, there's just not enough people and it would lack that authenticity." (MD interview, 18-01-19)

He tentatively speculates about a future where National Trust rangers take on the farms but then states that it would lack authenticity. This discussion highlighted to me that the farmers are appreciated, and there is an understanding that their knowledge and skills are needed for this 'authentic farming'. As Duncan argued this is a way of life and they are the living landscape, Jonathon Bishop from the RSPB also stated:

> "I don't want to see farmers lose their livelihoods and be kicked off the land, nobody does" (JB interview, 14-11-19)

These authentic livelihoods are what have created the Lake District landscape as it has been inscribed, and to alter this drastically, as Matthew speculated with rangers, would have an adverse impact on what the landscape looks like and also how those livelihoods are perceived and what is authentic. Jonathon Bishop at the RSPB is part of a project for farming with nature at Haweswater where the RSPB took over the farm tenancy:

> "Yes, so when we took over the tenancy about five years ago we started out with an in hand farming model so we had farm staff that were paid by RSPB and fairly quickly realised that that wasn't really going to work in terms of kind of hours, running a hill farm on a thirty-seven and a half hour week clearly wasn't compatible" (JB interview, 14-11-19)

This project has demonstrated what Matthew Davies feared would happen if National Trust rangers took over farms, there is a lack of understanding of the *job*. This is not a nine to five job; it is a livelihood and requires more than just thirty-seven and a half hours a week to manage. As discussed in Chapter Two, livelihood can mean more than just the economic elements of work; people also continue uneconomical practices because they shape their

identity through these actions (Wallman, 1979). Emery (2010) explains how farmers, in the North York Moors, continued with their practices for symbolic reasons (Burton 2004) and within the LDNP and World Heritage Site there is a similar situation, in which farmers continue to their work even without earning a living. The intangible skills, the dedication to going out at 3am to check on ewes, this is all part of this livelihood; this shapes their identity as a hill farmer. This ultimately raises questions about change, authenticity, and truthfulness which are at the heart of LDNPP debates, and how much change is allowed is still debated – there is no right or wrong answer per se. However, an understanding of farming as authentic and a way of life, as argued by Duncan, is important and an understanding that it would take a long-term commitment to introduce rangers or conservationists into this farming environment, and to learn the skills required. As previously stated, I do not believe you necessarily need that long-term historical familial engagement, but a passion and dedication to learn from existing farmers and to work alongside them as well as understanding that farming is not just a nine to five job.

An approach that balances both natural and cultural management would be preferable, and in keeping with the inscription, as in the previous section Paul Hastings at Natural England did argue for the conservation movement and its evolution to be included within the notion of heritage. Allowing space for both conservation and farming is true to the inscription, in my opinion, as both are acknowledged as shaping this cultural landscape over time, allowing space for farmers to breed the best livestock, but also space for improvement of biodiversity could be one way of incorporating multiple strands of the OUV which I will explore in more detail in section 6.4.1. It could be argued that removing vast amounts of hefted flocks, changing the type of farming, and changing the farmers to rangers would not be truthful to the inscription. These changes would lose those intangible aspects of the farming heritage such as

shows, skills, meets, gatherings, and the breadth and depth of knowledge about Herdwick genetics specifically. Rangers could of course learn these skills, much like the Kilcullen family have in Deerdale, but it would be a slow process and the type of farming would still most likely be pushed towards conservation grazing with current political agendas regarding climate change and payments for environmental goods. Keith Nicholls argues that his desire is for the land management in the Lake District to value natural processes and what the land delivers for us societally:

> "We were trying to promote a way of viewing land management that values natural processes and celebrates what it can deliver for us as a society and not just physical delivery of better water and improved biodiversity and everything but actually the importance of these places for people to go in this busy modern world and all the rest of it, but yeah it got polarised and rewilding was seen as it was then framed by farming community as land abandonment which it isn't, and it certainly isn't in the case of Wild Ennerdale" (KN interview, 17-10-18)

This polarisation is a barrier to future rewilding projects in the Lake District. If this could be overcome, it might open up a space for discussing projects that deliver both natural benefits and as Keith argues, benefits for us a society, such as the importance of place for the people in them and who visit them. Keith also argues that framing rewilding as 'land abandonment' has led to heightened tensions, and argues that the 'Wild Ennerdale' project does not do this. Keith, as has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, has a tendency to think holistically and in a 'sustainability' mindset and to include both the natural and the cultural. Tying together the natural and the cultural is a way to move forward with rewilding schemes, still acknowledging them as natural but also incorporating the cultural elements such as farmers' knowledge, skills, and appreciation of place (Wynne-Jones, Strouts and Holmes, 2018). Thus, developing a '*heritage sensibility'* in which different stakeholders acknowledge, and demonstrate awareness of, each other's heritage and values, will help discussions hopefully

become less polarised (Harvey, 2015). It is important to note that it is not just the policy practitioners who can learn from the farmers – the farmers can also learn from the policy practitioners. Keith is a good example as he tends to think more holistically and appreciate that certain framings of rewilding do not work, and that farmers framing it as land abandonment is not useful therefore Keith could share his knowledge and experience of rewilding projects and why they are not abandoning the land and what they actually incorporate to dismiss these ideas of abandonment. Keith could explain the benefits of some of these schemes, and what they do for people as well as nature. Overcoming the polarised viewpoints starts by dismantling the framings each group has and to understand why they think like they do. Exploring why farmers might be framing rewilding as abandonment is important as then their understanding can be developed and people such as Keith can work with them to develop a new term or understanding, as Carver (2016) suggests 'wilding' rather than rewilding and still preserving elements of cultural heritage.

Therefore, these ideas of change and authenticity remain significant considerations within any management decisions taken by the LDNPP and discussions of how much change is acceptable continue, particularly within rewilding debates. I will now explore these ideas of change and authenticity in relation to farmers' livelihoods and consider how the farming community produce/reproduce heritage and the impact change has on this.

6.3. Livelihoods and (Re)producing Heritage

In Chapter Four, I discussed how Peter and Edith were reproducing Lake District farming heritage through an entangled process, as they themselves are 'new' on the scene. This raises questions about authenticity, as I also discussed in section 6.2.2 and Chapter Four, for example, their neighbours Scott and Frieda have been farming for fifty-eight years, and Scott's father also did before them, similar to my earlier discussion of Vicky in this chapter.

Vicky is an extreme example of a farmer who has long, deep, interwoven connections to the farming heritage – 500 years – and thus it can be argued she is an *authentic* farmer. However, in this section I will argue that these genealogical (Gray, 1998; 1999) "(time deepened) interwoven lines" (Harvey, 2015, p. 920) are not the only indication of authenticity. Reproducing the heritage, as I argued in Chapter Four, encompasses creating a home for yourself, and hefting your own family to the landscape.

Peter and Edith are a new strand in this interwoven meshwork. They are a new farming family, but they adhere to the farming traditions within the Lake District – and what makes a *good* upland farmer (Burton, 2004). They feel a responsibility to the farmers before them and to the farmers they currently work in close proximity with.

> *"Peter also made a comment when we were walking and talking, he said any good upland farmer will be doing what we're doing, walking the sheep out every day and there is no way round it, this is just the slow process to avoid chaos in the fields. So, these upland farmers get to know their sheep and land really well due to walking it every day, multiple times a day." (Fieldnotes, 24-04-19)*

This demonstrates that you can feel a responsibility to the landscape and heritage without having that long-term historical familial connection like Vicky, Scott and Frieda possess (Emery, 2010). Peter has worked to create his own intimate connection to the land – as demonstrated through his daily walking of the fields. As Gray (1998, 1999), Harvey (2015), and Setten (2004) argue, there is an importance to this familial connection, to understanding where the knowledge, tradition, and skill has come from. Being aware of the historical context in which you are farming is important, however, this can still be understood from an 'outsider' such as, Peter. Utilising Cohen's (2009) argument that knowledge can be born from living and working on the land, I argue that it is the value of these "lived cultural experiences" (Cohen, 2009, p. 162) that is important, as long as the historical significance is not ignored.

