

Discourses of Sustainability within Archaeological Heritage Management

Sarah Howard

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the
degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

February 2019

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

This research takes a critical discourse approach to examining the concept of sustainability within archaeological heritage management (AHM) literature and spatial planning policy, to investigate how different discourses on sustainability and sustainable development have influenced the frameworks within which AHM is undertaken in England. Through the analysis of international sustainable development policy and national environmental and heritage policy, two potential discursive frames for the concept of sustainability were observed. One follows an eco-modernist perspective that considers cultural heritage much in the same way as natural resources, within a functional resourcist framework. This encouraged the economic valuation of externalities such as the environment and culture to enable them to be brought into the market for the purposes of national accounting as demonstrated by the UK government from the late 1980s. The other represents a wider 'cultural turn' within the humanities and science that sought to locate the concept of development within local and specific cultural contexts, to ensure they were 'culturally sustainable' in the sense of being appropriate for a locale and its communities, as well as being socially, environmentally and economically sustainable. Within international sustainability discourse in relation to culture, archaeology has often been ostracised because of its historical associations with colonialism and the spread of western notions of culture, but this denied AHM as itself a culturally contingent practise. What this research has shown, is that the way the materials and practices of archaeology have been discursively constructed as environmental resources or assets for development, has influenced the way the concept of sustainability has been understood and applied. From the 1990s UK AHM deliberately sought to discursively align itself with natural environment auditing and management approaches through a

common lexicon of environmental resourcism. This introduced a particular frame for understanding the historic environment, that emphasised the economic value of heritage as a contributing factor to environmentally and economically sustainable forms of development using culture as an instrument. A parallel discourse can be observed in relation to specifically archaeological heritage, that focused on the social sustainability of management practice by advocating public participation and rhetoric of participatory democracy. Whilst this ensured that archaeology was and continued to be socially supported, it did not encourage reflexivity in terms of whether approaches to AHM were culturally relevant. It is concluded that archaeology has much to offer in terms of the critical appraisal of the concept of place and various frames that are used to interpret and manage the historic environment, especially in challenging uncritical conceptions of beauty and aesthetics that the author has observed in recent professional heritage management discourse.

For Rachel

“Round here we stay up very, very, very, very late”

Round Here. Counting Crows. August and Everything After (1993).

Acknowledgements

For my parents Jeanne and Graham, you have always believed in my abilities, even when I did not, and inspired me to be my own person. I will never be able to express in words my gratitude and the respect I have for you.

Thank you to my friends and Mike, who have supported me in various ways over the eight years of researching and writing this thesis.

To my academic parents John and Patricia, you challenged me to think beyond the rhetoric that my profession presented and to challenge this within myself and others.

I have been fortunate to have worked with many inspirational people in my professional career over the last 12 years. To the rebel inspectors of Historic England, you helped me to find my own way, to put creativity, emotion, empathy and, most importantly, myself into the way I approach archaeological heritage management.

To the numerous wonderful people of Twitter. This social media platform, often derided by the traditional academe, enabled people like myself, who were often working in isolation, to find support and feel connected to something bigger. I want to particularly mention my #PhDgang writing group, but there are so many of you who have been an inspiration and cheered me on.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1. Key thesis concepts	7
1.1.1. Culture, material culture and society.....	8
1.1.2. Archaeology as rubbish, record, resource and heritage.....	10
1.1.3. Historic environment.....	17
1.1.4. Place-based approaches to culture and development.....	18
1.1.5. Sustainable development, sustainability and sustainable.....	19
1.2. Research aims	21
1.3. Structure of the thesis	21
Chapter 2. International Discourses on Sustainable Development	27
2.1. The prehistory of sustainable development discourse	27
2.2. Sustainable development: a new environmentalism.....	35
2.3. The Cultural Turn in Sustainable Development Discourse.....	43
2.4. Summary	47
Chapter 3. Cultural Heritage, Archaeology and Sustainability (Literature Review)	51
3.1. The discursive construction of cultural sustainability	51
3.2. The challenge of cultural heritage sustainability	57
3.3. Cultural vitality and economic viability: the economics of heritage	70
3.4. Cultural diversity: participatory democracy, communitarianism and place	78
3.5. Bridging natural and cultural resource management	86
3.6. The past as analogue: eco-cultural resilience	92
3.7. Cultural change or <i>sustaining</i> the status quo	95
3.8. Summary	97
Chapter 4. Theory and Methods.....	103
4.1. Introduction	103
4.2. Discourse, knowledge, reality and practice	104
4.2.1. Epistemology.....	104
4.2.2. Ontology.....	105
4.3. Social constructionism and the social construction of knowledge and reality	106
4.4. Critical heritage studies	109
4.5. Environmental discourse critique	111

4.6. Critical discourse analysis	111
4.6.1. Critique	113
4.6.2. Ideology and power	115
4.7. Discourse–historical approach and the significance of context	117
4.8. Methods of analysis	118
4.8.1. Qualitative text analysis	119
4.8.2. Selection of policy texts for analysis	121
4.8.3. Analysing discursive strategies	122
4.8.4. Analysing themes and categorising strategy	1
4.8.5. Intertextual and interdiscursive relationships	1
4.9. Summary	3
Chapter 5. International Discourse on Sustainable Development	5
5.1. Development and the Human Environment	5
5.2. Sustainable development	12
5.3. Operationalising the discourse of sustainable development	18
5.4. The cultural turn in sustainable development discourse	26
5.5. Operationalising the cultural turn for sustainable development	41
5.6. Summary	53
Chapter 6. Sustainable Development and Heritage Conservation in England	56
6.1. UK government’s response to sustainable development	56
6.2. Heritage conservation and sustainable development discourse	69
6.3. ‘New’ Labour and social sustainability in planning policy	90
6.3.1. Planning policy: the shift to social sustainability	92
6.3.2. Review of historic environment policies	98
6.4. Sustainable management of the historic environment	106
6.5. Changes in planning and heritage policy, 2008 –2018	116
6.6. Summary	124
Chapter 7. Discussion	128
7.1. Sustainable development, meta-narratives and the environmental schema	132
7.2. Archaeology and cultural sustainability	138
7.3. Archaeology and social sustainability	146
7.4. Place-making, the new heritage gaze and making the invisible visible	149
7.5. Disciplinary history, self-reflexivity, continuity and change	155
Chapter 8. Conclusions, Future Research and Practical Applications	161

8.1. The influence of eco-modernism	162
8.2. Sustainability as a problem-solving discourse.....	164
8.3. Implications of findings on heritage practice.....	168
8.3.1. Future development of heritage management policy.....	168
8.1.2. Culture, society and the sustainability of AHM.....	170
8.2. Future Research	173
Appendices	177
1.1. Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (United Nations 1972) 177	
1.2. Our Common Future (1987)	186
1.3. Agenda 21 (1992).....	190
1.4. Our Creative Diversity (1995).....	195
1.5. This Common Inheritance (1990)	206
1.6. Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) 12: Development Plans and Regional Planning Guidance (1992).....	211
1.7. General Policy and Principles PPG1 (1988)	213
1.8. UK Sustainable Development Strategy (1994).....	214
1.9. Strategic Planning and Sustainable Development (1992) and Conservation Issues in Strategic Plans (1993).....	215
1.10. Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) 15 (1994).....	218
1.11. Sustainability and the Historic Environment: Technical Report (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996) and Sustaining the Historic Environment (English Heritage 1997) 219	
1.12. Britain TM (1997).....	223
1.13. A Better Quality of Life: A Strategy for Sustainable Development for the United Kingdom (1999).....	224
1.14. Planning Policy Statement (PPS) 1: Delivering Sustainable Development (2005) 227	
1.15. Agenda 21 for Culture (2006).....	230
1.16. The Hangzhou Declaration: Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies (2013).....	232
1.17. Conservation Principles: Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment (2008)	234
1.18. Government's Statement on the Historic Environment (2010).....	238
1.19. Consultation Response to the revised draft of the Conservation Principles (2017) 239	
Bibliography	246

List of Tables

Table 6 - List of policies analysed.....	123
Table 7 - Discursive strategies employed (after Wodak and Meyer 2009, pp. 94,112-3; Baker and Ellece 2010, pp. 61, 71).	125
Table 1 - Discourse themes in The Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, commonly referred to as Stockholm Declaration (1972)	7
Table 2 - Discourse themes within Our Common Future (WCED 1987).....	14
Table 3 - Discourse themes in the Rio Declaration (United Nations, 1992b) and Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1992a)	20
Table 4 - Discourse themes from Our Creative Diversity (WCCD, 1995)	28
Table 5 - Discourse themes in Agenda 21 for Culture (UCLG CC, 2006).....	45
Table 8 - Heritage values (after English Heritage 1997, p. 4).....	83
Table 9 - Description of historic environmental capital (after English Heritage, 1997, p. 7)...	86

List of Figures

Figure 1 - A practical Forester Cartoon by George W. Rehse. Bettman Collection, Getty Images.	31
Figure 2 - The three spheres of sustainable development (Johann Dreo 2006, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license).	39
Figure 3 - United Nations Sustainable Development Agenda sustainable development goals (SDG) (United Nations, 2015).	47
Figure 4 - Visualisations for culture in, for and as sustainable development (Soini et al. 2015, p. 29).	53
Figure 5 – Cultural sustainability storylines and how these relate to political and discursive contexts and policy themes or scripts highlighted in italics (After Soini and Birkeland 2014, p. 220; Soini et al. 2015, p. 29).....	55
Figure 6 - Upward trajectory or ‘scalability’ of the conservation cycle over time (after Linn 2014, pp. 86, 89).	74
Figure 7 - text box from The Heritage section of This Common Inheritance summary document (HM Gov 1990b, p. 21)	65
Figure 8 - Built heritage case studies illustrating how conservation contributes to regeneration (Department of the Environment, 1999, p.64).....	95

Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis is not just an in-depth investigation into the discursive construction of the concept of sustainability as it is applied to the discipline of archaeological heritage management (AHM), but is also partly a critical reflection on the first 10 years of my career as an archaeologist following the 2008 recession (see Howard and Trelka, 2016). Although I enrolled on my PhD programme in 2011, the ideas presented in this thesis have been developing since I became interested in human–environmental interactions towards the end of my undergraduate degree and subsequent MSc in environmental archaeology several years earlier. The precarity of the profession I found myself entering in 2007 was extremely worrying considering the number of years that I had spent in higher education. What followed was at first an assortment of fixed-term low-paid professional positions that I held in order to gain the experience I needed to keep my career afloat and make myself competitive within a much-reduced job market. In 2010, I started to look at a part-time PhD programme as a way of providing myself with an alternative career path should I face redundancy. What started as a selfish endeavour to understand how to make my profession, and by extension my career, more *sustainable* in the sense of to continue, became a critical appraisal of the discipline of AHM and the historical developments that had led to what might be considered unsustainable philosophy and practices. This thesis is one of a growing number of doctoral theses written over a number of years in parallel with the development of a professional career in AHM (see Emerick, 2003), which means that myself and my work is situated within the research.

In 2008, I was asked to produce a conservation management plan using the then newly published *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable*

Management of the Historic Environment (English Heritage, 2008a). At this point, the discourse of sustainable development and generic quality of sustainability had already been in use for over 20 years as first defined in the report *Our Common Future* (OCF) (WECD 1987). There was no aspect of contemporary environmental, developmental, cultural policy, and indeed everyday language, that this concept did not pervade. Within AHM sustainability was particularly associated with a discourse and lexicon drawing parallels between natural and cultural resource management, but increasingly it reflected a nervousness regarding the future of archaeology amidst cuts to operating budgets and decreasing numbers of students pursuing archaeology in higher education, often believed to be a result of the decreasing job market (Aitchison, 2011). Whilst trying to implement those conservation principles (CPs) for an industrial monument, I realised that they were presenting a particular way of understanding the historic environment in relation to the concept of sustainability, and that certain types of archaeology did not really fit within a 'sustainable' conservation framework. That project left me with questions about how my profession was structured by such policies that served to maintain and perpetuate particular and largely unquestioned visions of the past, and its value to contemporary and future society as a form of inheritance. More recently the focus on place-making appears to have heralded a return to largely uncritical perceptions of landscape that serve to reinforce biases and prejudice, such as the Western gaze relating to notions of aesthetic beauty.

The concept of sustainability rose to prominence within mid-20th-century ecological and environmental research, as a result of a heightened concern regarding the impact of human development on natural ecosystems, and particularly the effect this was having on the welfare of human and animal populations. Prior to the coining of the term 'sustainable development', a number of different perspectives on

environmentalism can be observed in the first half of the 20th century in relation to the need for environmental protection. The most dominant of these is an economic or resourcist approach that sees the environment as an instrument or container of resources for development. A secondary discourse relates to the moral obligation of contemporary populations to protect the environment for the benefit of themselves as well as the future, as advocated by early environmentalists such as John Muir in relation to the natural environment of the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Edwards, 2005, pp.12–13). Within this latter perspective, nature is seen as contributing to the physical and spiritual well-being of humans, which could be seen as the earliest manifestation of a cultural perspective on the value of the natural environment. For a number of decades utilitarian and moral arguments for environmental protection were seen to be in conflict. The concept of sustainable development was coined to enable environmentalists, businesses and governments to enter into a discursive framework or discourse coalition (see Hajer, 1995) that would reflect their diverse and often competing aims and agendas, whilst coalescing around the win–win rhetoric that economic development could be achieved without jeopardising environmental protection and vice versa. Sustainable environmental management utilised both the practical argument based on utility and best use of resources as well as the moral argument for environmental conservation. Whilst sustainable development became a popular policy concept in the late 1980s and 1990s, it was often criticised for being a meaningless buzzword because it was difficult to operationalise (Scoones, 2007). Part of this issue was believed to stem from the way that development was understood within a predominantly Western capitalist economic framework. It was also assumed that successful models for economic development could be replicated in national and local contexts across the globe rather

than developments being determined by their specific local context. To address this deficiency in the way development was understood, culture was advocated as a key principle in sustainable development to ensure that schemes were culturally sustainable in terms of reflecting and respecting local value systems as well as the tangible outputs and expressions of those cultural values.

There are many discursive links between the concept of sustainable development and AHM, mainly through the common language of environmental and economic resource management. The protection of archaeology has been considered a policy problem since the late 19th century in England, with the first legislation to protect what was seen as a diminishing information resource about the past and the loss of something that was irreplaceable (Chippindale, 1983). As environmental crises were introduced as a global policy problem, the rhetoric of crisis also entered the AHM lexicon with the Walsh Report (Walsh 1969). Although many ancient monuments had stood for millennia as markers of the past in contemporary landscapes, in the 19th century a discourse of permanence and durability gave way to one of risks and threats to fragile monuments (Appadurai, 1981; Arrhenius, 2012; Carman, 2005b; Cleere et al., 1984; Darvill, 1987; Powell, 1980). Not only was archaeology considered to be under threat from modern developments in land use and infrastructure (see Walsh, 1969), it was likened to finite natural resources such as petroleum, land and minerals. The combination of a discourse on the finite nature of archaeological material culture and on the fragile state of those remaining helped to present a compelling case for why archaeological monuments needed to be protected and managed. This was initially sought through legislative protection for nationally important designated sites in a number of European countries, and later through town and spatial planning policy that also included non-designated sites (see Carman, 2015). A discourse on archaeology

as a finite environmental resource gave the material remains of the past a similar status to other environmental resources, such as precious minerals, that were considered inherently valuable within resource economics because of their rarity and uniqueness. The designation criteria for national heritage in Britain can also be seen to adhere to this valuation framework (see Darvill, 2005, p.34).

When I entered professional archaeology, I found myself practising archaeology within the much broader field of cultural heritage and the historic environment. During this time, I often wondered whether archaeology truly fitted within these wider categorisations, particularly the kind of archaeology I was managing, which comprised records of *ex-situ* sites reduced to geographical information system (GIS) map representations, archives hidden in museum stores, remote prehistoric monuments in the uplands and decaying industrial sites. Many of the archaeological sites I have dealt with professionally have been in a state of substantial decay or obscured by vegetation because they had dropped out of local consciousness. This often related to the fact that people had lost their connection to them, either in their use or their general awareness of them simply as part of the background or character of their local area; they had become 'culturally invisible' (Carman, 1995, p.22). The latter is illustrated by war memorials, which are large pieces of monumental street furniture located in prominent locations but, as the memory of the world wars faded, they became culturally invisible and started to decay noticeably through lack of maintenance. However, following the centenary of the First World War and a campaign by Historic England to conserve these monuments (Historic England, 2018b), they have once again become culturally visible. I have been fortunate over my years of research to have met scholars from all over the world, who have offered me different cultural insights as to what sustainability might mean outside of the European environmental

resource management framework from which it emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. This is particularly useful in terms of understanding sustainability in relation to the concepts of cultural continuity and visibility. I have been inspired by talking to scholars working in South Africa, Australia, Canada and the United States to approach AHM in terms of contemporary populations' cultural consciousness of sites and examine some of the issues where heritage management practice can exclude people from actively using sites and renewing their cultural importance. Coming from an AHM tradition where people have often lost their connection with sites, I consider that this exclusion in the name of preservation could instigate some of the issues that afflict Western heritage sites such that they become culturally redundant to contemporary society.

As my early career progressed within local authority archaeological services, it became increasingly difficult to ignore the impact of the recession and abandonment of development schemes on the commercial sector and eventually the curatorial sector. The reason this impacted upon local authority and national government archaeology was because of the way archaeology had become tied into economic development and the fortunes of the private development sector through the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 and Planning Policy Guidance 16 (PPG 16; DCLG, 1990). This was seen as a way of successfully circumventing a major crisis in terms of archaeological sites being destroyed in the post-war and late 20th-century development boom by providing alternative funding streams to national government (Cooper-Reade, 2015). The introduction of the polluter pays principle (PPP), itself taken from environmental resource management, made development-led archaeology a key condition of securing planning permission, but it also made the process of archaeology more procedural and less about adding value to the remains of the past (see Hinton, 2013). It was remarked that archaeology within a development

context was treated in a way more akin to environmental waste to be cleared away so that development could proceed, rather than being considered a valuable cultural resource (see Chadwick, 1997). Working within local authority archaeological services and going to museum liaison meetings in 2008, the issue of museum stores being overwhelmed with archaeological archives to the point of not being able to accession new material was a critical issue, although it was clearly something that had been raised repeatedly in the past.

What has become apparent over the last 10 years is the rise of the archaeological project and short-term or fixed-term engagement with communities, and before this the introduction of rescue and development-led archaeology as part of the formal planning process. This is not to say that prior to this there were no projects with a specific aim to be achieved through a fixed-term delivery period, but short-term engagement became a common social and economic model. The benefit of the project-based approach to archaeology was that it helped to focus and prioritise heritage management efforts. It also successfully aligned archaeology with the procedures of funding bodies such as the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) in the UK and the World Bank internationally, which aimed to provide social goods through the preservation and enhancement of heritage within localities.

1.1. Key thesis concepts

There are a number of concepts and categorisations of cultural material and immaterial values that are often used interchangeably within and between the various disciplines discussed throughout this thesis. Whilst archaeology is by its very nature multidisciplinary, the borrowing of concepts from multiple disciplines can create confusion in their use and meaning when they are taken out of their original contexts.

This is often compounded by the reduction of some concepts when taken out of their original context to their common-sense or lexical definitions. For the purpose of this thesis, I attempt to qualify some of the key concepts below. For example, the focus of this thesis is AHM, which is also referred to as archaeological resource management (ARM) in other European countries, and cultural resource management (CRM) in North America, New Zealand and Australia (Carman, 2002, p.5, 2015). I have chosen to use the term AHM because of my professional background, which has always carried the connotation that archaeology *is* heritage, even within a local authority planning service that curated *records* of archaeology as an information *resource*.

1.1.1. Culture, material culture and society

Within this thesis the term culture will be used to refer to the values and worldviews of a community or social group as well as the tangible manifestations of those views as material culture or intangible cultural traditions. Within sustainability discourse, culture is often conflated with society or amalgamated into sociocultural considerations. I will distinguish between the two concepts by defining the use of society within a policy context as a collection of people that share a geographic location, such as a locale or country, that are governed by the same political entity and social frameworks (e.g. British society). The people within a society might share cultural traditions but can also comprise different cultural groupings. Within the context of sustainable development, society or the social sphere of sustainability is often used to refer to social structures and systems that are put in place to support the health and well-being of the members of that society. One way to understand broadly the difference between the two concepts is to consider society the structure for culture's content, that "society speaks in the imperative, whereas culture uses the interrogative" (Buchanan, 2010, p.441).

Soini et al. (2015, pp.24–25) see culture and society as interlinked, with culture shaping society and vice versa. In terms of how archaeology has adopted the social aspect of sustainability, this can be seen in the alternative governance frameworks introduced for the investigation and management of archaeology by community groups, discussed in Chapter 3. As with many other concepts used within this thesis, society and culture are ultimately contested concepts, with their meaning dependent upon the context of their usage.

The concept of material culture has always been part of the lexicon of archaeology, referring to the material remains of the past that archaeologists analyse to try and understand the immaterial worldviews of the cultures that produced them. Archaeology can be seen as a “materialising process”, in the sense that it brings materials that were lost or unknown (and therefore not valued) back into the consciousness of people in the present (Lucas, 2012, p.216). Within international cultural policy relating to the work of global organisations such as The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the concept of cultural heritage is the preferred terminology for the material and immaterial aspects of archaeological, historical and contemporary culture (UNESCO, 2017). The work of these international organisations has provided a new lexicon for cultural heritage considered to be not just of local or national importance, but a form of international heritage and the patrimony of all people and nations. This principle of universalism in relation to heritage was first established in *The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* (ICOMOS, 1931), then *The Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (ICOMOS, 1964) and subsequently the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (UNESCO, 1974). Although the concept of culture has

no temporal limit, from the mid-1990s in Britain, the concept became primarily associated with contemporary practices and art forms, particularly following the rebranding of the country as a nation of contemporary arts and digital services, or “Cool Britannia” (see Leonard, 1997).

1.1.2. Archaeology as rubbish, record, resource and heritage

The terms conservation and preservation are often conflated within modern heritage and environmental management literature, but within early environmental discourses they reflected either a social and cultural desire for the environment to remain in its ‘wild’ and unspoilt natural form, to be *preserved* intact, or for the environment to be considered a resource to be used in a conservative way, i.e. for it to be *conserved*. Although the reasons for protecting the environment within early environmentalist movements differed, what they had in common was an instrumental perspective on its value as contributing to human economic or social well-being, and agreement that management was the only way to prevent overexploitation and loss. In AHM literature the preferred terminology is ‘preservation’, reflecting the characterisation of archaeology as a finite and fragile information resource. This is also bound up with notions of authenticity regarding the materials of the past (Jones, 2010, p.184). Within later historic environment literature, ‘preservation’ becomes almost exclusively associated with archaeology, whereas ‘conservation’ is associated with renewable resources, often used in relation to historic building renovation and reuse. The schism between the management of archaeology and buildings in England can be traced back to the contemporaneous development of the 1882 Ancient Monuments Act legislation that omitted buildings, and the establishment of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in 1877 to protect ancient buildings (Emerick, 2014, pp.15,

41–42). However, both the SPAB Manifesto, written by William Morris, and the Ancient Monuments Act took a similar philosophical approach to protection, with a focus on maintenance and repair, which was more akin to conservation philosophy, which allowed interventions, than preservation, which advocated minimum intervention to retain authenticity and prevention of change (see Carman, 1996, p.138; Emerick, 2014, p.180). Following the outcome of a planning appeal in 1992, the term ‘preserve’ in relation to the appearance or character of conservation areas was given a legal definition of “keep safe from harm” in accordance with the Oxford Dictionary definition (House of Lords et al., 1992; English Heritage, 2008a). This highlights the importance of professional judgement, as well as its subjectiveness in decisions relating to changes within the historic environment, and whether those changes amount to harm to heritage assets.

Whether archaeology is considered a record, information, social and economic resource or heritage is determined by immaterial values and valuation frameworks that the materials of archaeology are subjected to. Belowground archaeology is effectively rubbish; it has been discarded or forgotten about at some point in the past. The processes of archaeology can be seen as a ‘materialising process’ or rather rematerialising process, in the sense that it brings materials that were lost or unknown (and therefore not valued) back into people’s consciousness through the process of archaeological fieldwork and enquiry. The intention of the archaeological process in relation to archaeology encountered through the planning process is to create a robust record prior to the destruction of part or all of the original site or context. This record is then made publicly accessible through Historic Environment Records (HERs) as a cultural information resource, and also so that it can inform future decision-making in relation to development plans by indicating the archaeological potential of land

(Historic England, 2019b). The records and archives of *ex-situ* archaeology are maintained because they are assumed to be a form of inheritance for future generations as an information resource about the past. Archaeology, or rather particular types of archaeology, might also be considered of instrumental value as a potential socio-economic resource for economic, social and cultural development of people (Carman, 2005b).

Professional AHM is about making judgements on what should be preserved and protected. The United States employs a system based on federal legislation utilising the concept of significance as the basis for determining whether archaeological sites are worthy of formal protection and inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (Raab and Klinger, 1977, p.630). This concept has since been introduced to the UK as well as a number of other countries worldwide. In the UK, only a small proportion of the archaeological resource is protected by law based on selection criteria that distinguish them as being of national importance or 'significance'. Within this framework, as well as the national planning framework for non-designated sites, judgements are made about the protection of sites, whether proposals for change are acceptable and the availability of resources to enable their conservation or preservation (Carman, 1996; English Heritage, 2008a). Part of the issue with the concept of significance is the way that it is context dependent and as such reflects contemporary research questions as well as social, political and cultural agendas in relation to heritage (Carman, 2002, pp.157–158). Glassow (1977, p.879) suggested that, as with archaeological knowledge gleaned from archaeological observation and evaluation, significance could be assessed in such a way that it was not restricted to contemporary research problems and frameworks but could be incorporated into future problem-orientated research. He suggested that significance categories could

be similar to the typologies archaeologists use to record sites, and that these recording dimensions could structure assessments of significance. In misunderstanding Glassow's proposal as the creation of theory-neutral records, rather than a framework that could accommodate different and changing research agendas, Tainter and Lucas (1983) suggest that excavating a site without real purpose, simply to satisfy the need to record it, could harm the site's contemporary and future significance or importance. What emerged from these discussions was an archaeological process as a means of generating information that had to stand up to changes in archaeological research paradigms and agendas. It can be seen as the consolidation of the idea that archaeological excavation needed to produce robust records to enable sites to be preserved effectively as *ex-situ* grey literature, and archives that could be re-examined in the future. However, doubt has frequently been cast on the assumption that the transformation of archaeology into an *ex-situ* resource is indeed preserving the archaeology, or if it is in fact a partial record of a "damaged resource" (Grenville, 1993). Part of the criticism levelled at the concept of significance by Tainter and Lucas (1983, pp.710–711) was the way it was assumed to be inherent within a cultural artefact or property, rather than something that was culturally and individually determined. Even the authorised version of significance utilised in official heritage valuation frameworks in the UK is potentially subject to change over time as disciplinary epistemologies change. In demonstrating the empirical origin of the concept of significance, it could be argued that, within an empirical framework, basic atomistic terms and statements connected to direct sense experience are seen as constituting *true* meaning and knowledge (Tainter and Lucas, 1983, p.711). This way of understanding significance champions inherent values, such as those attached to materiality and notions of authenticity and aesthetics, elevating the value of the visible and perceptible over the

intangible and invisible aspects of heritage. Whilst there are things that can be observed within archaeology (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of critical realist perspectives on heritage value), the construction of archaeological heritage and the “significance assessment” that elevates it to the status of being nationally or even internationally important is not merely relaying what is observable, it is making a judgement and adding a new value (Carman, 2002, p.167).

The process of changing values in relation to archaeology is examined by Carman (2005b) using Rubbish Theory. Within this valuation framework, it could be said that belowground archaeology encountered through the planning process is essentially ‘rubbish’ until such a time as it works its way through the transient phase, becoming durable before being taken out of circulation (i.e. it is no longer private property or materials, even if in reality it is). For example, archaeological ‘open days’ are transient forms of public engagement where a site is briefly elevated into public consciousness before returning to an invisible or largely ignored state. However, the alternative, which is to have a site permanently exposed as curated ruins, not only has ongoing economic costs but might not necessarily be more engaging for local populations. Carman hints that the “direction of travel”, whereby archaeological resources become increasingly valued by different groups, might also go the opposite way and become devalued (Carman, 2005b, 2002). For example, it could be argued that much of the archaeological resource, despite being entered into publicly accessible HERs and physical remains being maintained in archives, does not make the final transition or transformation into heritage because it is still something that is undervalued and only known about by, and therefore accessible to, a small proportion of the public and the specialists that know of its existence.

Laurajane Smith (2006, p.25) declared that “there is no such thing as heritage” and that it is a social and discursive construct reflecting sanctioned practice and processes associated with heritage that also serve to constitute them. This thesis starts from the premise that although AHM in the UK is a well-established field of study and structures the work of professional, academic and amateur archaeologists, the ‘reality’ is that this framework is not a ‘natural’ or ‘common-sense’ way of approaching archaeology but is the culmination of historical discourses reflecting a particular way of viewing and acting to preserve the materials of the past (see Carman, 1996; Schofield et al., 2011; Carman, 2015; Sørensen and Carman, 2009). The difference between archaeology characterised as a record, resource or heritage is not just a case of different terminology, but indicative of a particular transition or transformation stage that archaeological materials pass through to become more than just materials extracted from the ground, and the social and cultural consequences of nominating something as heritage (Carman, 2005b, p.52, 2002, pp.18–20). Some would argue that archaeology becomes heritage as soon as it is revealed as an assemblage or collection of material – that it has some sort of *inherent* meaning and therefore value as a link to the past. A Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) 2007 conference session organised by Smith and Waterton started from the premise that there was a tendency to conflate archaeology and heritage. The resulting publication was *Taking Archaeology Out of Heritage* (Waterton and Smith, 2009) and, because the wording of the title could be inferred to imply archaeology or heritage as the ‘problem’, I thought I had discovered a volume sharing my own view that archaeology is not *automatically* heritage. However, the editorial makes it clear that the authors consider archaeology and what it stands for within traditional authoritative frameworks, and the dominance of materiality and monumentality within archaeological conceptions of heritage, as an

issue for the pluralisation of heritage. Smith and Waterton are approaching the concept of heritage from an Australian perspective, which is linked to heritage as something living rather than 'fossilised'. This perspective has started to change the way that archaeology is practised as part of the wider phenomenon of cultural heritage over the last 30 years (see Murray, 2011).

When using the term heritage within this thesis, I am indicating that the archaeological record and resulting information resource has been elevated, or perceived to be elevated, into something of value to the public as an inheritance. Although heritage might be attached to physical materials, it is better understood as a "realm of ideas rather than a collection of things" (Carman, 2009, p.196). This heritage can be recognised through formal processes of national designation but also be non-designated archaeology of local or regional value. It might also be of value to a select group of people or indeed individuals, and part of AHM is understanding that it is not always possible to capture why people value things within official frameworks. Also, when referring to archaeology as a record or archive of the past, I have added the prefix of 'information' to the term 'resource' to indicate that the suggestion is not that archaeology is a reserve of raw materials analogous to natural resources used in primary and secondary industry for economic and social development. I reject the notion of inherent value and my social constructivist epistemology is detailed within the methods (Chapter 4). However, I do recognise that even archaeology that has not been subjected to the processes of analysis and interpretation will have some form of value in the *revealing* processes, to those who encounter it (Yarrow, 2006).

1.1.3. Historic environment

From the 1990s, UK archaeology was subsumed into a new landscape category of the 'historic environment'. This was reflected in a new planning policy, Planning Policy Guidance 15 (PPG 15) (DCLG, 1990), that covered wider classes of material, monuments, buildings and landscapes, with archaeology referenced within this policy but still being covered by the separate planning policy PPG 16. Whilst this reflected a wider trend for taking a holistic approach to natural and cultural environments as part of a landscape continuum, the use of the prefix 'historic' could be seen as separating the past from the present. Emerick (2003) suggested a more appropriate term might be "cultural environment", where the environment "is both cultural product and culturally perceived". The historic environment is the preferred terminology used in the UK for all aspects of the environment where human intervention has resulted in visible and buried remains (English Heritage, 2008a). However, the term can be traced to the Council for the Historic Environment established in Victoria, Australia, in 1977 for built and cultural environment professionals and the publication *Historic Environment* established to disseminate best practice (see Butler, 1980). Within the UK, the term has been primarily used to integrate the natural and cultural aspects of landscapes. Waterton (2010, pp.180–181) observed that historic environment and heritage were often used interchangeably, with heritage often used to denote the cultural value of elements of the historic environment. Much in the same way as society and culture, the historic environment could be considered the framework based upon legislation and policy upon which heritage values are appended. This relationship can be particularly observed in the drive over recent years to diversify the values associated with the historic environment through campaigns such as Pride of Place relating to

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer (LGBTQ) histories and narratives attached to heritage assets (Historic England, 2019c).

1.1.4. Place-based approaches to culture and development

The concept of place emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s from social and cultural geography (Jenkins, 2005). It became a major focus within spatial planning and economic development because of the impact of the way a place is constructed and maintained on the social, cultural and economic lives of the people that inhabit them. Place differs from space in that the former is a “socio-cultural perception and definition of space” (Jenkins, 2005, p.20). Place entered historic environment management discourse in relation to the way that historic character and features related to people’s ‘sense of place’ or their conception of themselves and the world through relationships between tangible and visible aspects of landscapes and locales with their intangible cultural and social values. It is part of a phenomenological approach to geography and also landscape studies relating to archaeology (see Thomas, 1996; Tilley, 1994). The conservation of historic environment features to retain and restore the character of locales, whilst also enabling new development and change, was seen as a way to overcome the anonymisation or the loss of distinguishable places or ‘placelessness’ that was a characteristic of modernity and mass culture (Relph, 1976, p.143). Walsh (1992, pp.148–152), in critiquing the “heritagisation of space” or the reduction of *real* or rather lived-in places to tourist destinations advocated a conceptual framework to enhance people’s sense of place by enabling them to develop the skills necessary to produce a “cognitive map” of their locality to “read” their surroundings and come to their own understanding of what a place *meant* to them. Walsh argued that places are constructed by “time markers” of

both cultural and geological time that enable people in the present to make a connection with the past through their subjective engagement with these markers, to overcome the “gap” that exists between past and present. For example, some people might be more interested in specific periods of history and therefore are more drawn to those markers in a place. The “ahistoric aestheticization of space” saw some heritage places frozen at a particularly pleasing and marketable period in their development (Walsh, 1992, p.149, also see Emerick 2014), or homogenised heritage based on national themes such as royalty, aristocracy or industry. Walsh (1992) believed museums could act as facilitators to enable people to access the layers of history represented in places, showing that they were constantly changing and not static. He introduced themes that were later picked up in critical heritage studies, particularly the heritagisation of places and the way that places that were ‘real’, in the sense that they once had a distinct character and a function, and could be beautified to make them appealing in terms of modern capital investment but effectively removing them from their historical processes. The theme of change within historic environments is picked up within a number of planning and cultural heritage policies in the 1990s, which are discussed in Chapter 5. It can be seen as part of a narrative of change or *managed* change within landscapes to combat the negativity associated with intensive development that saw many places rapidly changing, which was a source of contention for people who lived and worked in them and was similar to reactions against post-war development.

1.1.5. Sustainable development, sustainability and sustainable

Since the popularisation of the definition of sustainable development in the report OCF (WCED 1987) as development “that meets the needs of the present without

compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987a, p.8), there have been repeated calls for the concept of sustainable development and the term sustainability to be better defined (see Kajikawa et al., 2007). However, what this fails to appreciate is that the definition of the decontextualised quality of ‘sustainability’ relies upon its new context to provide the meaning, and that a definitive definition of sustainability would actually serve to constrain applications of the general principles to a new context (Howard, 2013, p.12). For the purpose of this thesis, I will distinguish the concept and discourse of ‘sustainable development’ from the noun ‘sustainability’ and adjective ‘sustainable’. Although the latter two are often used in recontextualised discourses outside of an economic development and environmental resource management context, they are also often used as shorthand to denote sustainable development. Within the textual analysis of documents, it will be apparent if these terms are still being used within a sustainable development discursive framework from the context of their utterance or co-text. More often than not, the noun sustainability is used to indicate that something will be maintained over an indefinite period of time, represented by the use of the verb ‘sustain’, the infinitive ‘to sustain’ or the gerund ‘sustaining’. The use of this standard lexical meaning can be seen within most AHM literature when the concept of sustainability has become decontextualised from the ‘sustainable development’ discourse. What this does is reduce the broader concept into a common-sense definition to maintain something in an indefinite future, often denoted by the use of ‘long-term’, that can be understood regardless of its co-text as well as intertextual and interdiscursive relationships. The discursive construction of the concept of sustainability in relation to culture, the historic environment and archaeology will be critically examined in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

1.2. Research aims

The primary question driving this research is:

How has the discursive construction of the concept of sustainability within UK historic environment management literature influenced its application to archaeological materials and processes?

Secondary questions specifically relating to how sustainability is understood in relation to archaeology are:

- a. **How does the recontextualised discourse of sustainability within historic environment literature draw upon existing discourses on sustainable development?**
- b. **Why does archaeology need to be sustainable and what *does* or *could* this mean?**
 - i. **Are different aspects of archaeology (materials, processes and AHM practice) more or less sustainable?**
- c. **Does the inclusion of archaeology within wider categories such as the historic environment and cultural heritage introduce biases in relation to whether archaeology is seen as able to contribute to social, economic, environmental and cultural sustainability agendas?**

1.3. Structure of the thesis

To investigate the discursive construction of the concept of sustainability as it is applied to the discipline of AHM in England, the thesis is split into seven chapters. This introductory chapter has outlined the reasons for undertaking the research, clarified

key concepts and posed the questions I aim to answer; at the very least I aim to discuss the concept in detail within the broader context of AHM as a cultural discourse and practice with a long history but also facing many changes at the start of the 21st century. The next four chapters will form the core of the thesis, starting with a *critical* history of sustainable development discourse (Chapter 2) followed by a literature review of the concept of 'cultural sustainability' within academic literature (Chapter 3). The methods used to apply critical discourse analysis (CDA) to policy documents within both Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 are discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 examines English planning and historic environment policy to look at the recontextualisation of the concept of sustainability. The consequences of how the concept of sustainability was discursively constructed within these policies are discussed in chapter 6 in relation to the materials and processes of AHM. Chapter 7 evaluates the results of this research and makes suggestions for future research and potential for the findings of this research to inform future professional AHM practice. The contents of the chapters are summarised further below.

Chapter 2: International Discourse on Sustainable Development

This chapter tracks the historical development ideas that became pivotal to the concept of 'sustainable development' in the 1987 report OCF (WCED 1987). The first section looks at the 'prehistory' of sustainable development discourse, examining 18th- and 19th-century economic and environmental discourse relating to resource management and the link between human welfare and the condition of the environment. This is shown to have laid the foundation for the construction of a specific discourse on sustainable development that championed an eco-modernist perspective

on the environment, which is introduced in section 2. The third section introduces the 'cultural turn' within sustainable development discourse.

Chapter 3: A Literature Review of Cultural Sustainability

The literature review for this research utilises a study undertaken by Soini and Birkeland (2014) to examine the scientific discourse of cultural sustainability. Their grouping of different meanings of 'cultural sustainability' into 'storylines' is used to structure a critical appraisal of how the concept has been discursively constructed within academic literature. The focus of the literature view chapter is to examine where archaeology fits, or does not fit, within these narratives on cultural sustainability, and if this amounts to rhetorical exclusion or stems from the parallels already drawn between AHM and resource management within an eco-modernist framework. Sections 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 explore how the 'eco-cultural resilience' storyline helped to discursively bridge cultural and natural resource management, which could be seen to have helped to maintain existing heritage frameworks by introducing new markets and market-based tools to support the outputs of AHM. Section 3.6 examines the neglect within AHM and cultural heritage in general of the potentially radical and transformative nature of sustainability discourse to bring about discursive and potentially practical change, as reflected in the 'eco-cultural civilisation' storyline.

Chapter 4: Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis

The methodological framework within which this research takes place is CDA, using multidisciplinary approaches to textual analysis of selected international and UK national sustainable development and heritage policy documents from the 1970s through to 2018. The main premise is that the discursive construction of policy

concepts not only reflects current practice but also actively shapes it and future practice. The epistemological position of the research is introduced as social constructionism to examine the way that discourses are socially constituted and constitutive with a comparison of other CDA approaches taken by heritage scholars, such as critical realism. To answer the primary research question regarding the recontextualisation of sustainability discourse into a historic environment and subsequently AHM context, the discourse historical approach (DHA) is introduced to investigate the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between texts and discourses as well as the process of de- and re-*contextualisation* (i.e. when discourses are exported from their original context into another). The final section lists the policy documents that were subjected to in-depth CDA in Chapter 2, and highlights specific methods of textual analysis, contextual analysis and social critique that will be utilised to analyse UK planning and heritage policy in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5: International Discourse on Sustainable Development

Split into themes, this chapter tracks the historical development ideas that became pivotal to the concept of 'sustainable development' in the 1987 report OCF (WCED 1987). The original sustainable development discourse is addressed in sections 5.2 and 5.3 through an analysis of the report OCF (WCED 1987), which championed an eco-modernist perspective on the environment, and the renewed discourse of Agenda 21 from 1992 as an attempt to operationalise sustainable development (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992). Section 5.4 evaluates the 'cultural turn' within sustainable development discourse. Section 5.5 considers the operationalisation of cultural approaches to sustainable development through a short appraisal of Millennium and Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and

the criticism that culture was not formally included as measurable indicators (Hayashi et al., 2015). It is suggested that the success of the cultural turn should perhaps not be measured in the presence of culture in the SDGs, understood as products and services for development, but in the general shift towards culturally informed worldviews guiding development.

Chapter 6: Sustainable Development and Heritage Conservation in England

This chapter spans three different political epochs in Britain, relating to the Conservative Party under the leadership of John Major (1990–1997), the rise of ‘New’ Labour under the leadership of Tony Blair (May 1997–2007) and then Gordon Brown (2007–2010), the coalition government comprising the Conservative Party and Liberal Democrats (2010–2016) and the Conservative government under the leadership of Theresa May (2016–present). Whilst some researchers have placed particular importance on the political context of policy discourse, I see the difference between these epochs as mainly reflecting a degree of continuity in approaches to heritage management as well as discursive shifts in the rhetorical emphasis of planning and development policy. Section 5.1 examines the inception of the concept of sustainable development into UK spatial planning policy from the late 1980s and the development of planning policy in England relating to archaeology and later the historic environment. Section 5.2 looks at the way a common lexicon between historic environment and environmental resource management and auditing provided a means of linking sustainable development discourse into a historic environment context from the mid-1990s. Section 5.3 discusses the way the concept of sustainability was represented within *Conservation principles: policies and guidance for the sustainable management of the historic environment* (English Heritage 2008a)

and how this influenced the way it was understood in relation to the historic environment and the materials and processes of archaeology. Section 5.5 appraises the quick succession of planning policy changes since 2008 and how these have influenced the practice of AHM, and particularly the revision of the Conservation Principles (Historic England, 2017) and National Planning Policy Framework in 2018 (Ministry of Housing Communities, 2018).

Chapter 7: Discussion

Drawing together the discourse themes that have emerged from the analysis of policy and literature, Chapter 6 discusses them in relation to the research questions posed in section 1.2.

Chapter 8: Conclusions, Further Research and Practical Applications

The final chapter of the thesis discusses the practical applications of this research in terms of AHM policy and practice.

Chapter 2. International Discourses on Sustainable Development

This chapter tracks the development of sustainable development discourse to examine how the concept of sustainable development was discursively constructed and the historical influences that shaped its evolution over the course of the 20th and early 21st centuries. Although the concept of sustainability is derived from academic discourse within the subjects of ecology and economics, the popular and accessible 1980s discourse on sustainable development was distilled almost exclusively within international and later national development policy documents over the ensuing 30 years.

2.1. The prehistory of sustainable development discourse

The concept and discourse of sustainability is often attributed to the publication OCF (WCED 1987), but this was merely the culmination of growing concerns about global anthropogenic environmental degradation in the post-war period. Following the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) it was clear that action needed to be taken to start to remedy environmental degradation and pollution before the carrying capacity of the Earth's biosphere was reached, exceeded and damaged beyond its natural assimilation capacity. Within sustainability literature this period is often cited as a critical tipping point when humans could no longer claim ignorance regarding the impact of their development activities on natural systems. It is also a period when grassroots environmentalism was building within the educated general populace, with the success of the first Earth Day in 1970 (Edwards, 2005, pp.12–14). Across the world, governments established legislation and agencies to control, measure and mitigate global environmental risks such as pollution of the commons

(i.e. water, air, land) from industrial waste products and the effects of climate change. The rhetoric of risk informed the future orientation of 20th-century environmental protection discourses as part of what Ulrich Beck termed the “risk society”, which is itself a way of dealing with the anxiety brought about by threats to modern life that are to an extent caused by societal modernisation (Beck, 1992). It is during this period that a rhetoric of human progress through industrial and technological advancement gave way to discourses of environmental fragility and finite natural resources. It is no coincidence that this followed the first images of Earth from space, highlighting its significance as the only habitable planet in our solar system, if not beyond, with improvements in imaging from space and computer modelling able to make issues such as ozone depletion tangible or at least visual. Although “emblematic” environmental issues such as acid rain in the 1980s undoubtedly triggered an approach to modern environmentalism that has characterised policy on human–environment interdependence for the last 30 years (Hajer, 1995, p.74), elements of this discourse can be traced to much earlier Western environmental, economic and social movements starting in the 19th century (Lumley and Armstrong, 2004). The ‘prehistory’ of what would become the sustainable development storyline and discourse coalition could be considered to have started with the transcendentalist environmental movement in the United States that promoted the interconnectedness of human culture and nature, with the former drawing inspiration and spiritual well-being from the latter (Edwards, 2005, p.11). In addition, an anthropocentric or resourcist environmental ethic had started to emerge within early 20th-century United States public policy. This awareness of the power of the environment to provide humans not only with resources but also a spiritual sense of well-being prompted

debates regarding the value of the natural environment and whether this value was intrinsic or instrumental.

The terms 'preservation' and 'conservation' are often used interchangeably within discourses on natural and cultural environmental management and protection. In the 19th century they were considered to mean more or less the same thing: preservation. In terms of the different valuation frameworks they represented, they were part of a wider debate on intrinsic and extrinsic valuation of the natural environment. What emerged from early debates regarding the value of the environment were two distinct environmental ethics that both claimed to be interested in the preservation of the natural environment but represented different arguments for why the environment was of value. These two perspectives enabled people with different values to coalesce around the notion of environmental protection regardless of their motivations. For example, an environmental preservation ethic was embodied in the transcendentalist philosophy of John Muir, whose publication *Our National Parks* (1901) led to the establishment of protection for United States national parks in 1906. For Muir, the natural environment was seen as something spiritual that humans could learn from and draw inspiration from in its wild and unspoilt form, with his argument for preserving what was perceived as wilderness (i.e. nature unchanged by humans) being its intrinsic value (O'Neill, 2003, p.135). This view was expanded by Aldo Leopold in his "land ethic" to consider the relationships between humans and non-human entities. He considered that humans were part of a wider community of biota and therefore part of ecosystems, rather than being separate from them and merely exerting external pressure and change upon them, forming the core of an eco-centric environmental ethic (Leopold, 2002, pp.38–39). Such arguments for an inherent value of the environment to all life formed the core of the 'deep ecology' perspective advocated by

mid-20th-century ecologists (Odum and Odum, 2005; Devall, 1980). Although the concept of intrinsic value is often used as though it is simply a case of something *not* having an instrumental value, O'Neill (2003) highlights that there are three types of intrinsic value that are often conflated. Most commonly the term 'intrinsic' is used to denote non-instrumental values where an object might be protected as an end in itself, such as the protection of non-human life as advocated by a deep ecology perspective (i.e. protected for the sake of it). The second use of intrinsic is to suggest that something has intrinsic value attached to its 'intrinsic properties' or the properties something possesses independent of their relationship to other things (i.e. their characterisation does not depend on reference to other entities). However, in relation to a categorisation such as rarity, which is utilised within AHM, ecology and natural resource management, the significance of this category relies upon reference to other entities and more specifically their absence. The final usage of intrinsic is to indicate that something possesses objective values, which considers that the value something possesses is *independent* of a valuer, that is they are not values derived from the subjective worldview of the valuer (O'Neill, 2003, pp.131–132). In contrast to the intrinsic value argument for nature conservation put forward by environmentalists, this last perspective advocated for what Gifford Pinchot called the "wise use" of natural resources through management to ensure that activities relating to them could continue (Pinchot, n.d.). In terms of public policy, this economic perspective on conservation received political support from United States president Theodore Roosevelt and led to the development of legislation to protect national parks (Beder, 2006, p. 88; see Fig. 1).



Figure 1 - A practical Forester Cartoon by George W. Rehse. Bettman Collection, Getty Images.

Much literature on the origins of sustainability discourse consider the biological or ecological perspective to have come before economic and social readings of the concept. However, some of the ideas expressed by late 19th- and early 20th-century environmentalists can also be seen in the philosophy of 18th-century political economists, who were interested in the link between the quality of the environment and how environmental issues that were external to the market affected the economy. As discussed above, the development of the modern disciplines of ecology and economics share common principles with both being derived from the same Greek

word root of *oikos* (meaning household). Their complementary focus on conserving environmental resources and systems was articulated by ecologists Odum and Odum (2005, p.2), with ecology being the *study* of the ‘environmental household’ to inform resource economics to best *manage* that household and its resources. For example, the French philosopher and mathematician Condorcet in the late 18th century pre-empted national environmental regulation and also opened discussions of the commons in his 1776 publication *Reflexions sur le commerce des blés*, where he argues that the actions of an individual could violate the rights of their neighbours in relation to air pollution and its link to illness, pointing out that the government could intervene to prevent such activity (cited in Sandmo, 2015, p.44). Also, French economist Quesnay considered that the ‘health’ of the environment was linked with the health of humans and the health or vigour of society (cited in Lumley and Armstrong, 2004, p.369), which can be seen as a precursor to the discourse on well-being related to the condition of the human environment (see below). Although many believe that the modern discipline of economics is far removed from considerations of altruism and social responsibility, in the 19th century human development was considered in a more holistic way, with the accumulation of wealth also bound up with ideas of human betterment and development. Even when the three spheres of society, economy and environment came into conflict, there was the idea that these would be brought into balance through a collective and individual sense of moral duty, ethics and social justice (Sandmo, 2015, p.45).

The cross-over in ecological and early economic philosophy can be seen in the way Charles Darwin’s biological evolutionary theory of “moral sense”, that individuals for their own self-interest might also work to the benefit of wider society (Darwin, 1871), was utilised by Adam Smith in his “invisible hand” metaphor (Howard, 2013, p.7; see

Lumley and Armstrong, 2004, p.370). As the precursor to modern economics, political economy started to introduce arguments that linked resource management and allocation within free market capitalism to wider social concepts such as human well-being and development. The notion of how the environment constrains development can be observed in Malthus' (1798) "theory of population" in relation to how agricultural returns would act to limit population size, with the population being constrained by decreasing agricultural returns until agricultural output could be increased. This notion of limits was further developed by Ricardo (1817) in relation to economic returns on land of varying quality in his theory of "land rent". He suggested that, as the demand for agricultural produce increased, land of diminishing productivity would be brought into cultivation to accommodate demand, but that this would affect the economic returns on labour and eventually lead to constrained growth within marginal lands (Sandmo, 2015, pp.46–47).

In the 19th century, political economist John Stuart Mill advocated for the role of the state in protection through regulation of what would later be termed 'commons' and 'public goods'. These were considered by Mill to be external to market forces but were the "common inheritance of all of the human race" (cited in Sandmo, 2015, p.47). His reasoning for environmental protection can be seen not only to take an economic perspective in terms of resource allocation through the market assisted by government regulation, but also in terms of the health benefits of the natural environment during a period of rapid industrialisation and mechanisation that was changing the countryside, which echoes a preservationist environmental ethic (Sandmo, 2015, pp.47–48). Classical economists had argued the importance of the market in resource allocation and distribution, but environmental factors had mostly been ignored within the development of modern economics as they were considered an externality or

something separate to, and not able to be characterised by, the market (Pearce, 2002, p.58). However, with growing awareness of how the environment might eventually constrict economic growth, and how purely pursuing growth might also have adverse social and environmental consequences, in the 1920s a theory of externalities was investigated by Marshall (1890). He conceived that there were both external economies and “diseconomies” or economic disadvantages that affected the social efficiency of economic activity (i.e. the social impact, advantage or disadvantage of an activity). This was expanded by Pigou to understand market failure or the failure of the market to allocate resources efficiently through the free market by looking at what happens when private and social marginal costs deviate, leading to a greater cost to one party. The example given by Pigou in his 1920 publication *The Economics of Welfare* was how pollution from factories might have a social cost borne by the community that is not reflected or deducted from the private costs and income to bring balance between private and social marginal costs. He suggested that mechanisms to correct this sort of imbalance could be taxation to the polluter or subsidies to those having to bear additional costs to mitigate the pollution (cited in Sandmo, 2015, pp.4–5). Although now incorporated into the general subdiscipline of environmental economics, resource economics can be seen to have developed in the post-war period primarily in response to the efficient use of renewable, non-renewable and common natural resources when their management became critical in the recovery of national economies. In 1952 the independent research organisation Resources for the Future was established in the United States to apply economic thinking to environmental issues of natural resource supply and demand (Pearce, 2002, p.57).

2.2. Sustainable development: a new environmentalism

The subdiscipline of environmental economics continued to develop and, in the wake of increasing environmental awareness in the 1960s, it addressed the need to understand the interconnectedness of the environment, economy and society. These early economic debates focused primarily on the availability of natural resources and the impact of diminishing resources or scarcity upon economic growth. Whilst some studies were optimistic in terms of showing that technological development and use of substitutes for limited natural resources could reduce the cost of mineral extraction and agricultural production, others were more pessimistic, seeing a change in human attitudes as necessary to protect common resources (Pearce, 2002, p.58). In his critique of the consumptive nature of human economies with regard to natural resources, Boulding (1966) highlighted the future scenario of a shift from an open earth system of unlimited resource to a closed one or “spaceship earth” where total stocks of future capital were limited. Within this changed system, humans needed to become part of the “cyclical ecological system”, to be part of it rather than simply assuming they could overcome the limitations of natural resources, through modified attitudes to consumption. This can be seen as a shift from consumption and production as a measure of development and human welfare, to the notion of quality of existence and capital beyond the material towards the physical and mental well-being of humans. Boulding was a pioneer of general systems theory (Boulding, 1956), and took a multidisciplinary approach to environmental economics that would eventually be called ‘ecological economics’ that considered the human economy, or the ‘econosphere’, to be part of wider world systems.

From these different perspectives on what The Club of Rome referred to as the “environmental problematique”, emerged differing solutions to the international policy problem of resource scarcity and economic growth (Hajer, 1995, p.24). These differences can be seen in three contemporary publications: *Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972), *Blueprint for Survival* (Goldsmith, 1972) and *Small is Beautiful* (Schumacher, 1973). Each called for reform of social, economic and political systems to address environment issues, albeit in different ways within different philosophical paradigms. The report *Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972) focused on technocratic solutions to projected environmental issues modelled utilising the newly emerging field of computer simulation as part of a wider trend in cybernetic and systems theory research (Hajer, 1995, pp.81–83). From this perspective, the solution was seen as a case of *managing* the use of resources assisted through technological advances. *Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972) was the first publication to use the term ‘sustainable’ as a qualifier referring to the *sustainable* limits to the exponential growth of the ‘human ecological footprint’ and the impact of this on the natural environment. The report examined projected future environmental scenarios, concluding that if overexploitation of environmental resources continued and decisions to curb this were delayed, “overshoot” or the inability of the Earth to recover from emissions and be able to renew these resources would occur. This would inevitably lead to a contraction of the human ecological footprint through necessary “managed decline” to a more sustainable level through legislation and policy, or face a “collapse” ecosystem scenario (Meadows et al., 1972; Randers, 2010). *Blueprint for Survival* (Goldsmith, 1972) used the same data but critiqued capitalist approaches to the environment, proposing decentralised, local and grassroots rather than global solutions with a focus on social justice. In a similar vein, *Small is Beautiful*

(Schumacher, 1973) advocated humanist ideals, critiquing Western and Eurocentric notions of progress and economics. Within these early sustainability discourses there were clear tensions between a concern for the environment and the finite resources it contained against the desire to have continued economic growth, measured in gross domestic product (GDP), utilising those resources. Although the three documents displayed quite different philosophies relating to the environment, they all coalesced around the issues of human survival and limits on human development (Hajer, 1995, pp.80–86; Dryzek et al., 2002, p.664). The themes picked up within these publications were discussed within a global environmental and economic context at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm between 5th and 16th June 1972 to develop a common approach to environmental protection that facilitated economic growth of national and international markets.

Following the realisation that environmental protection need not lead to the stagnation or contraction of economic activity, and indeed could provide new markets, in the 1980s a new paradigm for economics relating to environmental resources and services emerged (Costanza, 1989). Although sharing some of the theoretical underpinnings of environmental economics, ecological economics considered the economy to be an integral subsystem of the environment rather than an externality drawing upon the earlier musings of Boulding (1966). Unlike environmental economics, which borrowed heavily from classical economic theory to assign environmental externalities market values to make them comparable and therefore interchangeable with other economic and social factors within the free market system, ecological economics allows for the intrinsic valuation of the environment to be taken into consideration rather than the value of the environment being reduced to utility (Costanza, 1989). Sustainability within ecological systems is a dynamic process by

which something is able to continue indefinitely whilst retaining balance between other aspects or spheres of the whole system. This balancing between subsystems was later visualised as an overlapping Venn diagram, introduced by Barbier (1987; see Fig. 2), although the tripart conceptualisation of sustainable development comprising spheres or pillars of economy, society and environment can be shown to have originated discursively before this (Purvis et al., 2018).

In terms of understanding the concept of sustainability, ecological economics distinguishes between the classical economic approach that sees natural resources as ultimately substitutable for human capital or “weak sustainability”, and “strong sustainability” that does not consider natural and human-made capital as interchangeable (Pearce and Atkinson, 1998, p.5). From an ecological economics perspective, growth is seen as being constrained by available resources, the optimal form of development is what Daly termed a “steady-state economy”, where the scale of the economy is not determined by prices of resources (i.e. rising or falling prices to reflect supply and demand), but is a social judgement based upon fair distribution of resources (Daly, 1992, p.188). Although ecological economics holds to the notion that the carrying capacity of the environment and its available resources will eventually constrain growth, some ‘technical optimists’ believe that the response to resource depletion and higher prices from taxation will drive technological advancement and innovation to address these issues. In contrast, ‘economic pessimism’ was often a position held by those ecological economists who came from an ecosystem ecology background where natural systems that reach their limits do inevitably stop growing (Costanza, 1989, p.2). It was this optimism that was utilised within international policy sustainable development discourse and bolstered by the emergence of the policy-orientated discourse of “ecological modernisation”. Through the development of

international policy, increasingly coming under the banner of sustainable development, it can be seen that these policies played a part in encouraging technological developments to overcome what was seen as movable limitations rather than hard limits (Hajer, 1995, p.32).



Figure 2 - The three spheres of sustainable development (Johann Dreo 2006, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license).

Ecological modernisation discourse revolved around a “positive sum-game” or win–win rhetoric, where measures to curb or mitigate pollution from industry would not lead to losses in terms of capital but instead gains from operations becoming more efficient and competitive, especially within the newly emergent market of green-conscious consumers (Hajer, 1995, pp.26, 97; Fischer and Black, 1995, p.xvi). Although ecological modernisation purportedly called for the reform of structural flaws within modernity, it did so without fundamentally abandoning ideals associated with modernity through a “greening” of capitalism (Mol and Spaargaren, 2000, pp.19, 22; Hajer, 1995, p.32). This contrasted with approaches to environmental protection from the 1960s that utilised state imposition of limits and regulation of industry to reduce

pollution, which saw nation states create legislation, policies and institutions to deal specifically with environmental issues or the rise of the “environmental state” (Mol and Buttel, 2002). Partly in reaction to the perceived failure of regulatory approaches to environmental protection, which were felt to have alienated both the advocates of environmental protection, government departments and businesses (Weale, 1992, p.75), from the 1980s the UK and United States favoured deregulation and market approaches to environmental protection. During this period discourses shifted to mitigation and management of the environment through voluntary arrangements and market-based approaches such as the PPP. The intention behind this approach was to internalise the cost of environmental protection within industry and businesses (Pearce et al., 1989, p.157). This approach could have proved quite unpopular because the subject of pollution “polarizes viewpoints ... interconnecting with disputes in modern culture ..., production, knowledge and expertise, modernity and lifestyle” (Myerson and Rydin, 1996, p.87). However, this took place during a shift to an eco-modernist discourse on environmental protection that discursively mitigated the opposing concerns of environment and economy, providing a counter-argument to the radical aspects of the environmental movement that called for de-modernisation (Dryzek et al., 2002, p.665). Because the problem was no longer considered to be inherent within modern industrial processes and pursuit of economic growth, the solution became one of further development and growth to improve management and mitigation of pollution, as illustrated in the Stockholm Declaration. Despite the conflicting ways of conceptualising environmental issues in the 1970s, by the 1980s the language of ecological modernisation had created a consensus or discourse coalition for environmental policy that was furthered by the newly emergent international environmental commissions such as The Organisation for Economic Co-

operation and Development (OECD) and The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). These 'secondary policy institutions' acted on behalf of and in conjunction with politicians and environmental experts from different nation states, but also were seen to be independent and representing a new global governance framework. Rather than having direct power over nation states, they had the discursive power to shift environmental protection from something associated with radical and anarchic ideologies that would ultimately limit human capitalist economic development, to an optimistic discourse ushering in a new form of economic growth: sustainable development. For many, the ultimate expression of this eco-modernist philosophy can be seen in the policy discourse of 'sustainable development' that emerged in the late 1980s (Hajer, 1995, pp.26, 83, 96–100; Weale, 1992, p.31).

Following the realisation that environmental protection need not lead to the stagnation or contraction of economic activity, and indeed could provide new markets, in the 1980s a new paradigm for economics relating to environmental resources and services emerged. Although sharing some of the theoretical underpinnings of environmental economics, ecological economics considered the economy to be an integral subsystem of the environment rather than an externality drawing upon the earlier musings of Boulding (1966). Unlike environmental economics, which borrowed heavily from classical economic theory to assign environmental externalities market values to make them comparable and therefore interchangeable with other economic and social factors within the free market system, ecological economics allows for the intrinsic valuation of the environment to be taken into consideration rather than the value of the environment being reduced to utility (Costanza, 1989). Sustainability within ecological systems is a dynamic process by which something is able to continue indefinitely whilst retaining balance between other aspects or spheres of the whole

system. This balancing between subsystems was later visualised as an overlapping Venn diagram, introduced by Barbier (1987; see Fig. 2), although the tripart conceptualisation of sustainable development comprising spheres or pillars of economy, society and environment can be shown to have originated discursively before this (Purvis et al., 2018).

In terms of understanding the concept of sustainability, ecological economics distinguishes between the classical economic approach that sees natural resources as ultimately substitutable for human capital or “weak sustainability”, and “strong sustainability” that does not consider natural and human-made capital as interchangeable (Pearce and Atkinson, 1998, p.5). From an ecological economics perspective, growth is seen as being constrained by available resources, the optimal form of development is what Daly termed a “steady-state economy”, where the scale of the economy is not determined by prices of resources (i.e. rising or falling prices to reflect supply and demand), but is a social judgement based upon fair distribution of resources (Daly, 1992, p.188). Although ecological economics holds to the notion that the carrying capacity of the environment and its available resources will eventually constrain growth, some ‘technical optimists’ believe that the response to resource depletion and higher prices from taxation will drive technological advancement and innovation to address these issues. In contrast, ‘economic pessimism’ was often a position held by those ecological economists who came from an ecosystem ecology background where natural systems that reach their limits do inevitably stop growing (Costanza, 1989, p.2).

Despite a number of international and national development policy documents and academic discourse on the concept of sustainable development in the 1980s and early

1990s, the concept still remained difficult to operationalise. To remedy this, in 1992 an Earth Summit conference was hosted in Rio to reaffirm international commitment to sustainable development, resulting in the Rio Declaration setting out 27 principles and Agenda 21 Action Plan, which are analysed in more detail in Chapter 5.

2.3. The Cultural Turn in Sustainable Development Discourse

Although the 1987 report OCF (WCED 1987) started to resolve tensions discursively between environmental protection and economic development, it was still felt that the 1980s had been a 'lost decade for development' and that more was needed to reintroduce the 'human factor' into development frameworks to look at 'human development' and not just economic development informed by Western cultural norms (UNESCO, 1993, p.2). To start the process of better understanding "the importance of the human factor – that complex web of relationships and beliefs, values and motivations, which lie at the very heart of a culture", 1988 was declared the start of the World Decade for Cultural Development (WCCD, 1995, p.22). The WCCD Action Plan (UNESCO, 1988) set out five key questions that would be investigated to examine the relationship between culture and development:

- What are the cultural and sociocultural factors that affect development?
- What is the cultural impact of social and economic development?
- In what way are culture and models of development interrelated?
- In what way does cultural development influence individual and collective well-being?

- What role do cultural activities and artistic creativity play, both as such and as important areas for development and international co-operation?

The WCCD was established in December 1992 to take the research for the decade forward through the production of a report investigating “cultural needs in the context of development” (WCCD, 1995, p.9). Although the task assigned to the WCCD was clear – that culture should be a major consideration to inform development – the mandate document contradicts itself in a number of places. For example, it states that “development cannot be reduced to economic development alone”, yet within the same paragraph the focus is shifted back to economic development and growth with culture as an instrument for growth: “without a cultural and spiritual renaissance no economic renaissance is possible” (UNESCO, 1993, p.3). This bias towards an economic understanding of culture is not unsurprising considering the credentials of the members comprising the WCCD board, with six out of the 13 members and five honorary members having a background in economics.

In 1995 UNESCO published the report *Our Creative Diversity* (OCD) which marked a discursive and semantic shift away from a purely economic understanding of development towards the concept of ‘culturally sustainable’ development for the purpose of human betterment. The report champions an approach based on cultural values as a way to take sustainable development from a buzzword to a development paradigm that considered specific social, economic and cultural contexts of development proposals (UNESCO 1995). A cultural approach to development directly invoked the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (United Nations 1966), and the Commitment of Nations to progress the realisation of those rights, including the right to take part in cultural life. It was also seen as a way to

overcome issues with the operationalisation of sustainable development that Agenda 21 sought to address.

Following the OCD report, a number of years passed before a discourse on the place and role of culture in sustainable development and spatial planning broke into the public policy arena. In 2001, Jon Hawkes' discussion paper for the Cultural Development Network in Victoria, Australia, introduced the notion of culture as the '4th pillar' of sustainable development (Hawkes, 2001). For Hawkes, social, economic and environmental components of sustainable development were part of a cultural debate about people's values and needs that would be influenced by their cultural context. By seeing the debate regarding sustainable development as itself a cultural debate to be informed by value systems, he believed that solutions should be sought through a change in those value systems and particularly the dominance of values based on consumerism (Hawkes, 2001, p.11). Culture as a 4th pillar of sustainable development became a powerful metaphor in cultural sustainability discourse in the early 21st century, with an emphasis on culture as the everyday social production and transmission of values. The understanding of culture represented by Hawkes saw culture as a process resulting in action to create products, ideas and values. In addition to championing a cultural values approach to planning, Hawkes highlighted the way in which discourses and therefore applications of culture to sustainable development had been restricted to a Eurocentric notion of cultural heritage products associated with 'the arts' (Hawkes, 2001, p.8). He observed that although there was a rhetoric of inclusivity of wider cultural values and value systems, policy actions, and therefore outcomes, often reverted back to contemporary and historic high culture

representations. Hawkes felt that this was in part the reason why there was a bias towards understanding the value of culture in terms of its instrumental values (i.e. culture *for* sustainable development) and ultimately the economic value of cultural products, services and commodities (Hawkes 2001, p. 8). Although Hawkes advocated a move away from Eurocentric forms of tangible and visible culture, the examples given within the History and Heritage section of his report are still very much a part of this legacy, particularly the focus on museums and protection relating to built heritage. To counter this preoccupation with material remains of the past, the importance of intangible heritage is emphasised as being 'critical' through the delivery of oral history projects and community participation (Hawkes 2001, p. 31). Despite the importance of Australia for looking at human evolution and faunal diversity, there is no mention of archaeology within the heritage section of the report.

Between 2002 and 2015, there were various initiatives and conferences calling for culture to be considered a key element of sustainable development and be formally incorporated into Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) starting with the World Public Meeting on Culture held in Porto Alegre, Brazil (UCLG 2018). However, culture was still largely absent from any of the principal sustainable development indicators and goals, most notably the 2030 SDGs (Duxbury et al., 2017; see Fig. 3), despite the Hangzhou conference in 2015 and subsequent Declaration being organised for that reason (UNESCO 2013). This was seen by many as a failing of the international campaign to have culture adopted as a guiding principle of sustainable development, but this ignores the fact that culture, if understood as a valuation framework and worldview, would inevitably impact upon and shape *all* SDGs. Perhaps the ultimate success of the cultural turn is that culture need not be specifically referenced to be used. What I believe is being lamented by international cultural heritage bodies is the

lack of very specific types of culture that heritage management frameworks seek to protect (e.g. sites contributing to national heritage narratives and agendas, with international sites considered a form of global ‘commons’ that provide economic and sometimes social benefits). This is because for their own sustainability and long-term endurance they require justification for their patronage by demonstrating their continuing relevance and importance to society. In a global society that tracks progress in terms of national accounting and economic efficiencies, culture needs to be not just a background guiding principle, but a politically visible vehicle for sustainable economic development.



Figure 3 - United Nations Sustainable Development Agenda sustainable development goals (SDG) (United Nations, 2015).

2.4. Summary

This chapter has tracked the development of discursive themes that became part of the popular discourse and rhetoric of ‘sustainable development’. The relationship

between the environment and the economy emerged in the 18th and 19th centuries with the development of resource management economics that linked the health or quality of the environment with the well-being of human populations as a public good. The increasing intervention of governments in controlling the quality of national environments in the modern period, contra the dominant philosophy of laissez-faire economics, was later referred to as 'the environmental state'. The strong sense of altruism in relation to protecting environmental quality can be traced back to the convergence of environmental management and political economy at the inception of the modern discipline of ecology in the 19th century. The exchange of environmental and resource accounting metaphors was also one of the ways in which the links between the two disciplines was strengthened. As introduced earlier, a notable example is Charles Darwin's theory of 'moral sense', or individuals working in their own self-interest whilst also working towards the greater good of society, being utilised by Adam Smith in his 'invisible hand' metaphor for the way market forces in self-interest may benefit wider society. The discipline of economics continued to develop, and in the 20th century two approaches to economics relating to the environment emerged. Environmental economics saw the environment as an externality with no market value that needed to be *brought* into the market by creating markets where none previously existed. In contrast, ecological economics saw the economy as a subsystem of the biosphere and focused on the co-evolution of economic and natural systems.

Starting with the Stockholm Declaration, a new form of environmentalism emerged that discursively mitigated the tensions between the pursuit of economic growth and environmental protection. This was done by shifting the issue from being one of hard environmental *limits* constraining economic growth, to an issue of technological and

social *limitations* to be overcome through development and environmental management. Utilising an eco-modernist discourse, environmental degradation was repositioned as an issue of underdevelopment, with technological optimism suggesting that substitutes would be found for finite resources. Out of the new environmentalism of the 1970s and 1980s, 'sustainable development' emerged as a unifying concept and discourse coalition, appealing to environmentalists as well as business and governments through a win-win rhetoric of achieving both economic development and environmental protection. This was visualised by Barbier (1987) as the sustainable approach at the heart of his Venn diagram, supposedly balancing all agendas. This was later accompanied by a diagram showing the original spheres of society, economy and environment as the supporting pillars of sustainable development, with additional pillars added depending on what subject was being pushed as integral to sustainability (e.g. education). Despite the rhetorical success of sustainable development, in the 1990s it was still a concept that could not be easily operationalised, leading to criticism that it was merely a policy 'buzzword'.

Culture had been included in the concept of sustainable development as both a value system as well as the tangible outputs and expressions of those values. The World Decade for Culture rearticulated the influence of cultural context and specificity on determining the nature and form of development. In the UNESCO report OCD (1995), the concept of sustainable development was semantically shifted to *culturally* sustainable development, as well as the notion of 'cultural development'. The linkage of human rights discourse helped to strengthen the argument for cultural values and culturally specific or culturally derived forms of development as part of working towards the realisation of social and economic rights.

The metaphor of sustainable development pillars was reutilised by public policy researcher Jon Hawkes in 2001, who advocated that culture should be the '4th pillar' of sustainable development. Although the cultural turn was seen as a departure from previous methods of understanding development and the environment, the use of environmental metaphors in relation to culture (e.g. biodiversity, systems ecology) meant that many of the assumptions and biases regarding how the environment was understood within a Western worldview or gaze, and how this related to notions of resource management and economics, was carried across into the *culturally* sustainable development discourse, influencing actions and therefore outcomes.

Chapter 3 will review the academic literature relating to the discursive construction of cultural sustainability in terms of specific storylines or themes and how these relate to the materials and processes of AHM. Key themes within international sustainable development policy discourse are examined in Chapter 5.1. The recontextualisation of these themes into UK nature conservation and the heritage sector is then examined in Chapter 5.2 to understand the appeal of placing culture and heritage within an environmental frame and the impact upon AHM discourse and literature.

Chapter 3. Cultural Heritage, Archaeology and Sustainability

(Literature Review)

Towards the end of Chapter 2, the cultural turn in sustainability discourse was highlighted as marking a discursive shift from culture as a fringe concern within mainstream discourse on environmental, economic and social sustainability or 'sustainable development', to culture as a guiding principle for understanding those spheres as constructed by people's diverse socially and culturally constructed worldviews. This chapter will review the body of published literature that specifically discusses sustainability in relation to archaeological materials and processes as part of cultural heritage and the 'historic environment', as well as the contribution of archaeology to social, economic and environmental sustainability agendas. This chapter will examine the discursive construction of cultural aspects of sustainability within academic literature and how this relates to the application of the concept of sustainability within the discipline of AHM.

3.1. The discursive construction of cultural sustainability

Despite international policy advocating that culture should become a guiding principle in sustainable development, it was felt that there was a lack of progress over the last 25 years towards understanding the role of culture in relation to sustainable development. To remedy this, between 2011 and 2015, the European Cooperation in Science and Technology (COST) initiated a multidisciplinary project to investigate the role of culture *in, for* and *as* sustainable development (COST, 2011). Culture *in* sustainable development adheres to Hawkes' (2001) notion of culture as a 4th pillar standing alongside social, economic and environmental pillars, in the sense that it can stand as an independent objective in and of itself but can also support the wider goals

of sustainable development. Culture *for* sustainable development is about culture as the representation of intangible values, diverse worldviews and belief systems playing a “framing, contextualising and mediating” role in development to ensure it is sustainable (Soini et al., 2015, p.28). Culture *as* sustainable development also adheres to the notion of culture as intangible values and the starting point of identifying development opportunities that are sustainable. The latter is similar to ‘culturally sustainable development’ as used in OCD (UNESCO 1995). In a similar way to Barbier’s (1987) tripart visual representation of sustainable development, Soini et al. (2015) illustrate the role of culture as a 4th sphere or pillar (see Fig. 4). However, they are critical of this understanding of cultural sustainability as it encourages a view of culture as services and products that are part of the creative arts and cultural sector of public policy, rather than as the cognitive orientation of individuals and society informed by cultural beliefs and experiences. The document examines ‘policy scripts’ or the themes that guide cultural policy in relation to sustainable development. These broad policy themes can be observed in the storylines and contexts developed in Soini and Birkeland (2014).

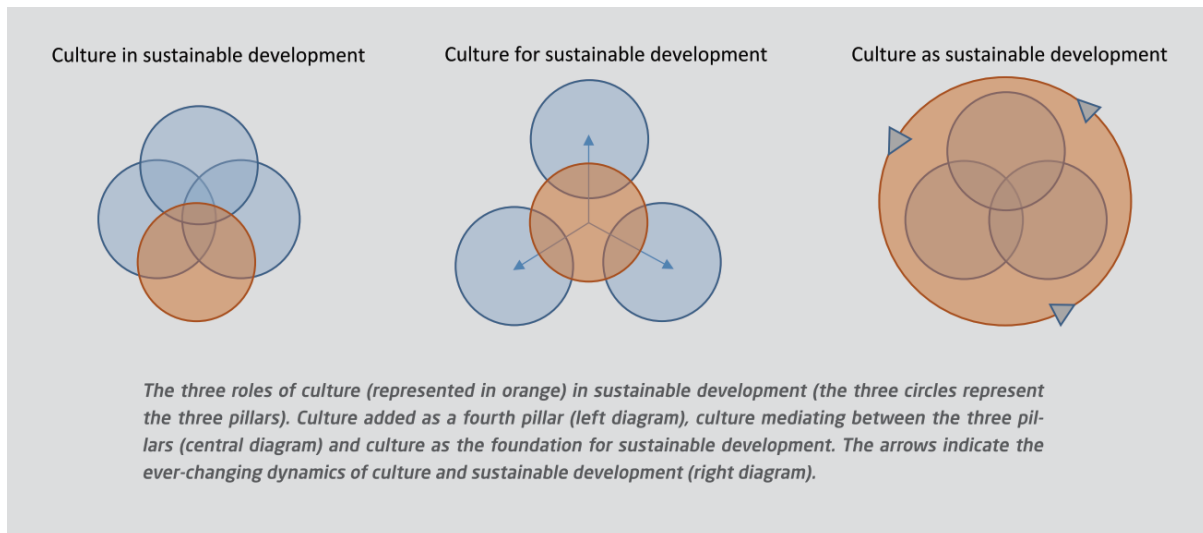


Figure 4 - Visualisations for culture in, for and as sustainable development (Soini et al. 2015, p. 29).