> *"Peter argued that farmers round here have been doing 'nature' for years, if you have healthy livestock, you have healthy land. But they said the National Trust are getting in new tenants who are conservation led and this was reiterated at lunch that all the farmers are old, fifty/sixty years, and they are losing the knowledge and what Peter called 'traditional' skills such as gathering with dogs, fell gathering 5 times a year etc. Nigel seemed to agree, and Robert did agree, he said you only get those skills from a lifetime of working the fell." (Fieldnotes, 16-04-19)*

Taking a more critical approach (Waterton and Watson, 2013; Winter, 2013), I would argue that the time bound understanding of heritage significance is not *as significant* as it first may seem, for example, through Vicky's ancestral links of 500 years. In the above quotation Robert Handsworth, a farmer and ranger for the National Trust, argues that you only develop these traditional skills from a 'lifetime on the fells'. However, Peter is an example of a new farmer who is in the process of developing these skills, and is in his sixth year of doing so. He has, as previously explored in Chapter Four, developed an intimate connection with this livestock and land. Clearly, these familial and lifetime aspects of farming are *important* links, I am not disparaging the deep understanding of farming that comes from 500 years of engagement with the land. I do, however, argue that to sustain this heritage, new farming families need to be welcomed, and understand the heritage. As I stated in Chapter Four, this familial long-term historical engagement is not wholly necessary for the continuation of this farming heritage – however an awareness of it, and respect for it is vital. Thus, Harvey's (2015) notion of developing a heritage sensibility once again provides a way to engage with this world heritage inscription. If the newer farming families, such as Peter and Edith's, develop a heritage sensibility and a willingness to learn, understand, and respect the intangible aspects of farming in the Lake District such as gathering, shows, and shepherds meets for example - then they should be welcomed. There is no reason as to why these families could not be considered *authentic*, such as Vicky's, every family ultimately has to start from

somewhere and develop their own experiential understanding of/with the land. These new families create their own interwoven lines, creating their own mark in the landscape, connected by the previous farming families through the acts of walking the fields and the skills they developed such as drystone walling, hefting flocks, and gathering (MacFarlane, 2013).

> *"As we walked, he also pointed out that removing sheep removes farmers and thus removes the rural community. Whilst he then demonstrated knowledge and pointed out his "model" Herdwick ewe, white face, white legs, dark body – the perfect sheep. He also then pointed out the old boundary walls in the landscape." (Fieldnotes, 18-04-19)*

Here Peter demonstrates his understanding of the sheep and the old field boundary walls from one of the previous farming families; he finds enjoyment in noticing these things, and respects them. As mentioned in Chapter Four, there have only been two farming families on their farm since 1547, Peter and Edith are the third. Peter and Edith have 'bought' into this way of life, respecting the heritage, making contact with neighbouring farmers, involving themselves in community life – they have immersed themselves fully and now seek to weave their own strand of the meshwork (Ingold, 2007). This farming heritage is a *living* cultural heritage that continues to evolve, and I argue here that this is no less authentic than that of the families who have been here for hundreds of years. The Kilcullen family are using traditional farming practices, knowledge, and skills to weave their own authentic experiential connection to the land. The heritage needs to be reproduced, reworked, and engaged with to continue. It is a living cultural landscape.

The word 'living' is interesting to consider in this context – in section 6.2.2. Duncan Bell argued that the farmers are the classic living landscape and that "they work and they strive to farm". Duncan argues that to be farming authentically the farmers should be earning a living

from the landscape, and not just using it for conservation purposes. Therefore, throughout this thesis the word 'living' has encompassed multiple meanings: (1) the landscape as alive and changing; (2) the act of being in a place, of *living*; (3) earning a living, a *livelihood*. When considering heritage reproduction, all three of these are significant. I have previously discussed how the landscape is always changing (Bender, 1993) and how this affects the families living in place and creating their own meaning, and now consider their livelihoods when discussing authenticity. Thus, the landscape, and the heritage within this landscape, is shaped and supported through methods of maintaining a living/making a livelihood. Thus, affecting how much change may be acceptable, as previously discussed.

Framing change through the lens of making a living/livelihood means that any changes, large or small, that maintain this are authentic rather than changes imposed for other means, such as conservation grazing or rewilding. This links to Emery's (2010) work on the *nature* of change, the speed and rate at which change happens, as well as the idea of buying into/reproducing heritage through *hard work* (Cohen, 2009; Emery, 2010). Authentic changes that are beneficial to the farm, tend to be framed in the longer term, as Emery's (2010, p. 140) work in the North York Moors demonstrates that "fettling recognises the long-term nature of farming". Taking time to understand the place, the land, the community, and the traditions and customs is vital for a new family such as the Kilcullen's, proving they are in it for the long-term, and will continue to change the farm for the *better*. Emery (2010) compares fettling, with improvement, to demonstrate the different ways of understanding change. Fettling being concerned with the maintenance of something, and its longer-term condition, and improvement being associated with shorter term, more immediate changes. The Kilcullen's demonstrate their ability to fettle, and consider the farm long-term, and have been accepted into the community through their willingness to learn and their *hard work* on the

farm (Emery, 2010). I argue that through developing a heritage sensibility (Harvey, 2015) and understanding that knowledge can be developed through living and working on the land (Cohen, 2009) new farming families can "engage with it, rework it, appropriate it, and contest it" (Bender, 1993, p. 3). Cohen's (2009) work focuses on putting the emphasis on the farmers and their hard work, and active engagement. The Kilcullen family demonstrate an active engagement – their knowledge is born of trial and error, developing relationships with neighbouring farmers, and showing their passion by attending shepherds meets and gatherings. Their knowledge over the last six years has been "born of working and living on the land" (Cohen, 2009, p. 157). They are demonstrating a long-term, active, engagement with the farm and the surrounding landscape and they have developed a heritage sensibility as they respect and work with neighbouring farmers as well as learning about the area's history and participate in local events.

Therefore, providing an opportunity for the farming heritage in the Lake District to be understood in various ways, and continue to evolve in this living cultural landscape, as long as the "embedded links between people, place and identity" (Harvey, 2015, p. 920) are not forgotten or ignored and are respected, learnt from, and continued. I would also argue for the addition of livelihood to be added to this list of people, place, and identity. Understanding that there are embedded links between the farmers, their farm, how this shapes their identity and their livelihood is important. Being a farmer is their livelihood, it is their identity (Wallman, 1979), and it is important to recognise this as discussed previously, and not assume that farming is just a job. The farming heritage in the Lake District is, as Duncan argues, a way of life.

Reproducing heritage can create a space for heritage to continue, to evolve, and to be engaged with. If there is a wider understanding, a heritage sensibility, from both farmers – old and new

– and other stakeholders in the LDNPP then I argue there is a way to move beyond polarised arguments, and respect the heritage significance of the Lake District. It would be helpful for the stakeholders to think through what it means to consider conservation of nature as heritage rather than heritage being opposed to nature. Crucially, being aware of, and respecting, other groups is the way to move forward and to allow new farming families to be part of this heritage and to make their own connections to place. I will now explore how the individual versus the collective community values previously mentioned in section 6.2.1. affects the way in which the different groups conceptualise the landscape and heritage. I will also explore how local knowledge can be useful when trying to understand these differing conceptualisations – communication is key between multiple stakeholders for developing a heritage sensibility.

6.4. Communal Values

In this section I will explore how the LDNPP could learn from the farming community and itself become a more communal governing body and therefore less individualistic. I will examine how this might contribute to more effective management decisions and communication; decisions which do not ignore local knowledge and take into account the intangible as well as the tangible aspects of heritage and landscape. Previously, in Chapter Four, I gave multiple case studies of different participants from various organisations within the LDNPP to explore how they interact with the landscape. I argued, as I have also done in this chapter, that these experiences were largely individualistic despite the participants working frequently in group settings, via meetings, workshops, and training days. However, the farmers, who often work in isolation, tend to conceptualise landscape and heritage more collectively. Vicky explains how gathering is often done collectively:

> "Collectively, it's quite unusual to be doing an activity like that [gathering] collectively, farming activity, most farmers just work in isolation and do their own thing but to have a group that you've got to get on with whether you like them or not that's quite unusual." (VO interview, 09-07-2019)

I argue that, the farmers work in isolation often, however, when it comes to it, they work effectively collectively, and for the sake of preserving their communal heritage. Whereas the LDNPP members tend to act in the opposite way – they work collectively but for their own ends individually, and their own agendas. Therefore, I would argue that Setten (2004) is accurate to an extent in her argument that farmers and planners know the landscape differently, however, I would develop this and argue that it is not as simple as one group experience the landscape and one group abstract it. There is more nuance than this, for example, as I have demonstrated through both farmers and policy practitioners' relationships with the area and their familial connections. In addition to this, in Chapter Four I explored the aesthetic, passionate, intellectual, and physical connection various individuals have with the landscape. I would argue that both the LDNPP and the farmers *experience* and *abstract* the landscape but they do it in fundamentally different ways, for different reasons and thus there are different consequences. These different ways and reasons have been explored in previous chapters, and the consequences touched upon in this chapter so far; rewilding is a key example of demonstrating these differences.