As part of the COST research, a discourse analysis of peer-reviewed scientific literature by Soini and Birkeland (2014) was undertaken to examine the different interpretations of ‘cultural sustainability’. In their understanding of culture as a broad system of meaning and values, the authors proposed that, rather than culture being seen as a separate ‘pillar’ supporting sustainable development, it should be considered a *precondition* for development to be sustainable. Unlike other studies, the authors distinguish cultural sustainability from social sustainability, seeing the two concepts as connected in the way cultural values and frameworks influence the way individuals and social groups conduct themselves within society, often indicated by the term ‘socio-cultural’ (Soini and Birkeland, 2014, pp.214–215; also see Soini et al., 2015). To examine the concept of cultural sustainability, scientific peer-reviewed articles were grouped into the metonyms or ‘storylines’ (after Hajer, 1995) of heritage, vitality, economic viability, diversity, locality (place), eco-cultural resilience and eco-cultural civilisation (see Fig. 5). The ‘eco-cultural resilience’ storyline can be seen to relate back to the original sustainable development discourse, and the balance

between the human cultural environment and the natural environment. Soini and Birkeland (2014) consider heritage and cultural vitality storylines to construct culture as a '4th pillar' of sustainability, but I would argue that it is still related to the sustainable development discourse as it clearly emphasises economic growth and development as a goal rather than human development. Soini and Birkeland (2014) see the other storylines as setting up culture as an instrument for social, economic and environmental sustainability agendas. The final storyline of 'eco-cultural civilisation' constructs cultural sustainability as a revolutionary concept, with "cultural change ... seen as a necessity to transition to sustainable practices" (Soini and Birkeland, 2014, p.218). This understanding of culture moves beyond the pillar metaphor, with culture as the 'foundation' upon which the other pillars rest. Soini and Birkeland (2014) suggest that further work is required on related concepts such as ecological modernisation, which forms part of the focus of Chapter 2 of this thesis.

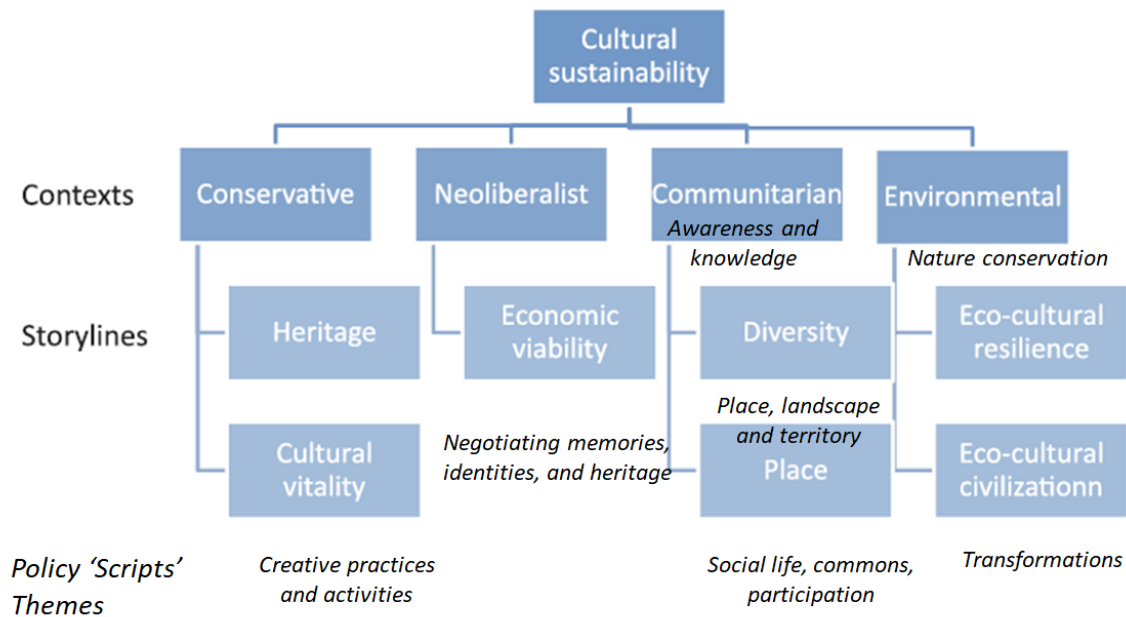


Figure 5 – Cultural sustainability storylines and how these relate to political and discursive contexts and policy themes or scripts highlighted in italics

(After Soini and Birkeland 2014, p. 220; Soini et al. 2015, p. 29)

The heritage storyline refers to “historic stocks of culture and their importance for the future and cultural sustainability [with] ... the continuation of ... culture in a linear time perspective” (Soini and Birkeland, 2014, p.216), or linear progress, which is a grand narrative within modernity and a discursive theme within the original sustainable development discourse relating to human progress. The greatest threats to cultural heritage are perceived to be the processes of globalisation and modernisation, which have led to homogenisation and loss of diversity within cultural expression. This storyline also overlaps with the one on economic viability, which is the most commonly employed of the storylines, and relates to the instrumental benefits of culture as a socio-economic resource through tourism and recreation economies. Unlike the heritage storyline, economic viability sees culture as dynamic and reproduced, rather than adhering to notions of authenticity. Jones (2010) considers this emphasis on

authenticity as itself an artefact of modernity, to classify, categorise and order knowledge, as well as an unease regarding the loss of authenticity within the world and experience with growing secularisation. Jones (2010) suggests that, rather than a focus on either a constructivist perspective that considers it to be culturally mediated and constructed, or a materialistic interpretation that sees authenticity as a quality inherent in the materials, authenticity is drawn from relationships between people and things. To overcome the limitations of Jones' perspective regarding the interaction between an object's materiality and relationships, Holtorf (2013) proposes a modified constructivist approach. Instead of drawing authenticity from notions of age or original materials, he proposes that an object's 'pastness' or being of the past derives from how it is experienced, or from clues that can be entirely fabricated in the present, although not necessarily for the purposes of deceiving audiences and consumers. For Holtorf and Schadla-Hall (1999) this modification of the concept of authenticity allows the past to be considered a renewable resource.

The 'cultural vitality' storyline draws upon the work of Hawkes (2001) and Throsby (2011) regarding 'cultural capital' or the provision of cultural services and goods to foster 'culture-led development'. This use of cultural capital differs from the meaning used by Bourdieu (1977) within a sociology context, where access to cultural resources served to bring people together around common cultural experiences, as well as excluding some because of their lack of cultural capital. Throsby's use of the concept overlaps with Bourdieu's in the way that economic capital can be used to purchase access to cultural capital, and cultural capital might in turn be converted into economic and social capital or the privileged networks of interaction between people and within groups (Throsby, 2011). Unlike the heritage storyline, the vitality storyline views the processes of globalisation and modernisation as positive and presenting

new opportunities. Although cultural diversity is shown as a separate theme, I would consider this to be more of an underlying theme that crosses all storylines, being the main thrust of a cultural sustainability approach to development, because “the diversity of cultural values needs to be considered in any development activity to achieve social acceptance” (Soini and Birkeland, 2014, p.217). The ‘locality’ storyline or place-based approaches to culture are against the homogenising process of globalisation and emphasise cultural diversity between contexts or localities, particularly the cultural rights of marginalised communities. Heritage is constructed as a storyline within a conservation or what the authors call a ‘conservative’ context, relating this back to the notions of tradition and political conservatism often reflected in national heritage (Pendlebury, 2000).

Using the storylines identified by Soini and Birkeland (2014), the following sections will examine how archaeology fits within these discursive constructs in relation to cultural sustainability or a cultural perspective on sustainability.

3.2. The challenge of cultural heritage sustainability

The sustainability of cultural heritage presents a challenge as by its very nature its resources are considered finite, non-renewable and non-substitutable because of the rarity of the original or *authentic* materials; or at least this is the dominant perspective within a traditional understanding of heritage. Various threats have jeopardised archaeological heritage from development associated with post-war infrastructure and intensified forms of land use. A discourse of endangerment can be seen in part to have contributed to the success of AHM as a philosophy, as a set of practices to try and remove or mitigate threats to heritage (see May, 2009). A general anxiety relating to threats of loss and the endangerment of the natural environment and material culture

of the past has characterised much of the late modern period of history and the rise of the 'risk society' (after Beck, 1992; also see Mizoguchi, 2016). This lexicon of risk was introduced to AHM in the UK through the register of buildings at risk (BAR) from 1992, later adding monuments at risk (MARs) from 1995 (Darvill and Miles, 2000). In 2008 the combined buildings and monuments registers were renamed Heritage at Risk (HAR; English Heritage, 2008c). It is interesting to note this shift in terminology as the use of heritage, whilst adhering to the two main physical forms of nationally designated sites, can be seen to indicate a cultural value that is placed on these sites (see Waterton, 2010, pp.180–181). Over the last 20 years the HAR programme has undertaken targeted campaigns that sought to intensify this feeling of loss amongst the general public, to galvanise support for the processes of heritage management. The HAR programme can be seen to epitomise an accounting and auditing approach to heritage management (Carman et al., 1999), by setting targets for removals from the HAR register much in the same way as nation states are encouraged to reduce carbon emissions. In addition to more apparent physical risks to heritage, there has always been a more subversive form of threat, or what Cooper (2008) calls 'rhetorical destruction'. This is the undermining of the AHM rhetoric of inherent importance of the physical remains of the past and their protection, and started to be encountered with the commercialisation of archaeology as a procedure of planning, often by those where heritage management protocols were seen to go against the interests of private commercial gain (e.g. the expense of mitigation, delays to developments, etc.). Although the two views appear polarised in terms of *why* they consider AHM to be problematic, the counter-measure to the recognition of an authorised heritage discourse ((AHD); see Smith, 2006), and the deliberate rhetorical destruction to lessen the relative importance of archaeological heritage (Cooper, 2008), have a

similar effect of alienating archaeology from contemporary processes of development and cultural heritage.

The status of heritage as something inherently good and worthy of protection now for the future is enshrined not only in global and national heritage legislation and policies, but also the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948) and the International Covenant on Social, Cultural and Economic Rights (United Nations, 1966). Barthel-Bouchier (2012) looks at the challenge of sustainability in relation to cultural heritage and the emergence of a cultural heritage 'world polity' influenced by heritage Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs), International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) and national Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the post-war period, when it became clear that the protection of cultural heritage required collaboration between nation states. Barthel-Bouchier (2012) looks at the discourse of cultural heritage as a human right advocated by the United Nations with the declaration of cultural heritage as a human right, creating, in addition to private and state ownership, the notion of universal ownership and 'world heritage' as part of a new globalised society. Although it was intended to reflect a *right* to culture, Barthel-Bouchier suggests that this is actually a right to cultural property or access to properties. As such, unlike other human rights, which tend to help meet the basic needs of those most in need, cultural heritage as a human right can be seen to benefit mainly the new global bourgeoisie (Barthel-Bouchier, 2012, pp.31–32; Carman, 2005a). The formation of a cultural heritage world polity can be likened to the global environmental regime that emerged from the 1960s and the rise of the 'environmental state', where nations formed environmental institutions to deal with the environmental problems. It was international organisations such as the United Nations and later UNESCO that were responsible for the emergence of a global agenda on sustainable

development for resource conservation and distribution, and later for a culturally informed approach to development (Barthel-Bouchier, 2012, p.34).

Soini and Birkland's (2014) heritage storyline adheres to the traditional premise that cultural heritage represents a finite stock of cultural materials as well as the intangible cultural values attached to them, altruistically protected and preserved in the present so that they can be passed on as supplies of 'cultural capital' ready to be utilised by future generations. Within a heritage management framework, this relates to the instrumental values associated with cultural heritage within a sustainable development framework, which first focused on economic value, seen in built heritage renovation and the heritage industry, and later social and cultural values as 'cultural capital' as a social instrument. As such, heritage can be likened to Heidegger's (1977) concept of 'standing reserve', whereby everything can be considered a stored resource waiting to be used at some point in the future. For Heidegger (1977), technology was the reason the world became largely understood in terms of resources at the disposal of humans, which was the main reason for the emergence of a discourse on sustainable development or sustainable management of natural resources for development. Heidegger saw this process of *enframing* the world within a technocratic instrumental discourse as structuring the relationships between humans and their environment, or what was referred to as the 'human environment' in early sustainability texts. This changed what were once seen as natural or cultural phenomena into raw materials and economic assets. Within this framework, even humans and the labour they can provide could also be considered standing reserves, and hence the term 'human resources' in relation to workforces (Heidegger, 1977, pp.16–17).

In terms of the concept of sustainability, the heritage storyline overlaps with the economic viability storyline in the way that the processes of heritage are to be sustained or maintained, especially given the economic climate over the last 10 years, with a global recession (Howard, 2013). The main concern of archaeological literature relating to sustainability within a heritage storyline is how to enable the processes of archaeology to study and protect the material archaeological resource to continue into the future. The rhetoric that the archaeological resource is finite is one of the guiding principles of AHM (Darvill, 1987). The reason the archaeological resource is considered finite relates to the emphasis put on the preservation of authentic or original materials. Fairclough (1997) and Boldrini (1998) hold to the traditional notion that archaeology, or rather archaeological material, is a finite and non-renewable resource. Boldrini (1998) makes a distinction between the *physical* resource, which is finite because it cannot be remade, and our knowledge or potential understanding of the resource, which could be considered infinite (also see Carman, 2004). However, Boldrini (1998) reasserts that archaeology *is* a finite resource as the cultures that produced the material no longer exist to create more materials (i.e. the *authentic* original archaeological resource is finite). Quoting Powell (1980), Boldrini highlights that archaeology does not have the capacity to maintain itself (i.e. it is not self-sustaining) and hence the need for intervention and AHM (see Carman, 2004, 2016b). The concept of sustainability as it relates to economic and ecological systems alludes to cycles of renewal, regeneration, and in the former predation and the latter cutting back or austerity. These systems can be considered self-sustaining in the sense that changes within them allow activities to continue. This might be at the expense of individual components that might change or be lost to enable the wider system to continue (Carman, 2004, p.256).

Pace (2012) refers to the 'sustainable care of archaeological places' or the long-term endurance of the fabric, visibility and space of archaeological sites through management. At the time of writing, Pace was Superintendent of Cultural Heritage in Malta, having held that post for 10 years since it was established in 2002 with the introduction of the Maltese Cultural Heritage Act. As such, the text is written from an authoritative AHM perspective, borrowing heavily language and approaches from bodies such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and English Heritage. Working within what Pace terms a 'post-heritage' framework, the sustainable care of archaeology understands "conservation philosophy as a precautionary response to the transformative and damaging effects of heritage consumption" (Pace, 2012). The term 'transform' is used in a negative sense in relation to how 'heritage consumption', or the impact of activities such as tourism and development, serves to transform (degrade) the authenticity and integrity of the archaeological resource. Pace's focus is very much on the sustainability or long-term survival of archaeological materials within a traditional understanding of these as fragile and finite resources, citing Darvill (1987), PPG 16 (DCLG, 1990) and the preamble to the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention that decries the loss of heritage as "impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world" (UNESCO, 2019). Pace is critical of rescue-led, and later development-led, approaches to archaeology, which he sees as degrading remaining 'reserves' of archaeological deposits (also see Grenville, 1993; Graves-Brown, 1997). What is particularly useful about Pace's discussion is his distinction between the concept of 'sustainable development' as a development paradigm that was discursively constructed in the 1980s, and the quality of 'sustainability' which, taking the definition of it as a verb, denotes a "temporal dimension of a measure or action that will be carried out in the long-term or indefinitely" (Pace, 2012, p.284).

Whilst not completely relinquishing the idea that archaeology is finite, Clark (1993, p.89, 2008) suggests that within a framework that emphasises managed change, archaeology might be considered less analogous to non-renewable fossil fuels and other finite natural resources, and more akin to renewable resources. This refers to the processes of heritage as generating more heritage or, in the case of historic environment planning, the creation of something new out of old heritage assets through their reworking (Holtorf, 2008a; Carman, 2004). In terms of how self-sustaining or renewable different components of the archaeological historic environment are, historic building and derelict land reuse is seen by Fairclough (1997) and Clark (1992) to be a way of sustainably conserving historic environment capital. However, Boldrini (1998) suggests that the development of such brownfield sites, as advocated in much 1990s planning policy, and the reuse of industrial buildings could be problematic for the degradation of the archaeological information resource. The question of whether archaeology can be considered self-sustaining is considered by Carman (2004) to be determined by whether the practice or process of archaeology can be continued, rather than the materials of the past simply being preserved (also see Carman, 2016b). Carman considers that the discourse on archaeology as a finite resource has resulted in a tendency to reduce the concept of sustainability in archaeology to mean simply that materials will be managed in a way that ensures their survival, rather than a process looking at the sustainability of archaeological operation frameworks or ecosystems (Carman, 2016b; Merriman, 2008). In the case of the latter, maintenance of a wider system could potentially come at the expense of individual components.

The issue of archaeologists being a threat to the archaeological resource is further examined by Ferris and Welch (2014) as the 'extractive–consumptive paradigm' within

which lies archaeology in North American ARM. Partly adhering to Pace's (2012) conception of consumption, Ferris and Welch (2014) consider archaeologists to be the primary consumers of the archaeological resource, and as such could be considered the main threat to the sustainability of that finite resource. The frameworks of ARM are seen as legitimising the extraction of the archaeological resource to further knowledge ahead of loss of archaeology from development, which contradicts the notion that archaeologists preserve the archaeological record by removing it and transforming it into a paper or digital record rather than leaving it *in situ*. Archaeologists, upon extracting and consuming the archaeological record to produce the archaeological resource, are seen potentially to undermine other values embedded in the record. This makes the assumption that archaeology is meaningful in some way before archaeologists or other communities apply meanings. Whilst inherent value might be possible for cultural heritage sites that were known prior to archaeological investigation and have some degree of cultural continuity or are at least part of local consciousness, this would not be the case for archaeology that was belowground and unknown prior to investigation, such as deposits encountered as part of development-led archaeology. To overcome the limitations of the extractive–consumptive model, Ferris and Welch (2014) propose 'sustainable design concepts', with the focus of archaeology shifted more towards contemporary issues such as environmental and social sustainability as part of sociocultural and biophysical systems. The suggestion that archaeological records are reflections of past attempts at economic, social and environmental sustainability draws upon the discourse advocated as part of the eco-cultural resilience storyline.

Since its inception, the discipline of archaeology has developed through various perceived and discursively intensified 'crises' in relation to the loss of the

archaeological resource. From the 1970s and the establishment of advisory services at the regional as well as national level in England, and the introduction of archaeological and historic environment planning policy in the 1990s, it was felt that these crises had effectively been circumvented. Despite two major recessions in the 1980s and 1990s, commercial archaeology in the UK continued to grow as part of the construction sector. It is during this period that archaeological mitigation or the transformation of belowground deposits into records to be removed from sites became procedural, especially with the introduction of PPG 16 in 1990 (see Hinton, 2013). It was the business as usual approach to commercial excavation that led to a crisis of the archaeological sector's own making, the modern 'crisis of accumulation' (Holtorf, 2008a; Harrison, 2013a). The issue of archives and their storage had to be faced by curatorial archaeology in the last decade of the 20th century (see Ottaway, 2010; Perrin, 2002; Swain, 1998), although the storage of archaeological archives had been discussed as far back as the early 20th century by figures such as Flinders Petrie (Swain, 2012, p.37). Lipe (1984, p.1) acknowledged that the retention of all archaeological resources was not only unfeasible, but would eventually lead to accumulation that would threaten the progress of AHM and potentially devalue archaeology by claiming that it was *all* equally important. This sentiment is reflected in the heritage storyline and the need for heritage managers to decide effectively what should or should not be retained to prevent heritage preservation becoming an economic and social issue in the present as well as a problem, rather than valued inheritance, for future generations. Cooke (2003) examined heritage growth as a policy problem and in particular how changes in heritage policy might help to contain or restrain this growth to prevent heritage expansion from exhausting resources intended to deliver wider public cultural services. Cooke considers that the concept of heritage

amounted to a 'blank cheque' leading to increasingly unmanageable accumulations of museum collections, archaeological archives, heritage sites and attractions (Cooke 2003:1). Although discussing archives and collections more generally, the biggest burden was felt to result from the accumulation of archaeological materials from extensive commercial excavations following the Irish 'Celtic Tiger' development boom in the 1990s. Cooke's (2003) report questions the automatic assumption that all of this material is indeed heritage and introduces the idea of managed collecting and deaccessioning. The issue of keeping for posterity and the notion that we are acting altruistically by preserving heritage for future generations has been questioned by a number of authors because of the way that this ethos is inadvertently affecting the ability of current curators to manage and utilise existing collections. For Cooke, contemporary heritage management is seen as a form of 'procrastination', essentially putting off making tough but necessary decisions in relation to genuine collections and archives management. He reasserts that collecting tastes and needs are shaped by the needs or desires of the present, and that using the altruism argument projects our values into a future we cannot know, reflecting the arrogance of contemporary heritage managers (Cooke, 2003, p.77). Despite scrutinising the collecting ethos, the policy solution proposed by Cooke and indeed others has been the creation of repositories specifically for archaeological material (see Brown, 2007), with the expectation that this would free up museums to curate collections more in-keeping with their mission as public educational institutions (Merriman and Swain, 1999). Although the storage crisis by its name suggests that the issue is a lack of space for storage, it is really about a more general economic crisis for archaeology in terms of funding and an existential crisis in terms of the value of archaeological archives.

In response to the finite and fragile nature of the archaeological resource, technology, and particularly technological advances in the digital recording of archaeology, has been championed as one of the ways to ensure the durability of the record and resource, and its transmission into the future (Cobb et al., 2015). This discourse is comparable to the technological optimism of the original sustainable development rhetoric and the way that advances in technology could potentially lead to the substitution of finite natural resources with human-made ones. In terms of archaeology, we now have the ability to record sites in minute detail through laser scanning, which has been used to record sites to be destroyed by development processes in a way that enables them to be 're-excavated' through time slices, as well as enabling sites destroyed by malice to be reconstructed thanks to advances in 3D printing (as seen with Palmyra, see Denker, 2017).

It has been naturally assumed that the boom in digital technology applied to archaeology and the transformation of physical archaeological deposits and materials into digital products and information is a good thing. However, what has not really been considered is whether this is merely taking the issue of accumulation and digitising it: transferring the storage crisis from one of physical space to digital space, which still has associated costs for its curation and long-term preservation (see Richards, 2002). With the vast increase in digital data accumulated by research institutions as well as 3rd sector and private companies, the need for digital archives has led to the establishment of a number of digital repositories for archaeological data (Richards et al., 2013). To understand the value and impact of providing long-term access to research data through the Archaeology Data Service (ADS), a study was commissioned that brought together qualitative and quantitative approaches to heritage valuation. To try to bridge the gap between economic value and other

valuation schemes, the 'willingness to pay' (WTP) method was utilised to translate abstract notions of value gleaned from qualitative assessments of users into quantitative amounts. As such, the resulting document makes an economic case through financial accounting that the ADS represents good value for money (Beagrie and Houghton, 2013), which is not the same as the value of providing the service in terms of advancing knowledge. This can be seen as an environmental economics approach to enable a cultural information service previously treated as an externality, to be brought into the accounting and auditing framework of a modern higher education institution. The fallacy of assuming that digital information is somehow more durable is examined by Law and Morgan (2014) in relation to websites on the free platform Geocities that were setup for short-term projects and online communities. Unlike the research projects that the ADS accessions that have funds allocated for digital preservation, albeit some still do not have the kind of financial commitment that would secure their preservation in perpetuity, the vast majority of archaeological projects utilise free hosting platforms. In demonstrating how the closure of Geocities in 2009 and the increasing use of platforms that are free but where long-term control over content is relinquished to private companies, Law and Morgan (2014) demonstrated the potential for the digital to be considered just as fragile as the physical archaeological resource. Whilst there may be technocratic solutions to the fragility of the archaeological resource, what these solutions do not encourage is wider debate about accessioning and the creation of a new storage crisis for the digital age.

Merriman (2008) also critically appraises museum collection management and the way that deeply ingrained philosophies such as 'presumption against disposal' and 'keeping for posterity' are having a detrimental impact upon the social, economic and environmental sustainability of museums. To solve the issue of accumulation,

Merriman proposes that disposal needs to become part of collections management. Merriman shares Cooke's opinion that, although collections within museums are seen as 'storehouses of memory', reflecting the breadth of national or international culture, the reality is that they reflect the narrow interests of curators, forming only "a partial and idiosyncratic record" (Merriman, 2008, p.17). An academic discourse on forgetting within a heritage context is discussed as an alternative to the passive curation of materials set aside by those in the past. Merriman suggests that collection managers need to develop the necessary skills to evaluate and ascribe diverse values to collections and understand the significance of their collections. A similar concern has been raised regarding the loss of knowledge and experience as a result of cuts to academic and commercial archaeology, and how this impacts upon the quality of fieldwork, analysis and dissemination and therefore the valorisation of the archaeological resource (see Schlanger, 2008). Drawing upon an ecosystem analogy, Merriman proposes that the 'sustainable development of collections should be more akin to a 'balanced museum ecology' of "managing, developing, sometimes growing and sometimes cutting back [collections] ... to prevent choking" (Merriman, 2008, p.18). His understanding of sustainability conforms to sustainable development discourse in relation to the three interlinked spheres of social, economic and environmental sustainability, but it is clear that he does not consider sustainability a goal or a process of maintaining stasis, but an ongoing process of intervention through evaluation and re-evaluation of collections to ensure they are relevant.

It is interesting to note the timing of Merriman's (2008) publication in the months following the 2007 economic crash and the ensuing recession. The kind of human resources, in the form of individual and collective sectoral knowledge and experience, that Merriman envisaged as helping museums and archives become more relevant

through an active rather than passive approach to curation, were the first things to be lost through budgetary cuts (Aitchison, 2011, 2009). The concept of active management and potential disposal of material once thought to be heritage is to acknowledge that the notion of infinite is itself a product of modernity, and that heritage values are ascribed and as such can just as easily be removed. To move beyond this concern relating to loss that manifests as auditing and risk management in AHM, DeSilvey (2017) suggests that a shift from a position of infinite preservation to one of curated decay is required. Similarly, Harrison (2013) calls for the process of *forgetting* to be integral to heritage making, with selective forgetting enabling new memories and new heritage to be created, as well as asking the question of what parts or visions of the past should be passed into the future. For Harrison (2013), sustainability discourse is a way of expanding the purpose of cultural heritage management by integrating it into other spheres, much in the way that the environment was mainstreamed within the original sustainable development discourse.

3.3. Cultural vitality and economic viability: the economics of heritage

Soini and Birkeland's (2014) cultural vitality and economic viability storylines relate to culture for and as sustainable development (see Soini et al., 2015). The contribution of heritage to the economic viability and cultural vitality of areas rich in heritage but in need of redevelopment, such as inner cities and former industrial areas, draws upon a well-established body of academic and institutional literature as well as policy documents that advocate the economic and social benefits of conserving and renewing built cultural heritage (Brennan and Tomback, 2013; Tweed and Sutherland, 2007; Vileniske, 2008). Within this conservation-led (or heritage-led) regeneration discourse, there is a particular focus on adaptive reuse of historic buildings for urban

regeneration, with heritage seen not just as a cultural resource, but as a material resource (Rodwell, 2003). Nowhere has this discourse been more successful than in English conservation policy and practice within a spatial planning and economic development context (Binney and Hanna, 1978). In the 1990s, a discursive shift instigated by the non-departmental public body of the British government, English Heritage, moved conservation from a traditional preservationist position, often perceived as a barrier to development, to conservation as a process of managed change to enable development. This shift is illustrated by Pendlebury (Pendlebury, 2013) in relation to the development of 'conservation-planning' in England, which served to cement the connection between built heritage renewal and socio-economic regeneration. Out of this discourse developed notions of 'the heritage dividend' and 'constructive conservation', which further strengthened the economic value of heritage through examples of successful heritage and conservation-led development projects (English Heritage, 1999; Brennan and Tomback, 2013). The success of this rhetoric can be seen in its spread globally (Bullen, 2007) and the biennial conference series 'REHAB' which is shorthand for rehabilitation that is hosted by the Greenlines Institute in Portugal (Greenlines Institute, 2019).

Built heritage reuse as an instrument of economic development is perceived to be inherently sustainable because of the renewal of old building stock (Elefante, 2012; Avrami, 2011; Cassar, 2006). The discourse of conservation-led regeneration embodies two of the key elements of the original sustainable development discourse in terms of the win-win rhetoric of enabling economic development whilst achieving environmental and social sustainability. In part, the success of heritage-led regeneration depends upon the potential of a place to attract investment, which relies on the potential marketability of an area using place-branding and marketing (see Soini

and Birkeland, 2014, p.217). However, in terms of the social sustainability of conservation-led development, because of the high cost of renovating historic buildings and the resulting premium placed on properties with 'historic character' in the housing market, gentrification has become a key issue in regeneration in terms of social and cultural exclusion (see Cameron, 2003; Atkinson, 2004).

Whilst historic buildings and some other structures can be considered to hold an inherent economic value as property suitable for redevelopment, even if this value might be low as degraded building stock, the economic value of many other forms of heritage cannot be directly quantified. For example, the very designation of something as having heritage value, especially within national and international designation frameworks, elevates them to the status of 'public goods' (Carman, 1996). These are goods where no one can be excluded from directly or indirectly consuming them, in a similar way as environmental 'commons'. As such, they cannot be adequately allocated and priced through the market, or the price people are willing to pay for the goods or services, which could lead to market failure (Klamer and Zuidhof, 1999). Taking an ecological sustainability model, Comer (2014) emphasises the need to balance demand for development against the 'carrying capacity' of the cultural resources as 'global public goods'. To address the potential market failure in relation to heritage that has no direct economic value, the cost of providing these goods and services is often supported through national government grants (Klamer and Zuidhof, 1999), for example the Historic England-administered HAR grant fund in England, or funding for projects from bodies such as the HLF and World Bank. In the case of historic buildings and structures where their market value and potential for profit is negated because of the high cost of renovation, grants might also be provided to plug

this 'conservation deficit' to encourage private investment in a public or semi-public good (English Heritage, 2008b).

An alternative funding model that has been successfully implemented by charitable heritage organisations responsible for conservation, such as the National Trust and English Heritage, is to create domestic and international markets for British heritage attractions as part of recreation and tourism industries where revenue generated is reinvested into the maintenance and conservation of the sites, enabling them to be self-sustaining (Clark 2008). Linn (2014) refers to this as an 'interactive cycle' or the circular process of conservation, where economic activity helps to ensure "the conservation cycle can be maintained over time". This relies upon stakeholders being, and continuing to be, incentivised to invest in the maintenance of cultural heritage requiring a degree of 'sustainability' (Linn, 2014). The illustration used by Linn to depict the scalability or scaling up and expansion of cultural asset conservation processes (see Fig. 6) clearly shows an upward trajectory that could be expanded and replicated across different contexts. As such, the scalability of conservation is reminiscent of the optimistic indefinite growth paradigm associated with sustainable development discourse. Although using tried and tested models for conservation supported by economic development was seen to take away degrees of risk by replicating successful schemes across different cultural, social and economic contexts, a lack of data on economic impacts of preservation, and particularly information on failed enterprises, was felt to prevent reflexivity in terms of critically appraising projects (Burtenshaw, 2014, p.51; Pyburn, 2014). In addition, this scalability approach could be seen to contravene the notion of culturally sustainable development being context-specific, to address local needs as part of the locality storyline. For example, the

National Trust and English Heritage model is rooted in the Western tradition of heritage management through the market, but this model might not work in other contexts.

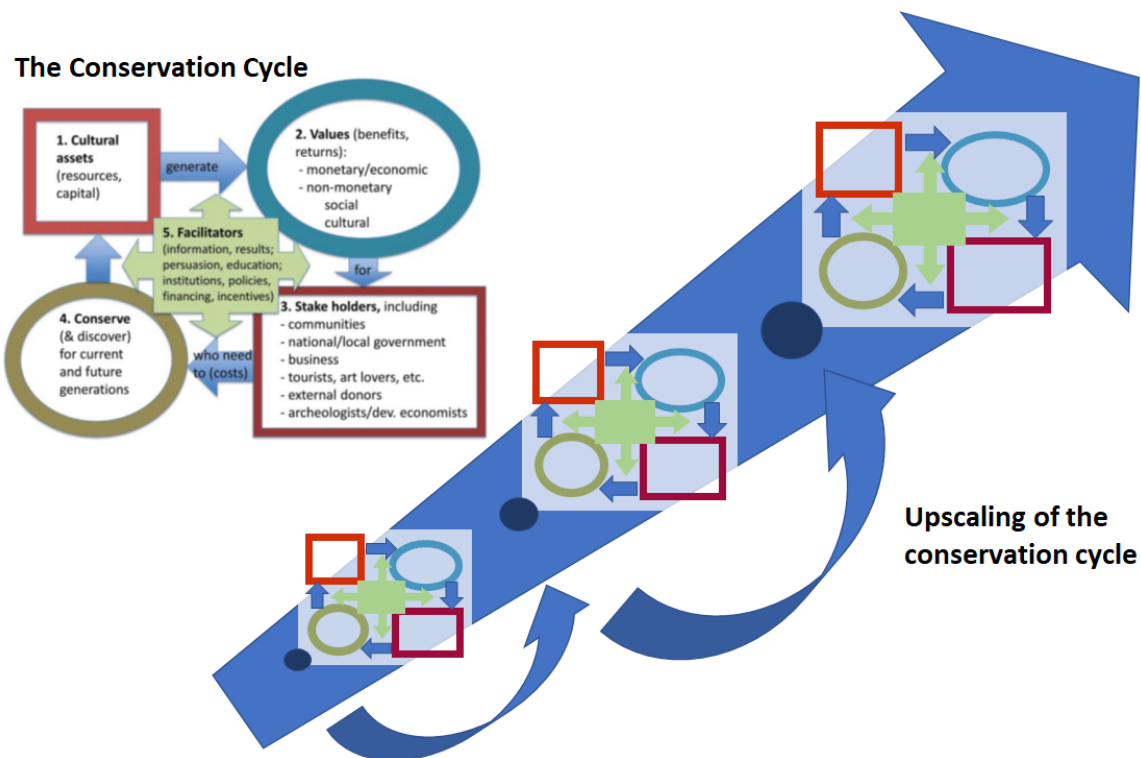


Figure 6 - Upward trajectory or ‘scalability’ of the conservation cycle over time (after Linn 2014, pp. 86, 89).

Fleming (2014) considered that archaeology was itself a beneficiary of economic development, with large infrastructure projects enabling archaeological heritage sites to be investigated and preserved by record ahead of being destroyed by developments. However, what this perspective fails to take into consideration is whether the archaeology being disturbed, and therefore to be investigated, analysed and deposited as an archive, is socially and economically sustainable in the sense that *ex-situ* archaeology becomes costlier to maintain than *in-situ* archaeology. Although archaeological sites and archaeologists have increasingly been involved in national and international economic and social development projects as part of the

predevelopment phase, Burtenshaw (2014) considers the discipline of archaeology to be ill-equipped to deliver training and knowledge development in relation to the theoretical, practical and ethical issues surrounding these instrumental uses of archaeology. This mostly stems from the outright rejection of economic valuation schemes within AHM as being something obscene and taking away from the cultural value of the archaeological resource and heritage. To address this, Burtenshaw (2014) calls for the development of an appropriate vocabulary to discuss the interlinked economic, social and cultural values associated with archaeology, preferring the term 'capital' to 'value', echoing Throsby's concept of 'cultural capital' (2001), and "the need for investment and sustainable management of this [archaeological ...] stock to maintain the flows and goods it might produce, mirroring ideas about natural capital" (Burtenshaw, 2014, p.52; also see Carman, 2014, p.7). This sentiment clearly aligns archaeology with Soini and Birkeland's (2014) storyline of cultural vitality and the way in which cultural capital might be traded for economic and social capital. In a similar way to treating environmental resources as natural capital or capital items, Throsby's (2001) cultural capital brings what would otherwise be an externality into the market to be audited using standard investment methodologies, enabling it to be compared with other forms of capital.

Many of the examples where archaeology is used as an instrument of economic development relies on sites, places or landscapes as attractions to draw consumers that will then also support secondary markets for tourist goods. More often than not 'sustainable tourism' has focused on developing countries based on tertiary and service industries rather than relying upon primary and secondary industries that would further exhaust raw materials and contribute to pollution. As articulated by Pace (2012), these tourist markets have the potential to degrade the cultural heritage

resources upon which they rely, and hence the need for a sustainable approach to their management. A discourse on sustainable forms of cultural tourism can be seen in the Agenda 21 chapter on Managing Fragile Ecosystems – Sustainable Mountain Development (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992), which advocates sustainable tourism as a way of discursively mitigating two potentially clashing agendas in terms of growing economies and protecting fragile environments. As such, cultural heritage and tourism managers are brought into a discursive and practical partnership that to a degree accepts that in using tourism as a source of funding for cultural heritage conservation, there will inevitably be issues relating to the environmental, social and cultural impacts of this form of commodification (Barthel-Bouchier 2012, p. 164-167).

To try and limit the way that cultural heritage tourism directly degrades or consumes the resources upon which it relies, the Sustainability Preservation Institute (SPI) has pioneered an approach where archaeological heritage is used to create new economies and social structures of trade in developing countries. For example, the archaeological site of San José de Moro in Peru, dating to between 400 and 1000 AD, was used to inspire contemporary ceramic craft traditions, providing an opportunity for local people to develop and master craft skills to produce tourist goods and to provide revenue to support preservation of the archaeological site. Not only did this create a new craft economy, improving the cultural vitality and economic viability of the locale, but it also had social benefits for the community, which was often neglected in other tourist economies, by putting it in control of production and trading (Sustainable Preservation Initiative, 2018). These kinds of project move slightly away from a preservation paradigm focused on protecting and preserving the *authenticity* of the archaeological culture, towards seeing it as part of a continuum between past, present

and future, with culture evolving rather than remaining static (see Soini and Birkeland, 2014, p.217).

In the last 10 years a new paradigm has emerged in the UK in relation to amateur archaeology where, instead of providing services or products, crowd-funded initiatives are enabling people to experience the process of undertaking archaeology in order to help fund research excavations. Not only does this replace project-funding from bodies such as the HLF and central government with private funds, but it also contributes to the creation of new markets and economies in relation to archaeology as part of the 'experience economy' (Holtorf, 2008b, 2007a). In terms of supporting the processes of archaeology during times when funds are restricted, crowd-funding has emerged as a sustainable economic model for financing archaeological excavation, as seen in the success of DigVentures. DigVentures identifies itself as a social business and could be considered a social enterprise organisation, with proceeds being reinvested in the local communities, the business and also archaeological research (DigVentures, 2018). However, in terms of social sustainability, by creating a market and hierarchy of experiences in relation to archaeology, from a week excavating to one-off or limited products, the crowd-funding model could also be seen as returning archaeology to its past exclusivity where one or two people participate in the recording (destruction or transformation) of what is considered to be a *public* good. Parallel to this is crowd-sourced archaeology projects where members of the public can contribute to the process of archaeology and conservation. Instead of contributing financially, the contribution is of time. A successful platform was developed by the 'Micropasts' project team to digitise artefact collections for 3D models (Bonacchi et al., 2015). This helped participants develop skills as well as making collections accessible. Through the contribution of time from multiple individuals, a number of digitisation projects have

been realised that would have required impossible financial and staff time commitments from institutions because of cuts in operating budgets. Whilst these kinds of project are assumed to be inherently good and help widen participation in the preservation, enhancement and dissemination of heritage, Fredheim (2017, p.626) highlights that they are still operating within a neoliberal framework. Rather than broadening participation, they actually reinforce biases in heritage audiences by appealing to those who already have skills or knowledge that enable them to perform micro-tasks, much in the way a commercial enterprise might. The participants are therefore reduced to a standing reserve of human resources that can support future heritage projects.