I explored through Paul and Vicky how they have different ways of conceptualising rewilding, based on their own experiences and knowledge. This highlights the difference between individuals in the LDNPP and farmers in this context. What is clear from these discussions is that despite the meetings, workshops, and training days the LDNPP have together, the individuals, that I interviewed, seemed to still largely act individualistically and based upon their own ideas, values, and experiences. However, it is noticeable that the

farmers, who do not regularly work together, and are often on the fells in isolation have a more collective mindset, informed by their collective farming heritage and a specific set of values concerning hard work (Emery, 2010), a responsibility to previous generations, and maintaining the genetic diversity of their livestock. These differences are evident throughout my thesis, and in an attempt to bring the LDNPP and farmers together to create a mutual understanding of 'living heritage' that encompasses all of the differing complex understandings of landscape and heritage I argue a heritage sensibility is required (Harvey, 2015). I will explore how this heritage sensibility can be used to bring the individual and collective conceptualisations together through the local knowledge that both groups possess and explore how communication can be improved to make this understanding of living heritage manageable and practical for the LDNPP.

6.4.1. Local Knowledge

Throughout my thesis I have highlighted the importance of local knowledge, utilising it and respecting it, developing a 'heritage sensibility' towards it (Harvey, 2015). This knowledge is vital to retain if the world heritage inscription is to be *truthful* and *authentic,* without this knowledge the farming culture would suffer, and new farming families such as the Kilcullen's would have nobody or anything to learn from. Therefore, keeping this knowledge and listening to it whilst the farmers are still active is vital. Utilising this very living cultural heritage that the UNESCO designation seeks to protect, can help it be maintained. Vicky believes, for example, that it is very important to keep the hefted flocks specifically. This piece of information might seem arbitrary without the knowledge as to why. Therefore, the context, historical and genetic, is important to understand and retain to maintain these important hefted flocks into the future, as previously stated in earlier sections, the sheep are of

cultural importance themselves, they mediate the space between the farmers and the landscape.

> "I think it's really important to keep the hefted flocks, personally, that's what I think, it's really important, and it's really difficult to maintain a heft with fewer sheep because obviously they take up a smaller area and other people's sheep wander in so a lot of ageing farmers are having to go a lot further to collect their flock and also if you have fewer numbers you're more likely to have twins, I'm sure others have told you, because the chances are with fewer sheep on the same ground they'll release more eggs and conceive more lambs and then if they have twins they don't go straight on to the fell immediately so the hefting instinct is compromised because there's fewer of them going to the fell earlier and that makes it worse so you're on a downward spiral once you reduce the number of sheep" (VO interview, 09-07-19)

Vicky explains why she believes the hefted flocks are important to keep. She states that they are important because if the hefts become smaller, they are hard to maintain and eventually break up, losing the hefting system that has been in place for generations, and provides the hardy conditions in which Herdwicks thrive up on the fell. Reducing sheep numbers ultimately compromises the hefting system in place and therefore will affect the farming culture and alter it dramatically. Hefts are part of the agro-pastoral land use system which UNESCO designated the Lake District for, they are part of the shepherding, active shepherding. Walking the hills, moving the sheep, training them to understand which is their heft and developing those embodied relationships with place and with the sheep that Gray (2014) discusses. Therefore, this knowledge about hefting should be recorded and maintained by the LDNPP so that their management plans can incorporate these ideas, and they can develop a heritage sensibility in which they do not just decide to reduce the sheep numbers. Making an informed decision based upon the local knowledge of each valley is vital as to improve trust and communication between the LDNPP and the farmers.

As argued in Chapter Four, with influence from Cohen's (2009) work, the LDNPP need to understand how knowledge is practised and developed from a relationship with the land, and within management decisions it must be considered '*to what ends'* are these decisions, who do they benefit and do they maintain the authenticity of the inscription. These decisions can only be truly made in a holistic manner if they incorporate local knowledge and understanding of how this knowledge is created and embodied. Understanding these elements of knowledge creation can help lead to understanding farmers' decision-making processes, such as Vicky demonstrates:

> "The ideal for me would be that, because at the moment with your traditional breeds they're not profitable at the moment so you just keep like 200 instead of 400 and have a really high quality flock that are pure bred and really interested in the breeding and you know buying the tups and showing the sheep, that would be the ideal for me but you know, because I have rough fell sheep, if I had 200 of them there's no way I could make any money off that so I've got to have 400 but I can only breed 70 pure, so the ideal for me would be to do more management around wildlife habitats and things and get my farm really biodiverse and a smaller flock but a really high quality flock" (VO interview, 09-07-19)

Vicky argues that her ideal farming situation would be to do more management around wildlife habitats and have a smaller but high-quality bred flock of sheep. This ideal would possibly sit well with conservationists – it encompasses wildlife habitat management, smaller flocks of sheep (so long as the heft and genetic diversity is retained), and from a farmers' perspective having a genetically strong flock of sheep, one that is pure bred, has benefits for shows and shepherds meets. This idea encompasses multiple elements of the OUV and highlights the importance of farming and breeding sheep but also that now there are other considerations such as biodiversity and the conservation movement is always changing and moving forward. This offers that balance of farming heritage and nature conservation that the

partnership is seeking, it does not place nature above culture or vice versa – they are working in tandem. It retains one of the elements of the farming culture that farmers enjoy – sheep breeding - but means the numbers come down which is good from a conservationist's point of view. However, to achieve this the profitability issue needs to be addressed, and as Vicky argued during her interview, the sheep need to be valued – economically and culturally for this to work. Once again demonstrating how, a heritage sensibility is vital for developing management plans. Different groups need to value each other's livelihoods, ways of life, and knowledge. Then once these different groups understand the importance of sheep, in this instance, they can jointly work together to create management policies and plans that value the sheep and are sensitive to the farmers' requirements that also incorporate habitat management. I found that the Kilcullen family had a good knowledge of the habitats on their farmland – and one day Peter told me to stop and listen:

> *"Once we were done with the ewes and lambs Peter showed me an enormous crab apple tree, and he told me to go and stand under it with him and listen for the bees when the wind stopped" (Fieldnotes, 24-04-19)*

This moment stuck with me, as an example of Peter's knowledge of the wildlife on his farm, this crab apple tree was far from our usual route, but there had been a ewe giving birth by it, and he explained how he liked to listen to the bees within it whenever he passed. I think this knowledge and appreciation for nature should not be underestimated by conservationists either, it may appear anecdotal and not 'scientific' enough, however, from the point of view of a Natural England staff member checking if the farm meets requirements for AES for example, it is very useful to note where the wildlife is, how the farmer interacts with it, and the knowledge they have about the wildlife (Whatmore, 2009; Maderson and Wynne-Jones, 2016). However, as I stated earlier, this is not and should not be a one-way relationship in which the policy practitioners learn from the farmers, it should also be the farmers learning

from the policy practitioners. A two-way knowledge exchange and deeper understanding of each other must be both ways to develop trust and find common ground. Scientific knowledge should not be placed above local knowledge, and there should be equity and an acknowledgement that all types of knowledge are valuable – these knowledge controversies need to be overcome to develop a 'heritage sensibility' and appreciate each other's knowledge base as explored in Chapter Two (Whatmore, 2009; Maderson and Wynne-Jones, 2016). I will now explore this divide further in relation to how communication can be improved between the LDNPP and the farming community.

6.4.2. Communication: Valuing Local Knowledge

In the previous two chapters I have touched on communication as a prominent issue within the partnership, I will now explore it in more detail between the partnership and the farming community. Developing a heritage sensibility (Harvey, 2015) is important for valuing local knowledge, as explored in the previous section, however, to understand this knowledge it requires effective communication between the LDNPP and the farming community. Which thus far, has not been evident, particularly in the case of the National Trust in Deerdale. Scott and Frieda detailed to me an example of the National Trust lacking a 'heritage sensibility' when they were introduced to National Trust rangers from Wales as an example of a one of their 'best' farms:

> "They already class a lot of them as hobby farms or part time farms which they actually, once they referred to us as a part time farmer and I thought wait there's been two of us fulltime sometimes 14/15 hours a day, if you turn that into a part time farm all your walls are going to come down and there's no maintaining getting done, so when they start coming in with that attitude you start to get quite deflated, I think that's the point where 5/6 years ago I started to think this is not good, this is not good, you're standing here with all these rangers from Wales or whatever, and standing in

> front of the two of us who have worked bloody hard for 30 odd years and you're telling them it's a part time farm…
>
> And I just thought it's quite disrespectful to people who have worked very hard and always worked with them, to try and secure and achieve what they want as well as what we want to do, and we did all work together like that for a long time, they used to bring people round to Scott because they said he's one of our best and forward thinking farmers we have and still up until five or six years ago they were saying that because he is quite forward thinking" (SJ and FJ interview, 03-05-19)

This encounter between Scott, Frieda, the Deerdale rangers, and the visiting rangers from Wales demonstrates how the National Trust are lacking, in this specific case, a heritage sensibility. There appears to be no understanding of how farming works, and that it is a livelihood not just a 'part time' job. This shows similarities with Maderson and Wynne-Jones' (2016) work in which they argue that the direct experience is needed to understand the *everyday* of bee-keeping. They argue that knowledge hierarchies exclude the bee-keepers tacit, every day, knowledge in favour of formal scientific study. Throughout these examples given by Scott and Frieda it is evident that there is this lack of nuance where the National Trust is concerned with understanding farming. There appears to be a knowledge hierarchy and exclusion in favour of the National Trust. Similarly, to how Maderson and Wynne-Jones (2016, p. 96) argue for bee-keepers knowledge to be "granted equal weighting" I argue that farmers' knowledge also needs this equal weighting during decision-making in Deerdale if a true 'heritage sensibility' is to be developed. Scott and Frieda have familial connections with the farm, and Deerdale itself too. Frieda finds this 'disrespectful' to their years of hard work. Understanding why this nuance is lost with the Deerdale rangers links back to my previous arguments that the individuals who work for the partnership tend to have their own agendas, and act in their own best interests. There is very little time taken to understand the farming heritage and the, in some cases, blood, sweat, and tears that goes into maintaining this

livelihood. Any attempts that are made, such as National Trust tenants' meetings, are not well received:

> "FJ – Yes, we went to a meeting last year, no disrespect to any young students or anything this young girl was just out of university, she had her little red National Trust jacket on, she totally kiboshed the meeting right at the very start, some farmer gave an opinion, and she came in and said she didn't agree with it and then he said such and such and she went I know, I've done a university degree
>
> SJ – So that was the end of that
>
> FJ – So you looked to the land agent and they looked at us and looked at everybody else and that was the meeting closed, because then you could see it was never about anybody else's opinion or it was never going to be a debate about anything it was going to be this is what I want to do, but it was the way she did it and everyone was sort of like oooh, and that was it." (SJ and FJ interview, 03-05-19)

Scott and Frieda detailed this encounter with another visiting ranger from Norfolk, and the land agents based in Deerdale. This encounter demonstrates this individualistic way of thinking, and the fact the local land agents from Deerdale did not intervene suggests they had no interest in continuing this as a two-way dialogue. This was also backed up by Thomas Bolton, at Peony Farm in Deerdale, who stated he *"doesn't see the point in tenant meetings unless there is an actual issue otherwise it's just the land manager and everyone grumbling in the pub"* (Fieldnotes, 29-04-19) and further to this he added that the *"National Trust don't seem to know what they're prioritising - cultural heritage e.g. farming or drystone walls or otherwise, he said it'll all go wild and they've planted loads of trees and that is changing the landscape".* (Fieldnotes, 29-04-19). Therefore, the tenant meetings, which could be utilised as a vital method of communication between the National Trust and the farming community in Deerdale are not used to the full potential. The National Trust's communication issues with the farming community stem far beyond Deerdale, and into two neighbouring valleys. Walter

Duthie from Monk Fell Farm has had very little interaction with the National Trust regarding the use of his farm in the public relations for the world heritage bid:

> "WD – I know they used our farm in the bid for it *laughs*
>
> FS – I was going to say yeah, so did you have much involvement in that?
>
> WD – No
>
> FS – Okay, did anyone come and talk to you about it, from the National Trust?
>
> WD – No" (WD interview, 19-02-19)

This was further backed up by Tim Longford around the corner at High Branch farm:

> "FS – Yeah, okay and do you get many National Trust people coming to the farm much?
>
> TL – Not often no, only when they want something" (TL interview, 19-02-19)

These examples are prominent within my research, due to the vast number of farms the National Trust owns, especially in Deerdale and surrounding valleys, therefore they are a reoccurring member of the LDNPP that are often criticised as they are very involved within the management of the Lake District. There are many examples of the farming community having negative experiences when communicating with the National Trust within my research, as I have previously argued, developing a heritage sensibility, and valuing local knowledge is one of the key ways to break down this tense relationship. Austin, Garrod and Thompson (2016) argue that within partnership working there are often historical grievances with specific partners and that these negative experiences in the past are often brought to the fore in partnership meetings and can disrupt decision-making. I would develop this further, and argue that the farming community also have these historical grievances, in the Lake District it is particularly with the National Trust (Shortland, 2017). This can be for a variety of reasons, they might know someone personally who has had a bad experience, or someone's

father, or they may have been personally afflicted such as Scott and Frieda. These bad experiences can, however, hamper the development of new relationships forming at a time when it is crucial for new farming families to be welcomed and take over farms as older farmers retire. If new, young, farmers join a community in which the National Trust are not respected there is a high likelihood that they too will begin to think like that. This was demonstrated to me when I spoke to Jake Shorter at Rose Farm and Ellen Green at Farthing Farm – both new and young tenants on National Trust farms in two different valleys. Both of these new tenants had issues with their farmhouses, neither were liveable when they moved in and they were working on them at the time I spoke to them. Jake Shorter described the National Trust as *"an ungainly beast" (Fieldnotes 17-08-18)* that is difficult to navigate and he had heard of other farmers negative experiences of them but he was still hopeful that they would improve and feared they were just under-resourced. Similarly, Ellen Green at Farthing Farm had a negative experience with the National Trust as she was promised the farmhouse would be ready on time for her and her family to move in and it was not. She also explained how she had heard some bad stories from neighbouring farmers and at sheep shows, however, she was enthusiastic and hoped they would improve, much like Jake.

> *"Ellen over at Farthing Farm was great. She was honest, enthused, and positive, even in the light of great difficulty like the National Trust not telling them until a month before that they'd be living in the holiday cottage." (Fieldnotes, 06-05-19)*

I am demonstrating how young, new couples and families moving into National Trust farms can be influenced by neighbouring farmers opinions of the National Trust as well as their own experiences. However, both Jake and Ellen retained their enthusiasm for farming and were not 'put off' by their experiences of the farmhouses not being ready. It is important to build these new relationships with the National Trust and not be too influenced by other farmers' opinions. As Austin, Thompson and Garrod (2016) argue, historical grievances within

partnerships often make the decision-making and collective working harder. It is important to be aware of other people's experiences of stakeholders, but to form your own opinion based on your own experience, and not solely rely on other opinions. For the National Trust to be trusted by the new, younger, farming families they need to prove themselves and not repeat mistakes they may have made with previous generations such as Scott and Frieda. Being aware of, but overcoming, these historical grievances will be a way for the farming community and National Trust to move forward and work on communication.