3.4. Cultural diversity: participatory democracy, communitarianism and place

Soini and Birkeland's (2014, p.217) 'cultural diversity' and locality storylines relate to how a person's identity is moulded by his or her social and cultural community, which in turn serves to connect people, often around belief systems and places that they share. Within these storylines, culture is seen as an intangible value system or worldview with tangible cultural manifestations that contribute to the distinctive character or appearance of a place. It is these culturally informed worldviews that also determine what is considered heritage or appropriate forms of development and cultural expression through the arts and contemporary culture (Hawkes, 2001). This was a key principle within OCD, Agenda 21 and the politics of the 'New' Labour party in the UK (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; see Chapter 5, section 5.3). From the mid-18th century, more aspects of civilian life in relation to society were structured through bureaucracy, with the 'public domain' being expanded into what was previously private

property. This can be seen in the designation of heritage sites and buildings as belonging to the nation, to further a sense of collective identity as part of nationalistic agendas (see Carman, 1996, pp.23–25). This form of governmentality in relation to a national past is about “making good citizens” use heritage as an instrument to support mostly liberal political and social agendas (Carman, 2005b, pp.46–47, 2016a).

A concern with what Soini and Birkeland (2014) call communitarianism manifests itself in AHM from the 1980s as the question of how heritage can be made more inclusive and democratic by pluralising national narratives as part of the rhetoric of participatory democracy in ‘public archaeology’ (Merriman, 2004), and from the 1990s as locality-based ‘community’ archaeologies (Holtorf, 2007b; Smith and Waterton, 2009; Marshall, 2002). Early forms of public archaeology sought to make good citizens, audiences and consumers of the national past through a top-down authoritarian approach, with the public passively receiving information but not actively engaging in its creation and dissemination. To remedy this, Clark (1993) and Fairclough (1997) discuss the empowerment of local communities in relation to making management decisions about the historic environment, which is seen as a key component of a socially sustainable approach. However, as a result of their professional roles with a national heritage agency, decisions are considered within existing heritage protection frameworks, with the need for these to *communicate* better the importance of conservation, so people can participate in protecting and monitoring what is important to them. Although Clark (1993) goes as far as to suggest that if local delivery was enabled then a national or central framework might not be required (also see Carman, 1996), it is still not a truly communitarian approach, rather governmentality moderated through public participation to try and avert expert perspectives from dominating public understandings and appreciations of heritage. This highlights the difference between

social and cultural approaches to sustainability, with the former relating to social structures and their establishment and maintenance. Within an archaeological context, the social and governance structures relating to community archaeologies or heritage endeavours are often established by archaeologists and authorities rather than social or cultural groups. As such, it can be seen as a form of governmentality influencing the way that archaeology is undertaken by the public. Although new approaches have emerged that focus on the concept of ‘co-creation’ (see Fredheim, 2016) , I would argue that, in terms of setting up projects, there is still an element of archaeologists choosing projects that interest them and then identifying what they consider are the *right* communities to approach, or indeed creating heritage communities where non previously existed. This is still a top-down framework, but the power structures are obscured by the discourse of participation and participative democracy.

Clark (2008) suggests that heritage, in terms of the historic environment, has not made a significant contribution to social aspects of sustainable development in comparison with the arts, culture and environmental sectors. However, as Soini and Birkeland (2014) point out, these sectors overlap with the historic environment and heritage. Experience is seen as a crucial aspect of engagement, and Soini and Birkeland (2014) cite the contribution of the *designed* ‘natural’ and cultural environments, such as parks and gardens, to the physical and mental well-being of people, as well as the raft of archaeology projects funded by the HLF under the auspices of public and community archaeology. It is possible that Clark’s (2008) observation reflects a lack of evaluation rather than a lack of examples, which is still an issue in terms of quantifying and characterising projects as successes and indeed honest evaluation of failures (see Burtenshaw 2014; Pyburn 2014). Clark (2008) discusses this in a section on indicators and monitoring, but this is more about monitoring the heritage outcomes rather than

their social outputs. To achieve social sustainability of heritage, Clark (2008) emphasises that empowerment of people is needed to enable them to be more engaged with the heritage-making process, which is seen to address the previous lack of diversity within heritage (i.e. people identifying and therefore protecting heritage they value). However, this diversification is still taking place within a broadly Western heritage framework based around legislative protection. The need for accountability and relevance of archaeology to wider social, economic and ultimately political agendas was seen by Carman (2016b) as essential because most archaeological activity is funded directly or indirectly by the state for the benefit of the public. Within a 'public value' framework, Carman discusses the domination of instrumental and institutional values in heritage management relating to public policy and conceives of a 'sustainable archaeology' within this framework as one that "is ... located in the public realm, meeting the needs of 'communities' as defined by others and not by archaeologists" (Carman, 2016b, p.146).

The past, present and future is implicit within sustainability discourse. Carman (2004) examines the link between the past as a resource for present and future publics, with archaeology understood not just as the preservation of the physical remains of the past but as a social, and by extension cultural, process and field of research. Carman (2004) suggests that the conflation of the archaeological *record*, *resource* and *heritage*, has limited how the discipline is understood as a contemporary practice, and that, rather than being interchangeable, each category represents a *transformation* through the process of valorisation. Within this understanding, a 'sustainable historic environment' is one that represents the transition of archaeology from resource to heritage where the past, present and future of a place "flow together to make the experience of history" (Carman, 2004, p.259). Carman (2004) presents case studies

illustrating how archaeology as a research field pertaining to the record and resource might be reconnected with archaeology as heritage and a public activity. For example, the Bloody Meadows project took a phenomenological approach to battlefields as historical places experienced in the present (Carman and Carman, 2006). The dialogical relationship between the past, present and future is rearticulated by Harrison (2013b), where heritage is seen as relational and something that is created and recreated through a dialogue between people, objects, places and practices (also see Jones, 2010). The sentiment expressed by these scholars can be considered analogous to what Soini and Birkeland (2014, pp.217–218) characterise as a ‘locality’ or place storyline, where heritage is something that should be experienced in the present by incorporating space, time and culture as part of what Ingold (1993) called the ‘dwelling perspective’.

In terms of place-based approaches to cultural heritage management, Low (2003) highlights that some places are not visible and cannot be directly experienced because they have been actively removed from the landscape. Low’s (2003) examples include how working-class history has been erased from around the historic monument of Notre Dame in Paris, France, and how historic preservation values associated with notions of an *authentic* experience of how people approached Ellis Island in New York, United States, by sea, is preventing local, and often descendant, communities from being able economically, and therefore physically, to access their heritage. Low (2003, p.393) defines social sustainability as a subset of cultural sustainability and as the “maintenance and preservation of social relations and meanings that reinforce cultural systems” that relate to diverse histories. This can be likened to Gould’s (2014) work on the importance of social relationships in the maintenance of alternative production models, which could be considered cultural systems in themselves. This echoes the

sentiment expressed by Appadurai (2002) that economic systems are as much cultural as they are economic. Drawing upon Throsby's concept of 'cultural ecosystems' (1995, 1999), Low (2003) discusses the fragility of cultural ecosystems in relation to how decision-making in spatial planning that does not take into consideration dynamic relationships between social groups and places can disrupt and destroy a community's attachment to a place. The un-inheriting of places where a preservation ethic related to fabric can disrupt social and cultural attachment is discussed by Sinermai (2018) in relation to the site of Great Zimbabwe and the way these connections might be understood through intangible elements of dwelling such as soundscapes.

Within the edited volume *Theory and Practice in Heritage and Sustainability* (Auclair and Fairclough, 2015), culture is seen a contemporary and ongoing *process* of meaning making, extending this to include heritage, heritage values and sustainability. These processes are seen to be firmly rooted in the present despite some focusing on the past. The focus on archaeological processes rather than materials is illustrated particularly well in the case study on homeless heritage presented by Kiddey and Schofield (2015) and the use of the archaeological process of investigation as therapy. Within this case study, less is made of the resulting material culture except to say that it was recorded, catalogued and made available online. This would appear to go against most traditional approaches to archaeological material culture, where the physical archive is retained and stored. However, for the transitory assemblages that were uncovered by the project (Kiddey and Schofield 2015), there was less of a focus on preserving this material through the usual archiving procedure and more on using the process of discovery through archaeology.

A focus on processes, experience and emotion rather than materials helped to engage a group usually marginalised and invisible from the townscapes within which it lives, and helped add time-depth to individuals' occupation of different areas over time and therefore their 'stake' in those places. This case study (Kiddey and Schofield 2015) is an example of a growing body of theory and practice that relates to the contribution of heritage activities to social sustainability and particularly the use of archaeology as a social instrument. This practice has grown out of archaeological projects that have a community focus, and because of this there are more opinion pieces and policy and project reports detailing this phenomenon than critical study (although see Fredheim, 2017).

A number of key themes from the original sustainable development discourse are utilised, particularly the concept of 'well-being' in projects relating to physical as well as mental rehabilitation, as seen in the Operation Nightingale project run by the British Ministry of Defence (MOD) as a form of therapy for soldiers recovering from physical and mental traumas (see Winterton, 2014). In terms of how conservation and preservation philosophy can interfere with other aspects of sustainability, within their section Equity, Inclusion and Citizenship, Palazzo and Pugliano (2015) present a case study of modern Rome (Italy) detailing the 'burden' of heritage preservation within the historic core referred to as the Monumental Area. Within this area, remnants of classical Rome were privileged in terms of their preservation as part of a nationalist political agenda when the city was made the Italian capital in 1887. The effective 'fossilisation' of large areas of the modern city is shown by Palazzo and Pugliano (2015) to have created tensions with regard to meeting the social, economic and environmental needs of contemporary inhabitants. This is similar to Low's (2003)

warning in terms of preserving the past at the socio-economic and cultural expense of the present and future (also see Harrison 2013; Cooke 2003).

To record these palimpsests or 'echoes' of the past within the contemporary landscape, Fairclough (1997, 2008) advocates historic landscape characterisation (HLC), which had already been utilised within natural environment conservation. Fairclough (1997, 2008) sees this approach to recording the characteristics of an area as helping to identify elements of landscapes that are critical, constant or ultimately tradeable, and as a means of helping people understand the social value of landscapes and their development over time. Whilst some examples of characterisation projects have produced educational products that help people to understand landscape evolution, I consider that the majority are used as an environmental auditing tool in making planning decisions and to track changes within the landscape rather than adding or revealing cultural value.

Other approaches to the attachment of meaning and value to landscapes include the notion of landscape biography utilised in the Netherlands, which takes a cultural approach to understanding landscape change over time (van Beek et al., 2010; van Beek and Keunen, 2006). This approach takes into consideration contemporary values attached by present-day and historical ordinary citizens as inhabitants and users of those landscapes, as well as perspectives or narratives from the recent and distant past constructed from multidisciplinary lines of evidence and research. The locality storyline champions the visual and the tangible aspects of landscapes, which could leave large areas of invisible archaeological heritage irrelevant to this approach to cultural sustainability. Holtorf (2010) suggests that archaeology's contribution to the experience economy need not be specifically tied to the *direct* experience of the

material or visual, but the stories or meta-stories that archaeologists can tell about the past that enables the bridge between past, present and future.

3.5. Bridging natural and cultural resource management

The discourse of environmental threats to society as part of the ‘risk society’ crossed over into heritage management with the issue of climate change. This can be seen an emblematic issue because its effects were immediately apparent to those responsible for heritage sites where a direct impact could be observed, such as coastal archaeology impacted by sea-level rises, designed parkland landscapes affected by changing seasonality and the environmental performance of built heritage (Avrami, 2009; Barthel-Bouchier, 2012; Cassar, 2009; Howard, 2012). Related to the risk society is the ‘audit society’ and national accounting frameworks within which the financial and human resources that are used in the curation and preservation of cultural heritage need to be justified and weighed up against other policy concerns. Various approaches to this have been proposed, but the most enduring in England is an environmental economics approach that characterises heritage as ‘goods’ or ‘assets’, as seen in the reports commissioned for English Heritage from Eftec (Carman, 2009, pp.200–201).

In much the same way that environmental economics sought to bring the environment into the economy, so it was no longer an externality, by creating a market for it (Pearce, 2002), cultural heritage has also been assigned economic values through initiatives such as the Historic England *Heritage Counts* report series (Historic England, 2019a). The language of environmental resourcism adopted by AHM helped to create a discursive bridge between the two subjects of archaeology and environmental sustainability. The strengthening of this link and affinity between natural and cultural

environmental resource protection and management can be seen in the importation of an environmental lexicon into AHM as part of a general 'greening' of different sectors and process of mainstreaming environmental concerns (Fowler, 1992; Boldrini, 1998). However, it was not until the 1990s that the discourse and lexicon of sustainable development and a more general quality of sustainability was introduced to AHM. These early attempts to understand the applicability of the concept of sustainability to archaeology coincided with the Agenda 21 initiative to try and operationalise a sustainable approach to development, with the increasing awareness that development needed to not only be economically sustainable but also socially and culturally appropriate. In the UK, the first literature that emerges focuses on the potential role of archaeology within the 'Green Debate' on environmental conservation (see Macinnes and Wickham-Jones, 1992). Although the link between archaeology and the natural environment had been established through the multidisciplinary subjects of landscape archaeology and environmental archaeology, this had focused on reconstructing the past rather than looking at the contribution of an archaeological perspective to contemporary and future landscapes and environmental crises.

The subject of archaeology and the new form of environmentalism that had emerged from debates surrounding sustainable development was also subject to a subsequent conference organised by RESCUE The British Archaeological Trust. In her paper, Clark (1993) is the first to discuss specifically the concept of sustainable development and what this might mean within a conservation context. At the time of writing Clark was an Inspector of Ancient Monuments within the London development management team for English Heritage. Although the paper could be considered academic literature, because of her professional position and the content of the paper, which is very much focused on incorporating sustainability into existing historic environment

policy and legislative frameworks, it is more of a discussion piece looking at how the concept might inform future policy (Clark 1993), similar to the document produced later by Fairclough (1997; also see Chapter 5). Clark's paper starts with a quote from the OCF report (WCED, 1987a) report definition of sustainable development, adding that within a conservation context sustainability is intended to "end the dichotomy between development and conservation, by ensuring that much greater account is taken of the environmental impact of development" (Clark 1993:87). Both Clark (1993) and Fairclough (1997) adopt this language of environmental economics and environmental resource management, drawing upon the concepts of environmental carrying capacity and limits. At the end of the paper, a redefinition, or rather reworking, of sustainable development is offered that focuses on the historic environment as an information resource: "development which meets the needs of today without comprising the ability of future generation[s] to understand, appreciate and benefit from Britain's historic environment" (Clark, 1993, p.90). Clark highlights that, although the UK government was committed to sustainable development as embodied in the recommendations made in Agenda 21, the historic environment was low on that agenda, with the division between nature and culture conservation having been re-established (Clark 1993, p. 87).

A national accounting approach to environmental auditing was already established in the UK through the recommendations of the report *Blueprint for a Green Economy* (Pearce et al., 1989) for an environmental economics approach to environmental management. Following the commissioning of a report by English Heritage (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996), this lexicon was imported into a historic environment context (see Chapter 5). Both interpret sustainability as the duty of present generations to pass heritage resources onto future generations, echoing the OCF report definition of

sustainable development in relation to environmental resource allocation. In discussing historic environmental limits, Fairclough (1997) examines the point at which the magnitude of changes to the historic environment start to become irrevocably damaging to the significance of places. By taking this 'limits approach' to understanding thresholds for change, both Clark (1993) and Fairclough (1997) address the management of 'historic environmental capital' in terms of environmental economic categories of 'critical', 'tradeable' and 'constant' resources. Drawing upon the rhetoric of balance within the original sustainable development discourse, Clark (1993) suggests that the only way to consider the need for development against the preservation of elements of the historic environment is to identify limits or thresholds of loss that *should* be not crossed.

The role of the planning system is seen as crucial for setting and enforcing these historic environmental limits (also see Carman 2004), and the paper pre-empted the role of local planning policy (later named Local Plans) in determining when development needs may outweigh the preservation of historic environment assets. Critical historic environmental capital would be heritage assets where trade-offs are not possible, and if limits are exceeded the resource and its subsequent services would be put at risk. Critical historic environment capital is considered to comprise historic environment assets designated as national importance (e.g. scheduled monuments, listed buildings), representing the 'best' of the past, although both Clark (1993) and Fairclough (1997) acknowledge that this selection is based on professional judgements around a particular historical context rather than reflecting contemporary social and cultural value. The constant forms of historic environmental capital would allow trade-offs to enable other development goals to be met, and would affect potentially more heritage assets, where some changes would be permitted to enable

the resource to be conserved in the long-term. The constant historic environmental capital assets are seen as ordinary 'non-critical' elements of the historic environment, where it is still desirable to maintain them because they add to the local character of a place (English Heritage, 1997; Clark, 1993) but are not protected through legislation despite still contributing to the cultural diversity of the landscape.

In trying to demonstrate the constant resources, Fairclough (1997) gives the example of adaptive reuse of buildings where permitted changes mean an asset is economically viable, which in turn keeps its conservation within environmental thresholds. This can be contrasted to how Clark and Fairclough characterise the specifically archaeological resource as something that can be *used* (or rather used up) in the present, which refers to the fact that archaeological excavation processes equate to partial destruction of the resource and that archaeological heritage sites can be 'eroded' by a footfall of visitors and mismanagement by owners. For both Clark and Fairclough, sustainability of the historic environment is seen as a continuous process of managing change through informed choices, made by both heritage professionals and members of the public, to determine what is conserved and passed to future generations and what is given up, enabling new environments to be created.

Management of the historic environment is compared with management of natural resources, with the discussion on balancing conservation and use of historic environment resources closely mirroring sustainable development discourse on environmental resource management and 'environmental capital' for development. Part of this overview of the interconnected nature of things was to introduce a 'strategic' approach to planning and development in the UK that relied on evidence bases and reporting to understand the long-term implications of decisions

(Countryside Commission et al., 1993). It is this resource managerialism that was starting to be formalised within heritage management with revisions to planning policy and the operation of government agencies responsible for natural and cultural heritage conservation. Clark (1993) gives the example of the aggregate extraction industry as a process known to be damaging to the prehistoric archaeology of gravel terraces, and therefore the need for baseline information on destruction to guide strategic approaches to conservation that would enable the benefit of extracting aggregates for development to be weighed against the benefits of preserving the archaeological resource. Clark (1993) links approaches to the archaeological resource to weak or strong interpretations of sustainability, with the weak version focused on potential 'trade-offs' between resources, often through human-made substitutes. The weak interpretation of sustainability when applied to archaeology is seen to benefit those able to make the more compelling case for public benefit from the activity that might damage the archaeological resource. Clark (1993) notes that the sector's reactionary rather than strategic approach has led to more excavation rather than understanding the significance and importance of the archaeological resource before making decisions (see Welch and Ferris, 2014).

Clark (1993) highlights how the contemporary planning system was orientated towards site-specific investigations as a reactionary process to development pressure, whereas academic archaeology had been moving towards a landscape archaeology approach that considered natural and cultural aspects of landscape to be inseparable as part of the 'historic environment'. The emergence of the concept of a historic environment in the UK can be placed within the context of this shift in academic practice and discourse to landscape-scale enquiry and the development of the European Landscape Convention (see Fairclough 1997). I believe that the

amalgamation of different heritage categories was a deliberate policy action context to merge historic and cultural aspects of landscape with natural environment conservation, which had a much longer tradition of support and existing national resource management frameworks. This helped to address the issue of the two spheres being treated as separate, which was noted by Clark (1993) and would have almost certainly led to historic aspects of landscape being neglected within sustainable development agendas because of the overwhelming focus on the natural environment within the original sustainable development discourse.

As part of the influence of natural environment conservation on sustainability discourse within a historic environment context, an enduring metaphor used to illustrate the need to balance different spheres of development and conservation has been that of 'ecosystems'. These are part of a wider discourse comparing the cultural diversity of the historic environment, comprising materials, processes and services, with the biodiversity that was to be protected and enhanced within sustainable development discourse (Merriman, 2008; Carman, 2004, 2016b). Clark (1993) uses this analogy to suggest that the historic environment is a *system* with critical and non-critical assets, with the latter still playing a supporting function to the critical capital within a holistic landscape, where small incremental changes might eventually have a larger cumulative effect. The idea that cultural diversity is crucial for the maintenance of a sustainable and just society, as biodiversity is to the optimal functioning of ecosystems, was a major theme within the OCD report (WCCD, 1995).

3.6. The past as analogue: eco-cultural resilience

To support this discursive collaboration further, an enduring theme in archaeological sustainability discourse is that the cultural landscape is not just something added to

embellish the natural environment but is integral to it. This line of enquiry has been periodically revisited over the last 20 years and relates to Soini and Birkeland's (2014) 'eco-cultural resilience' storyline to demonstrate that human activity in the past often shapes what may be perceived as entirely natural landscapes and ecosystems in the present. For Soini et al. (2015, p.16) the use of 'bio-cultural diversity' is used to emphasise the interrelated nature of diversity within cultural and biological systems rather than treating the latter as a metaphor. This is used in relation to contemporary urban landscapes, with the examples given being similar to those advocated by Clark (1993) in terms of urban green spaces and community gardens that provide places that meet the needs of different sociocultural groups. Within the subdiscipline of environmental archaeology, particularly palaeoecology and palaeoeconomy, archaeological datasets have long been used to extrapolate the dynamics of environmental, economic and social change in the past, to add what Macinnes and Wickham-Jones (1992) referred to as 'time-depth'.

In terms of demonstrating how archaeological research is relevant to contemporary and future populations, many authors have focused on how archaeology offers a *longue durée* perspective on human development and adaptation to environmental, social and political change. Research from archaeological sites is seen as providing deep-time environmental and social datasets able to expand the scope of modern ecological studies into agricultural regimes (Etnier, 2007; Guttmann-Bond, 2010; Minnis, 1999) as well as the socio-economics of prehistoric and historic urban development (Allen et al., 1999; Leeuw, 2002; Scarborough, 2010; Smith, 2010; Stoddart, 2018; Tainter, 2011). In addition, an archaeological perspective is being used to investigate the social use of space and development over time to present alternative forms of urbanism (Murtha, 2017; Vis, 2014). More recently the cross-over

between cultural heritage, archaeology and ecology has come from an emphasis on the cultural aspects of ecosystem services (Gearey et al., 2014; Schaich et al., 2010; Tengberg et al., 2012).

Tainter (1995, 2011, 2006) has discussed the potential of using historic and archaeological data to add a 'historical perspective' or *longue durée* to our understanding of long-term dynamics leading to the development and collapse of complex societies. Tainter sees the questions of both sustainability and complexity as a response to solving environmental, economic and social 'problems' through the development of new sets of behaviour and institutions, with agriculture and later agricultural intensification given as a solution to increase productivity to support larger social groups in the past. Within a modernist meta-narrative (after Lyotard, 1984), complexity is seen as a natural and stable state of societal progression, and something that is 'inherently sustainable' in the sense that it can be maintained indefinitely. However, Tainter (1995, 2011, 2006) illustrates, with historical and archaeological examples, that social and operational complexity is often difficult and expensive to maintain, especially with the addition of bureaucratic controls. Eventually the economic and social cost of maintaining complex social, economic and political systems starts to outweigh the benefits to individuals and groups, especially when returns for labour start to diminish. Tainter likens diminishing economic returns to the way science has addressed straightforward problems of the past with relatively few resources required, but that now the questions and problems remaining are complex and require more resources to answer. In terms of how he understands the concept of sustainability, Tainter emphasises that:

“solutions commonly recommended to promote sustainability—conservation, simplification, pricing, and innovation—can do so only in the short term. Secondly, long-term sustainability depends on solving major societal problems that will converge in coming decades, and this will require increasing complexity and energy production. *Sustainability is demonstrably **not** a condition of stasis.* It is, rather, a process of *continuous adaptation*, of *perpetually addressing new or ongoing problems* and securing the resources to do so. Developing new energy is therefore the most fundamental thing we can do to become sustainable.” (Tainter, 2011, p.33, own emphasis)

The cyclic nature of problem solving is illustrated by the way that solutions to earlier problems may later become part of future problems, with the example of England switching to coal as a main source of energy to counteract diminishing timber resources in the 18th century (Tainter, 1995, p.404). Likewise, the solution to the ‘problem’ of losing archaeological resources by transforming them into *ex-situ* records and information resources has created the contemporary problem of accumulation.

3.7. Cultural change or *sustaining* the status quo

Within cultural sustainability discourse, Soini and Birkeland (2014) observed a storyline that could hold the key to unlocking the true potential of sustainability as a transformative and revolutionary concept (see Edwards, 2005). The ‘eco-cultural civilisation’ storyline sees sustainability as a problem-orientated discourse to ‘right’ a past wrong or unsustainable activity by advocating new ways of working to challenge existing norms and frameworks. This approach can be seen in the work of Tainter (2011, 2010, 2006, 1995), where sustainability is situated within a meta-narrative of cultural progress and complexity, with the notion of stasis or maintaining the status

quo requiring on ongoing process of constant change or rather *adjustments*. These kinds of minor adjustments to existing frameworks within which AHM is conducted have allowed it to remain more or less governed by the same ideology that led to it being established in the 19th century, but it has increasingly become detached from people and indeed threatens what could be conceived as more pressing needs within contemporary society.

Within an archaeological heritage context, the majority of literature utilising the concept of sustainability is essentially advocating for archaeology to be self-sustaining. This has mostly been achieved through seeking alternative sources of funding for AHM processes, as seen in the shift from government patrimony to private funds being used for the preservation of archaeology as a 'public good' in relation to the planning process, and in the last 25 years the rise of project funding through bodies such as the HLF in the UK, the World Bank, and more recently private individuals through crowd-funding initiatives. However, what this does not address is the unsustainability of many archaeological practices, and particularly the extractive–consumptive paradigm that has led to the unchecked accumulation of materials at the expense and potential jeopardy of public institutions that would otherwise deliver wider social, cultural and economic public benefits. It also means that the likelihood of archaeological material ever making the transition to becoming a truly *valued* heritage asset is also threatened.

Boldrini (1998) hints at the revolutionary aspect of sustainability in his suggestion that what is required is a *culture change* regarding, in his example, the use or reuse of archaeological archives. The revisiting of vast data stores of information represented in grey literature has at least started to be recognised in the rise of 'big data' projects

and the synthesis of large bodies of archaeological data into thematic narratives, as seen in the work of the English Landscape and Identities project (EngLaID) at the University of Oxford (Cooper and Green, 2016) and the Rural Settlement of Roman Britain project at the University of Reading (Allen et al., 2015).

The thinking advocated by Tainter in terms of diminishing returns could be applied to archaeological practice in the sense that some of the perceived ‘big questions’, for which the discipline was established to answer, have been solved or rather clarified. The questions that remain are the more difficult existential questions of what archaeology *is* and what it means to *do* archaeology in the 21st century. Whilst some scholars are more than happy to broach this question (see Högberg et al., 2017), for others, including myself if I am honest, this is unnerving and may be perceived as rhetorically self-destructive by essentially acknowledging that in the future there may not be a discrete discipline of archaeology. Part of thinking through the future of the study of the past and what that means to the present and the future is working out where archaeology fits or does not fit in with other spheres of society and other disciplines, and how to utilise a wealth of disciplinary experience of knowledge without restraining or burdening new approaches to the past. In revisiting the ideals of sustainability as recouched by Clark (2008), the archaeological resource has been saved for the future, but we have no say over how or what that future does with that resource.

3.8. Summary

This chapter has examined the discursive construction of the concept of cultural sustainability within the storylines of heritage, economic viability, cultural vitality, cultural diversity and locality (after Sioni and Birkeland 2014) and how these relate to

the materials and processes of AHM. Archaeology can be seen to fit within all of these storylines, but primarily within the heritage storyline understood within a traditional framework of archaeology as a form of inheritance, whether this is physical materials, monuments or information in lieu of destroyed sites. In addition, the management of archaeological materials and processes requires economic investment in the present and ongoing commitment to resources in the future, and therefore also overlaps with the economic viability storyline. The main limitation of COST research is that it focuses only on scientific literature, which was seen as providing a more 'homogenous' body of data (Soini and Birkeland, 2014). However, this fails to appreciate that much of the early sustainability literature, outside the academic discipline of ecology, comprised development policy documents, which had considerable influence over the way in which sustainable development and generic sustainability discourse developed in the late 20th century. Although some of the cultural sustainability policy documents cite academic references, this is mainly done to lend credibility to the statements made and refers to 'big names', as seen in the OCD report which references the eminent anthropologist Appadurai (cited in WCCD, 1995).

Culture is seen by Soini and Birkeland as "a vehicle to discuss, interpret, and relate to change in the meaning and role of sustainable development" (2014, p.221) and can be seen to present a challenge to established sustainable development discourse. However, the analysis by Soini and Birkeland (2014) demonstrated that much of the discourse on cultural sustainability is still influenced by Western modernist ideologies of growth and the linear progression of civilisation towards a more evolved and developed state. As such, the political ideology of neoliberalism and its associated language can be observed in all storylines, not just those relating to economic viability. Although culture is seen as a new lens through which to view what it means for

development to be sustainable (i.e. to incorporate diverse values and worldviews), it has not embraced some of the concepts and discourses that are genuinely challenging this Western worldview. For example, the concept of 'degrowth' is not explicitly mentioned even within the 'eco-cultural civilisation' storyline advocating for cultural change, but it is hinted at in some of the anti-consumerism discourses and critiques of cultural commodification present in the locality storyline. Soini et al. (2015, pp.22–23) suggest that the term sustainability should be used instead of sustainable development to encompass human development beyond economic growth, and as such could embrace the concept of de-growth. This call for cultural change is expressed in some archaeological literature pertaining to sustainability and the question of whether current frameworks are part of the problem of why processes are ultimately unsustainable (Welch and Ferris, 2014; Merriman, 2008). The concept of degrowth is examined by Morgan and MacDonald (2018) in relation to museum collection de-accessioning, drawing upon the museum ecology of Merriman (2008). Morgan and MacDonald (2018) define degrowth not necessarily in terms of anti-growth or 'negative growth', as it has sometimes been used in sustainable development discourse, but as an *alternative* to the grand narrative of infinite growth and accumulation associated with modernity. They draw upon the theme of recycling to look at the reuse of materials and the involvement of the public and users in disposal decisions. This could be seen as complementary rather than in opposition to Merriman's (2008) emphasis on understanding and knowledge of a collection's significance and relevance to contemporary museum audiences and users.

Despite illustrating multiple storylines, Soini and Birkeland (2014) ultimately highlight that the dominant narratives of economics and environmental resource management within a neoliberal market-based valuation framework are deeply embedded in what

are ostensibly culturally informed approaches to development. This also highlights how the creation of a visualisation by Soini and Birkeland (2014) that neatly packages up storylines within specific contexts, misses the point that they are all interwoven. For example, storylines that advocate change, such as 'eco-cultural civilization', are still discussed within the dominant eco-modernist framework indicated by notions of reorientation but not real change. The main usage of sustainability in relation to archaeology is a lexical definition to enable something to be continued indefinitely, which is often indicated by the use of the infinitive sustain or gerund sustaining.

The traditional purpose of AHM is to ensure that archaeological materials are preserved as either *in-situ* sites and belowground deposits or as *ex-situ* archives. This requires both financial and human resources or knowledgeable and experienced personnel to facilitate management of, and realisation of, this information resource. The paradox of AHM is that in most cases preservation is a form of destruction or at best transformation. Archaeologists do not preserve the archaeological record but destroy it, in order to produce the archaeological record and hope that this will be a future resource and form of heritage. Archaeology has traditionally been considered a finite resource in the sense that it represents a unique cultural resource that, within a framework that values authenticity, cannot be remade because the cultures that created them no longer exist. In terms of why the concept of sustainability is attractive to AHM, it is often seen as the next step within operations to take them from being dependent upon input from other systems to being self-sustaining. In the UK, the shift from archaeology being reliant upon central government funds to being self-sustaining through tourism and recreation has focused upon monumental sites and buildings and private-sector funding of development-led archaeological investigations. A number of changes have taken place to enable the extractive–consumptive paradigm of

archaeology to continue, but the UK 'storage crisis', and similar scenarios in Ireland, Canada and the United States, arising from more than 30 years of extensive commercial archaeology has highlighted how this paradigm is itself unsustainable.

The traditional focus of archaeology on materiality and particularly authenticity, can be seen to have presented a long-term issue not just for the sustainability of the resource, but also the economic and social sustainability of AHM services, by taking funds away from processes that facilitate its transition into a form of cultural heritage. Through the emergence of an archaeology of the contemporary, different approaches have focused more on the social outputs of AHM rather than material assemblages, as demonstrated by Kiddey and Schofield (2015) in relation to homeless heritage. This sees the archaeological record as something that is briefly elevated to a resource and then a form of heritage but, unlike the traditional approach to archaeological archiving, the materials are then allowed to become once again something that is discarded or forgotten (Harrison 2013). The archaeological *process* serves as a social process and cultural experience to bring different people together around a locality and a collection of transient material culture. This fleeting form of archaeological heritage can also be seen in development-led archaeological site open days and projects that seek to reveal a site but then cover it back up, recognising that exposed ruins are harder to maintain.

As noted by Carman (Carman, 2004, p.256), within UK historic environment sustainability discourse two discursive frameworks are utilised in relation to the ways the historic environment contributes to sustainable development agendas. One focuses on the contribution of the historic environment as an environmental resource, and the other emphasises the role of archaeology in social sustainability. Whilst social

and cultural sustainability are often used interchangeably, the former is more about social structures relating to the way archaeology is governed as a public good and service within new governance structures such as participatory democracy. Social sustainability emphasises the active role of the public in AHM processes and in ascribing and maintaining the cultural value of archaeology to contemporary and future society, but do not challenge the assumption that AHM *needs* or ought to be undertaken for the good of society now and in the future. The two frameworks can also be seen to present particular arguments for why the archaeological resource should be preserved and curated into the future. One is based on the utility of the archaeology as an instrument of social and economic development, as seen in the sustainable tourism discourse, and the other uses a moral argumentation strategy that seeks to make the case for the intrinsic value of archaeology as something of cultural value. Whilst many have argued that the historic environment should be brought closer to environmental conservation, others believe that this focus has led to archaeology being neglected and the role of archaeologists limited to that as preservers rather than active players in transforming the archaeological resource into heritage that is of value to and valued by people.

Chapter 4 will outline the methodological approach taken to the textual analysis of the policy documents utilised in Chapters 2 and 5.

Chapter 4. Theory and Methods

4.1. Introduction

The focus of this research is to understand how global and national discourses on sustainability within the late 20th century have influenced the way we consider the discipline, materials and practices of AHM and where this fits within wider categories of historic environment, culture and heritage. This subject is examined by undertaking a critique of the processes and consequences of transferring the concept and discourses on sustainability into a new context of UK spatial planning and historic environment policy, to understand how this has affected the interpretation and subsequent operationalisation of sustainable approaches to archaeology. Studies that follow a critical approach to heritage studies seek to understand how social phenomena relating to the materials of the past, along with the processes that bring meaning to these materials, are socially constructed, maintained and, in many cases, become a source of contention that needs to be resolved. The research is therefore undertaken and presented within a social constructionist epistemology and ontology, which aims to reveal and understand the role of discourse in the social construction of policy frameworks that deal with archaeological materials and processes. The research question central to this thesis is how the recontextualisation of discourses on environmental, economic and social sustainability into cultural heritage and historic environment policy contexts have influenced understanding of how the concept of sustainability could relate to the materials and processes of archaeology.

This chapter sets out the methodological framework within which a selection of international policies and UK (discussion papers, adopted policy documents and government policy statements) relating to archaeology, the historic environment,

heritage, culture and sustainable development will be subjected to CDA using multidisciplinary methods in textual analysis. Firstly, the field of discourse analysis or 'language in use' will be introduced to illustrate the way in which language not only *reflects* practice but can also *affect* practice and therefore social action. Secondly, because of the way that discourses on specific topics are socially constituted and constitutive, a social constructionist epistemology will be introduced, compared and contrasted with other ontological and epistemological approaches to discourse in heritage studies. Finally, to investigate further the notion of discourse as social practice and how this relates to the central research questions of this thesis, the multidisciplinary CDA approach to the study of discourse will be introduced. Although there are a number of CDA approaches and methods, this research focuses specifically on the DHA, and the concept of context to investigate the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between texts and discourses, as well as the process of de- and re-contextualisation, where discourses are exported from one context into another. The final section of the chapter will introduce the policy documents that will be subjected to in-depth analysis as case studies, and highlight the specific methods of textual analysis, contextual analysis and social critique that will be utilised to analyse them.

4.2. Discourse, knowledge, reality and practice

4.2.1. Epistemology

Discourses, or the way we categorise, discuss and write about subjects of knowledge, including their associated materials and processes, do not just reflect social, political and economic 'realities', but can also serve to constrain or change the way we think about those realities and the possibilities that surround them through knowledge

claims (Fairclough, 2013, pp.31, 96). The subject of epistemology has been central to the development of archaeological theory and practice, with the discipline undergoing various paradigm shifts over the last century that have seen each new school of thought questioning what represents valid knowledge claims and what methods can be used to obtain knowledge of the past. This fascination with epistemology arose in part because of how the modern European tradition of archaeological enquiry began in the 19th century: to make sense of a latent history that was not written down in documents but came from materials that had long been detached from human society. The belief systems and worldviews that produced and would enable understanding of these materials and their role and function, were no longer accessible and required 'middle-range' theories to bridge the gap between knowledge gained from empirical archaeological study through excavation, survey and artefact analysis, and their potential *meaning* in terms of understanding past cultures (Johnson, 1999, p.49; Trigger, 2006). Throughout the 20th century the discipline shifted through various epistemological frameworks which in turn produced different archaeologies. However, what was never really questioned was *what archaeology is. What does it do? And what should it do* in contemporary society? As such, the question of ontology and the nature of reality became a major focus of critical studies of archaeological heritage that emerged with a more democratic version of archaeology from the 1980s.

4.2.2. Ontology

Various philosophers have written on the subject of ontology: our understanding and knowledge of existence, reality and meaning as a social construct, and how realities can be constructed and controlled through discourse (see Foucault, 1977). This thesis is interested in how epistemologies and ontologies within and external to AHM,

influence the treatment and understanding of archaeological materials, practise and practice when they are classified as ‘heritage’ and incorporated into sustainability frameworks. For example, there are a number of well-established discourses that have governed the practice of AHM that have been consolidated and documented within a number of introductory and companion volumes spanning the last 30 years (Carman, 2015, pp.74–76). As illustrated above, and within the introductory chapter to this thesis, the way in which we derive, communicate and manage knowledge about the past, as well as the grouping of entities into discursive categories, can have a profound effect on the way we talk and write about these materials and ideas, which translate into actions and how we think we *ought* or *ought not* to deal with different types of heritage (Carman, 2002, pp.5–6).

4.3. Social constructionism and the social construction of knowledge and reality

The chosen epistemological and ontological structure for this research is social constructionism. This thesis uses the term social constructionism as opposed to social constructivism to distinguish between the historical development of constructivism that focused on the individual’s or personal construct systems in meaning making (see Kelly, 2003), and social constructionism – the “discourse or the joint (social) activities that transpire between people”, with particular focus on the “relational as opposed to the individual” (Mcnamee, 2004, pp.1, 4).

Social constructionism sees reality or rather our knowledge of reality or the presentation of ‘truth’ as created and maintained through social interactions. A socially constructed reality can be made apparent through approaches that investigate the ‘sociology of knowledge’ and the means by which “human ‘knowledge’ is developed,

transmitted and maintained in social situations” (Berger and Luckmann, 1991, p.15). Social constructionism rejects the traditional view that knowledge can be empirically observed and presented as objective ‘truth’, and acknowledges that the knowledge classification systems and concepts we utilise to structure our understanding of the world are:

“specific to particular cultures and periods of history, they are seen as products of that culture and history ... dependent upon the particular social and economic arrangements prevailing in that culture at that time” (Burr, 1995, pp.2–4).