Within Deerdale, there is a key member of the community, Robert Handsworth, who I previously mentioned in section 6.3., who is both a farmer and National Trust ranger. He has worked in this valley for over thirty years and has therefore developed a breadth and depth of knowledge about the place, community, and farms. He is a good example of a way in which the National Trust can rebuild trust and work with the farming community; by having a staff member who is also a farmer. When in discussion with Nigel Moss from High Bark Farm in Deerdale it became clear that once Robert was to retire (late summer 2019) there would be a void in the communication between tenants and the National Trust, even larger than it already was:

> "FS – So, do you reckon they'll replace him, or…?
>
> NM – I just don't know what on earth will happen, because if he does go, I don't know what they're going to do
>
> FS – Hmm
>
> NM – You know there's nobody to communicate with the tenants, on these trust farms, and it's just the gung-ho way they have of doing everything and you know…" (NM interview, 30-04-19)

Robert is a key figure of communication between the National Trust and farmers in Deerdale, he frequently drops by for tea and a chat, sometime multiple times in a week, he helps out with the volunteers on the fell tree planting, he knows the pub landlords, the campsite managers, and each farmer. Robert is essential in his understanding of how Deerdale is managed, where areas of contention are, and how the National Trust responds to them. I was lucky enough to spend a day shadowing Robert during my time in Deerdale:

> *"Spent the day shadowing Robert, the longest serving ranger in Deerdale, actually the entirety of these valleys. I feel so grateful to have shadowed him for the day and have his wealth of knowledge and connections readily available. He pointed out tree species, landmarks, farms, points of interest, National Trust plantations, and all sorts on the short drive to Deerdale Head. He really understands the landscape, commenting on sheep movement, bracken, fences, the reasons for trees, for fences, the fact he sees both farmers' and conservationists' points of view about the Lake District. Robert is honestly an asset for the National Trust, and I'm gutted for them that he is retiring next month, he has such a wealth of knowledge and is a key individual for communication between the National Trust and farmers in Deerdale." (Fieldnotes,14-05-19)*

This rather poignant entry in my field-diary was taken on my penultimate day staying on the farm in Deerdale. Robert had picked me up at 9am and through until 4pm I got an insight into his world. I found him to be an interesting combination, working for the National Trust, one of the largest landowners in the national park and world heritage site, whilst himself farming on the outskirts. I find it hard to put into words on a page how much knowledge Robert has – I feel I cannot do his years of experiential learning justice. However, I will try to, because I think it is important that individuals such as Robert are appreciated and recorded. I had this thought whilst we were out all day, visiting farms, visiting campsites, visiting pubs, visiting shops – he knew everyone, and knew seemingly everything about them, and everyone was more than happy to chat to him. This kind of personable communication and extensive

knowledge base is difficult to replicate, as discussed with Nigel Moss. I will now examine how communication and knowledge play their parts in decision-making, and how this knowledge could be retained even after employees retire. I will explore how decision-making in valleys such as Deerdale could become more effective with a heritage sensibility applied to it (Harvey, 2015).

6.5. Decision Making

> *"We had roast beef and pickle sandwiches and me, Peter and Robert were discussing the ability for the National Trust to create and implement valley wide plans, relating to sheep numbers, wildflower meadows, soil erosion – all of it. Peter argued the issue is not a plan per se but the willingness of people to join in and find common ground, echoed by Robert who said it's getting people on board, you need to build, after gaining trust. Trust seems to be the key factor, they argued anyone can make a plan but it's implementing it that is the problem, and deciding on a scale or time and size (micro-manage or valley wide?) Robert and Peter both agreed with me that valley level plans are a good idea and having a network of farmers in Deerdale.*
>
> *Anyway, lunch was very interesting, and Peter summed it up as a very 'delicate balance' and the need for evidence for decision-making e.g. sheep numbers. Also, Robert summed up you need to trust people and involve them in decision-making otherwise what's the point?" (Fieldnotes, 16-04-19)*

This discussion over lunch at the beginning of my time in Deerdale resonated with what I had experienced in the previous eleven months in various parts of the Lake District. The need for common ground. Despite the differences, whether that being farmers like to work in isolation but then can work collectively, or that policy practitioners have meetings and deliberate over detail but that they have different backgrounds and agendas – they should all work to find common ground for the greater good. This links to ideas around knowledge creation and storing knowledge because one of the ways to find common ground would be to create a

dialogue, to have an open and honest discussion about who has knowledge of what and why. Peter and Robert both, during this lunch, agree trust is a major issue, as I previously explored within Chapter Five, regarding trust specifically in the LDNPP. Therefore, both groups (the LDNPP and farming community) *value* trust. As I also explored in Chapter Four, in relation to knowledge making practices, the georgic ethic (Cohen, 2009) argues that you must understand from what value basis these knowledge practices are coming from and are influenced by. I have tried to explore this through my time staying in Deerdale and the interviews I have conducted with both farmers and policy practitioners. I have sought to understand this value basis – where their values stem from, why they stem from this place, and what they have in common. The biggest, reoccurring themes are trust and respect. The two are intertwined, you have to build trust between people and respect people's knowledge – if you disregard farmers' knowledge because it is not from a degree in ecology, or it is not scientific or technical enough, or because it cannot be quantified in graphs and charts, you are not respecting that type of knowledge and thus trust will be hard to build in any meaningful way. As Robert stated at this lunch, you need to involve people in decision-making otherwise it is pointless, demonstrating respect and trust, and if you do not involve them you are not valuing their knowledge and experience.

There are pragmatic issues associated with understanding each other's values – such as how is this knowledge stored, and how do policy practitioners and farmers gain this knowledge. Robert is an example of a policy practitioner and farmer who has gained knowledge from both sides, and often sees both sides of the argument in regard to conservation and farming. He has gained this knowledge and understanding over a vast period of time, and as he is due to retire this poses the problem of what does he do with all this knowledge? There needs to be a way for policy practitioners to leave their experientially gained knowledge so that the next person

who takes over their role is aware of the values, different understandings and practices that are at play within the landscape. A formal knowledge sharing system would be an effective way to do this; outgoing employees could provide their expertise, knowledge, and understanding gained from their role so that the incoming employee could start their training by reading this and at least getting a feel for the place they are about to work in and for the people they are about to work with.

In addition, throughout their time as an employee there could be semi-regular meetings with their line managers to discuss and talk through this experiential information so that it is shared during their time in the organisation as well as after they leave. Ultimately, some form of formal knowledge sharing system would help alleviate the problem that has been identified in Deerdale upon Robert's departure. His relationships, knowledge, and sensibilities are vitally important for his role, and in this specific valley, thus they would be exceptionally useful to know about for someone taking over his role. Likewise, it would be good for the farmers themselves to also learn from the policy practitioners, combining their knowledge of conservation with the farmers' knowledge of the landscape may lead to better conservation practices, they may find there are more similarities than they first think. This knowledge sharing may also help breakdown any long-standing grievances, as previously explored in relation to the National Trust. Sharing knowledge, both ways, will help understand why decisions were made and how they could be improved in the future for the benefit of both groups. Both conservation and farming tend to be long term investments, and both require a tacit knowledge of the landscape as to make sure the most effective conservation efforts are undertaken for that specific landscape. Bringing together these two groups, and understanding their different ways of working may lead to greater collective working, that focuses on long term solutions not short-term changes that do not have any long-term benefit. What is crucial,

is working together, and understanding each other's values, knowledge, and sensibilities so that decision-making can be effective and beneficial for all stakeholders involved.

6.6. Chapter Summary

This chapter has demonstrated how the notion of a *'heritage sensibility'* can be used to understand future challenges within the LDNP and World Heritage Site, such as how much landscape change is acceptable through rewilding projects, how to include communities within decision-making, and how experiential knowledge can be stored for future use. Understanding different groups' sensibilities can help maintain the 'living cultural heritage' that encompasses all of the differing complex understandings of landscape and heritage – through people's different biographies, histories, customs, and rights (Harvey, 2015). The important aspect of this is to take on board the message from each group, and utilise their knowledge to inform decision-making in the present and the future.

Authenticity and change have been identified in this chapter as important, when considering the future of conservation and farming, allowing space for new farming families to create their own livelihoods is vital for the continuation of the Lake District farming heritage, if these new families are sensitive to the traditions, practices, and knowledge of previous generations of farmers then they creating their own authentic farming experience. Working collectively with neighbouring farmers is a way to achieve this sensibility and understanding, likewise policy practitioners can also work with the farmers to learn from them and vice versa. Collective working between the different stakeholders is a way in which they can achieve more effective decision-making that encompasses all the different understandings of landscape and heritage. Thus, Harvey's (2015) concept of heritage sensibility can be seen in this chapter as a way to build upon the more-than-representational understanding in both

landscape and heritage research that we should not ignore the everyday experiences and knowledge from different stakeholder groups. Their repeated everyday experiences and practices shape groups' identity and ultimately create these "embedded links between people, place and identity" (Harvey, 2015, p. 920).