Key elements of the social constructionist epistemology utilised within this research include:

- a critical stance toward ‘taken-for-granted’ knowledge – questioning what is perceived to be ‘real’ or ‘true’
- understanding the historical and cultural specificity of categories and concepts and how these frames and constrain understanding
- understanding how knowledge is maintained by social processes (i.e. management frameworks, classification systems)
- language as a form of social action – the ‘performative’ role of language
- a focus on dynamics of social interaction and processes – knowledge is something that people do or construct together (e.g. co-authored discourses, collaborations, authorities)

(after Burr, 2015, pp.2–5, 11, 67)

A social constructionist theoretical framework has been selected for this research because the phenomena of ‘AHM’ and ‘sustainable development’, or the generic

quality of 'sustainability', are undoubtedly social constructs. AHM is a framework, more often than not a Eurocentric framework, that has developed organically but is nonetheless created, implemented and perpetuated by specific and often shared or similar social conditions. The role that discourse plays in creating and maintaining this socially constructed world of AHM can be particularly seen in policy documents. By examining policy through the concepts of institutionalisation and habitualisation, it can be demonstrated how through them "choices are narrowed ... [which] frees the individual from the *burden* of 'all those decisions'" (Berger and Luckmann, 1991, p.71). By creating a framework that removes the need for individual decision-making, the now limited choices seem habitual, "it [the framework] becomes real [or the reality] ... and it can no longer be changed so readily" (Berger and Luckmann, 1991, p.77). Social constructionism moves beyond constructs as abstract ideas, towards the investigation of language as a form of social action that structures the way we think about and 'perform' through discourse within certain social situations (Mcnamee, 2004, p.3). There have been a number of publications that track the development of the concept of sustainability that follow a 'grand narrative' framework (see Foucault and Sheridan, 2002), placing conceptual developments within their social, political and economic context, but with little consideration of the two-way relationship between sustainability discourses and social action. The reason why a critical stance is pertinent to this study, is because it can enable us to understand the way in which discourses on sustainability and archaeological heritage are not only shaped by their historical, social, economic and political context, which influences the way we have talked and written about them in the past, but also reveal how these discourses survive and evolve to inform subsequent and future actions: discourse in action (see Jones and Norris, 2005).

4.4. Critical heritage studies

There are many examples of literature that place the concepts associated with archaeology and heritage within their wider social, economic and political contexts (see Johnson, 1999; Trigger, 2006), but these works are essentially historiographies that write or rewrite the type of grand historical narrative of the discipline, with notions of linear progress. To counter these narratives, over the last 10 years there has been a growing interest in 'critical heritage studies' and more recently the establishment of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) and a special issue of the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* in 2013 (see Winter and Waterton, 2013). This emergent area of inquiry is in part based on the acknowledgement that similar heritage materials or intangible cultural ideas and traditions could be, and should be, understood quite differently through diverse and even competing narratives, depending upon the heritage tradition within which they are interpreted and dealt with. Despite this potential for epistemological and ontological pluralism, the past is still largely limited by what Smith (2006) called the latent 'authorised heritage discourse' (AHD) that operates within Western professional heritage traditions. Although a critical approach to how we understand the concept and practice of heritage and different heritage disciplines is now gathering momentum, a relatively underdeveloped area of enquiry is the utilisation of critical linguistics to reflect upon key academic texts and public policy documents that have perpetuated an 'authorised' notion of heritage. Previous approaches to understanding and critically appraising the way that discourses associated with heritage shape and constrain our understanding of the past, and therefore how we can act against the materials of the past, include work by Carman (1996, 2002, 2005b), Harrison (2013b), Smith (2006) and Waterton (2010). What these approaches have in common, is their desire to expose the concealed

ideologies within texts and discourses that serve to structure, and sometimes constrain, the way we think about the materials and processes associated with the study and dissemination of information about the past. How they differ is in their epistemological and ontological foundations. For example, social constructionism is not the only potential ontology that could be used to approach critical heritage discourse studies. For example, Smith (2006) and Waterton (2007, 2010) chose an ontological framework based on a version of realism, 'critical realism', influenced by the work of Roy Bhaskar, who wanted to overcome 'epistemic fallacy' by separating epistemology from ontology, to avoid conflating what exists with our knowledge or understanding of it. For example, Bhaskar (1998, p.xii) argues that although scientific enquiry is subject to its social and ideological context, the mechanisms that scientific enquiry reveals "operate prior to and independently of their discovery". Although a critical realist perspective might be appropriate for scientific enquiry, where phenomena under investigation in many cases do *exist* independent of the observer's thoughts about them, within a field of enquiry such as heritage, I would argue that the very categorisation of something as 'heritage' is a social construct. It is true that many heritage entities would undoubtedly *exist* without our observation of them, but they would not be designated as 'heritage' independent of our thoughts to classify them as such (see Carman, 1996). Whilst there may be a "materiality" to heritage (Smith, 2006), the discourses that structure and maintain heritage management frameworks are social constructs, albeit ones with material consequences. This is particularly important as many of the documents analysed as part of this research are part of the 'cultural turn' in the latter half of the 20th century, which emphasised the role of culture in society and therefore the need to consider culture in relation to critiques of social structures and for social continuity and to enact social change (see Bourdieu, 2013).

Although undoubtedly the material remains of the past exist in the sense that many are tangible, with even intangible heritage often having a form of tangible outcome (Carman, 2009), the way we discuss and categorise them, and the values we attach to them, are historically, socially and discursively constructed and maintained or changed over time.

4.5. Environmental discourse critique

Although the context of this research is AHM, the specific subject of enquiry is how discourses on sustainability have influenced the way we consider the materials and practices associated with AHM. This research will draw upon a body of literature from environmental sociology that examines environmental politics, ethics and planning within a social constructivist tradition, particularly the work of Hajer (1995) on the concept of ecological modernism, Rydin (2003) on environmental planning, and Dryzek (2013; Dryzek et al., 2002) on the Western environmentalist movement. For cross-comparison between these environmental discourse critiques and the documents analysed for this thesis, it was decided that the research would be conducted within a social constructionist epistemological and ontological framework. Although social constructionism has often been criticised for being too anthropocentric (Kidner, 2000), it was felt to be the most appropriate interpretive framework for this research because environmental ethics and politics are by their very nature informed by human thoughts and interactions with the environment, as are the management frameworks and classification systems of heritage.

4.6. Critical discourse analysis

The intention of this research is to understand how discourses on sustainability were incorporated into public policy documents relating to spatial planning, archaeology, the

historic environment and cultural heritage. Since the global 'environmental crisis' of the 1970s, there has been a wealth of literature dedicated to the concept of sustainability, with particular interest over the last 20 years in how the concept might be applicable to the materials and processes associated with the study and conservation of the material remains of the past. Since the 1990s there has also been increasing critiques of the concept of sustainability as well as issues with the wider environmental, political and social frameworks it seeks to address or make 'sustainable'. To progress a critical examination of sustainability discourses within UK policy and guidance relating to heritage, the historic environment and archaeology, I have chosen to situate my research within the interdisciplinary problem-orientated methods of CDA. The field of CDA emerged out a growing interest across a number of disciplines in the context of language use, linguistics in action and interaction, and a desire to expose the "interconnectedness of things" through a focus on a larger unit of analysis beyond isolated words and sentences to that of texts, discourses, conversations, speech acts and communicative events (Fairclough, 1995, p.747). As with the discipline of archaeology, the concept of context is crucial to critique in order to "understand the totality of society in its historical specificity" by drawing upon all of the social sciences to place social phenomena within their economic, social, historical, political, anthropological and psychological context (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, pp.2, 6). Essentially, CDA seeks to study 'language as social practice' with particular focus on the context of language use to understand how this shapes discourses, but it also looks at how discourses shape social actions. Scholars who follow the programme of CDA see discourse, or language use in speech and texts, as a social practice that is "socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned ... it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo ... [, but also] contributes to transforming it" (Wodak

and Fairclough, 1997, p.258). Wodak and Meyer (2009) acknowledge in the introduction of their edited volume on the multitude of approaches to CDA, that discourse has been defined in a number of ways by different scholars and academic traditions. For the purposes of this thesis, my understanding of discourse adheres to the definition used by van Dijk, that DHA distinguishes between 'discourse' as structured forms of knowledge and 'text' as recorded oral utterances or written sources and material realisations of discourses (Van Dijk, 1998).

4.6.1. Critique

CDA relates to critical theory through a particular focus on the concept of critique and of gaining distance from a subject whilst acknowledging that research is socially embedded and relies on social structures as well as the stance of the analyst (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p.7). As such, part of the CDA approach to a research problem is reflexivity, by making explicit the position and interests of the analyst and understanding how these in turn influence the critique and the interpretation of that critique. For example, my education and career to date have been entrenched within British AHM, which I have experienced both at a regional level, when working for local authority archaeology services, and from a national perspective, when working for an archaeological educational charity and, more recently, the UK government's historic environment advisory Historic England. Whilst it is important to have critical distance from the material under appraisal, the knowledge and experience I have gained from more than 15 years of studying and working within different areas of the historic environment sector, have provided me with an invaluable understanding of context and the physical and discursive processes that archaeology is situated within as part of the historic environment sector and cultural heritage 'industry'. As the focus of this

research is the discourse and texts of international and national policy relating to sustainability within an environmental, economic and cultural context, the critique will be based on the policy documents that inform discursive events. Other studies have supplemented textual analysis of policy documents with interviews of key policy actors to combine qualitative and quantitative methods (e.g. Waterton, 2007, 2010). Whilst this may give the impression of objectivity, I would argue that it is transforming data from one form into another, which obscures the role of the analyst rather than acknowledging that his or her perspective is part of the situated analysis.

The concept of critique was influenced by the Frankfurt School of critical theory, and particularly the early 20th century work of Horkheimer (1972), Adorno (2005) and later Habermas (1984, 1987, 2015). Critique looks at how things are currently structured and how they might be structured, through negative critique such as “how societies produce and perpetuate social wrongs” and positive critique such as “how people seek to remedy or mitigate them” (Fairclough, 2010, p.7). Within the context of this research, discourses on and actions relating to the quality of being sustainable have been introduced to AHM to ‘right’ various wrongs identified through negative critique in relation to the unsustainability of various practices associated with the field. Elements of critique that will help to examine these questions through the analysis of policy documents include text-immanent and discourse-immanent, which look for inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas within the internal arrangement of discourses and texts. There is also socio-diagnostic critique, which seeks to reveal the way discursive practices manipulate understanding through the choice of argumentation strategies and the use of rhetorical devices, and ‘discursive events’ or the way in which discourse shapes, and is shaped or supported by, events (Wodak and Reisigl, 2009, p.88). In the case of the latter, an example from

environmental discourse might be the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962), which highlighted environmental degradation events (the discourse was influenced by events), which led to environmental protection being placed on political agendas, creating the circumstances leading to the production of a new discourse on 'sustainable development' and a new set of proposed actions, whereby the new discourse shaped or tried to shape events. Although CDA is about improving understanding and critiquing society, it is also intended as a means to start changing or transforming society; this prospective critique marks a shift from purely theoretical and descriptive approaches towards critique as a starting point for action or a change in action. An outcome or action of prospective critique might be to improve the way that we communicate through discourse in the future, to "produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p.7; Wodak and Reisigl, 2009, p.88). In terms of this research, critique will be utilised primarily to reveal the internal conflicts and associated resolutions within policy texts, and to expose the ways in which discourses on sustainability, spatially planning, cultural heritage and the historic environment have biased the way that we think and talk about sustainability in relation to archaeological materials and processes.

4.6.2. Ideology and power

The aim of CDA is to disclose power structures and expose ideologies, or the underlying attitudes and intent, that govern the way that individuals and groups comprehend the everyday and specific phenomena, through the analysis of discursive practices (Van Dijk, 1998). Past studies of ideology within heritage studies have focused on the emergence of hegemonic ideologies (e.g. AHD), but CDA also focuses

on “the latent type of everyday beliefs” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p.8). It is the latter type of ideology that is of particular interest to this research. Related to the concept of ideology is that of power, with CDA seeking to understand the relationship between social power and language, and how discourse can serve to (re)produce social domination. Of interest here is the way in which competing discourses and discursive difference are negotiated and resolved, with the idea of texts as “sites of social struggle” for dominance (Wodak and Reisigl, 2009, pp.88, 89), as many of the documents are authored by multiple people who may not necessarily share the same ideological position. Despite these discords, many texts represent a consensual understanding, which will be analysed in terms of consultation processes for new heritage management policies. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the conduct of people in relation to nationally designated heritage is moderated through legislation with wilful damage an offence. In addition to this legal framework, there is also a more subversive form of control over archaeological heritage and how people conduct themselves in relation to it. This is characterised by Foucault as governmentality, or the way that power and control over how people conduct themselves in relation to particular subject matter is governed through institutions and bureaucracy that are willingly submitted to (Foucault et al., 1991). In terms of the concept of sustainability, this can be seen in the discursive construct of participatory democracy and the incorporation of citizens in bureaucratic frameworks to participate in heritage but within the existing authoritative framework rather than on their own terms and by their own means of governance. Discursive control over the way something is governed can be through the establishment and maintenance of hegemonic narratives that serve to limit access to discourses or public spheres as a

way of 'gatekeeping' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p.88), as Smith (2006) suggested was the case for the use of an AHD within professional heritage management.

4.7. Discourse–historical approach and the significance of context

Given that the principal aim of this research is to understand the historical processes of recontextualisation for sustainability discourses, and the subsequent effect this has had on our understanding of certain heritage materials and actions relating to AHM, this study utilises the DHA to discourse analysis. Despite the wealth of contextual information available to understand the historical development of discourses on archaeology and sustainability, there has been limited critical appraisal of the cross-over between and hybridisation of the two discourses (see Chapter 3). Previous historiographies of archaeology, as seen in the publication *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Trigger, 2006), often recount a linear narrative of progress from beginnings, to development as a scientific line of enquiry, through professionalisation, and eventually a 'consensus' approach seen as a maturing of discourse and practice (Pendlebury, 2008). Sustainability is often portrayed as the next *logical* next step in the evolution of disciplines that study the past, and a righting of past 'unsustainable' approaches. By utilising DHA, this research seeks to appraise critically international and UK national policy documents to understand the interaction between these texts and their contexts, to expose the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships required for discourses on sustainability to transcend their original context within environmental ethics, politics and policy. Within the context of this research, intertextual and interdiscursive relationships and connexions between global and local sustainability and cultural heritage discourses will be examined through the critical appraisal of analyses of international environmental and cultural heritage policy and UK national

planning and historic environment policy texts and the guidance documents that inform everyday actions in AHM. The DHA approach investigates critique, ideology and power, which are more or less conceptualised in the same way as other CDA approaches (see above).

DHA adheres to the principle of *triangulation* based on the notion of context, which draws together contextual information from multiple points of reference, observations, theories and methods to help corroborate research observations and subsequent critiques. These can be grouped into:

- 1.) text internal context – the co-text or co-discourse (e.g. language contained within a single text or discourse context)
- 2.) intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances (e.g. statements), texts, genres and discourses
- 3.) social variables and institutional frameworks of a specific 'context of a situation'
- 4.) broader socio-political and historical context – to look at the circumstances of how things come to be or come to be discursively constructed.

(after Wodak and Reisigl, 2009, p.93)

4.8. Methods of analysis

CDA does not represent one single method for approaching the analysis of text and discourse but instead draws upon a range of multidisciplinary methods from subjects such as text linguistics, socio-linguistics, applied linguistics, literary studies, anthropology and philosophy (see Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Although CDA utilises various methods of text analysis, it is not just descriptive and seeks to explain the

processes behind how and why discourses operate as well, as their influence on action.

4.8.1. Qualitative text analysis

My methodological approach to this research will be the in-depth qualitative analysis of discourses and language within and between policy texts, placing them within wider social and political contexts. Similar qualitative studies have utilised spoken and transcribed discourse by interviewing social actors who have been involved in the production and implementation of policy document and consultations that have informed policy to supplement text-based discourses. Although interview responses have the potential to reveal the intentions of policymakers as social actors and people's individual understandings of policy, to investigate why they approached or understood a particular policy 'problem' in a particular way, it can also introduce multiple biases that may or may not be obvious to the analyst. For example, even though an interview may be anonymised, people may be responding in a way in that they think is appropriate based on their role and responsibility within the policymaking framework, or could be responding within a personal capacity even when being interviewed in a professional capacity. Although the two might be separated out, it adds an extra layer of complexity and uncertainty to the research and analysis. Some issues can be mitigated through the structuring of interview questions and avoiding leading questions, but for this particular research the focus is less on the initial intentions of policymakers and more on tracking the consequences of particular discourses and how these have been perpetuated knowingly or, quite likely, unknowingly. The texts under analysis as part of this research are broadly referred to as 'policy', which is defined in the Cambridge online English dictionary as "a set of

ideas or a plan of what to do in particular situations that has been agreed to officially by a group of people, a business organization, a government, or a political party” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2019). Policy documents examined within this thesis include international as well as national documents relating to spatial planning and economic development, the historic environment, heritage and archaeology. The policies have been chronologically grouped to help track the inception and development of sustainable development discourse within UK planning policies during the 1990s, through the process of recontextualising the principles of sustainability for an historic environment context in 1997 (English Heritage, 1997), and finally the publication of the *Conservation Principles* in 2008 (English Heritage, 2008a), which sets out the UK’s approach to sustainable conservation of the historic environment. The policy documents form in-depth case studies that will be situated within their wider socio-economic, political and philosophical milieu, to understand how their context shaped the kinds of discourses on sustainability that they chose to embrace.

The analysis will be structured according to the DHA ‘three-step’ approach by:

- 1.) establishing the contents or topics of discourses
- 2.) investigating discursive strategies within discourses through specific linguistic devices (Table 6)
- 3.) examining the linguistic devices used and the context-dependent way in which they help to realise particular means of understanding and labelling social actors, objects, phenomena, events and processes (linguistic realisation).

(Wodak and Reisigl, 2009, p.93)

4.8.2. Selection of policy texts for analysis

The basis for selecting policy documents for analysis started with what has become the key text on sustainability, or rather 'sustainable development', OCF, which was published by WCED in 1987 (WCED 1987). Through a preliminary analysis of interdiscursivity, it was possible to extrapolate backwards to identify earlier key texts that inspired this 1980s discourse on sustainable development. Many of these early texts do not use the term 'sustainable development' or even the generic terms 'sustainable' or 'sustainability', but they do contain key discourse themes and topics that were picked up and consolidated within 1980s sustainable development discourse. Forward extrapolation to identify texts inspired by the OCF sustainable development discourse was more straightforward, as many subsequent policies are intertextuality connected to OCF, often through the use of the same excerpt to define sustainable development or a derivative of it to fit a new context. To address the research questions of this thesis, the focus of post-OCF texts was the early shift from focusing on environmental degradation to a greater consideration of social factors in sustainable development, and later the 'cultural turn' in sustainability discourse. Once representative texts that would serve as in-depth case studies had been identified, they were subjected to a preliminary pilot analysis to determine broad themes that linked texts and to determine the structure of further analysis.

The analysis started with the end-point of historic environment policies that incorporated the concept of sustainability. This was done to ensure that the research identified themes that might not have been prominent in 1980s and earlier sustainable development discourse but later emerged within historic environment documents. This also served to understand the origin and movement of themes between contexts and

to keep the focus upon the research topic and central questions. The CDA has been split over two chapters (Table 6); Chapter 2 investigates international policies that shaped discourses on sustainable development, and Chapter 5 focuses on the UK and is divided chronologically to look at the approaches to sustainable development and the historic environment by the two main political parties that held power between 1990 and 2010. Within both chapters, the texts are grouped chronologically into subsections of broad 'periods' based on either the overarching intention of sustainability policy (e.g. resolving environmental protection and economic growth, operationalisation of sustainable development) or a particular approach (e.g. the 'cultural turn' and shift to social sustainability).

4.8.3. Analysing discursive strategies

DHA seeks to reveal the intention or plan behind discursive practices and how these can be made apparent through the examination of discursive strategies and the way that people (social actors), objects, phenomena, events and processes are constructed through language (see Table 7 for a list of discursive strategies). Strategies of particular relevance to this research are argumentation and perspectivisation. In the case of argumentation, this is drawn upon to investigate the way in which recontextualised sustainability discourse, which shares intertextuality and/or interdiscursivity with other texts, is used to strengthen arguments for a particular plan of action.

Table 1 - List of policies analysed

Sustainability discourse 'period'	Policy documents	Appendix
<p><u>Chapter 2 – International Policy</u></p> <p>Pre-sustainable development</p> <p>Sustainable development</p> <p>Operationalisation of sustainable development</p> <p>The 'cultural turn': discourses on culture and sustainable development</p>	<p>Stockholm Declaration (United Nations 1972)</p> <p><i>Our Common Future</i> (WCED 1987)</p> <p>Rio Declaration (United Nations, 1992b)</p> <p>Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1992a)</p> <p>World Decade for Culture and Development (UNESCO, 1988)</p> <p>Our Creative Diversity (WCCD, 1995)</p> <p>Agenda 21 for Culture (UCLG CC, 2006)</p> <p>Hangzhou Declaration (UNESCO, 2013b)</p>	<p>1.1.</p> <p>1.2.</p> <p>1.3.</p> <p>1.41.151.16</p>
<p><u>Chapter 5 – UK and English Policy</u></p> <p>Conservatives, spatial planning and sustainable development (1980–1997)</p> <p>'New' Labour and a shift to social and cultural sustainability (1997–2010)</p>	<p>PPG 1 (Department of Environment 1988)</p> <p>This Common Inheritance (HM Government, 1990b)</p> <p>Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) 1 (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 1997)</p> <p>UK Strategy for Sustainable Development and Planning Policy (HM Government, 1994)</p> <p>PPG 1 (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 1997)</p> <p>PPG 16 (DCLG, 1990)</p> <p>PPG 12 (Department of the Environment, 1992a)</p> <p>Strategic Planning and Sustainable Development (English Nature, 1992)</p> <p>Conservation Issues in Strategic Plans (Countryside Commission et al., 1993)</p> <p>PPG 15 (Department of the Environment and Department of National Heritage, 1994)</p> <p>Sustaining the UK Historic Environment (English Heritage, 1997)</p> <p>Britain™ (Leonard, 1997)</p> <p>A Better Quality of Life: A Strategy for Sustainable Development for the United</p>	<p>1.7</p> <p>1.5</p> <p>1.8</p> <p>1.6</p> <p>1.9</p> <p>1.9</p> <p>1.10</p> <p>1.11</p> <p>1.12</p> <p>1.13</p> <p>1.14</p> <p>1.17</p>

<p>Changes in planning and heritage policy (2008–2018)</p>	<p>Kingdom (Department of the Environment, 1999) Power of Place (English Heritage, 2000) Historic Environment: Force for our Future (DCMS, 2001) Planning Policy Statement (PPS) 1 (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005b)</p> <p>English Heritage’s Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment (English Heritage, 2008a) PPS 5 (DCLG, 2010) National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF; DCLG, 2012) Government’s Statement on the Historic Environment (DCMS, 2010) Revised Conservation Principles (Historic England, 2017) and NPPF (Ministry of Housing Communities, 2018)</p>	<p>1.18</p> <p>1.19</p>
--	---	-------------------------

Table 2 - Discursive strategies employed (after Wodak and Meyer 2009, pp. 94,112-3; Baker and Ellece 2010, pp. 61, 71).

Discursive strategy (purpose)	Examples of linguistic devices
Nomination (discursive construction of) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social actors • objects/phenomena/events • processes and actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proper names (i.e. personal names) • Deictics - I, we, you (dependent on context for meaning) • Anthroponyms – professional (policymaker, scientist), ideological (environmentalists), economic (taxpayer) • Collectives (e.g. the people, future generations, scientists) • Concrete (physical/observable) – world, country • Abstract (conceptual) – nature, environment, well-being • Material (physical/observable) – economic development (e.g. construction), pollution, conservation of natural resources • Abstract – progress
Predication (to assign characteristics and features)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social actors, objects/phenomena/events, processes and actions characterised more or less positively or negatively
Argumentation (after Van Leeuwen, 2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Persuasive language to claim truth and rightness – using logic to strengthen a position within an argument
Perspectivisation (the perspective of the author)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perspective of the author (ideological) – environmentalist, resourcist, neoliberal
Intensification (language that intensifies or strengthens a discourse/argument)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adverbs that add emphasis to a statement • Use of modal verbs – deontic modality (indicating certainty/reservations) • Language that stirs up emotion and/or a response
Mitigation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language that expresses degrees of reservation (epistemic modality)

4.8.4. Analysing themes and categorising strategy

To analyse discourses on sustainability within policy documents, this research seeks to identify themes utilised by different discourses on sustainability and track the movement of these between different contexts and fields of action utilising the DHA concept of recontextualisation. The themes under investigation were established through inductive open coding, whereby broad themes were assigned to text excerpts within documents through a close and repeated reading of policy texts. Texts were read, wherever possible, in their original format (e.g. published book form) as well as the more accessible online versions. The broad themes of analysis were determined by the research focus as well as those that were observed within the close reading as relating to subsidiary topics. Once broad themes were established, they were interrogated further to “fracture” or break them up into narrower themes and topics (Strauss, 1987, p.29).

4.8.5. Intertextual and interdiscursive relationships

As the main focus of this research is to examine the movement of discourses on sustainability, following analysis the discussion chapter will consider the relationships between sustainability discourses, themes and topics using the concept of context. Through a consideration of context, DHA focuses on intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between texts. Intertextuality is the relationship between texts that is created through either direct citations or references from existing texts. As mentioned above, intertextual relationships are easier to observe as the original source is usually cited or referenced; however, when a discourse has become far removed from its original context the allusion might not be made explicit. The analysis of intertextuality is particularly important for this research as texts that employ this literary device are

usually doing so to evoke a particular discourse in order to, more often than not, progress an argument or position where reference to the original text lends credibility and authority to the new argument. Interdiscursivity on the other hand, can be less apparent and is broadly defined based on the concept utilised by Foucault, and denotes an implicit link between discourses and the movement of discourses between fields of action that might not necessarily manifest as an explicit textual reference (Foucault and Sheridan, 2002). For example:

“If we conceive of ‘discourse’ as primarily topic-related ... we will observe that a discourse on climate change frequently refers to topics or subtopics of other discourses, such as finances or health. Discourses are open and often hybrid; new sub-topics can be created at many points” (Wodak and Reisigl, 2009, p.90).

Interdiscursivity through the analysis of discourse themes and subthemes will be a useful tool in tracking sustainability discourse themes where the direct link to past documents has been severed (i.e. through the use of secondary references and the loss of a traceable citation trail). This also demonstrates how the use of preceding discourses can lead to a loss of legibility within a discourse, as reference to earlier texts and discourses can prejudice understanding within the new context as full comprehension is dependent on whether the audience is familiar with the earlier discourse. A major aspect of the DHA toolkit utilised within this research to understand context is the concept of de- and re-contextualisation, which is itself recontextualised within CDA, being taken originally from Bernstein’s ‘social of pedagogy’ (Fairclough, 2010, p.11). De- and re-contextualisation analyses the linguistic means and discursive processes that enable the exportation and importation of ‘elements’ of an existing

discourse into a new context (Wodak and Reisigl, 2009, p.90). In terms of the research focus of this thesis, the concept of 'sustainable development' is derived from a very specific historical context, the environmental crises of the 1980s. A preliminary assessment of sustainability discourses illustrated how a decontextualised version of sustainable development was the use of the noun 'sustainability' or the adjective 'sustainable', which became shorthand for the 1980s concept when it was recontextualised. However, this also created confusion as the quality of being sustainable is also related to the general concept of sustainability or rather sustainable systems in relation to biological and ecological processes. If there is no explicit mention of which sustainability discourse is being referred to, the recontextualised discourse becomes vague and is often reduced to the lexical definition of words and concepts.

4.9. Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodological approach to this research as a CDA of policy documents situated within a social constructionism epistemological and ontological framework that sees reality or our knowledge of reality as *socially constructed*. Although there is often a material *reality* to the products and processes of AHM, the discursive construction of a category of heritage and how people and institutions conduct themselves in relation to its management, is entirely a social construct bound up with context-dependent human social and cultural values. To examine the recontextualisation of sustainability discourse into a historic environment and subsequently AHM context, DHA will be used to investigate the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between policy texts and general discourses to understand the process of de- and re-contextualisation. Chapter 5 applies these

methods to the analysis of UK and English planning and heritage policy, drawing upon the themes that emerged from the CDA of international sustainability policy presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 5. International Discourse on Sustainable Development

5.1. Development and the Human Environment

The Stockholm Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (hereafter Stockholm Declaration) published in 1972 introduced many of the themes and concerns that would later become part of the mainstream discourse on sustainable development (Table 1). The stark revelations from ecological studies provided evidence that unchecked growth of human populations and environmentally damaging activity not only threatened people's livelihoods in terms of loss of primary natural materials, but also impacted directly upon their physical and mental health and well-being. The focus of the conference and the subsequent declaration and report was "the need for a *common outlook and for common principles* to inspire and guide the peoples of the world in the *preservation and enhancement of the human environment*" (United Nations, 1972, p.3, own emphasis). Although a concern for the natural environment was of course a major issue, the emphasis is placed on the *human* environment (i.e. the surroundings within which humans live) and the cyclical nature of human impacts on the environment eventually impacting upon human society and economy. This tension can be observed in the accompanying appendices for the Stockholm Declaration, with various working group members rejecting the idea of limiting growth and that "The concept of '*no growth*' *could not be a viable policy* for any society", this sentiment being intensified in the comment "a philosophy of '*no growth*' *was absolutely un-acceptable*", although there remained the general consensus that "it was necessary to rethink the traditional concepts of the basic purposes of growth" (United Nations, 1972, pp.45–46). The *Limits to Growth* report (Meadows et al., 1972) highlighted the issues of overexploitation of natural resources

and industrialised processes degrading the environment, but it also highlighted the issue that a position of 'no growth' was not compatible with a capitalist ideology.

Table 3 - Discourse themes in The Declaration of the United Nations

Conference on the Human Environment, commonly referred to as Stockholm Declaration (1972)

Themes – Overarching theme reconcile development and environmental preservation	
Broad	<i>Narrow</i>
Environment <div>UNESCO world heritage bridges nature and culture</div>	<p><u>The Human Environment</u> – context of human activity, where they live and work</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progress/potential – humans have capacity to discover, invent, create, advance, transform – science and technology but this has brought with it problems (harm): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ (man-made environmental harm) disasters – pollution, ecological disturbances, loss of irreplaceable resources ○ social harms (<i>from uneven distribution of progress</i>) poverty, illiteracy, misery, effects on social and mental health • <u>Accountability/responsibility of contemporary generations to future generations</u> • Cultural heritage - UNESCO draft convention for the protection of the cultural and natural world heritage recommendations (UNESCO, 1972) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ culture as an inheritance <p><u>The Natural Environment</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural heritage (UNESCO, 1972) • Management of resources (for development, for the future) – products, raw materials, genetic material, ecosystems as containers of resources <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ irreplaceable ○ renewable – conservation – need for management of resources ○ immediate vs future needs ○ <u>altruism</u> (in relation to ‘commons’) [globalism]
Development and social justice <div>Distinction between human rights and human needs</div>	<p><u>Problem: underdevelopment</u></p> <p><u>Solutions:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accelerated development - technology • New forms of growth • Rejection of limits • <u>Human rights</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ communal environmental resources (e.g. ‘commons’ such as air and water) ○ housing

<p>- depends on context, also legislative</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ health - health of [hu]mans linked to the health of the biosphere ○ Article 27 – right to freely participate in cultural life of the community • <u>Human needs</u> (hopes/desires beyond basic human rights) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ developing countries <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ basic needs (see human rights above) ▪ technical assistance ○ developed countries – continued economic growth, improving living conditions ○ transport ○ disaster warning ○ new knowledge
---	---

The Stockholm Declaration introduces the social dimension of environmental protection by discursively linking human needs, social progress, social justice and socio-economic development with the condition of the “human environment”. No definition of the human environment is offered within the declaration or the accompanying report, but it is clear that this environment is understood from an anthropocentric perspective given the context of human activity comprising both natural and human-made components, with humans not just occupying the natural environment but actively shaping and transforming it. Its sixth proclamation suggests that humans need to work in partnership or ‘collaboration’ with nature: “*to attain ... freedom in the world of nature ... [humans] must use knowledge to build, in collaboration with nature, a better environment*” (United Nations, 1972, p.3). However, the use of the term “freedom” suggests that humans are seeking to control and overcome nature to remove constraints rather than acting in a true partnership and working within environmental limits. Throughout the Stockholm Declaration (United Nations, 1972), the term “preservation” is used in relation to the human environment, with only a few occurrences where the prefix “human”, “man-made” or “his” is omitted, suggesting it specifically relates to the natural environment. A related concept to that of preservation is that of conservation, which is particularly associated with the natural environment as “nature conservation”. Despite being used interchangeably within the Declaration and accompanying report, the two concepts historically reflect quite different environmental ethics and highlight a tension between the difference in conserving something that is a renewable natural resource and preserving resources that are non-renewable.

Despite a clear anthropocentric environmental ethic, the Stockholm Declaration’s first proclamation starts with an environmental ethic that echoes 19th- and early 20th-

century preservationist discourse and the connection between human culture and the natural environment, with nature seen as providing “physical sustenance and ... the opportunity for intellectual, moral, social and spiritual growth” (United Nations, 1972, p.3). The Stockholm Declaration utilises a preservationist rhetoric and social justice arguments for why the environment should be preserved. However, the true environmental ethic of the Stockholm Declaration is revealed to be resourcism, where the environment is seen as a repository of both ‘irreplaceable’ and non-renewable natural resources (see Appendix 1.1). The need for management of resources to conserve them for the future is further illustrated by Principles 2–5 (Appendix 1.1), which specify that renewable resources should not be depleted at a greater rate than they can regenerate. Principle 4 (Appendix 1.1) introduces the theme of responsibility of current human populations and the term “heritage” evokes the discourse of inheritance in relation to the natural environment. However, the use of the term “nature conservation” indicates that this inheritance is more about the utility of the natural environment as a container of resources to be utilised in economic development rather than a moral or intellectual inheritance (see Appendix 1.1). The concept of heritage also extends the temporal timescale for “nature conservation” and introduces a moral argumentation strategy with contemporary populations acting as curators or stewards conserving resources for future populations to utilise (see Appendix 1.1). The notion of natural and cultural heritage being part of global commons was already emerging through the contemporary drafting of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, which is referenced within the Stockholm Conference report before its formal adoption in November 1972 (United Nations, 1972, p.25).

By utilising a preservationist environmental ethic, the Stockholm Declaration makes a moral argument for the preservation of the human environment that is further

strengthened through intertextuality with the *Universal Declaration on Human Rights* (United Nations, 1948) and *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (United Nations, 1966) by drawing upon the concepts of justice, freedom, health, and the equivocal term “well-being” within the first proclamation. This is also reiterated in the second proclamation, where the disturbance and destruction of the biosphere is seen to impact negatively upon the physical, mental and social health of people (Appendix 1.1). The human rights discourse is conflated with a parallel human needs discourse, which, although discursively similar in their aims and outcomes, differ in the sense that rights are legal, whereas needs are the requirement of something because it is seen as essential. In the case of the latter, the determination of needs will also depend upon who decides what is essential, which will be culturally informed by their values and worldview.

To ensure that the social justice discourse was compatible with a “continued economic growth” ideology, the fourth proclamation effectively shifts the problem of environmental degradation away from overexploitation by developed countries to an issue of “underdevelopment”. The underdevelopment of countries, and therefore their overreliance and overexploitation of natural resources, was now seen as the source of global environmental “problems”. In this new scenario that linked social and economic progress with environmental protection or rather resource conservation, the industrialised developed countries were now part of the solution rather than the historical cause of the problem (Appendix 1.1). Although during the 1970s PPP was already commonly applied across Europe, with those responsible for polluting the environment bearing the cost of any damage to the environment, it was not incorporated into the Stockholm Declaration. This omission was highlighted by working group member the Holy See, representing the Papacy, who also linked moral and

social justice with environmental preservation through the concept of “ecological justice” (United Nations, 1972, p.64).

5.2. Sustainable development

The report OCF was published by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in April 1987 (WCED 1987) to disseminate the results of a “900 day international exercise” to gather information from public hearings on issues relating to development and environmental degradation. The report touches upon a number of interwoven discourse themes (Table 2) including: 1.) crisis, specifically the “interlocking” financial, environmental, development, energy and urbanisation crises; 2.) limits to the environmental resource base; and 3.) how to address the very different basic needs of the world’s poor as well as the desire or privilege of developed countries to continue to grow their economies. The report is organised around two overarching themes relating to the problem of addressing needs whilst overcoming, rather than remaining within, environmental limits. There are numerous warnings within the text and case studies illustrating the dangers of unchecked growth-related consumption beyond the ecological means of the Earth and, in many ways, it complements the findings of the *Limits to Growth* report (Meadows et al., 1972). However, it rectifies the lack of clarity within *Limits to Growth* in terms of what *type* of growth was limited (i.e. the human ecological footprint and impact on environment rather than economic growth per se) by stating explicitly that a sustainable approach to development would not lead to economic recession.

OCF continues the motif of discursively linking the spheres of environment and development first utilised in the Stockholm Declaration to continue and strengthen the discourse on development as a solution to environmental degradation and as a means

of attaining social justice. This is achieved through the interlinking concept of the “human environment” and a rhetoric throughout the text of how the two spheres of environment and development are “inseparable” with “interlocking crises” presenting threats to both the environment and economy (WCED 1987, p. 4-8; see Appendix 1.2.1). The environmental ethic within the report (WCED 1987) is distinctly anthropocentric and further shifts the focus of environmental protection or conservation away from its environmentalist roots. The shortcomings of environmentalism are described by WCED Commissioner Gro Harlem Brundtland within the foreword to the report as political “naivety” to highlight further the need for a win–win position that considered “environmental issues” and “development” as mutually dependant (see Appendix 1.2.2).

As with the Stockholm Declaration, reorientation of environmental problems into development problems shifts economic growth from its traditional position as a causal factor in environmental degradation to a new position as part of the solution, especially when it is branded as “sustainable development” to foster a “new era of growth” (see Appendix 1.2.3). This is supported by carrying across environmental metaphors such as erosion in relation to economic degradation (see Appendix 1.2.4). Throughout much of the text there are warnings that actions associated with the overexploitation of natural resources threaten to exhaust non-renewable resources as well as the ability of renewable resources to recover, causing as well as exacerbating natural disasters. Although the dominant environmental ethic is one of resourcism, there are instances within the report where themes associated with a preservationist environmental ethic are utilised as an argumentation strategy for the less tangible reasons for preserving the natural and cultural environment (see Appendix 1.2.5).

Table 4 - Discourse themes within Our Common Future (WCED 1987)

Themes	
Broad	Narrow
<p>Environment As world, common, global heritage (inheritance)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↑ Two themes are “inseparable”, “interlocking crises” ↓</p> <p>Social Justice</p>	<p><u>The Natural Environment</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservation of resources for human development • Protection of fragile ecosystems <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ moral/ethical reasons for protection as a cultural, aesthetic, scientific resource beyond utility • Spiritual heritage • Poverty and environmental degradation <p><u>The Human Environment</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • References 1972 United Nations conference using term “human environment” • Failures of development – failure to manage human environment • Progress • Architectural and cultural heritage <p><u>Human Needs</u> (for basic needs see Human Rights below)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human ambitions, aspirations – see growth, progress • Conflated with human rights or <i>basic</i> human needs <p><u>Human Rights</u></p> <p><u>Altruism</u> (in relation to ‘commons’)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Redistribution of wealth/development to address uneven development • Safeguarding interests of “coming generations” - accountability of contemporary generations – acting as curators, stewards <p>Balancing the two environments – <u>solution</u>: a “sustainable course of development”, reconcile human affairs with natural environment</p>
Sustainable (Economic) Development	<p><u>(Long-term/Sustainable) Growth</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “New era of growth” – “sustainable energy pathway”, energy efficiency policies • (Overcoming) Limits – “sustainable development does imply limits – <u>not absolute limits</u> but <u>limitations</u>” (WCED 1987, p. 8, own emphasis) • Development should be culturally relevant – culturally determined (culture understood as values, worldview, etc.)

The use of the noun 'protection' in relation to environmental resources is favoured within OCF (WCED 1987), which could be seen as indicating a preservation ethic; however, it is often accompanied by the verbs 'conservation' and 'management', which instead denotes a resourcist environmental ethic. By drawing upon alternative environmental ethics to supplement the dominant resourcist, anthropocentric and essentially capitalist perspective on the environment, the tension between economic growth, social development and environmental management is discursively resolved.

OCF advocates an environmental economics approach to environment and economy, as seen in the section Merging Environment and Economics in Decision Making (WCED 1987, p. 62-65). This is discursively illustrated by the use of financial accounting metaphors (see Appendix 1.2.6), which suggests familiarity with that terminology and indicates that the authors of those sections are likely to be WCED commissioners with a background in economics. Although the report is critical of actions that have led to various "interlocking" crises and accepts that there are limits with regard to the ability of the environment to continue to provide resources at a rate of consumption that exceeds replenishment, as with the Stockholm Declaration, OCF rejects the idea that this would lead to a contraction of economic growth and limits placed upon development. The verb 'limits' is transformed through nominalisation into the noun 'limitations', which has the rhetorical effect of discursively overcoming "absolute limits" placed upon natural resources and the restrictions those place on growth and development (see Appendix 1.2.7). This shift in meaning moves the discussion away from a traditional 1960s and 1970s environmental discourse on regulation and restrictions to manage resources and allows for an alternative and ultimately optimistic discourse on the power of science, technology and innovation to overcome resource limitations. The report draws upon a major theme within this

discourse, and the assertion of win–win scenarios where economic development within the limits of the environment will not limit economic growth.

The report continues the theme of poverty as a causal factor in environmental degradation and how this might be overcome through “sustainable development” (WCED 1987), which is a more nuanced concept than the Stockholm Declaration’s “accelerated development” (United Nations 1972, p. 4). This acknowledges that rapid development might not be appropriate across different human environmental, social and cultural contexts. The report (WCED 1987) uses a standard problem and solution patterning, with contemporary environmental and economic problems referred to as “crises” and past events described as “tragedies” for the purposes of intensifying statements. This further strengthens the need for *future* solutions, which are offered within a capitalist development framework, recouched as “sustainable development”, with an emphasis on technology as a way of overcoming limits.

The report makes use of past, present and future tenses to suggest the linear progression that a sustainable approach to development would offer; to learn from past “tragedies” and overcome contemporary “crises” to ensure a prosperous future of economic growth. This is also an example of how OCF sets up the way in which different groups and social actors will drive the new sustainable development pathway. For example, the world’s poor are portrayed as passive, which can be seen in the way they are given priority presumably from and by ‘others’ for aid, with the solution to limitations in technology more likely to come from developed countries with the resources to fund innovation. The “urban poor” are also framed as an “informal sector” but with no indication as to how diverse groups with very different needs and aspirations could be mobilised to work together as an “informal sector” (see Appendix

1.2.8). This also implies that the “urban poor” are somehow distinct from other urban sectors such as wealthy urbanites, which could further strengthen biases and stereotypes rather than breaking them down. Despite the indication that social context should be a determining factor in establishing whether a development scheme is sustainable within particular national contexts, it is clear that the “sustainable development” solutions sought pertain to a Western capitalist framework that is enabled through the theme of interdependence as part of a globalisation ideology.

Culture is referenced throughout OCF (WCED 1987) in relation to it being a value system that can influence a person’s worldview and sense of identity, which determines their place within the world and various communities as well as their outlook or desires for the future. The way in which culture can interact with the environment is illustrated in the section of the report dedicated to Empowering Vulnerable Groups and the cultural practices of indigenous communities (see Appendix 1.2.9). As with the natural environment, culture is seen as a resource, with the link between cultural heritage and the economy made in the foreword: “cultural and spiritual heritages can reinforce our economic interests and survival imperatives” (WCED, 1987, p.1). The concept of heritage and inheritance is clearly a major focus within OCF, as indicated by the term “future” in the title and throughout the report. Heritage is used to signify that environmental resources are global commons belonging to all human and wild beings, which will be inherited by future generations. For example, the loss or degradation of common resources such as those of the sea is portrayed not just as a loss of natural resources, but also a loss of “common heritage” (see Appendix 1.2.10) or, to use UNESCO’s term, World Heritage. Despite this overarching theme of inheritance, the noun ‘inheritance’ is not used within the report, but instead the verb ‘inherit’ is used in the negative sense of problems that

have been or will be inherited by the next generation. There is a singular reference within the report to human-made material heritage specifically relating to European artistic and architectural heritage (see Appendix 1.2.11), reflecting a narrow Eurocentric notion of cultural heritage. The restriction of this particular type of “heritage of nations” to Europe also reflects the bias that existed during this time in relation to what was considered worthy of designation as *World Heritage*.

Despite OCF (WCED 1987) offering a “global agenda for change”, the reality was that, by holding to an ecological modernisation and ultimately capitalist worldview on development and economic growth, potential solutions were sought through improvements within those existing frameworks through adjustments to social organisation and fostering innovation to develop new technologies, rather than a true change of attitudes towards resource consumption. This can be seen in the use of the term “reorientation” throughout the text, which suggests a change of direction or focus but not a change of the underlying framework or principles. As such, in the years following the publication of the OCF report little progress was made to operationalise the abstract idea of a “sustainable development”.

5.3. Operationalising the discourse of sustainable development

Following the momentum started by the Stockholm conference in 1972 and the publication of OCF in 1987 (WCED 1987), it was felt by the WCED and other groups that there had been a disappointing lack of progress regarding outputs from countries towards sustainable development. To reinvigorate the sustainable development cause, the 1992 Earth Summit conference held in Rio reaffirmed commitment to sustainable development, with the Rio Declaration setting out 27 principles building upon the Stockholm Declaration (United Nations, 1992b; see Table 3). It also launched

the *Agenda 21* action plan of the United Nations, which was to be implemented at the local, national and international level by the United Nations, national and local governments and multilateral organisations. Agenda 21 acknowledged that to progress the “global agenda for change” proposed in OCF (WCED 1987), it was necessary to have delivery plans with achievable and measurable outcomes. In order to reignite the sustainable development agenda, the preamble starts with the concept of partnership, which is a key theme in terms of enabling delivery of action plans at different levels (see Appendix 1.3.1). Although both OCF and Agenda 21 emphasise participation across the breadth of society, the latter utilises “participatory democracy”, which became part of mainstream political discourse during this period (Bherer et al., 2016), as well as the concept of partnerships to ensure that responsibility for delivering sustainable development was distributed amongst citizens, communities, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), local and national government as well as private enterprise (see Appendix 1.3.2). In this context, citizens are depicted as active agents in delivering sustainable development rather than passive recipients. Although the preamble stresses that national governments are responsible for implementing strategies, policy and economic instruments to secure sustainable development, rhetoric of participation and partnerships partially shifts total responsibility for the delivery of sustainable development away from national governments. Despite a discourse of social justice still being present within Agenda 21, particularly in reference to cultural rights and needs, there is no longer a dominant discourse on the redistribution of wealth and resources, which was present in OCF. Instead, there is a focus on developing countries seeking revenue from the development of environmental tertiary industries and services that do not require primary environmental resources and therefore do not deplete them (see above).

Table 5 - Discourse themes in the Rio Declaration (United Nations, 1992b) and Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1992a)

Themes	
Broad	<i>Narrow</i>
Environment as an economic resource / service	<p>The environment (no longer distinguished between natural and human)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty and environmental degradation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ shift back to industrial countries and patterns of consumption/production as major sources of environmental degradation • Conservation/management – resources/services for development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ natural/biological (ecosystems, habitats, wetlands) ○ degraded lands (brownfield) – land rehabilitation ○ world heritage – tourism ○ enhancement ○ compensation (PPP) • Protection of environmental resources (e.g. forests, eco-sensitive zones, special ecological areas, wetlands) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ prevention – source reduction ○ legislation (enforcement) • Preservation – only in relation to natural/biological resources • Cultural role of environment – e.g. trees, forests <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ interrelationship sustainable development of natural environment and cultural ‘well-being’ of indigenous people
Sustainable Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global partnerships – reverse protectionist policies for trade <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ public/private partnerships • Accelerate (sustainable) development processes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ technology • Human settlement development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ United Nations habitat – socially and environmentally sustainable settlements (urban focus) ○ land-use planning – environmental quality, energy (renewable), infrastructure ○ improve social (human health), economic (investment), environmental (ecosystem health) quality ○ capacity building – human resources

Agenda 21 continues and strengthens the discourse started with OCF and the creation of a 'global economic system', which is clearly seen as the necessary action required in order to achieve sustainable development. As within the Stockholm Declaration and OCF, Agenda 21 reaffirms that environmental degradation is primarily a social issue by reiterating the link between poverty and environmental degradation. However, it departs from previous rhetoric by stressing that the *main* cause of environmental degradation was the continued unsustainable resource consumption by industrialised countries (see Appendix 1.3.3). This shifts culpability for environmental degradation, which had been discursively placed on developing countries in previous policies, back into the domain of industrialised countries. Unlike the Stockholm Declaration and OCF, Agenda 21 does not distinguish between the 'natural environment' and the 'human environment', although the co-text makes it reasonably clear when a clause is referring specifically to the human or natural environment. Instead, the preamble concentrates on making and reaffirming the link between the environment and development (Appendix 1.3.4). This pairing sets the precedence for the rest of the text – when discussing development, it is inadvertently also talking about the environment and, more importantly, vice versa. This coupling of economic and environmental agendas ensures that either way, economic development, or the preferred term 'sustainable development', takes precedence.

Agenda 21, as with previous policies, takes an anthropocentric perspective regarding environmental ethics, focusing on the utilitarian value of the environment as a reserve of natural resources. This is particularly reflected in the section Conservation and Management of Resources for Development but is present throughout much of the text (United Nations, 1992a). Unlike OCF (WCED 1987), Agenda 21 does not have a clear message of environmental protection and preservation, which can be seen in the

preference for the terms 'conservation' and 'management' rather than protection and preservation. Environmental protection is first referenced within the preamble, which serves to link the concept of protection with improvements to social welfare or 'well-being' as well as the process of managing natural resources (see Appendix 1.3.5). The second reference to environmental protection is not communicated until the end of chapter 2, and this is specifically in relation to the inability of developing countries to provide adequate provisions for environmental protection in the light of cuts to national budgets (see Appendix 1.3.6). The first indication that environmental protection is a key component of sustainable development is not fully communicated until chapter 16, with the statement: "Environmental protection *is an integral* component of sustainable development" (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, p.16, 20, own emphasis).

Although the verb 'preserve' is utilised throughout Agenda 21, it is mainly used in reference to the maintenance of natural resources and the protection of the resource-base from degradation, rather than a true preservation environmental ethic (i.e. to keep them in an unchanged condition). Where 'preservation' is specifically used it is in relation to the maintenance of ecosystems and the natural or genetic resources that they contain, such as animal breeds, which is more analogous to conservation philosophy. Within the Basis for Action section there is also reference to the preservation of cultural customs, governmental systems and practices (see Appendix 1.3.7). The emphasis on economic aspects of sustainable development as a primary concern over environmental protection can be seen in the way 'environmental protection' is often positioned after or appended to a clause regarding an economic or social concern. In this sense, the protection of the environment can be seen as shifting away further from the discourse of earlier environmental movements. One of the few

exceptions to this pattern of clause construction is within the chapter Managing Fragile Ecosystems – Sustainable Mountain Development, where the main focus is on ecosystem protection and management utilising traditional land management regimes (see Appendix 1.3.8). However, there are a number of contradictions with regard to how ecosystems are characterised in relation to their utilitarian value as resources. For example, mountainous regions and forests are characterised as ‘fragile’ yet the same rural areas, which are more likely to contain or be close to environmentally sensitive areas because of lack of prior development, are also encouraged to look to tourism to develop their local economies. In the case of mountain ecosystems, they are no longer solely valued for their primary resources such as timber and the secondary resources they produce, but are also being promoted as a potential tertiary resource or provider of ‘services’ as part of the eco-tourism industry.

The term ‘sustainable tourism’ is used only once within Agenda 21, as it was not widely adopted until it was popularised in the mid-1990s by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) programmes (Torres-Delgado and López Palomeque, 2012). However, the text makes the link between environmental conservation and economic development through ‘eco-tourism’ services, which appears to confirm the ecological modernisation philosophy that environmentalism can bring economic benefits. In addition, sustainable tourism associated with environmental conservation is seen as an alternative for developing countries to industrialisation, exemplified by the rise of the ‘heritage industry’ following de-industrialisation in the Global North, which is particularly well-illustrated the UK from the late 1970s (Hewison, 1987, 2009). Although the premise of PPP was already well-established, it was linked specifically to sustainable development in the 16th principle of the Rio Declaration and within a number of chapters in Agenda 21 (see

Appendix 1.3.9). In many countries, PPP was being implemented through policy tools such as taxation and mitigatory steps, for example in environmental impact assessments, to be met before planning conditions could be discharged. Although as a policy instrument PPP enabled funds to be levied from polluters to mitigate environmental degradation, in many cases the polluters could afford the cost of polluting and therefore it did little to discourage polluting activities. This set up a practice whereby environmental degradation was traded and exchanged for various types of compensation and the effects mitigated rather than avoided.

The definition of culture used within Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1992a) refers to the everyday ideas, customs, beliefs and rights of people and communities. The document makes reference to such 'cultural considerations' throughout the text and particularly the way in which culture influences decision-making in social, economic and political spheres of development and how people live their everyday lives. The document references the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948) as well as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (United Nations, 1966) brought into force from 1977, which recognise cultural rights, such as the right to participate in cultural life and access to opportunities for cultural development, as human rights. A second, Eurocentric, definition of culture, or high culture, such as the arts, is only mentioned once within the chapter on Human Settlement and Development and specifically relates to architectural and material culture as a means of improving the urban environment (see Appendix 1.3.10). The use of the word 'rehabilitation' indicates the potential for reuse and a degree of renewability for historic buildings as well as the districts or precincts they belong to, as part of sustainable development or redevelopment.

Reference to 'other' material culture 'artifacts', whether these are ancient or contemporary, is left vague. Although tourism is mentioned several times within the document, culture is not explicitly identified as a focus for tourism but instead a consideration to ensure tourism is 'culturally sensitive'. The concept of heritage is used only four times within Agenda 21 and is used in three distinct contexts. The first two relate to internationally recognised 'World Heritage Sites' and the third usage is in relation to environmental heritage education and the integration of environmental studies into school curricula. The inclusion of the term 'services' could be a reference to 'ecosystem services', which increased in popularity during the 1980s and early 1990s. 'Ecosystem services' is mentioned only once (United Nations, 1992a, para.15.5m), because Agenda 21 was published just before the concept became mainstream within environmental (and economic) policy (Gómez-Baggethun et al., 2010, pp.1213–1214). The final occurrence of 'heritage' is in reference to generic 'heritage sites', which might be non-designated in contrast to the World Heritage Sites mentioned earlier, but Agenda 21 does also mention protected sites, suggesting that these are at least nationally designated and protected through legislation. This usage of the term 'heritage' mainly relates to leisure and tourism activities and departs slightly from the eco-tourism discussed previously, as it has a specifically cultural element with the inclusion of museums as an example.

5.4. The cultural turn in sustainable development discourse

Following a period of information gathering from literature reviews, public hearings and consultations with specialists across the world, the first report of the WCCD, *Our Creative Diversity* (OCD), was published in 1995 (UNESCO 1995). The report can be seen to complement OCF (WCED 1987) as well as the recommendations made within

Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1992a) by adding culture as a major factor in determining whether or not development will be sustainable (Table 4).

Table 6 - Discourse themes from Our Creative Diversity (WCCD, 1995)

Themes – Overarching theme – the role of culture in development	
Broad	<i>Narrow</i>
<u>Development</u> “culturally sustainable” link between culture and development	<u>Human development</u> - “culturally conditioned view of economic and social progress” <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Human betterment’, increasing human capital – skills, capabilities, widening choices <u>Economic development</u> – instrumental role of culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservation as development (e.g. UK) • Revenue from craft production <u>Cultural development</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights
Environment	<u>Nature Culture (p224)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rethinking relationship between culture and environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ dominant environmental view – separate ecology from cultural milieu, reductionist view of ecology ◦ indigenous ecological knowledge • Cultural values that condition a society’s relationship to nature <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ cultural dimension of environmental resource management • Historical, archaeological perspective on ecosystems (e.g. how social, political and environmental disruption is interlinked and can intensify one another) <u>Nature of resources</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Renewable • Non-renewable – replacement with substitutes (technology/innovation) • Compensation, substitution for depleted resources <u>Environmental ethics</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethical environmentalism – end-values rather than ‘prudential environmentalism’ (resources as means) • ‘Gardeners of the world’

<p>Culture Cultural heritage (inheritance) for development Culture/heritage</p> <p>-----</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Heritage values Urban focus</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Governance “the future of the past”</p>	<p>Cultural values are fundamental in determining how people:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interact with physical environment and ‘nature’ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ how nature conceived of • Are amenable to different styles of governance • Articulate (basic) needs and aspirations • Seek particular modes of development (e.g. “development and the economy are part of, or an aspect of, a people’s culture”) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ “different versions of modernization” <p>Tangible materials</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Western bias towards built environment (aesthetic, historic, monumental) – archaeological sites (buried past), museums - buildings, attendance, collections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Architectural heritage – not included in this bias? Call for more training of personnel to develop limited skills • Nostalgia – seen as about the past rather than the contemporary • Crafts (living heritage, contemporary), artisan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ authenticity, market driven changes – traditions taken out of context (see above) <p>Intangible</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collective memory <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ identity – “gap between this and valorization” • Tradition • Ethical values • Knowledge • Through cultural transmission can be considered renewable (but this still require resources to ensure access) <p>-----</p> <p>Economic</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Cultural industries’, preservation ‘bankable’ (e.g. World Bank initiatives from 1970s), ‘preservation pays’ (UK) • Reuse of historic monuments/buildings – cost-effective, rejuvenate economic base of old parts of cities • Cultural tourism, ‘heritage industry’ – commission concerned <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ cultural heritage commodification, exclusivity (see social justice) ◦ sites degraded, despoiled – carrying capacity of monuments for tourism
---	---

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ need for control ▪ community ownership and access • Economic bias of political lobby – “influential commercially-driven point of view” (WCCD, 1995, p.185) • Neoliberalism, market value – issues with illegal trade due to market for objects from other cultures (e.g. focus is archaeological as seen in the participation of Colin Renfrew in the consultation on OCD) <p><u>Intrinsic value</u> (e.g. education – valued for its own sake)</p> <hr/> <p><u>Preservation, conservation (management)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Western, industrial countries – legislative and policy frameworks, social values, ‘tailored to needs of empire’ • Means are finite, scale of conservation efforts (investment) • Inflation – profusion and accumulation of historic artefacts (wider classifications of materials) • “Gulf between western preservationist values and poverty” <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ need for improvements to infrastructure <p><u>Responsibility</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Custodians (state institutions, departments of antiquities), facilitators, trained personnel – management skills <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ cultural heritage held in trust, safeguard ○ trained personnel – management skills • Volunteers (3rd sector) – ‘human heritage volunteers’ – overcome distance between people and bureaucracy, grassroots, community development – facilitated by custodians • New institutions – social role in investigating and encouraging plurality – shared/contested meanings (urban context, multicultural) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ tension between pleasing public and research/scholarship institutions – popular vs scholarly
--	---

OCD tries to shift discourses away from a purely economic understanding of development towards the concept of 'culturally sustainable' development in order to provide opportunities for human betterment (Appendix 1.4.1). The report champions an approach to development based on cultural values, suggesting that this might be the solution to overcome issues with the operationalisation of sustainable development that Agenda 21 sought to address. The theme of human rights is woven throughout OCD. The report seeks to promote further the inclusion of cultural rights within the remit of human rights by establishing an 'inventory of cultural rights'. The cultural rights referred to within the report mainly adhere to the understanding of culture as an immaterial value system rather than the material of contemporary cultures and the cultural heritage remains of past cultures. The report is subdivided into thematic chapters, with the most relevant in terms of determining the way the WCCD understood the concepts of culture, development, heritage and environment being those on Cultural Heritage *for* Development, Culture *and* the Environment (own emphasis) and Rethinking Cultural Policies (WCCD, 1995). It is these chapters that are the focus of the following discussion, with reference, where necessary, to the rest of the document.

The report distinguishes between the two main understandings of development as 'economic growth' or 'human development', with the latter seen as a "culturally conditioned view of economic and social progress" (WCCD, 1995, p.22). In addition to understanding the role of culture within a development framework, the report discusses the diversity of what is meant by culture and how the different interpretations of development impact upon the way that culture is perceived within a development framework. The two mainstream views of culture can be seen in the report with culture as a value system that *informs* human development and culture, or cultural heritage

products and services that serve as instruments *for* economic growth. The rhetoric of the report is very much in favour of the former, which is seen as offering an alternative model to the Western notion of development driven by narratives of economic progress and economically driven social progress. The aim of the WCCD was to seek alternative pathways to development that were informed by diverse cultural values to encourage the move away from an understanding of modernisation that was rooted in Western values and development frameworks (see Appendix 1.4.2). However, it is clear that although the WCCD acknowledged that a new approach to development was required, it did not want it to lead to the complete rejection of ideals associated with a Western and industrial economic perspective on development. As such, the report employs a similar win–win rhetoric to OCF (WCED 1987), stating that “there was a need to transcend economics without abandoning it” (UNESCO 1995:8). The potential conflict between an economic and culturally informed notion of ‘human development’ is further mitigated by linking economy to culture by quoting anthropologist Marshall Sahlins’ assertion that “Development and the economy are part of a people’s culture” (cited in WCCD, 1995, p.21; see Appendix 1.4.3). The use of a citation from an ‘expert’ also lends credibility to this statement.

Rather than offering the possibility of a complete overhaul of the economic development paradigm and the idea of continuous progress, the document instead discursively shifts focus to a culturally conditioned view of socio-economic progress by moving the inverted commas from around ‘sustainable development’ to ‘culturally sustainable’ development, where culture is a qualifier of development (UNESCO, 2015, p.5). Although the President’s foreword and executive summary for OCD emphasise that culture should not be reduced to purely an instrument of economic growth (see Appendix 1.4.4), the instrumental or subordinate role of the heritage

aspect of culture is highlighted in the title of the chapter dedicated to investigating Cultural Heritage *for* Development. The use of the preposition *for* suggests a supporting rather than pivotal role for culture. It is possible that this uncertainty results from a tension between culture as intangible contemporary values that can have material consequences in terms of products and practises (see Carman, 2004) and material cultural heritage that, although it can include intangible aspects, mainly refers to historical monuments and artefacts that have no cultural continuity and have been disconnected from human society for hundreds if not thousands of years (see below).

OCD (UNESCO 1995) refers to a number of examples of Western hegemony regarding the bias towards understanding cultural heritage primarily as tangible remains of the built environment, comprising monuments and archaeological sites as well as aesthetic and historic values associated with 'high culture' embodied by the arts (see Appendix 1.4.5). It also highlights how the World Heritage Convention (World Heritage Committee, 1972) served to uphold these biases and reproduce an international framework that neglected other forms of intangible and informal cultural heritage expressions (see Appendix 1.4.6). OCD sees this Western notion of heritage as being reaffirmed and reproduced through state and educational institutions. Many of these were established during the colonial period of Empire along with the global export of Western conservation policy and procedure (see Byrne, 1991). Although architectural styles associated with various empires spread all over the world, the report implies that architectural heritage is somehow not part of this Western or industrial hegemony and, instead, laments the lack of skilled personnel within this category of cultural heritage (see Appendix 1.4.7).

Despite OCD calling for a broader understanding of culture and development, the OCD chapter on Cultural Heritage for Development appears to be mainly a critique of dominant heritage philosophies and frameworks and does not offer examples or alternatives to this perspective. The main example given within the report that could be a truly intangible form of heritage is language, with oral traditions and dialects being passed between people over generations (WCCD, 1995, p.179). However, the erosion of this 'linguistic diversity' is also discussed within a dominant cultural heritage framework with regard to pressures from globalisation and assimilation, which is later advocated in other chapters of the report. It is possible that alternative or intangible cultural heritage is deliberately not elaborated upon so as not to limit what could be encompassed by the category, but it could also be because, at the time of the report, intangible heritage was still not recognised within international conventions, and even when it was afforded consideration, it was conceptualised as something *separate* from tangible heritage rather than a continuum and extension of it. For example, although the report acknowledges that "The tangible can only be interpreted through the intangible" (WCCD, 1995, pp.194–195), it does not extend this to understanding tangible cultural heritage as a transmission or representation of intangible values.

The report warns of the 'pitfalls' of assuming that the main value of cultural heritage within a development framework is as an economic instrument, with the UK given as an example where there is a long tradition of discursively linking cultural heritage and development that has relied heavily on espousing the economic benefits of cultural heritage preservation. This is clearly illustrated in the prevalence of the ethos that "preservation pays" and the notion of "conservation as development" which has since spread globally (see Appendix 1.4.8). The report quotes Yasmin Cheema et al. (1994) to emphasise that championing economic values in this way can further "elitist

commercial operations while dislodging the delicate relationships between prevailing economic levels, neighbourhood life, the traditional urban fabric and the monumental fabric that has existed nestled within it, albeit precariously” (UNESCO 1995, p.182). Within an economic value context, cultural heritage is linked to a discourse on tourism, but OCD is cautious in terms of encouraging further commodification of cultural heritage, which reached its pinnacle during the rise of the global ‘heritage industry’ in the 1980s and its subsequent critique (see Hewison, 1987). Despite the use of the verb ‘degraded’ and adverb ‘despoiled’, which intensifies the statement regarding the potentially destructive nature of tourism, the report does not fully reject cultural heritage tied to tourism as long as that tourism *supports* cultural heritage (see Appendix 1.4.9).

Cultural heritage is linked to notions of social justice through the themes of craft produce and tourism. For example, the potential for cultural heritage to become an ‘exclusive commodity’ suggests that tourism, especially where there is a high premium placed upon certain sites and locations, can actually restrict access to cultural heritage rather than widen access and participation. It is also clear that the by-product of increasing tourism in some areas with rich cultural heritage traditions is the trade of ‘living heritage’ crafts. OCD can be seen to contradict itself by being critical of purely economic values attached to cultural heritage whilst perpetuating this perspective in relation to crafts. The report acknowledges that mass-marketing of crafts and cultural experiences for tourism can lead to the loss of ‘authentic’ traditions, but the offered solution of ‘fair trade’ is couched in Western economic terms (e.g. regulation, remuneration, authentication, compensation) and also appears to be primarily targeted at this market (WCCD, 1995, pp.191–193). This international demand for ‘objects of other cultures’ is shown later in the chapter to have caused issues with

illegal trade of antiquities and cultural artefacts. The response to this issue focuses on the loss of *information* as a result of this illegal practice on archaeological sites, with evidence quoted from the British professor of archaeology Sir Colin Renfrew, rather than from a contemporary cultural perspective in terms of the loss of artefacts linked to cultural traditions and identities (Appendix 1.4.10). Within the report there is a clear tension between the two definitions of culture and how these relate to cultural heritage and its values as a contemporary practice with cultural continuity between past and present, and as something that is concerned with the disconnected past.

The heritage aspect of culture is discussed throughout the OCD report but the cross-over and potential distinctions between the wider concept of 'culture' and the subcategory of 'cultural heritage' is not made explicit and instead relies on a common-sense lexical definition of heritage as something that is inherited. The report discusses the West's 'commitment to preservation' as culminating from hundreds of years where preservation was a 'prominent social value' and knowledge of the past was favoured as an intellectual resource amongst the newly emerging educated classes (WCCD, 1995, p.177). It evaluates the resources that are required to keep this framework of cultural heritage preservation and conservation in operation and how this precludes such a comprehensive approach in many developing countries, widening the gap between cultural heritage management in the West and developing countries as well as limiting diversity in international heritage. Despite the rejection of Western discourse on cultural heritage preservation and conservation, the OCD report adheres to the now universal but initially Western idea that cultural resources are non-renewable, although the use of 'essentially' suggests a degree of reservation regarding this statement. The suggestion that cultural heritage is a finite resource indicates that this is based on tangible, physical material remains of culture rather than

on intangible forms, as the latter could be considered to be renewable through the transmission of values, ideas and beliefs (see Appendix 1.4.11). In the case of the latter, however, the report makes it clear that resources are still required to ensure the preservation of this intangible heritage. OCD demonstrates that beyond the blatant forms of Western hegemony in cultural heritage discourse, there is much that is so naturalised it would persist despite a call for plurality and diversity in cultural heritage forms. There is also a conflict within the report regarding the understanding of cultural heritage as a 'non-renewable' or 'finite' resource whilst acknowledging that there is a further problem regarding the inflation of collections and the profusion of 'inherited' cultural resources, especially with new categories of material being included (see Appendix 1.4.12).

In terms of the governance of cultural heritage, the report sees state institutions and education establishments as throwbacks from the colonial period, and narratives and interpretive frameworks as "tailored to the needs of empire" (WCCD, 1995, p.183). Although OCD deplores the Western bias towards the tangible and monumental remains of the past, it contradicts itself by suggesting that built heritage and architectural heritage skills are areas that require development. Cultural heritage disciplines such as archaeology are seen as inadequately equipped to deal with the contemporary socio-politics of culture and development. Despite advocating a more inclusive 'grassroots' approach to cultural heritage valorisation through new institutions geared up towards education and social work (see Appendix 1.4.13), OCD portrays a normative idea of what archaeology and the study of the past is about, particularly 'historical heritage' and the recent past, assuming that continuity or the link between past and present informs contemporary identity (see Appendix 1.4.14). It demonstrates that the people compiling the OCD report were unaware of the new

direction that archaeology was taking during the 1990s, particularly in the area of archaeological theory and the emergence of critical heritage studies. During this period some archaeologists started to question and therefore better understand the potential place and role of archaeology in contemporary society. This period is also characterised by a rise in public engagement with the discipline through ‘public archaeology’ projects, and increasingly projects initiated by the public, with the emergence of ‘community archaeology’ paradigms, which were supposedly grassroots approaches to archaeology driven by communities rather than government and education institutions, although many continued to play a collaborative role in community projects.

Although the report initially adopts a traditional (Western) view that ‘custodians’ charged with the preservation and conservation of cultural heritage *ought* to be ‘properly trained’ heritage management professionals, within the general theme of participation and shared responsibility, this could also include volunteers who have received training through capacity-building schemes provided by qualified professionals (see Appendix 1.4.15). Although the initial discussion regarding custodians suggests recognised officials who are professionals or at least trained in heritage management, the suggestion that “non-governmental efforts are beginning to challenge governments to move in this domain as well from centrally conceived and administered programmes to schemes that are based on community participation” (WCCD, 1995, p.183), indicates the presence of a grassroots or local approach to culture. The introduction of the concept of ‘human heritage volunteers’ suggests that the cultural heritage sector wished to adopt and build a tradition of volunteering similar to natural heritage management bodies such as the National Trust in the United States, UK and continental Europe, which had surged in popularity from the 1970s

(National Trusts Organisations, 2018). From this perspective, the people willing to volunteer their time for the protection and promotion of cultural heritage are transformed into a standing reserve of human resources at the disposal of heritage needs.

Despite using the term 'cultural landscapes', which was introduced to the world heritage lexicon by UNESCO in 1992 (UNESCO, 2018), there seems to also be a disconnect between culture and nature influenced by a normative idea of the latter as a frame for cultural activity rather than being shaped by it, or vice versa. The report OCD does, however, appear to be aware that environmental resource management is not a neutral operation, but a "calculus of power" that establishes and maintains power relations regarding people's relationship with the environment (WCCD, 1995, p.210; see Appendix 1.4.16). This can be seen in the chapter *Culture and the Environment*, with the use of the conjunction *and*, which suggests that the environment is in addition to cultural considerations rather than a fundamental aspect of them. This also highlights the way in which the relationship between nature and culture is understood, and the biases it introduces in terms of how they should be incorporated into 'culturally sustainable' development frameworks. In part this is because of the way in which nature is essentially a social construct based on the real environmental features (see Greider and Garkovich, 1994).

The human construction and management of the natural environment to effectively domesticate and control environmental features is illustrated in the reference to humans as "the gardeners of the world" within the report (WCCD, 1995, p.224; also see Appendix 1.4.17). Following the declaration that humans should act as 'gardeners' or stewards, the text references the speech given in 1854 by Chief Seattle, Chief of

the Nez Percé Indian Nation. Instead of representing diversity in understanding the environment, it shows the dominance of a Western gaze upon the environment. The original speech was given in the Lushootseed language, with translation into the Chinook Indian trade language, before eventually being translated into English (Krupat, 2011, p.199). It has been acknowledged that there have likely been modifications to its original meaning. Although it is used within the context of supporting statements of curation of the Earth for the future, the Chief's speech had an enduring fatalism about the loss of the Indian way of life, and it is widely acknowledged that the speech has since been modified and appropriated to "serve various [modernist] environmental and ecological ends" (Krupat, 2011, pp.193, 197).

In terms of the value of the environment, OCD discusses means and end-values in relation to the concept of well-being, in particular considering whether sustainability should focus more on sustaining or achieving end-values and objectives such as human well-being measured by health, welfare and prosperity, and less on the sustainability or protection of individual components, such as trees, that are the means to achieve the ends. It contrasts 'ethical environmentalism' that sees the means components as just as important as the end-value or goal, which is analogous with the 19th-century environmentalist movement, with a resourcist environmental ethic where environmental resources are no more than means to an end-value (see Appendix 1.4.18). The report highlights that means and end-values are often confused, which demonstrates the authors' own confusion regarding the concept of sustainability, probably because they are drawing upon a systems ecology perspective where individual components of an ecosystem might not need to be sustained for the wider ecosystem to be sustained. Although this might be true for some systems, others may become unsustainable if the means are ignored, and so the end-goal might not be

sustainable in the long-term or even achievable in the first place. As with earlier sustainable development discourse, there is great faith placed in the possibility of substitution of resources (or systemic functions), to enable some resources to be used up. OCD considers that cultural valuation diverges from the 'physical environment' because the former is considered to have intrinsic values, but this ignores the social construction of cultural values and the process of placing a value upon something. As such, the report considers cultural value to be something inherent to a cultural object, tradition or environment.

5.5. Operationalising the cultural turn for sustainable development

The notion of an Agenda 21 for Culture (hereafter A21C) was first proposed at the World Public Meeting on Culture held in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2002. After two years of drafts and amendments the final document was approved at the first Universal Forum of Cultures held in Barcelona on 8 May 2004 (UCLG CC, 2006). The intention of the document was to promote and encourage 'cultural development' through the inclusion or mainstreaming of cultural policy in other policy arenas following the distinct lack of reference to culture within the Millennium Development Goals and the 2002 world sustainable development summit held in Johannesburg in between 26th August and 4th September (Duxbury et al., 2017). The A21C document can be seen as analogous to the 1992 Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1992a) for sustainable development, which sought to reinvigorate efforts towards achieving sustainable development; A21C called for the 'renewed importance of culture' following on from the initial momentum gathered during the 'Decade of Culture' (UNESCO, 1988). Although the title of A21C suggests a generic category of culture, the main theme of the document is 'cultural diversity' and as such it is discursively and intertextually

linked with OCD (UNESCO 1995). A21C has a broad temporal focus, although there is more of an emphasis on contemporary and historical culture within an urban setting. However, the qualifier of ‘thousands of years’ would also include archaeological remains of past cultures, which could reflect the idea that our understanding of historical and archaeological culture and how we represent these cultures is a contemporary process and practice. The focus of the agenda document is ‘cultural development’, which is a shift away from the discourse on ‘sustainable development’, and can be seen potentially as a return to the notion of ‘human development’ and the development of people rather than the narrow focus on economic development and growth (see Table 5).

Despite a call for a greater consideration of the role of culture in determining the conditions and favourable outcomes of social and economic development and rhetoric on the centrality of culture in society, the document continues to use the metaphor of culture as a ‘pillar’, which suggests that culture is still playing a supporting or supplementary role rather than being a goal of policy actions and outcomes in its own right (see Appendix 1.15.1). The relationship between culture and the generic concept of ‘sustainability’ is not clear, with the main focus of the document on strengthening the analogy between biodiversity and cultural diversity, which draws upon 1980s environmental sustainable development discourse and quotes from the UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2002; see Appendix 1.15.2). It is likely that sustainability is being used as shorthand for sustainable development, with A21C seeking to bring this global discourse back to a local and national operational level in order to move it past rhetoric, towards action and outcomes. But there is no elaboration within the document as to what is meant by ‘sustainability’, with the exception of a reference to the previous Agenda 21 conferences and ‘environmental sustainability’.

A21C makes it clear that culture can be a product, a process and a framework providing context to other spheres of life. The definition used within the document covers both culture as a belief system composed of intangible forms as well as tangible material culture and the processes associated with these. The expression cultural diversity is used throughout the text as an umbrella term to indicate inclusion of the breadth of all cultural materials, practices and processes within the concept of culture and cultural heritage, drawing upon OCD (UNESCO 1995). Throughout A21C the term 'culture' is prefixed to a number of other terms to add a cultural perspective to their existing lexical definition or conceptual meaning and associated discourses. The majority of the suffix terms indicate some sort of action or ongoing process in relation to culture (e.g. cultural development, intervention, citizenship, life, management, participation), whilst others suggest that culture is a product (e.g. cultural resources, goods, services).

Culture treated as a product or instrument can be further separated into economic resources – goods and services – and social goods to create and affirm things like a person's or group's identity. The document is explicit in its rejection of cultural values being reduced to economic value and the commoditisation of cultural products taking precedence over other values associated with them (UCLG CC, 2006), quoting an extract from the Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2002). However, the document contradicts itself with the example of 'creative industries' (although it does not explicitly use this term) and reference to tourism, which are first and foremost economic in nature. In the case of creative industries, it is possible that the prefix 'creative' is used to provide a more palatable emphasis on cultural or creative processes to produce cultural products that negate the economic connotations of the term industry. The use of the term 'free' within article 44 in reference to tourism could

be referring to access, but as in most cases tourism requires some form of travel and the financial costs associated with this, it is likely that this is evoking the more generic theme of 'freedoms' and the right of people across the world to explore and discover cultural heritage (see Appendix 1.15.3).