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

Throughout my thesis, I have argued that for the management of the LDNP and World Heritage Site to be successful, there needs to be the development of a 'heritage sensibility' (Harvey, 2015) and that multiple stakeholders need to share knowledge and learn from each other (Cohen, 2009). Developing an awareness of the historical, social, and political influences on individuals within the farming community and LDNPP is crucial for understanding why and how decisions are made. In this thesis I have also demonstrated the complexities of working within a vast partnership such as the LDNPP. I have examined individuals' interpretations and representations of heritage and landscape as well as how these interpretations and representations influence their work and decision-making. I have argued that the personal and the professional are inseparable, and that individuals are influenced by their own personal, aesthetic, intellectual and physical connections with heritage and landscape.

Further to this, I have explored contemporary debates within the LDNP and World Heritage Site: change, authenticity, and rewilding. These three debates are at the core of management tensions within the LDNP and World Heritage Site. I have discussed how landscape change can impact upon the world heritage designation and potentially have detrimental impacts on the landscape character. In addition, whilst considering the landscape change that is happening, I have considered how authentic this change is and how it impacts on farmers' livelihoods. The topic of rewilding brings together these two ideas and demonstrates tangibly how landscape change is and can impact upon farmers' livelihoods and have negative connotations, particularly in the media and in partnership meetings.

Finally, I have suggested ways in which the LDNPP could improve its effectiveness and efficiency through analysing my own observations in LDNPP meetings and from interviews with individuals from various partner organisations.

7.1. Chapter Summaries

In **Chapter Two** I began with an outline of the representational and non-representational approaches in geography and heritage studies; exploring the phenomenological philosophy which has influenced non-representational and recently, more-than-representational theory (2.2). I then focused on exploring *more-than-representational theory*, and developing a *heritage sensibility* (2.3). Further to this, I reviewed previous literature that explored three core themes within my own research: *authenticity*, *change*, and *rewilding* (2.4). Finally, I reviewed literature concerned with farming heritage, farmers' interactions with other stakeholders (2.5), and the management of national parks and world heritage sites (2.6). This chapter situates my research within philosophical, geographical, and heritage research.

Chapter Three gave an overview of my methods and evaluated the approaches I took towards my research. I examined how research is often considered 'messy' (3.1.) and how theory and methods are often difficult to reconcile (3.2.) I then offered an explanation of what I did, how I did it, and how I now feel about it on reflection (3.3). This chapter introduced, engaged with, and justified my main methods:

1. Interviews with farmers and policy practitioners
2. Ethnographies within the farming community and policy practitioner arena

I expanded on my chosen methods (3.3.2 and 3.3.3) and discussed varying interview techniques and what participant observation consists of. Within this chapter I also considered

the ethical and political implications of my research (3.5), and these were explored from a feminist perspective.

Chapter Four, **Experiencing the Landscape**, presented an ethnographic exploration of the farming family I stayed and worked with (4.2.), and of other stakeholders within the LDNP and World Heritage Site (4.4.). I explored their embodied experience with the landscape on a daily basis and how they create knowledge through their actions and through their own perceptions of heritage and landscape. Further to this, I examined how their knowledge and understanding of heritage and landscape is influenced by numerous factors (4.4.2.), such as upbringing, where they live, the type of job they have, and their own involvement in managing the landscape (4.4.3).

Chapter Five, **Partnership Politics**, situated the partnership within nature-culture debates (5.2) and provided an examination of the functionality of the LDNPP (5.3) and the tensions which exist between stakeholders within the partnership and outside of it. I explored various individuals' interpretations and representations of heritage and landscape and how they think the partnership can reconcile all these differing understandings (5.4 and 5.5). I concluded with an exploration of how the LDNPP could function more effectively, based on my own ethnographic encounters in partnership meetings and events, and with reference to more statutory power (5.6).

Chapter Six, **Future Challenges: Towards a 'Heritage Sensibility'** explored three main themes within my research in more depth; change, authenticity, and rewilding (6.2). I explored these in the framework of future challenges for the LDNP and World Heritage Site. Various future challenges facing the LDNP and World Heritage Site are considered, such as an ageing farming population and resulting succession crisis, nature conservation conflicting

with world heritage status, and the uncertainty of future agricultural policy. I examined how these three themes can be integrated into future management plans, and the implications that they may have for farmers' livelihoods (6.3). I proposed developing a heritage sensibility – in which the relevant stakeholder groups are aware of how the others understand heritage and landscape and where their knowledge and values come from (6.4). I argue that understanding the historical, social, and political context for people's decision making is vital for moving forward as a partnership, and one that interacts with the farming community effectively (6.5).

Chapter Seven provides an overview of my chapters, and concludes with the theoretical and practical contributions that my thesis presents for geographical, heritage and anthropological research and for the LDNP and World Heritage Site. My research adds to previous work concerning local level management tensions, national level policy concerning heritage and national parks, and international level world heritage site management plans. My thesis offers some contributions for the future of other national parks and world heritage sites with partnership working.

7.2. Key Theoretical Contributions

I will now outline the main theoretical contributions my thesis presents for geographical, anthropological and heritage studies. I will begin by outlining my contribution to developing *more-than-representational theory* and utilising Harvey's (2015) *heritage sensibility* concept. I will then acknowledge how my thesis has contributed to ideas of developing and sharing knowledge through Cohen's (2009) *georgic ethic*. Finally, I will outline how my work builds on previous research undertaken on authenticity, change, and how rewilding impacts on farmers' livelihoods and how I have built on this.

7.2.1. More than representational theory: Developing a 'heritage sensibility'

My thesis develops more-than-representational theory (Lorimer, 2005; Waterton, 2019) within both landscape and heritage studies. I have argued for a more-than-representational approach to landscape and heritage rather than a purely representational or non-representational approach. I have argued that this approach incorporates understanding historical, social, and political sensitivities. In addition, through the work of Waterton (2014, 2019) and Harvey (2015) my thesis has built on more-than-representational understandings of heritage and landscape by exploring stakeholders' own understandings and knowledge (Setten, 2004; Cohen, 2009; Bell, 2010, 2013). I have demonstrated throughout my thesis how both the embodied experience of landscape and heritage is important but so is the representational and how people perceive and interpret landscape and heritage through other means. I have demonstrated how more-than-representational theory can be used to help understand landscape and heritage and I have developed this through Harvey's (2015) notion of heritage sensibility.

Throughout the thesis, the importance of historical, social, and political context has been noted (Bender, 1992, 1998, 2002) in regard to various debates within the LDNP and World Heritage Site. Waterton (2014, 2019) highlights the importance of the embodied and sensory understanding that more-than-representational theory offers, however, I have added to this with the understanding of wider historical, social, and political context so that the embodied experience can be situated within a wider historical picture to help understand why and how people act as they do. I have done this by utilising Harvey's (2015) notion of heritage sensibility and applying it to the Lake District context. I argue for developing an awareness of people's personal biographies, experiential understanding of place, knowledge creation, and customs and communal rights both within the LDNPP and the farming community. Framing

this as ‘heritage sensibility’ allows it to be used across different organisations and groups of stakeholders. I have argued that this awareness is fundamental to the successful management of landscape and heritage as an anthropological understanding (Winter, 2004) allows for stakeholders to find common ground in which to work together.

7.2.2. Knowledge and the Georgic Ethic

Utilising Cohen’s (2009) work on knowledge and engagement my thesis has demonstrated that there should be more of an emphasis on the engagement stakeholders have with the land. I argue that knowledge is “born of working and living on the land” (Cohen, 2009, p. 157) in the case of both the LDNPP and farming community. However, I have argued that this creation of knowledge and understanding of the landscape is similar yet different. Setten (2004) argues that planners and policy practitioners have an abstracted and detached view of the landscape whereas farmers have a practice based, experiential understanding of the landscape. I have refuted this to some extent, arguing that the policy practitioners in the Lake District also demonstrate some elements of an experiential understanding of landscape relating to their own personal, familial, and passionate interests. I argue that both farmers and policy practitioners engage with the landscape, it is just in a different way. The farmers tend to engage in a working on and with the land day-to-day in a more embodied way than the policy practitioners. Policy practitioners do also do this, but it is often intellectualised through their work and their engagement is more *engagement for work* than a *working engagement*. Both the farmers and policy practitioners create knowledge from their interaction with the land and this informs their decision-making. Therefore, Cohen’s (2009) work on the georgic ethic has provided a basis for understanding and developing the ways in which knowledge is formed from interaction with the land, how these engagements differ between stakeholders and to what effect.