Table 7 - Discourse themes in Agenda 21 for Culture (UCLG CC, 2006)

Themes – cultural policies for the cultural development of humanity	
Broad	<i>Narrow</i>
Development	<p>‘Cultural development’ – “relies on social agents” – governance, public participation for the:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of cultures • “Creation of wealth and economic development” <p>‘Human development’</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence <p>Sustainable development Urban-centric</p>
Culture Heritage	<p>Cultural diversity, culture as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Framework – worldview, beliefs, values, etc. • Processes – valorisation (adding/increasing value), transformation, creativity, management • Product – assets, resources, services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ economic (see below) ○ social, cultural goods <p>Cultural rights</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘cultural citizenship’ – equality, pluralism in human rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ participation ○ governance <p>Temporal coverage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contemporary • Historic <p>Instrumental values of culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic • Social – inclusion • Environmental – land management <p>Cultural ecosystem – “historic and interactive relation with the territory”</p>

Environment Environmental sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biodiversity • Asset/resource • Planning Values <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic • Instrumental
--	--

A21C includes the concept of social inclusion that is not present within earlier documents and reflects the adoption of the concept, particularly within a European policy context during the 1980s, which was revived in the 1990s. The justification for why cultural diversity is an important consideration within society is reminiscent of the discourse associated with a preservationist environmental ethic through the quote taken from the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity that suggests that cultural diversity provides “a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence” (UNESCO, 2002, p.18). The relative importance of cultural diversity to biodiversity is emphasised within the text to strengthen the argument for culture in all its diversity, informing development decisions as “A source of exchange, innovation and creativity, *cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature*” (UCLG CC, 2006). This link between biodiversity and cultural diversity is further cemented through the phrase ‘cultural ecosystem’ in the section on Culture, Sustainability and Territory (Appendix 1.15.4).

The main geographical focus for the implementation of an A21C is cities and this urban-centrism, is clear from the opening sentence: “The Agenda 21 for Culture is the first document with worldwide mission that advocate establishing the groundwork for an undertaking by cities and local governments for cultural development” and repeated reference to cities and ‘urban policies’ throughout the text (UCLG CC, 2006). The only UK local authorities linked directly to A21C were the Greater London Authority and Reading Borough Council. In the case of the latter this included the urban and business centres as well as boroughs close to, but not quite within, the rural–urban fringe. In addition, most of the organisations and institutions listed were either located within urban districts, such as Heriot-Watt University located just outside the city of Edinburgh, and Liverpool University, or had an urban focus, such as the London-based

not for profit social enterprise organisation Urban Futures Ltd. The University of Warwick Centre for Cultural Policy Studies appeared to be the exception, being located on a campus within the urban–rural fringe of Coventry. However, an inspection of the centre’s website indicated that the majority of their research focused on cities and urban policy, with work undertaken in Birmingham, Coventry, Copenhagen, Belgrade, Dortmund and Shanghai (University of Warwick, 2016). The omission of rural areas from the document and the focus on ensuring that “culture takes a key role in urban policies” (UCLG CC, 2006) suggests that the main focus of the document is on how to manage potential conflicts that might arise from different cultural belief systems, with cities and urban areas having the greatest concentration of cultural diversity.

The document links cultural rights discourse with the concept of citizenship, which is seen as helping to “build creative and critical capacity of citizens”, enabling them to act as social agents within the development process informed by their culturally determined preferences and values (UCLG CC, 2006). The concept of citizenship is part of the wider theme of governance and also governmentality with the document. Within the Undertakings section of the document, the enabling of all-citizen access to culture and knowledge will be initiated through the decentralisation of cultural policies and resources by encouraging local authorities to create and implement “cultural policy based on the principles of the legitimacy of public intervention in culture, diversity, participation, democracy and networking” (UCLG CC, 2006). At the start of the document, article 7 introduces the concept of ‘cultural citizenship’, which is linked to the discourse themes of equality and pluralism, with ‘cultural citizenship’ seen as key to cultural development (see Appendix 1.15.5). The relationship between citizenship and culture is the way in which cultural values and identity influence the development

of the particular types of citizen people become and therefore how they might interact with governance structures and wider society (Delanty, 2003). Part of this discourse is the creation of a 'knowledge economy' to enable greater engagement and participation through the transformation of information into knowledge, which is seen as itself a cultural act and a form of heritage (see Appendix 1.15.6). Although this example does not relate explicitly to cultural heritage, it does imply an appreciation that information is not inherently meaningful and that additional processes are necessary to transform it into 'knowledge' or something that is valued by individuals and communities and therefore considered part of their heritage. This understanding shares many similarities with the transformative processes of archaeology, with the conversion of archaeological sites and materials into records as an act of protection. The notion of popularising cultural heritage is linked to the process of valorisation specifically in relation to local heritage, and this is very much about a grassroots approach to heritage protection through the engagement of local communities in the processes of heritage (see Appendix 1.15.7).

In May 2013, the UNESCO International Congress on Culture and Sustainable Development drew together cultural commentators, academics and politicians at a conference held in Hangzhou, China. The background to the conference was provided by a discussion paper Culture in the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda: Culture is Key to Sustainable Development. The paper starts with the slogan 'one size does not fit all' in relation to sustainable development that is informed by its local context and particularly by culture, understood as "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or a social group" (UNESCO, 2013a, p.1), quoting from the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2002). The paper calls for culture to be "a critical consideration when defining the

constitutive elements of well-being, dignity and sustainable human development, rooting these in local realities and capabilities” (UNESCO, 2013a, p.1). Although the rhetoric of the centrality of culture is set out within the opening paragraph with “culture act[ing] as *an enabler and driver* of Sustainable Development” (UNESCO 2013, p.3, own emphasis), the language used to describe culture indicates a level of ambiguity in relation to whether culture is a development goal or acting within a supporting or instrumental capacity to other social, economic, environmental and political agendas. The Hangzhou conference could be seen as the culmination of thinking that started with Jon Hawkes’ report (Hawkes, 2001), but in his response to attending the conference it is clear that he felt they had still not embraced the notion of culture as an integral value system within which sustainable development could be conceived. He felt that the reality was that the delegates were mainly there to approve the declaration, which had already been drafted prior to the conference and which “didn’t follow through on the background paper’s suggestion for culture to be identified as a ‘self-standing pillar’ [of sustainable development]” (Hawkes, 2013). He felt that the formulation of the declaration text prior to the congress meant that any revelations during the congress were unlikely to be represented within the text, and changes would most likely be through minor amendments. This ad hoc way of adding to the declaration was demonstrated in the later inclusion of culture and sustainable development as a specific goal with ‘measurable indicators on creativity, heritage, knowledge and diversity’ at the request of Circular 70 the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) Culture Committee (Hawkes 2013). The uncertainty regarding the inclusion of culture within the post-2015 United Nations development agenda is represented across the Hangzhou Declaration through the inclusion of ‘should’,

indicating the epistemic modality of statements on the centrality of culture within sustainable development.

As with A21C, the Hangzhou Declaration understands culture as a value system, process and material, but there is more emphasis on culture, particularly at the local level, as a value system and framework within which a sustainable development process should be conducted, from assigning goals to determining how to assess outcomes. The scope of culture is again quite wide, although the prefix of ‘experience’ to past generations suggests that there is more of an emphasis on historical knowledge passed directly between generations rather than archaeological culture, which might not have direct continuity between past and current generations except through the bridging process of archaeological practice (Appendix 1.16.1). Although the Hangzhou Declaration indicates that it covers both urban and rural areas, the latter is only mentioned once, with the majority of examples of how to incorporate culture into development hailing from an urban context.

The document draws upon the established discourse on cultural diversity as an expression of cultural and individual identity and advocates a ‘rights-based approach’ to culture, which ties culture into the wider discourse on human rights and a rights-based approach to development, which was adopted by the United Nations from 1997 (UNFPA, 2018). The addition of the noun ‘dignity’ directly evokes the universal human rights and the right of all people to be valued (see Appendix 1.16.2). Although A21C discusses a rights-based approach to culture, it is clear that it is actually advocating a rights-based approach to development using culture as a value system in establishing development goals and desired outcomes, rather than the right of people to culture or ‘cultural rights’, which is also mentioned only once within the text.

The document shares much of the traditional heritage management and heritage instrumentalisation discourse and, as the title suggests, the main aim of the Hangzhou Declaration is to highlight the role of culture in development planning, processes and outcomes. As with A21C, culture is primarily characterised as a ‘contributor’ to environmental and economic development, indicating its instrumental role (Appendix 1.16.3). The declaration makes the case that culture *ought* to be the 4th pillar of development, but this is a confused hybrid of the original sustainable development discourse comprising ‘three pillars of sustainability’ and a related discourse on human development that also utilised the pillars metaphor but with a total of six categories comprising equity, sustainability, productivity, empowerment, co-operation and security (UNESCO, 2013b). Within an instrumental role, culture is advocated as a resource for poverty reduction and to enable inclusive economic development through jobs created by ‘creative industries’ utilising renewable and environmentally sustainable resources. This suggests industries based on contemporary material culture, which can be considered renewable and sustainable, or tertiary industries relating to tourism associated with contemporary, historical and archaeological culture (UNESCO, 2013b, pp.7–8).

Within the Hangzhou Declaration (UNESCO, 2013b), the main way in which historical or archaeological culture is seen as central to development policies is within the realm of redevelopment. The prefix ‘re-’ is added to nouns such as ‘development’ and ‘vitalisation’ to indicate the process of doing this again. In the case of the former, the need for redevelopment is often because either the initial development failed or, in the case of historic environments, it is likely because the materials and fabrics of a historic building or structure have degraded to the point where they need to be replaced. It could also be because the original development did not work in the sense of

addressing socio-economic issues and therefore needs to be replaced with something more appropriate. The term 'revitalization' is also only mentioned once, and is used in the sense of the revitalisation of economies through heritage-based activities and 'sustainable' tourism rather than the revitalisation of heritage materials and processes (UNESCO, 2013b, p.9). Another term that is used within the text to indicate the process of doing something again or returning something to its past state is rehabilitation. If the lexical definition is taken, this means something will be refitted or re-equipped, and the term is often used in English-speaking countries in relation to the process of helping a person reacquire skills such as basic motor functions following an accident, skills to cope in the outside world following incarceration or the process of detoxification following drug use and addiction. However, in continental Europe and also the United States National Parks Service, rehabilitation is often used to denote the renewal of existing historic fabric rather than demolition and replacement with new build. Within the declaration, the term 'rehabilitation' is specifically used in relation to areas of conflict and those affected by disasters, which suggests that it is being used both within a sociological sense of rehabilitating people affected by these situations as much as the rehabilitation of cultural heritage materials and processes. In this example, cultural heritage is serving an instrumental role in restoring human and cultural rights following what may have been a period with breaches in basic human rights.

5.6. Summary

This chapter tracked the development of discursive themes that became part of the popular policy discourse of 'sustainable development'. Starting with the Stockholm

Declaration in 1972, a new form of environmentalism emerged that discursively mitigated the tensions between the pursuit of economic growth and environmental protection. This was done by shifting the issue from being one of hard environmental *limits* constraining economic growth, to an issue of technological and social *limitations* to be overcome through development and environmental management. Utilising an eco-modernist discourse, environmental degradation was repositioned as an issue of underdevelopment, with technological optimism suggesting that substitutes would be found for finite resources. Out of this new environmentalism of the 1970s and 1980s, 'sustainable development' emerged as a unifying concept and discourse coalition, appealing to environmentalists as well as business and governments through a win-win rhetoric of achieving both economic development and environmental protection. This was visualised by Barbier (1987) as the sustainable approach at the heart of his Venn diagram, supposedly balancing all agendas. This was later accompanied by a diagram showing the original spheres of society, economy and environment as the supporting pillars of sustainable development, with additional pillars added depending on what subject was being pushed as integral to sustainability (e.g. education). Despite the rhetorical success of sustainable development, in the 1990s it was still a concept that could not be easily operationalised, leading to criticism that it was merely a policy 'buzzword'.

Although culture had always been included in the concept of sustainable development as both a value system as well as the tangible outputs and expressions of those values, this was rearticulated during The World Decade for Culture. The concept of sustainable development was semantically shifted to *culturally* sustainable development to highlight the influence of cultural context and specificity on determining the nature and form of development. This cultural turn was purported to be a new

paradigm for understanding sustainable forms of development, but this chapter has shown that it still utilises an eco-modernist environmental frame for understanding the role of culture within development. This is demonstrated by UNESCO's reductive understanding of culture primarily as tangible materials that might be utilised *for* economic development by creating new economies, with parallels to the 'greening' of businesses and services in the 1980s. Despite a concerted effort by UNESCO to get culture formally recognised in SDGs, this aspiration has thus far remained unrealised. However, what this fails to appreciate is that culture, if understood as a valuation framework and worldview, potentially influences the inputs and therefore outcomes all of the categories of SDGs.

The next chapter examines the influence of an eco-modernist discourse in the incorporation of the concept of sustainability into AHM policy in England.

Chapter 6. Sustainable Development and Heritage Conservation in England

This chapter examines the introduction of sustainable development discourse into UK and English planning policy and discourse. The main policy documents analysed cover three distinct political epochs, relating to the Conservative government under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher (1975–1990) and John Major (1990–1997), the ‘New’ Labour government of Tony Blair (1997–2007) and Gordon Brown (2007–2010), and finally the Coalition government of the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrats from 2010. Drawing upon the key themes identified in Chapter 2, this chapter discusses the influence of an eco-modernist discourse on sustainability and environmental accounting approaches in the development of a discourse coalition of ‘sustainable conservation’ and the influence of this perspective on the incorporation of AHM into the framework.

6.1. UK government’s response to sustainable development

In 1988, the UK government formally responded to the OCF report to provide its perspective on the issues raised and some of the proposed solutions (Department of the Environment, 1988b). The report broadly accepts the recommendations in OCF, mirroring the subsections in response and committing the UK government to tackling environmental and development issues as part of an international community. The report supports the need for “audits of change in environmental quality and the stock of natural resources, as a complement to traditional financial budgets and economic development plans” and the development of ‘resource accounting’ approaches and the assessment of risks to the environment (Department of the Environment, 1988b, pp.13, 59). In terms of managing the balance between resource conservation and

development, the report accepts that not everything can be preserved and emphasises 'selectivity' in what should be protected. The report refers to the 'popular support for conservation' in the UK and particularly the involvement of the voluntary sector and organisations such as the National Trust and Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) (Department of the Environment, 1988b, p.26). The only hint of disagreement with OCF is within the section on The International Economy and the call for major changes in international economic relations.

The UK response suggests that, contra the report, multilateral co-operation on development was not in decline, with agreement over issues affecting commodities, debt and resource conservation and a commitment to joint responsibility. The theme of joint responsibility was also picked up in the section looking at how to involve the public in decision-making through consultation and working with NGOs, scientific organisations, the private sector and industry. A major theme within the report is the liberalisation of international trade to keep markets open rather than protectionist. The report also emphasises the use of market incentives or 'opportunities' to address environmental issues through consumer choices favouring environmentally friendly products, seeing pollution-controlled production as a new market and potential growth area. As with OCF, the main focus is environmental conservation and resource management, and as such there is no mention of cultural heritage conservation. However, The Urban Challenge section does bring built cultural heritage into the debate by focusing on reversing inner city decline. The aim was to revitalise these areas through the Action for Cities initiative, with "bringing buildings [back] into use" seen as a way of making areas more attractive for residential and business development and investment (Department of the Environment, 1988b, p.41). The

report indicated that the PPP was to be implemented in UK planning and development in 1988.

To understand how the concept of sustainable development could relate to the economy, economists David Pearce, Anil Markandya and Edward Barbier were commissioned by the government to produce the report *Blueprint for a Green Economy* (Pearce et al., 1989; hereafter *Blueprint*), which examines the integration of environmental concerns into economic policy. The *Blueprint report* highlights that the *World Conservation Strategy* (IUCN et al., 1980) called for integration but that it did not achieve this because it failed to demonstrate the direct and indirect benefits of the economy to the environment in terms of improving it, and also vice versa with new 'green' forms of commerce benefitting the economy through the development of new technologies as well as environmental recreation and tourism industries (Pearce et al., 1989, p.xii). The state of the environment is seen as directly impacting upon the welfare of citizens in terms of their health, which is linked back to economic performance through their input into the economy as labour. The *Blueprint* report restates the rhetoric of OCF, that sustainable development is more than economic growth measured in GDP and gross national product (GNP), and that it relates to quality of life for citizens (Pearce et al., 1989, p.2).

Although the report talks about the mutual integration of the economy and environment within policy, Pearce et al. (1989) still treat the environment as an externality to the economy within an environmental economics framework, rather than the economy being seen as a subsystem of a wider biosphere. The reasoning behind the use of economic accounting methods to give environmental resources and services values is that this enables them to be integrated into national accounting systems. Pearce et

al. (1989) highlight how natural services that might be considered 'free' or common (i.e. no market exists for them) tend to be more in demand, but that this demand can outstrip their supply or capacity to meet demands. By bringing them into the market, environmental resources and services can be appropriately valued and therefore adequately controlled to ensure their sustainable use or management. The authors suggest that with time any natural resource could generate a market but that without proactive intervention this might happen at the point when the resource is near to being exhausted, with a market being created through scarcity. The report makes the important observation that even if environmental services are considered free, their preservation and improvement is something that still requires money and resources, whether these come from central government funding or through other market incentives. In the chapter on project appraisal, this is discussed further in terms of introducing market-based incentives such as charges and taxes to ensure that 'polluter's pay' for environmental improvement, rather than the 'control and command' approach of regulation, to reduce the cost of environmental protection and improvement to central government and also to enable polluters to determine *how* they will adjust their activity (Pearce et al., 1989, pp.161–162). They propose the monetisation of environmental resources and services but emphasise that this is not to reduce their value merely to money, rather to provide a standardised 'measuring rod' by which they can be compared with other resources and sectors within national accounting frameworks (Pearce et al., 1989, pp.54–57).

In terms of attaching monetary value to natural assets, *Blueprint* advocates a number of economic accounting methods, including WTP for an environmental benefit and 'willingness to accept' (WTA) damage or pollution for compensation. The report tackles the issue of environmental assets categorised as 'priceless' (Pearce et al., 1989,

pp.53, 81), which is often used to describe natural assets that are categorised as such because they cannot be substituted, but this concept is incompatible with a market approach based on monetary value. However, in their examination of use of pricelessness, Pearce et al. (1989) find it is used in the sense that something is either of infinite monetary value or is unique and irreplaceable. They therefore believe that there is the possibility of assigning a monetary value to these assets because the costs to allow their loss would be considered prohibitively high. In terms of how the report understands the concept of sustainable development in relation to environmental resources, it emphasises equity between generations and the need for future populations to at least have the same environmental and human-made capital as previous generations. This future-orientated altruism can be seen in the different valuation frameworks relating to non-use values such as option value, bequest value and existence value, which rely on contemporary population WTP for resources or services that they might not use themselves but want to see available to future generations. This is analogous to existence value within heritage management (see Carver, 1996), and introduces a debate regarding the interchangeability of human and natural capital and whether the former can substitute the latter in terms of compensating for the loss of natural resources.

As *Blueprint* is written from an environmental economics perspective, the two forms of capital are considered to be interchangeable, and this also supports an optimistic technocratic perspective that substitutes will be found or innovated. For example, the inheritance of future generations should be the total value of stocks with no overall reduction, even if some elements have been exhausted, because they will have been substituted. The report supports a proactive approach to environmental decision-making in line with the anticipatory approach to economic and environmental

governance advocated by OCF (WCED, 1987a), rather than postponing action, which is usually linked to the technocratic discourse that the future will be better equipped to cope with environmental issues. However, as part of the anticipatory approach, Pearce et al. (1989) suggest that there might still be reasons for delaying decision-making and negating uncertainty by waiting for better information and data to become available upon which to make decisions. The authors highlight that economics is about presenting choices to aid decision-making, by helping to weigh up the different costs and benefits through approaches such as cost–benefit analysis (CBA) to a particular course of action, with the role of valuation being to bring environmental protection into the same ‘rational’ decision-making framework of managing resources as opposed to the “blanket preservation” of earlier forms of environmentalism (Pearce et al., 1989, p.99).

In response to OCF (WCED 1987), in September 1990 the UK government published a white paper on the environment entitled *This Common Inheritance* (HM Government, 1990b), echoing the 1987 WCED title. The use of the prefix of ‘this’ rather than ‘our’ was most likely used as an adverb to add emphasis, but it could also be used as a determiner to indicate a specific thing experienced close at hand or every day. However, it is interesting to note that title is intertextually related to the publication *Principles of Political Economy* by economist John Stuart Mill in 1848:

“is there not the earth itself, its forests and waters, and all other natural riches, above and below the surface? These are the inheritance of the human race, and there must be regulations for the common enjoyment of it. What rights, and under what conditions, a person shall be allowed to exercise over any portion of *this common inheritance* cannot be left undecided. No function of

government is less optional than the regulation of these things, or more completely involved in the idea of civilized society” (John Stuart Mill cited in Sandmo 2015, p. 47).

The theme of joint responsibility is particularly apparent within the summary document (HM Government, 1990a), where, following the opening first paragraph in which the agent is identified as ‘the Government’, the rest of the document is written in the plural first person, with the use of ‘we’ denoting a collaborative approach or shared responsibility for the actions outlined within the document. The theme of ‘stewardship’ is identified as the ‘foundation of policy’ for the government, but also informs the shared responsibility of *all* people to act as ‘custodians’ of the planet and the resources it contains, to hold them ‘in trust’ for future generations. The report and summary document employ an argumentation strategy of moral obligation that people *should* care for and safeguard the environment that is reminiscent of 1970s environmentalism, with a protectionist discourse utilised across the document and particularly within the Heritage section, as evidenced by the verbs ‘preserve’ and ‘protect’ as well as ‘conserve’ used in relation to historic buildings (see Appendix 1.5.1). Although the document utilises environmentalist discourse emphasising that “economic growth is not an end in itself” (HM Gov 1990a:8), it also maintains an eco-modernist discourse on the *need* for economic growth as an essential part of people’s everyday lives and to make improvements in the quality and health of those lives (Appendix 1.5.2).

As seen within OCF (WCED, 1987a), economic metaphors such as ‘freehold’ and ‘lease’ are used to translate the discourse and ethos of environmental management on behalf of future generations into accounting terms that would be more familiar to all sectors of government (see Appendix 1.5.3). Market economics is a dominant theme

within the report, especially in relation to the instruments for safeguarding the environment through a market-based approach to environmental regulation, such as PPP and taxation to incentivise industry to act responsibly rather than placing restrictions through legislation (Appendix 1.5.4). The role of markets in supporting development is also picked up within The Countryside and the Rural Economy section and the potential of ‘traditional landscapes’ valued for their aesthetic qualities to contribute to rural economies through tourism and recreation. The development and diversification of rural economies is linked to tourism as a way of addressing decline of rural areas, often because of an exodus of people, particularly younger people, to urban centres (see Appendix 1.5.5). The span of landscape history within this section is restricted to the historic period, and therefore neglects prehistoric landscapes and archaeology, although these are more likely to survive in rural areas because of less pressure from development. To preserve the aesthetic qualities of the rural landscape as a means to attract tourism and investment, reuse and repair of redundant agricultural and traditional buildings is supported, as well as the maintenance of historic characteristics such as boundary walls and hedges (HM Gov 1990b:14). The theme of reuse in relation to the historic built environment is also present within the Towns and Cities section on the redevelopment of derelict and vacant land (HM Gov 1990a:92-94). Reuse is not explicitly mentioned within the Heritage section as a means of securing development and investment, but is instead referenced in relation to people’s desire to restore historic buildings and structures as private property or as collectives such as preservation trusts (see Appendix 1.5.6).

Unlike the sections covering rural and countryside affairs, which focus on supporting preservation through tourism and economic development, the Heritage section does not explicitly mention economic benefits of utilising heritage for tourism, although the

draw of historic sites for overseas visitors is acknowledged (see Appendix 1.5.7). Instead the report discusses the issues of overvisiting in terms of wear on historic sites, to introduce the need for management and the role of heritage experts in the development of management policies. In supporting the main document, the public summary focuses on advocating environmentally sensitive and responsible tourism (see Appendix 1.5.8). It is possible that the economic potential of heritage is being played down to avoid the contemporary debate and criticism levelled at the 'heritage industry' by commentators such as Robert Hewison (1987). In the report, historic towns and industrial heritage are seen as a high priority for funding, which is linked to the urban land use or reuse agenda (Appendix 1.5.9). The forthcoming planning policy guidance (PPG) on archaeology (PPG 16) within the planning process is referenced (DCLG, 1990), as well as a general suggestion of a new PPG note on listed buildings and conservation areas, which probably became PPG 15 (Department of the Environment and Department of National Heritage, 1994).

As a government white paper, 'the heritage' referred to within *This Common Inheritance* is clearly in the narrow sense of nationally designated buildings and monuments protected by law, although PPG 16 also covered non-designated sites and deposits. The report references the new non-departmental public body English Heritage in relation to providing the government with expert advice and guidance on heritage policy and the practical management of sites. The rhetoric of expertise is dominant within the document, although there is also a hint of the counter-discourse on NGO expertise and public involvement. The latter is emphasised in the public summary document, where a suggested 'action for all' is for people to join amenity groups (see Fig. 7). In the case of NGOs, they appear to be acting as representatives much in the same way as government officials, enabling the public to be better

informed and educated in existing approaches and priorities for national heritage agendas, rather than helping set them (Appendix 1.5.10).



Figure 7 - text box from The Heritage section of This Common Inheritance summary document (HM Gov 1990b, p. 21)

In 1992, there were a number of changes to UK planning, with the introduction of a new legislative framework in the Town and Country Planning Act (1990) and Planning and Compensation Act (1991), a new planning policy (PPG 12; Department of the Environment, 1992a) on development plans and regional planning, and an updated PPG 1. The latter was first published in January 1988 (Department of the Environment, 1988a) and reissued in March 1992 (Department of the Environment, 1992b) to specifically incorporate the concept of sustainable development. The first planning policy document to reference sustainable development explicitly was PPG 12, published in February 1992. The main focus of PPGs is the production of regional development plans as part of wider planning reforms moving spatial planning from being development-led to plan-led. Within a spatial planning context, the OCF (WCED, 1987a) definition of sustainable development is rephrased but retains the focus on preservation and conservation of the 'best' of the environment for future generations

(see Appendix 1.6.1). As part of the Agenda 21 push for local delivery and public participation in development planning, PPG 12 commits local authorities to producing local plans and enabling local communities to participate in planning decisions through public consultation (Appendix 1.6.2). Plans are required to take into account economic considerations, including urban regeneration and the development of the rural economy, as well as social factors, such as the need for affordable housing, general amenities and community facilities, which are to be weighed up against any environmental impacts they may have, with any necessary 'trade-offs' assessed. The nature of the environment is discussed and, within a planning context, land for development is characterised as finite resource, with multiple demands made upon it in terms of human needs (see Appendix 1.6.3).

PPG 12 reiterates that development and conservation are not mutually exclusive and that competing demands need to be judged in terms of the public's interest. In terms of conservation priorities, sustaining the character of rural and urban areas is seen as a way of improving these as work and dwelling places, improving 'quality of life' and 'public health'. The conservation of built and archaeological heritage is given high priority but, unlike the other conservation priorities, a justification is not given as to why – this is just assumed (Appendix 1.6.4). The updated PPG 12 encourages planning authorities to improve public awareness of environmental concerns and conservation, and for "attention to be given to future generations" (DoE, 1999, para.6.8). Both PPG 12 and the reissued PPG 1 focus on encouraging development on 'previously-developed land', linking the concept of sustainable development with regeneration (Appendix 1.6.5). As with the original PPG 1, the 1992 update seeks to recover the image and reputation of the planning system through improvements to the 'speed of operation', to remedy criticism of delays caused by the system being overly

bureaucratic. The theme of enabling change through the planning system is the primary focus of PPG 1, but it still retains an element of protectionism in relation to aesthetic control of historic landscapes and buildings (Appendix 1.7.1). PPG1 consolidates a key theme, present within 1980s environmental circulars 22/80 (Department of the Environment, 1980) and 22/84 (Department of the Environment, 1984), of the ethos of 'presumption in favour of development', where development proposals are presumed to be able to go ahead, unless there are any serious reasons for refusal, starting a period of unrestricted development (see Appendix 1.7.2). This approach places the onus of objecting or contesting proposals onto the regulatory body, to make the case of how a development might impact upon the environment. A short paragraph is dedicated to the developing technology of GIS, and it is interesting to note that this is advocated not only as a means of recording and displaying data but also to correlate, analyse and revise that data as a dynamic record of the environment (see Appendix 1.6.6).

The UK published its first sustainable development strategy in January 1994 (HM Government, 1994). As with other texts, the starting focus is about improving environmental management and avoiding or mitigating degradation of the environment and its resources, before switching to a discourse on economic development and growth. The main chapters that relate directly to the historic environment or landscape are those on land use and development in urban and rural areas. The rhetoric of efficient use of 'finite' land resources is extended to include brownfield sites, with a particular focus on tackling urban decline following de-industrialisation through regeneration of the historic built environment as a way of meeting the demands for new housing. Despite the overtly economic focus, the foreword by Prime Minister John Major warns of reducing the concept of sustainability to economics and technocratic

solutions (see Appendix 1.8.1). However, the introduction by the Secretary of State for the Environment John Gummer reasserts the importance of economics (see Appendix 1.8.2). Although archaeology is not mentioned specifically within the strategy, it could be included within the term 'landscape heritage' and ensuring that development is 'reconciled' with protection of cultural and natural landscapes (Appendix 1.8.3). The government's understanding of heritage can be seen to adhere to a traditional idea of the English countryside, as captured in a speech made by Prime Minister John Major in 1993:

“Fifty years on from now, Britain will still be the country of long shadows on cricket grounds, warm beer, invincible green suburbs, dog lovers and pools fillers and, as George Orwell said, ‘Old maids bicycling to holy communion through the morning mist’ and, if we get our way, Shakespeare will still be read even in school. Britain will survive unamendable in all essentials” (Major, 2019).

The sense of nostalgia reflected in his speech, in relation to retaining the character and identity of Britain within the European Union, was criticised by *The Independent* as showing the Prime Minister had “succumbed to the disease of eternalism” (The Independent, 1993). It can be equated to a crisis of modernity and the sense that real meaning and authentic experience was being eroded. The irony is that John Major chose to reference a passage from George Orwell's essay *The Lion and the Unicorn*, which was a critique of the class system in Britain (Orwell, 2018). John Major's vision of Britain perfectly illustrates an idealised national past pertaining to traditional aesthetics of a southern English county that the majority of the country would never experience. In terms of intertextual relationships and the movement of discourses and rhetoric, it shows how the selective use of literary quotes can be used to communicate

completely different sentiments and values to those that were originally intended. It is precisely this penchant for nostalgia and how the 'heritage industry' had become bound up with recreating a grand narrative of endurance in Britain, that was critiqued by Hewison (1987). However, by the 1990s, even with the rise in heritage as one of Britain's growing areas of commerce and global export, recession and cuts to government funding for the arts and culture were starting to impact upon the funds available to maintain this historic image of Britain. To ensure that arts and culture were patronised, if not through direct government funding, the HLF was established in 1994 to support public enjoyment and engagement with heritage. This heralded a new major source of capital funding for heritage projects, with a focus on public engagement (Bewley and Maeer, 2014, p.241). The shift of archaeology in the 1980s and 1990s towards more socially informed ways of engaging people with the past helped archaeologists to be extremely competitive in applying for HLF funds, by playing to the brand strength of archaeology as a cultural and social experience (see Holtorf, 2007a). In addition to community-orientated projects, local authority archaeological services also drew upon HLF funding to supplement their national government funding allocation, to support core services such as the maintenance, enhancement and digitisation of HERs.

6.2. Heritage conservation and sustainable development discourse

Following the publication of *This Common Inheritance* (HM Government, 1990b), PPG 12 and the reissued PPG 1, PPG 16 was published in November 1990 and outlined how archaeology should be considered as part of the planning process. The management of archaeology had been identified as a planning policy problem since the 1970s, and PPG 16 was seen as a major step towards preventing some of the

high-profile cases of destruction seen in the post-war period with the development of cities and intensification of agricultural and industrial activity. Despite *This Common Inheritance* explicitly discussing archaeology within the general context of sustainable development, the concept of 'sustainable development' or 'sustainability' is absent from PPG 16, although a number of themes from popular sustainable development discourse can be observed, including the precautionary principle, PPP and the rhetoric of balancing preservation with the need for development. The link between archaeological resources and non-renewable environmental resources is made through the use of adjectives such as 'finite', 'fragile' and 'vulnerable', which are used to support the argument put forward for the need to manage impacts from development, as well as natural processes such as environmental change, as part of the planning process.

Reference to themes that were becoming mainstream discourse within 1990s environmental policy is probably because PPG 16 was overseen by the Secretary of State for the Environment as part of the Department of Environment (DoE). Rephrasing the rhetoric of 'presumption in favour of development', PPG 16 advocates a presumption in favour of *physical* preservation with 'preservation by record' considered a "second best option" (DCLG, 1990, paras8, 13). PPG 16 also draws upon long-established debates within the discipline of archaeology that relate to the concept of value and the different values that are ascribed to archaeology, which in turn influence argumentation strategies employed for justifying preservation. PPG 16 considers archaeological remains to be "valuable for their own sake", as a source of knowledge about the past and an information resource (DCLG, 1990, para.6), that they are valued and therefore protected as an objective in itself. There are also the

socio-economic instrumental values associated with archaeology, as an educational resource and form of recreation as part of heritage-related leisure and tourism.

Following the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro to renew the sustainable development agenda with a focus on national and local delivery (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992), in November 1992 the government agency English Nature published an informal consultation paper *Strategic Planning and Sustainable Development* (English Nature 1992) to discuss strategic approaches to nature conservation within the planning system. The document was intended to supplement the sentiment expressed in PPG 12, outlining English Nature's perspective on the interpretation and implementation of sustainable development in relation to nature conservation. It discusses sustainable development in relation to environmental economics, exploring how economic concepts might help to reconcile development with the management of environmental change as part of a strategic approach to planning. As such, environmental assets or capital are ranked as:

- critical – meaning they represent a threshold or limit that should not be crossed, and their loss would be irrevocable
- constant – meaning non-critical assets where it is desirable to maintain them but they might be conserved in different ways compared with their physical retention (i.e. the creation of secondary habitats, or replacement habitats, where areas are to be lost to development).

(English Nature, 1992, p.11)

In the case of the latter, this introduces the notion of relative value or 'replacement cost' to compensate for the loss of the original resource. The report suggests that this

might be “relatively easy to apply ... to physical features such as listed buildings, scheduled ancient monuments, sites of archaeological interest” (English Nature, 1992, p.6). This highlights a tension between the characterisation of environmental assets as renewable or replaceable, and historic or archaeological heritage as finite and non-renewable or replaceable. Two interpretations of sustainable development from an economic perspective are discussed, and how either a ‘strong’ or ‘weak’ definition might affect the way that nature conservation is considered within a sustainable development planning strategy (English Nature, 1992, pp.16–18). The strong approach to sustainable development seeks to establish environmental limits and thresholds that act as a constraint on development, whereas a weak approach means environmental impacts might be ‘traded off’ in relation to more pressing social or economic objectives.

The document highlights that both strong and weak interpretations have been used in relation to internal governance of the environment, with the *World Conservation Strategy* (IUCN et al., 1980) given as an example of a weak interpretation and the update *Caring for the Earth: A Strategy for Sustainable Living* (IUCN et al., 1991) as a strong interpretation (English Nature, 1992, pp.16–17). In order to understand the nature of environmental capital and the ‘terms of trade’, or whether an environmental asset can be traded, compensated or substituted for something else, the report advocates environmental auditing by characterising (recording) components of the environment to determine natural features or wildlife of value (Appendix 1.9.1). The condition of sustainability in relation to environmental conservation is considered to be “about deflecting threats that the market drives towards areas of environmental value towards areas of less environmental (though not private) worth” (English Nature 1992, p. 6).

To broaden the initial discussion offered by English Nature, in 1993 the three non-departmental public bodies responsible for the conservation of cultural and historic environments (Countryside Commission, English Heritage and English Nature), commissioned *Conservation Issues in Strategic Plans* (Countryside Commission et al., 1993; hereafter Conservation Issues). This guidance aimed to incorporate conservation into the plan-led approach to decision-making in spatial planning, land use and economic development. Conservation Issues can be seen as an extension of the 1992 paper commissioned by English Nature (see above), adding clarification with regard to the cultural and historic aspects of the environment. Conservation Issues advocates partnership working between the organisations to address the “natural and cultural environment...as a single entity ... [reflecting] interactions and interdependence” between them (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, p.16). This can be seen as a key period in the emergence of the concept of a historic environment. The intention of the document was to state the position of the government agencies to ensure that they were broadly aligned and not in conflict, and to make the case for why conservation issues needed to be considered within strategic plans and what they considered to be the *right* way of achieving this (see Appendix 1.9.2). The report emphasises that “we must no longer think that economic development is a necessity and environmental protection a luxury but must accept that the two are inextricably linked” (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, p.9). Although it echoes the win–win rhetoric of sustainable development, it also suggests the possibility that human development might not always depend upon economic development. The report utilises the win–win rhetoric of sustainable development discourse to make it clear that agencies are not in opposition regarding conservation and that, although they

represent different interests, these can be reconciled and integrated (see Appendix 1.9.3).

Although Conservation Issues highlights the importance of sustainable development, it also acknowledges the difficulty in interpreting and adding meaning to the concept. In relation to environmental warnings regarding thresholds, the report goes back to the 19th-century environmentalist roots of sustainable development discourse, referencing prominent figures such as Thoreau, John Muir and Aldo Leopold. The Brundtland definition of sustainability is referenced, as well as the government's rephrasing of this sentiment in *This Common Inheritance* (HM Government, 1990b) using the language of economics or the 'market-place'. This definition is seen to be simpler, or maybe more natural, given the importance of the market in environmental regulation at that time. The report highlights the benefit of the *longue durée* perspective offered by archaeology, in terms of illustrating the way that development has often come at the expense of the natural environment in the past (see Appendix 1.9.4; also see Tainter 2006). This is reiterated later in relation to an 'ideal world', where "all human activity is sustainable", in the sense that it can be continued indefinitely, although it is also highlighted that the lessons of the past suggest there is always change (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, p.10).

In relation to the ethics of sustainable resource use and management, accounting metaphors such as 'borrow' and 'foreclose' are used to emphasise that contemporary resource use decisions impact upon the ability of future generations to meet their own resource needs (Appendix 1.9.5). This also serves to set up contemporary populations as stewards, with public consultation in the process of creating development plans seen as a way to encourage cognitive rather than legal 'ownership' of conservation

issues and potential solutions (see Appendix 1.9.6; also see Carman, 2005a, pp.111–116). Although the need for public participation and participatory democracy in domestic policy was starting to be recognised, the document makes minimal reference to this, as its focus is on the role of the agencies and their professionals.

Conservation Issues distinguishes between two approaches to sustainability in relation to resource management: weak sustainability, which relies on ‘trade-offs’, where social or economic concerns are prioritised over environmental concerns; and strong sustainability, where limits are set as constraints on development. These distinctions are later elaborated upon using the language of environmental economics, with ‘critical environmental capital’ representing irreparable damage if resources are allowed to be degraded or lost, which cannot be traded or compensated for, and ‘constant assets’ where trade-offs might be more acceptable (see Appendix 1.9.7). In relation to the constant environmental assets, the concept of compensation is discussed in terms of their replacement value or reparation for their loss, such as like for like replacement as seen in tree replanting to create a new resource.