7.2.3. Authentic Change and Livelihoods

Finally, my thesis has explored authentic change and livelihoods in relation to rewilding (Wynne-Jones, Strouts and Holmes, 2018; Wynne-Jones *et al*, 2020). I have explored what farming authentically means, and throughout my thesis the word 'living' has encompassed multiple meanings:

(1) the landscape as alive and changing; (2) the act of being in a place, of *living*; (3) earning a living, a *livelihood*.

I have developed these three understandings as significant in the case of the Lake District farmers and more broadly when thinking about the landscape as changing and evolving. I have debated whether landscapes can or should change dramatically, in this case when inscribed for specific reasons as a world heritage site. Framing this change through the lens of making a living/livelihood means that any changes, large or small, that maintain the landscape are authentic rather than changes imposed for other means, such as conservation grazing or rewilding. However, the case of the Lake District is complex, as I have demonstrated in Chapters Five and Six, there is a case to be made for authentic nature conservation and rewilding, or more appropriately 'wilding' to be accepted as part of the conservation movement which is mentioned within the OUV.

Emery's (2010) work on the *nature* of change, the speed and rate at which change happens, as well as the idea of buying into/reproducing heritage through *hard work* has informed this development within my thesis. I have discussed throughout my thesis how much change is acceptable within the Lake District and concluded that changes which are in keeping with the OUV are authentic. Such changes may include those made by both new and current faming families as well as conservation work done by the LDNPP; taken together these form part of

the heritage story of the Lake District. The designation is complex and brings together three distinct strands – *identity*, *inspiration*, and *conservation* - within the Lake District. As long as decisions for land management are in keeping with and do not detrimentally impact the landscape character, I believe new families could start farming with nature and in nature-friendly ways whilst also supporting a smaller but pure bred flock of sheep.

7.3. Key Policy Recommendations

In this section I will offer four practical policy recommendations for the management of the LDNP and World Heritage Site informed by the empirical data within this thesis. The following recommendations will enable the LDNPP and farming community to adopt a 'heritage sensibility' approach. I will begin by stating the need for more statutory power and how to achieve this. I will then offer suggestions for ways to maintain institutional knowledge within the LDNPP and how this will help future management plans. Thirdly, I will suggest ways in which this knowledge can be shared as well as how knowledge sharing structures should be put in place between the LDNPP itself and with the farming community. Finally, I will offer suggestions of how to improve collective working within both the LDNPP and farming community.

7.3.1. Statutory Power

In Chapter Five I discussed how statutory power needed to be reformed, similarly to the Landscapes Review (Glover, 2019). I believe this is still crucial and support the Landscapes Review's (Glover, 2019) work on reforming the governance structures in place for managing national parks. Particularly, "Proposal 23: Stronger purposes in law for our national landscapes" (Glover, 2019, p. 134). Statutory powers for the landscape, incorporating cultural heritage, would give the Lake District more power for the *landscape* as opposed to the built

environment which it is currently. Therefore, the suggested rewording of the statutory purpose of national parks to the following is welcomed:

> *"Recover, conserve and enhance natural beauty, biodiversity and natural capital, and cultural heritage."* (Glover, 2019, p.38)

As Bernard Moyes argued, there is a need for national parks to have actual power for the landscapes they are supposed to be protecting. Therefore, I would encourage the reform of governance structures currently in place, and also suggest that national park boards are smaller in number (nine-twelve) and that the chief executive is changed more frequently (every five years) to allow for new ideas and equal opportunity. These changes to the governance structures allow for a 'heritage sensibility' approach to be adopted because they allow more space for discussion and deeper learning from one another. Smaller board meetings would provide a space in which each person could be heard, to avoid the problem identified in Chapter Five of whoever shouts the loudest being heard. In addition, a shorter term for the chief executive allows for a new direction and would hopefully avoid the LDNPP becoming siloed into 'nature or 'culture' based on what the chief executive's personal preference is.

7.3.2. Institutional Knowledge

To improve long-term relationships between stakeholders within the LDNPP and the farming community, I suggest there should be a mechanism in place to store institutional knowledge. As explored in Chapter Six, with Robert retiring, and the worry that this brought the farmers, it is vital that someone like Robert has his knowledge stored for future use by whoever replaces him and for the organisation as a whole. As well as a period of shared working and handing over for three-four months, I suggest that stakeholders develop a framework for keeping this knowledge, for example, a set of templates in which to record this knowledge.

Such as: a template for contextual knowledge, a template for personal knowledge, a template for relationships and power dynamics, and a template for the work that the person has completed and work they wished to undertake. This would provide a base level of knowledge for the organisation and the person replacing them. It means that no knowledge is lost or assumed. For example, Robert could fill out his contextual knowledge of Deerdale, his own personal thoughts and feelings, his relationships with the farmers and details of power dynamics within the valley, and what he has achieved and things he had hoped to see in the future. This avoids over thirty years of knowledge being lost when he leaves. It provides a knowledge bank for the National Trust regarding this valley. If all stakeholders in the LDNPP did this, there would be a vast knowledge bank, accountability of actions, and information to reference in future decision-making. This would provide a basis from which new staff could build a 'heritage sensibility' by becoming informed and aware of historical, political, and social histories of the place. For example, they would be aware of any historical grievances between stakeholders and this would help them to understand why the stakeholders act as they do.

7.3.3. Knowledge Sharing

As explored throughout Chapters Five and Six, knowledge sharing is vital for learning together and trusting each other. There needs to be more opportunities created for both the LDNPP and the farming community to share knowledge and information about their jobs and livelihoods to enable them to develop a 'heritage sensibility'. This could be facilitated through either the rangers or farming officers of the National Trust or LDNPA. This knowledge sharing could take the form of regular monthly round ups of what people have been doing, these could be in newsletter format and sent to everyone who signs up. There could also be three monthly workshops and discussion groups in which both groups present and discuss

ideas to work out how they can use each other's areas of speciality to achieve a desired outcome for land management. These methods of knowledge sharing would enable the stakeholders to be cognizant of each other's needs and wishes, thus enabling decision-making that is informed by all stakeholders' knowledge and thoughts, not just the loudest stakeholder.

7.3.4. Collective Working

The above section demonstrates how collective working could function by knowledge sharing workshops and discussions. However, this collective working can also be improved within partnership meetings and sub meetings. Breaking down groups and always sitting with different individuals each time would increase the discussions and separating out particularly the nature-oriented and culture-oriented stakeholders and mixing them together. Similarly, site visits, such as Matthew and Cecelia have started, should become more common place, and give groups a chance to collectively walk in someone else's shoes as well as see through someone else's eyes and explore different parts of the Lake District. This provides an opportunity for the LDNPP to complete more 'knowing-by-being' as they go out and explore places rather than sitting in a board room with maps and discussing them. Thus, enabling a 'heritage sensibility' to be developed as they can more deeply understand the everyday issues of other stakeholders within this landscape.

7.4. Future Research

This thesis has demonstrated the importance of social, political, and historical sensibilities as well as emphasising the engagement stakeholders have with the land. Further to this, I have explored different individuals' interpretations and representations of heritage and landscape as well as how these interpretations and representations influence their work and decision-making. I am therefore ending this thesis, with some suggestions for the continuation of these

ideas. First, I will explain how developing an understanding of nature conservation as heritage could build upon these themes from my thesis and allow for a greater understanding of terms such as 'wilding' (Carver, 2016) to be integrated into management plans for the Lake District.

7.4.1. Nature Conservation as Heritage

I believe future work concerning nature conservation as heritage would build upon the work in my thesis and is particularly important in the case of the Lake District due to the conservation movements history within the world heritage inscription. Undertaking a period of ethnographic research with conservationists, to gain a deeper understanding of how they conceptualise heritage and if they consider nature conservation, as well as approaches such as 'wilding' (Carver, 2016), to be part of an authentic conservation for heritage would complement my research and build on untangling the tensions between nature and heritage conservation. It would be interesting to understand whether conservationists thought in the same long-term mindset that the farmers I spoke to do, and whether they think they are 'heritage-making'.

7.4.2. Heritage Making: Authentic Livelihoods

Linking to the previous point on heritage-making, future research concerned with authentic livelihoods would also build on my research. Determining what an '*authentic livelihood*' is and whether conservationists also see their actions as authentic to what they believe conservation is would be an interesting parallel to what farmers think is authentic and how they make a living. Comparing farmers' and conservationists' understandings of authentic and how they make a 'living' would be interesting to see if they consider themselves as 'heritage-making'. In particular in another national park and world heritage site this would make an interesting comparison.

7.4.3. Management – New and Diverse Ways

Finally, I think more work should be conducted, similar to the Landscapes Review and my thesis, into how national parks are governed and why. I believe an extended period of ethnographic work within a national park authority would provide a more in-depth insight into the power dynamics, personal and professional relationships, and politics than I or the Landscapes Review could provide. This would provide a unique insight into the workings of the national park governance and provide an opportunity for true reform from within and to work with the local authority to understand how they could create new and diverse ways of managing the national park.

7.5. Concluding Remarks

I began this thesis with a quote from Rebanks (2015), and during the time it has taken me to complete this PhD, he has written another book, '*English Pastoral'*; I wish to end this thesis with another of his quotes. Rebanks (2020) highlights the fact that within the valley he lives in, there are multiple groups interested in it and many groups who have shaped it. He admits he does not have all the answers for its future management, and does not pretend to, but he expresses his pride in the people who do manage it and the people who dwell within it, and hopes there can be a way to all move forward together, and appreciate each other's perspectives.

> **"I am proud of my community both for keeping the old ways going and trying to find new ways to address the desperate problems of our age. I believe in this landscape and its people."**
>
> **(Rebanks, 2020, p. 274)**

We cannot think only of our direct engagement and personal experience with the landscape and heritage, we must recognise the wider social, political, and historical context. We must

acknowledge the relationships we have, the ideas we have and how we represent places, and our history – why this place means so much to us and why we care so much. Developing a recognition that this is where a lot of our knowledge making comes from – as well as our direct experiences with the landscape and heritage is important for decision-making. This knowledge affects our decision-making and ultimately how we think about a place. Our fleeting moments of direct engagement are vital, both our feelings and reactions, but they alone are not sufficient to build a knowledge base. We must consider other people, other politics, other ideas, other histories – we must develop a *heritage sensibility* to other people's living cultural heritage.

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Appendices

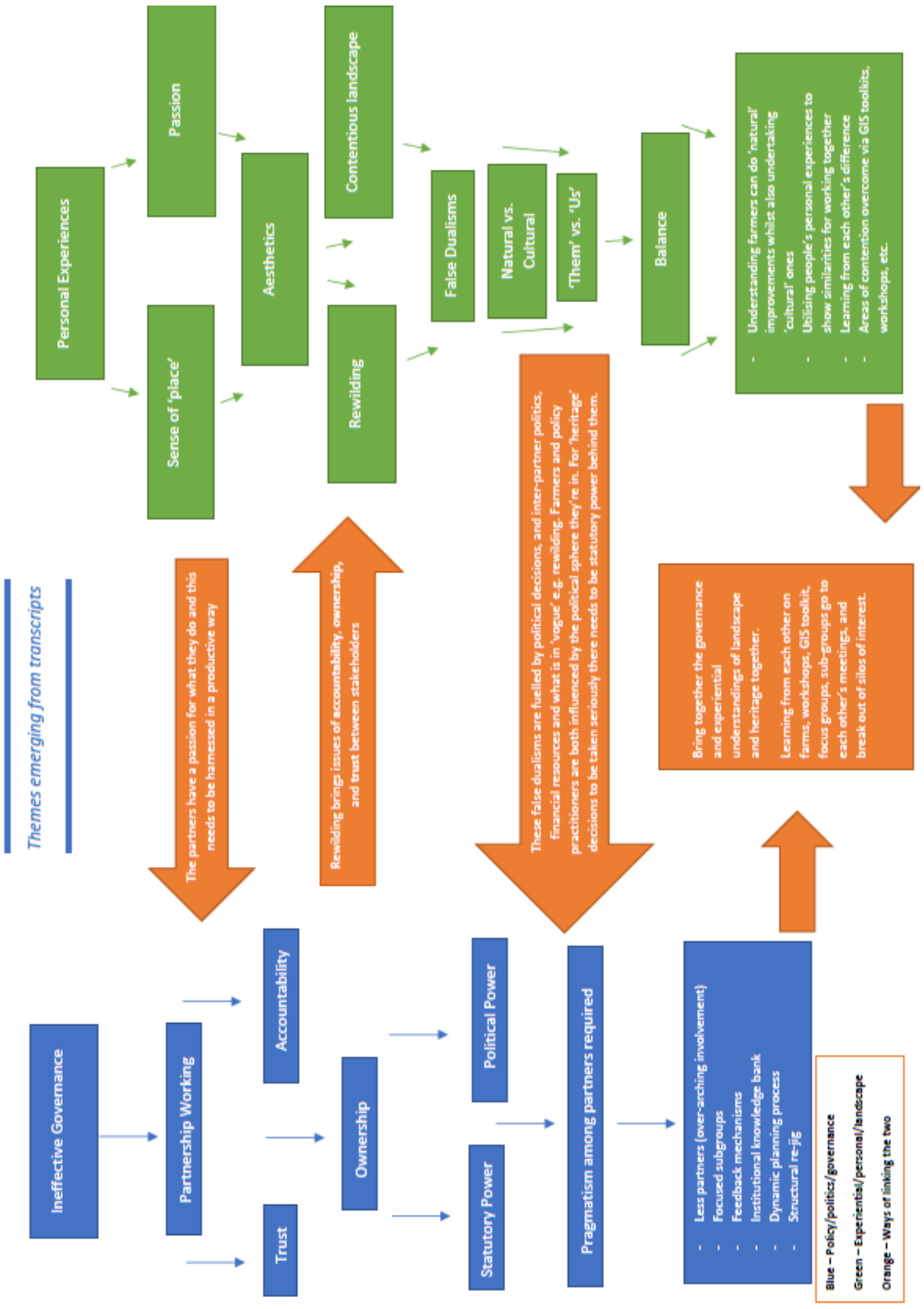
Appendix I:

Participant List	No. of Interviews
1. National Trust Employee	2
2. Forestry Commission Employee	1
3. Retired LDNPA Employee	1
4. LDNPA Employee	1
5. LDNPA Employee	2
6. LNDPA and National Trust Employee	2
7. National Trust Employee	1
8. Wordsworth Trust Employee	1
9. Farmer	1
10. Historic England Employee	1
11. Farmer	1
12. NFU Employee	1
13. United Utilities Employee	2
14. Cumbria Wildlife Trust Employee	1
15. Farmer's Wife	1
16. Natural England Employee	2
17. LDNPA Employee	1
18. LDNPA Employee	1
19. RSPB Employee	1
20. LDNPA Employee	1
21. Farmer	1
22. Farmer	1
23. Farmer	1
24. Farmer	1
25. Farmer	1
26. Farmer	1
27. Farmer	1
28. Farmer	1
29. Farmer	1
30. LDNPA Employee	1
31. Farmer	1
32. Farmer	1
33. Farmer	1
34. Farmer	1
35. Farmer	1
36. National Trust Employee	1
37. National Trust Employee	1
38. Farmer	1
39. Farmer's Nephew	1
40. LDNPA Employee	1

Total Interview Number: 45

Total Participant Number: 40

Appendix II:


Themes emerging from transcripts
Ineffective Governance
Partnership Working
Trust
Accountability
Ownership
Political Power
Statutory Power
Pragmatism among partners required
- Less partners (over-arching involvement)
- Focused subgroups
- Feedback mechanisms
- Institutional knowledge bank
- Dynamic planning process
- Structural re-jig
Blue – Policy/politics/governance
Green – Experiential/personal/landscape
Orange – Ways of linking the two
The partners have a passion for what they do and this needs to be harnessed in a productive way
Rewilding brings issues of accountability, ownership, and trust between stakeholders
These false dualisms are fuelled by political decisions, and inter-partner politics, financial resources and what is in 'vogue' e.g. rewilding. Farmers and policy practitioners are both influenced by the political sphere they're in. For 'heritage' decisions to be taken seriously there needs to be statutory power behind them.
Bring together the governance and experiential understandings of landscape and heritage together.
Learning from each other on farms, workshops, GIS toolkit, focus groups, sub-groups go to each other's meetings, and break out of silos of interest.
Personal Experiences
Sense of 'place'
Passion
Aesthetics
Contentious landscape
Rewilding
False Dualisms
Natural vs. Cultural
'Them' vs. 'Us'
Balance
- Understanding farmers can do 'natural' improvements whilst also undertaking 'cultural' ones
- Utilising people's personal experiences to show similarities for working together
- Learning from each other's difference
- Areas of contention overcome via GIS toolkits, workshops, etc.