Although the report frequently refers to ‘protection’, it often uses the term conservation rather than preservation, with the exception of the section relating to archaeological sites, historic buildings and ancient woodland, which are considered irreplaceable “because of their character, authenticity, information and fragility” (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, p.11). However, in the case of archaeology, preservation by record as advocated by PPG 16 (DCLG, 1990), where there is no possibility for *in-situ* preservation, is considered to be a replacement value, essentially replacing the physical resource and the values associated with it, with an information and research resource (see Appendix 1.9.8). Although the report seeks to merge conservation

issues, it is clear that there are difficulties in aligning natural environment resource management philosophy with cultural environment management. It is felt that these difficulties reside in the former being easier to measure, and therefore understand, as environmental thresholds and limits, in comparison with cultural thresholds (Appendix 1.9.9). This appears to acknowledge the subjective nature of cultural resource management and the 'intangible qualities' that they possess. The concept 'sense of place' is used later and could be seen as a way of bridging the natural and cultural aspects of the environment through the medium of human attachment or 'place identity'.

Conservation Issues advocates the precautionary principle, especially in relation to unknown and unquantified environmental constraints, such as belowground archaeology, but also seeks to remove the unknowns from conservation by implementing monitoring through 'state of the environment' reporting, landscape-wide assessment of development impacts, and the development of indicators to evidence impact and determine whether approaches are adequately mitigating risks to the environment (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, p.12). A 'state of the environment' programme had been started to record undesignated archaeological sites to understand the resource better, in the form of the Monuments Protection Programme (MPP), which sought to extend legislative protection to more monument types to make the national heritage collection more representative (Startin, 2005). Conservation Issues is an example of how a number of potentially conflicting environmental perspectives relating to development, growth and conservation are seemingly resolved under the banner of sustainable development.

In September, *Planning Policy Guidance 15 (PPG 15): Planning and the Historic Environment* (Department of the Environment and Department of National Heritage, 1994) was published, which introduced the terminology 'historic environment' into planning policy, reflecting a landscape- rather than individual site-based approach to preservation of archaeology, including registered battlefield sites (although PPG 16 continued to be used), historic buildings, conservation areas and designed landscapes such as parks and gardens. PPG 15 was overseen by two different secretaries of state, the Secretary of State for the Environment, for issues directly relating to the planning system, and the Secretary of State for National Heritage, a position created by John Major in 1992 to tackle conservation policy that was not directly tied into the planning system (Pendlebury, 2000, p.40). The publication of PPG 15 coincided with the UK's first sustainable development strategy, which was referenced within the document (HM Government, 1994).

PPG 15 reiterates much of PPG 16 in relation to how the historic environment is understood and characterised, but with more of an emphasis on built heritage and the concept of conservation rather than preservation, with 257 mentions of the former and only 61 of the latter. The difference between the two concepts is that 'presumption in favour of preservation' and preservation of archaeology for its 'own sake' relate to a preservationist environmental ethic, with the conservation ethic more in-line with a sustainable development discourse and the notion of managed progress (see Appendix 1.10). PPG 15 is filled with references to reuse of historic buildings, which picks up on the sustainable development theme of renewable resources and sets up this part of the historic environment as a key component of a sustainable approach to development. Although conservation is mentioned three times within PPG 16, it is either referenced in relation to economic development projects or appended as though

it is not clear how archaeology fits within the conservation ethic (DCLG, 1990, para.15, Annex 1.5, Annex 3.4).

In 1996, English Heritage commissioned the technical report *Sustainability and the Historic Environment* from Land Use Consultants and CAG Consultants to recontextualise the discourse of sustainability within a historic environment context, to demonstrate synergy between the concept of sustainability and conservation practice. In 1997, this technical report was summarised by Graham Fairclough, the English Heritage Head of Monuments Protection Programme, in the discussion paper *Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future* (hereafter *Sustaining the Historic Environment*), investigating how the concept of sustainability could be applied to archaeology and built heritage as a 'preliminary statement of policy'. The aim of *Sustaining the Historic Environment* was to encourage further debate between professionals and to encourage greater public participation. The two documents focus on different audiences, with the technical report aimed at professionals, and the discussion paper for public and well as wider professional consumption. The discussion paper is shorter, while the technical report provides more background to the concepts associated with sustainability, and particularly the environmental economics approach to heritage valuation and auditing using environmental indicators to understand change and potential damage. Both documents draw upon key principles of sustainable development derived from existing national planning and environmental policies and international sustainable development policy and discourse, primarily taken from the report OCF (WCED, 1987a) and Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1992a). However, the discussion paper does not directly reference international policy, but instead references UK planning policies PPG 12 (Development Plans), PPG 15 (Planning and the Historic Environment) and

Local Agenda 21 initiatives. The discussion paper was also published in the edited volume *The Heritage Reader* within the section on methods and approaches to cultural heritage management, presumably to disseminate the ideas to a specifically academic audience (Fairclough, 2008). The discussion paper recontextualises the discourse topics of sustainability, drawing upon, but not directly referencing, the technical report and the literature it cites, to offer new perspectives on the management of the historic environment. Although the title suggests it is focused on sustaining or maintaining the historic environment, the discussion paper is primarily “concerned with *how* we manage change” within the historic environment (English Heritage, 1997, p.2, original emphasis).

In terms of how the concept of sustainability is understood, the technical report draws upon the discourse of sustainable development as a means to improve people’s quality of life (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996). The verb sustaining is used to indicate that the quality of life is to be maintained over the course of generations and, where possible, improved. The concept of inheritance is used to bridge the sustainable development discourse and heritage management discourse, covering activities undertaken in the present in the name of future generations. In terms of management of the ‘human environment’, natural and cultural aspects of the environment are seen as a legacy to leave to future generations. To pass this legacy on in a ‘sound’ condition, it is necessary for the environments to be sustainable in the sense that they endure to be passed on, and that the management activities relating to them are also sustainable in the sense that they can continue (see Appendix 1.11.1). Within the discussion paper this is qualified as being *indefinitely* (see Appendix 1.11.2). The technical report uses a variation on the Our Common Future (WCED, 1987a) definition of sustainable development and from the report *Caring for the Earth* (IUCN et al., 1991) that takes

an ecosystems perspective on sustainability (see Appendix 1.11.3). Although the technical report references cultural aspects of the human environment as part of the Agenda 21 sustainable development discourse, it does not reference the UNESCO report OCD (UNESCO 1995). The discussion paper takes the noun sustainability that was used in the title of the technical report and changes this into the gerund verb form *sustaining*. As such, the background philosophy associated with sustainability discourse is reduced to the task of sustaining (or maintaining) the fabric of the historic environment.

Related to the concept of inheritance is the ethos of stewardship and the responsibility of contemporary generations to the future generations who will inherit what has been chosen for protection (see Appendix 1.11.4). Within the technical report, taking a sustainable approach to the historic environment is seen as a case of “linking the past and future” (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.15), with the present seen as passively linking the two temporal spheres rather than actively shaping the relationship between the two. This is rectified within the discussion paper, where it is made clear that a key principle of sustainability is taking into consideration present socio-economic as well as cultural needs (see Appendix 1.11.5). The discussion paper emphasises that this is about more than monuments and buildings, and that “like the idea of sustainability itself, it is about people” and how they project their values and worldviews onto their surroundings, but also how changing worldviews might change how they later regard them (English Heritage, 1997, p.1). It employs a moral argumentation strategy around the cultural value of heritage in defining personal and national identity through attachments people make to places and how this fosters a sense of belonging (Appendix 1.11.6), drawing upon the discourse of heritage as a social and cultural human right and the right of people to participate in cultural life.

Both documents emphasise that understanding heritage values is crucial for a 'sustainable approach', particularly in terms of maintaining public support for heritage activities to protect or manage change to the historic environment. To achieve a 'broader perspective' on cultural heritage values, both documents discuss participatory approaches to understanding heritage value as well as action to protect the historic environment (Appendix 1.11.7). This also seeks to widen understanding of how and what values are attached to the historic environment, to take them into consideration within the planning process.

Public values are described as 'non-expert', 'non-academic' 'non-economic' values, being discursively constructed through a description of what they are not (i.e. not expertly informed, not academic, non-economic) rather than what they are, alternative values that are socially and culturally informed at the group and/or individual level (see Appendix 1.11.8). This also denies the 'experts' as a form of public with their own social and cultural values that sit alongside their professional values. The professionally derived 'reasons for valuing' the historic environment suggest that, although professional and public valuation frameworks might be different, the expert valuation categories can be effectively used to structure and therefore understand public values for "consensus building" and to create "common ground" (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.18). The aim of reflecting diverse values whilst retaining a broad consensus or statement on heritage values can also be seen in the descriptions that reflect the reason for nationally designating heritage assets. The categorisation and relative importance of different values, or rather reasons for valuing the historic environment, are examined to try and understand the *social process* of attaching what are cognitive intangible values to the visual and the tangible elements of the historic environment (see Appendix 1.11.9). Both the technical report and discussion paper

use 'sustainability' in the sense that decision-making should be sustainable or robust so that it holds up now and in the future (see Appendix 1.11.10). Within this context, the need to understand values attached to the historic environment is about accountability and being able to demonstrate that these decisions, which may affect other elements of social and economic sustainability as part of development, are justified. This again reflects the discourse of modernising and making the planning process accountable.

Biases in relation to what kinds of heritage values are associated with different types of heritage asset can be seen in the heritage values descriptions but also throughout the technical report and discussion paper (see Table 8). Whilst all aspects of the historic environment can be considered to have educational and academic value as a realised or latent form of knowledge about the past, the other values rely on heritage assets that are marketable (economic, resource, recreational values), which also utilises the recycling and renewable resources discourse of sustainable development, particularly in relation to historic buildings. In addition, the final category of aesthetic value is only applicable to elements of the historic environment that are visible, and as such would preclude any elements that were 'hidden' or not visible, such as belowground archaeology or *ex-situ* archives from archaeological excavation. However, these heritage assets could become visible through museum displays or heritage parks as part of recreational heritage value.

Table 8 - Heritage values (after English Heritage 1997, p. 4).

Heritage values

Cultural values: the historic environment helps to define a sense of place and provides a context for everyday life. Its appreciation and conservation fosters distinctiveness at local, regional, and national levels. It reflects the roots of our society and records its evolution.

Educational and academic values: the historic environment is a major source of information about our ancestors, the evolution of their society and the characteristics of past environments. It provides a means for new generations to understand the past and their own culture. We can also use archaeology to learn about the long-term impact (and sustainability or otherwise) of past human activity and development, and to use this knowledge when planning our future.

Economic values: the historic environment can make a significant contribution to economic development by encouraging tourism, but more generally it also supports viable communities by creating good environments where people will prefer to live and work.

Resource values: longer lived buildings usually make better use of the energy and resources that were used during their construction, and reuse is usually considered more economic than demolition and redevelopment. Conservation is inherently sustainable.

Recreational values: the historic environment plays a very significant role in providing for people's recreation and enjoyment. Increasingly, the past and its remains in the present are a vital part of people's everyday life and experiences.

Aesthetic values: [monumental/visible] archaeology and historic buildings make a major contribution to the aesthetic quality of townscapes and landscapes, enhancing the familiar scene of our historic towns and villages and giving historic depth and interest to our countryside.

Whilst acknowledging that heritage values, even official values, are “subjective judgements” that are socially informed and constructed (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.27), the discussion document still longs for what is perceived as a more *straightforward* justification for protection and acceptance of ‘objective truths’ as perceived in the natural environment (see Appendix 1.11.11). This echoes the same sentiment in Conservation Issues, that the natural lends itself better to formal methods of valuation and the use of environmental auditing methodologies (Countryside Commission et al., 1993). However, this overly simplistic view of nature and natural heritage neglects the large body of literature that suggests that the concept of nature is *also* socially constructed in the sense that the values attached to environment, and therefore people’s readiness to protect them, are socially constructed. The discussion paper preferentially uses the term conservation, which is setup as a *proactive* process of enabling and managing change, with preservation only mentioned in the negative sense of its potential to ‘freeze’ landscapes (see Appendix 1.11.12). This indicates a shift away from the preservation discourse present within AHM philosophy as reflected in PPG 16 (DCLG, 1990) and PPG 15 (Department of the Environment and Department of National Heritage, 1994), particularly ‘presumption in favour of preservation’. *Sustaining the Historic Environment* draws upon the sustainable development discourse theme of balancing the needs of present generations with the needs of future generations. This adheres to the rhetoric of ecological modernisation and win–win scenarios to mitigate discursively the tensions between development and conservation of the historic environment. Although the discussion paper starts with the notion of sustaining or maintaining the historic environment, the main focus is on managing change. This is primarily in relation to the fabric of the historic environment as affected by the planning process, rather than a consideration of whether the

processes and procedural frameworks that prevent or enable this change are sustainable. For example, within the technical report, change is discussed in relation to changing disciplinary fashions and public preference in relation to heritage (see Appendix 1.11.13). To manage change within the historic environment, both documents advocate an environmental auditing approach and using information to inform management and decisions relating to change. The sustainability of the historic environment is discussed using the environmental resource management concepts of carrying capacity, or the ability of the environment to adsorb or withstand change, and the idea of change thresholds that should, or rather *ought*, not be breached. This is discussed much in the same way as in *Strategic Planning and Sustainable Development* (English Nature 1992) using the language of environmental economics with historic environment assets categorised as constant, tradable or critical 'historic environmental capital' (see Table 9 for descriptions).

Table 9 - Description of historic environmental capital (after English Heritage, 1997, p. 7).

Historic environmental capital

Critical historic environmental capital describes those elements of the historic environment that are considered to be of great value and irreplaceable, but which are vulnerable to damage or loss. These are the features that are regarded as being sacrosanct, and which we expect to be able to pass on virtually unchanged to our successors. Many of them will need special designation, such as scheduling or listing, to ensure their security.

Tradeable historical environmental capital describes, at the other end of the scale, those elements of the historic environment that society may have to be prepared to sacrifice in return for adequate benefits of other kinds (which may be other types of conservation gain but are usually benefits connected to the economic and social life of the present, such as employment or housing).

Between these two extremes, and in practice encompassing both, lies the majority of the elements that comprise the fabric of the historic environment at local and other scales. These are usually termed constant historical environmental capital. Many elements of the environment are important, not only for their individual value, which will sometimes be recognised by special designations, but for their contribution to a larger group or whole, which, again, will sometimes need to be marked by designation. For this, some changes may be sustainable if the overall character of the environment is maintained.

As part of the environmental capital discussion, the concept of substitution is appraised within the technical report (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, pp.13–14), but this is seen as something that can only be applied to certain heritage and heritage values. The technical report pays particular attention to examining the concept in relation to archaeology, where it is felt that, although preservation can be achieved by record, this is not preferable to preservation *in situ*. The argument draws upon sustainable development rhetoric by highlighting that this form of transformation is a short-term solution, and also utilises a moral argument that undertaking unnecessary archaeology in the present *denies* future generations the ability to investigate and discover information about the past for themselves. Even in relation to historic building conservation, the technical report demonstrates that this is less about substitution and more about ‘trade-offs’ in terms of enabling changes to allow a viable (re)use and the conservation of what is considered of heritage value (see Appendix 1.11.14).

The concept of authenticity informs this position within the technical document, with some elements of the historic environment considered not readily substituted because of the loss of their original context. For example, physical form and ‘genuine character’ are considered the most important heritage values and a crucial threshold. This could be considered comparable to the concept of authenticity. Within the discussion paper, the concept of substitution is omitted, but the idea of substitution or preservation of archaeological sites by records as discussed in the technical report is briefly referenced (see Appendix 1.11.15). Instead of using the concept of authenticity, the discussion paper prefers characterisation, which was already starting to be used by English Heritage as an auditing tool to understand change within the historic environment (Clark et al., 2004, p.1). Characterisation was first developed in relation to environmental management and habitat conservation (Natural England, 2014), and

the use of this approach within a historic environment context demonstrates the philosophical and practical integration of natural and cultural heritage government agencies. These are examples of the types of environmental indicators that were being developed at the time as proxies to understand the overall health of the historic environment. Within the technical report the loss of historic boundaries and archaeological sites under the plough are given as examples of data that could be audited. The need for ongoing monitoring fits with the understanding of sustainability as an ongoing process, with the discussion paper also considering it a goal (see Appendix 1.11.16).

The technical report highlights how the precautionary principle helps to deal with the uncertainty of whether loss is acceptable or not, but both documents emphasise that this should be used sparingly to avoid 'freezing' landscapes and refusing them, and contemporary populations, the possibility of change and to attach new values to new heritage (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.14). In terms of environmental carrying capacity of the historic environment, both documents use examples to demonstrate thresholds and highlight potential limits to the preservation of the historic environment. The main examples are the point at which the levels of visitor footfall across archaeological sites can cause erosion of that resource, how the loss of a particular class of site might impair our ability to understand or document the past, and the effect of external factors such as traffic and environmental conditions on a historic building. In relation to archaeology, the technical report highlights that this is often an unknown resource that presents a paradoxical challenge to understanding the carrying capacity, as it can only be fully understood through destructive investigation (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.11). In terms of PPG 16 (DCLG, 1990), it is the application of the precautionary principle to planning policy and the need for predetermination

investigation that seeks to provide further information upon which a planning judgement can be made.

Within the two documents there is a clear dichotomy between elements of the historic environment that are visible, as part of a wider landscape that can be perceived and understood as a palimpsest in relation to other periods, and 'hidden' assets, like buried or *ex-situ* archaeology, that are invisible or less tangible. Although both documents highlight that the historic environment is about everything and include many references to archaeology, the discussion paper primarily champions visible built and monumental remains and the conservation of this visible fabric as part of a 'sustainable approach' (English Heritage, 1997). Given that these documents were commissioned and written by English Heritage, this bias is not surprising as, although English Heritage considers local and undesignated heritage as assets, its main remit is to protect heritage designated of national importance. This is primarily geared towards built and monumental heritage that tells a national story of progress that is firmly rooted in modern ideology. There are, of course, some exceptions within the national collection relating to known belowground archaeological sites in cultivation that have been located through previous excavation and the development of aerial photography analysis in archaeology.

The difference in the coverage of the two documents arises from the technical report being an expanded exploratory text commissioned to examine how the concept of sustainability might be applied to the historic environment in its entirety, and the discussion paper drawing out areas considered worth pursuing in further detail. As such, the discussion paper can be seen to avoid any topics and issues that might serve to make the process of recontextualising sustainability and sustainable

development discourse into a historic environment context dubious. For example, the main sticking point for archaeology contributing to a sustainable approach to the historic environment is the nature of the archaeological resource as finite and non-renewable. This is reinforced in relation to how the historic environment is seen as contributing to socio-economic sustainability agendas, which is covered by 'resource values', with historic buildings seen to make use of existing resources as part of the sustainable development rhetoric of recycling and reuse of renewable resources, and 'economic values' associated with heritage attractions, tourism and heritage-led development (see Table 7).

6.3. 'New' Labour and social sustainability in planning policy

Usually with the introduction of a new political party into government there is much overlap with the previous administration and a degree of continuity. The start of the 'New' Labour government in May 1997 marked a discursive shift from promoting Britain as a country of heritage to a new forward-looking 'Cool Britannia' (Leonard, 1997, p.6), word play on the old anthem of empire 'Rule, Britannia!'. Despite this, policy and legislation relating to the historic environment and heritage did not change a great deal during this period, but what did change was the way the cultural sector was increasingly proposed as an instrument to tackle wider social and economic issues. In January 1997, the cross-party think-tank DEMOS published the report *BritainTM: Renewing our Identity* (Leonard, 1997), hereafter *BritainTM*, to change the global perception of Britain as 'backward-looking' because of institutions such as the British Tourist Authority "opt[ing] for the line of least resistance, presenting Britain as a nation of heritage" (Leonard, 1997, p.2). This was to be achieved through a 'rebranding' exercise drawing upon examples in countries such as Australia, Spain and Chile.

Ireland is also commended for the way it “rapidly transformed its image from that of a rural, traditional Catholic country to an innovative ‘Celtic tiger’” (Leonard, 1997, p.3). Although the rebranding was done to improve Britain’s economy and standing in the world, because of the previous industrial decline the focus was very much on tertiary creative and information service industries rather than manufacture of materials and products.

The essence of this era was branded as ‘Cool Britannia’, with particular focus on contemporary popular arts and culture. Although DEMOS is an independent think-tank, *BritainTM* marked a clear departure from the way Britain was portrayed abroad by the Conservative Party. The DEMOS report was particularly critical of the previous efforts of the Conservative Party to strengthen a British brand with their perception of ‘Britishness’ that was “rooted in tradition, hierarchy, deference and nostalgia for an era of fixed certainties ... [and] a fairly traditional story of British identity” (Leonard, 1997, p.26 also see Appendix 1.12.1). *BritainTM* proposed a ‘re-imagining’ of Britain, with national identity seen as something that was not static but had been invented in the past to serve nation-building agendas and was constantly being reinvented (see Appendix 1.12.2). This period saw a shift in heritage discourse from something that was almost exclusively about the past, with the present passively receiving an inheritance that had been protected for them, to heritage being seen as part of the broader category of culture, which was seen as a contemporary and future-orientated process of creating identity. The broader political context to this was a realisation that Britain was a multicultural, multifaith and multinational country, but that this was not reflected in the image of Britain that was projected worldwide and was not represented in national collections of art, heritage and culture (Hall, 2005).

6.3.1. Planning policy: the shift to social sustainability

In 1999, the UK government's sustainable development strategy was updated and published as *A Better Quality of Life – Strategy for Sustainable Development for the United Kingdom* (Transport & Regional Affairs Committee Environment, 1999). This set out the government's approach to sustainable development, with particular focus on:

- **social progress**, which recognises the needs of everyone
- effective protection of the environment
- prudent use of natural resources
- maintenance of high and stable levels of economic growth and employment.

The foreword by Tony Blair criticises past strategies for implementing sustainable development that had focused on economic development measured in GDP at the expense of the impact of this on people and the environment. This sentiment echoes the 'intangible aspects' that John Major referred to in the foreword to the 1994 strategy (HM Government, 1994), which is no coincidence, as the 1999 strategy acknowledges that much of its content was determined by the earlier document. The main difference between the 1999 and 1994 documents, is the former emphasises social aspects of development and the contribution that sustainable forms of development might make to improving social welfare or the well-being of society. The use of the concept of social progress and recouping of participatory democracy discourse as building 'sustainable communities' in the 1999 strategy is seen as a way to bolster 'social capital' to address issues of inequity within society, particularly in relation to poverty and social exclusion. Although the economic and social spheres of sustainability have always been present within sustainable development discourse, a shift from an overtly economic discourse

to a social progress discourse marks a departure, at least in political rhetoric, which was part of the 'New' discourse of Labour and the 'Third Way' (Murphy, 2012). Although the foreword in the 1999 strategy emphasises that progress cannot be measured in terms of money and GDP, it concedes that the economy needs to grow to increase overall prosperity and higher living standards, but that the *quality* or nature of economic growth needs to be examined against other aspects of human growth and development (see Appendix 1.13.1). Despite advocating a new way of approaching sustainable development, the strategy still relies on accounting and economic development metaphors to understand and measure social progress. The quality of people's lives is linked to the quality of the places they live and work and how these influence their feeling of well-being, whether these are urban environments, designated landscapes such as parks and gardens or natural habitats (see Appendix 1.13.2). The role of the historic environment is discussed within the chapter on Building Sustainable Communities, in the section on Shaping our Surroundings, in relation to development as part of the planning process, particularly the use of heritage assets in conservation-led regeneration, as championed by English Heritage's Heritage Economic Regeneration Schemes (Brennan and Tomback, 2013) and the HLF Urban Parks Programme (Future Parks, 2019) and Townscape Heritage Initiative (Cligman, 2001).

The condition or 'at risk' status of highly listed buildings (grade II* and I) is suggested as a sustainable development indicator (see Appendix 1.13.3). The strategy references two built heritage case studies, the Baltic Flour Mill in Gateshead, Tyne and Wear, and Lauderdale House in Dunbar, East Lothian, where public-private partnerships were created to deliver the schemes, supporting the rhetoric of shared responsibility, working together and prudent use of resources (see Fig. 8). In terms of

sustainable development indicators, archaeology is also specifically mentioned within the chapter on Managing the Environment and Resources, where they are paralleled with other environmental resources and indicators of their health, such as soil quality and wildlife habitats (Department of the Environment, 1999). This covers both belowground archaeological remains as well as visible features within the historic landscape (see Appendix 1.13.4). Although the report also references culture, this is mostly associated with contemporary cultural practices and cultural values attached to landscapes as part of a discourse on social and cultural equality. Although the UNESCO report OCD (UNESCO 1995) is not referenced, the report discusses how notions of what is sustainable development are culturally informed (see Appendix 1.13.5). Culture as represented by the arts is amalgamated with sports within the strategy because of the renaming and refocusing of the former Department of National Heritage as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in July 1997. The 'New' Labour government sought to address issues of social exclusion in a 'joined-up' way through the establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit in December 1997 to work across a number of government departments (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004b). By encouraging community action, to remove barriers to participation in community life, the government sought to improve social inclusion and promote cohesion (see Appendix 1.14.1). The focus on social progress and inclusion was part of 'New' Labour's suite of 'New Deals' (Lister, 1998).

Heritage and Regeneration

Baltic Flour Mill, Gateshead

English Partnerships has invested £4.7 million to convert a disused flour mill on the south bank of the River Tyne into a contemporary art gallery, in partnership with Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council, Northern Arts and the private sector. The development is helping to attract private sector development to the south bank of the river.

Lauderdale House, Dunbar, East Lothian

This was a prominent, but derelict, 18th Century building in Dunbar town centre. It now provides 27 homes for single people, the elderly and families. A flagship for the Dunbar Initiative, the project was supported by Scottish Homes, Historic Scotland, the local authority, the local enterprise company and Scottish Power, as well as private finance.

Figure 8 - Built heritage case studies illustrating how conservation contributes to regeneration (Department of the Environment, 1999, p.64).

Although numerous reports and policy statement documents were published with 'New' Labour's focus on social sustainability, planning policy for sustainable development was not updated until January 2005, when PPG 1 was replaced by *Planning Policy Statement (PPS) 1: Delivering Sustainable Development* (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005b). This set out the government's objectives for the planning system within its overarching philosophical framework, using spatial planning to shape place(s) and to have a positive effect on socio-economic welfare based on the 1999 *Strategy for Sustainable Development* (Department of the Environment, 1999). PPS 1 was published within the second term of the Labour government under the leadership of Gordon Brown. Although PPS 1 was intended as an update of PPG 1, it takes a social progress understanding of sustainable development as seen in the 1999 revised sustainable development strategy. Although PPS 1 does have a section

dedicated to 'sustainable economic development', this is secondary or instrumental to the main emphasis on social aspects of sustainable development and how the new 'spatial planning approach' could help to achieve Labour's social cohesion and inclusion objectives through economic and environmental planning (Appendix 1.14.2). According to PPS 1, the spatial planning approach was essentially using planning to influence how people interact with and use the built and natural environment, to improve quality of life. It was part of a programme of 'mainstreaming' policies on the environment and social inclusion to make them central to other national and local governmental departments. It was also part of the rhetoric of instrumental benefits as an argumentation strategy to justify protecting the environment.

The main idea communicated through PPS 1 is the effective use of spatial planning to help deliver government social sustainability agendas, drawing upon key themes from the Labour political discourse, particularly the promotion of 'sustainable communities' by encouraging social cohesion and inclusion. PPS 1 emphasises that "Planning has a key role to play in the creation of sustainable communities"(Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005b, p.3), and this approach is set out in the government's vision for sustainable communities, which was published two years earlier (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2003), and the overall planning philosophy of using planning as 'a tool' for societal instrumental ends (see Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). The aim of PPS 1 was to encourage spatial planning that would promote sustainable communities by encouraging social cohesion and removing barriers to inclusion. PPS 1 sought to address social exclusion through the participation of different groups in the planning process and by improving access to engagement opportunities from diverse groups (see Appendix 1.14.3). This fits with wider planning reforms that were initiated in 2004 and the government's publication *Community Involvement in Planning: The*

Government's Objectives, which outlined how planning reforms would encourage and improve community involvement in the planning process (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004a). A complementary theme to inclusion within PPS 1 is that of diversity, which was the subject of the good practice guide *Diversity and Equality in Planning* published following PPS 1, setting out the government's diversity and planning agenda and how to address the needs of different communities in the planning process through the participation and representation of civic society in creating and supporting spatial plans (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005a). In terms of the role of the historic environment in creating and maintaining sustainable communities, PPS 1 continues the discourse on the contribution of historic buildings and public spaces to creating and retaining attractive places that people want to live and work in, as well as promoting a sense of belonging and inclusion within communities (see Appendix 1.14.4). As the focus is spatial planning, the main emphasis is on built heritage and landscape features that contribute to the distinctive qualities of historic places. Although there is no explicit mention of modernisation, this theme is continued within PPS 1: "the country needs a transparent, flexible, predictable, efficient and effective planning system" (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005b).

In 2001 the paper *Planning: Delivering a Fundamental Change* (DTLGR, 2001) set out plans to reform the planning system to improve its image and address widespread criticism during the 1990s, which was summed up by the former shadow planning minister Keith Vaz as "slow and bureaucratic" (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000, p.1390). As with other planning policy relating to spatial planning and economic development, PPS 1 advocates a positive role for the planning process in enabling change rather than preventing it. In terms of the discursive qualification of social actors, PPS 1 is clearly orientated towards stressing the responsibility of regional

planning authorities as active agents in ensuring that development plans address wider social and economic government policies. PPS 1 draws upon the rhetoric of responsibility, which is part of 'New' Labour's broader discourse on the modernisation of Britain's governmental institutions, and can be seen in PPS 1 with the use of intensity adjectives such as 'transparent', 'consistent', 'flexible', 'efficient' and 'effective' to strengthen the case for reforms in relation to the planning system and the notion of providing an accountable and cost-effective 'customer service'.

6.3.2. Review of historic environment policies

Following 'New' Labour coming into power in May 1997, in July the Department of National Heritage was renamed and refocused as DCMS. The early 2000s saw a review of historic environment policies and practice to pave the way for reforms to heritage legislation to streamline the various disparate policies and legislation into a single system. The document *Power of Place* (English Heritage 2000) (hereafter PoP) was part of this process, as well as the ongoing work to reconcile the need for conservation of the historic environment whilst enabling development and managing change. This document focuses on the future, which is seen as "not secure", requiring a change of attitudes within spatial planning to ensure that the historic context of the places people experience was respected and not "trampled" by new developments (English Heritage, 2000). It also emphasises on two occasions that it does not seek to 'fossilise' the country or increase controls on development. The document was compiled from a number of consultations with specialist working parties comprising members from across the historic environment sector, and also incorporated input from members of the public through an opinion poll undertaken by Market & Opinion Research International (MORI) to gauge attitudes towards heritage and the future of

the historic environment. As stated in the foreword to the document, there was overwhelming support for the historic environment but, as suggested by Emerick (2014, p.167), who participated in the working party on value, it is possible that this was a false positive driven, in part, by the way in which the opinion poll questions were constructed, reflecting a predetermined positive view of the historic environment. The socio-economic context of PoP (English Heritage 2000) was similar to the situation in Britain in 2017, with the economy recovering from a recession of the decade before. As such, there is a heavy emphasis on the power of the historic environment to drive renewed economic growth and regeneration. The other side to this discourse is the issue of cuts and inadequate resources to deliver some of the recommendations within the document, which is highlighted within the report itself with a case study on cuts to public spending on parks and open spaces (English Heritage, 2000). The document starts with positive statements of what the historic environment is, what it means and the values that people attach to it. The certainty regarding these statements is in part because of the opinion poll and consultation results, although some of the statements relate to how things *ought* to be rather than the reality of how things were at the time. The document calls for debate regarding the values and judgements made about changes to the historic environment, but it is also clear that it sought a consensus rather than highlighting potential conflict regarding people's values and the value they attached to aspects of the historic environment.

Despite the consultation for the document starting from a particularly wide notion of the historic environment (Emerick, 2014, p.168), PoP restricts the scope of the historic environment mostly to the urban, built, monumental and visible aspects of the historic environment. The vision of the historic environment that the document projects is reinforced through the particular case studies chosen to support the document, and

the notion of 'keeping the best' of the historic environment. The entirely positive light in which the document casts perceptions of the historic environment seemingly ignores contemporary debates regarding the fact that not all heritage was considered to be a fine example of its type, aesthetically pleasing or indeed entirely positive (see Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). The glaring omission of archaeological aspects of the historic environment is one of the reasons why PoP (English Heritage 2000) was widely criticised by the archaeological community (see Cumberpatch, 2001). For example, only one terrestrial archaeological site is illustrated, along with a maritime archaeological artefact being retrieved from the seabed. Although these examples represent some of the diversity of archaeological materials and the processes required to understand and manage them, most archaeology at that time was encountered through development-led archaeology, which had quite different needs and challenges in terms of their preservation either *in situ* or *ex situ* as a paper record.

Despite a strong urban and built heritage focus, the document failed to reference the state of urban archaeological investigation and, as highlighted by Cumberpatch (2000), missed the opportunity to discuss the shortcomings of archaeological planning policy and wider issues with the commercialisation of archaeology. However, in the case of the latter, there is reference to the use of Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) as 'services', as well as a more general discussion regarding the management of change and the 'streamlining' of the planning system relating to the historic environment, which can be considered part of the contemporary 'New' Labour discourse on modernisation and a continuation of the discourse on planning reforms in general that had started with PPG 1 (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 1997). In relation to planning policy, the document draws attention to the failure of PPG 15 (1994) to levy funds for the historic built environment in the same way that PPG 16

(DCLG, 1990) had for archaeology through PPP. This further highlights the tension between archaeological and built heritage rather than championing a holistic approach to both as part of the historic environment, and reflects contemporary and ongoing issues regarding the historical development of the two distinct PPGs and the missed opportunity to integrate archaeology properly with the historic environment. Although PoP was criticised for the lack of discussion of AHM issues (Cumberpatch, 2001), it does champion HLC, which was a methodology based on an archaeological approach to landscape analysis (Aldred and Fairclough, 2003, p.21). Characterisation and character-based approaches to record and represent the multiple layers of the historic environment are clearly championed throughout the PoP as a way to appraise impacts and manage change within the historic environment at a landscape- rather than site-specific scale (English Heritage, 2000). It is also potentially the first indication of what would later be refined into a 'place-based' approach to understanding heritage and historic environment value(s) and the use of the concept of 'place' as a proxy for other components of the historic environment (English Heritage, 2008a).

PoP (English Heritage 2000) appears to struggle with the concept of social value and, although there are references to 'social benefits', 'social networks' and 'social success', which could be considered part of a discourse on social value and social sustainability, these are mainly considered within an economic context such as job creation, craft skills maintenance and development. In discussing the processes behind the consultation for PoP, Emerick (2014, p. 187) reveals that 'communal value' was preferred over 'social value' because it was not too far removed from the perceived objectiveness of traditional value frameworks used by English Heritage that were tied to the fabric and materials of the historic environment. In contrast, 'social value' was related to the intangible aspects that may or may not be attached to

materials, which was seen as too subjective. Well-being is mentioned twice within the document in relation to the way the historic environment contributes to cultural, economic and community 'well-being'. This concept refers to the amenity value of the historic environment as a backdrop to people's everyday lives, and how the 'quality' of places contributes to how people feel about living and working in those places. The amenity value of the historic environment is particularly referenced in the case study on public parks and open spaces. The discussion on well-being as part of amenity value shares an interdiscursive relationship with social and cultural sustainability discourses that were debated as part of the World Decade on Cultural and Development that ended in 1997 (UNESCO, 1988).

Other than the maintenance and reuse of historic building stock as a resource, PoP (English Heritage 2000) mostly characterises 'resources' as something external to the fabric and processes of the historic environment that are applied to it in order to support conservation, rather than the historic environment being considered a resource in itself. However, there is evidence of the incorporation of contemporary debates on the value of archaeology as an information resource, which is illustrated by case studies on SMRs and GIS recording of archaeology. Within the document, archaeology encountered through the planning process is heralded as a research resource. This assumes that the information contained in an SMR is already a fully realised resource to further knowledge of the historic environment, whereas the reality is SMRs comprise disjointed grey literature reports with little or no resources for synthesis to draw out themes and stories across landscapes. It is precisely this lack of synthesis that prompted the adoption of the HLC approach to understanding landscapes over time. Although the report does not discuss issues regarding the commercialisation of archaeology, it does elude to the increasing reliance of historic

environment sector knowledge (or information services) on funding from the private sector and issues with the quality of archaeological research commissioned by the commercial sector. Although the recommendation within the Knowledge section for the development of ‘sustainability indicators’ for the historic environment is not restricted to economic sustainability, because of the overwhelming economic focus of PoP it is unsurprising that when they were developed as part of the Heritage Counts programme in 2002 (Historic England, 2019a), they had a heavy economic focus. It is interesting to note that, unlike previous documents such as *Sustaining the Historic Environment* (English Heritage 1997), there is no mention of the historic environment having inherent or intrinsic value. This shows at least an acknowledgement that values are ascribed by people and that there are multiple systems (sometimes operating in conflict) that serve to ascribe meanings to the historic environment, from the ‘official’ processes of designation or the everyday values people attach that may or may not be officially represented or recognised. Within the reformed planning system, HERs were seen as a ‘knowledge base’ upon which sound and transparent decisions about spatial and economic planning were made as part of a modernisation discourse. Firstly, PoP focuses on collating information on the ‘state of the historic environment’ to understand better its instrumental role in society. Secondly, it focuses on the expansion of the SMRs into more comprehensive educational resources for the benefit of professional, academic and public users, to encompass archaeology as well as the built environment.

The predominant understanding of the concept of sustainability within PoP (English Heritage 2000) is that of economic sustainability. For example, the section on Conservation-led Renewal utilises a tradition resourcist sustainable development discourse through the use of concepts such as renewal and reuse (or recycling) of

historic building stock, which is characterised as a non-renewable resource. The document uses economic value as an uncontested argumentation strategy for why the historic environment should be conserved, which is emphasised in the section entitled Prevention not Cure: **Common Sense Makes Economic Sense** (English Heritage, 2000). The economic argument for the importance of conserving the historic environment is also strengthened in the section dedicated to sustainable tourism, which states that the historic environment contributes to the £22 billion tourism industry (English Heritage, 2000). The report uses Segedunum Roman Fort, Baths and Museum at Wallsend, Tyne and Wear, as an example of an archaeological site, and demonstrates the ethos that 'sustainable tourism' is tourism that does not degrade heritage sites. However, this yet again reinforces the traditional notion of archaeology as the monumental and the visible, which can be converted into tourist attractions because they are destinations and can be presented, unlike *ex-situ* archaeological deposits.

The government formally responded to PoP (English Heritage 2000) with *The Historic Environment: A Force for Our Future* (DCMS 2001) (hereafter Force for Our Future), which mostly supported the conclusions of the consultation document and suggested actions for central government to take to progress some of the recommendations put forward. Using similar language to PoP, Force for Our Future (DCMS 2001) sets out the government's vision for how the historic environment would develop, tying this into proposals for wider planning reforms. The limited understanding criticised in PoP, of what encompassed the historic environment, was rectified in Force for Our Future by broadening it to encompass more archaeological examples with a rural as well as urban focus and an emphasis on landscape to promote a holistic understanding of the historic environment. Although there are more archaeological examples of the historic

environment, these represent a very specific type of archaeology, namely monumental (e.g. Hadrian's Wall and Stonehenge) and modern structural remains (e.g. industrial, Second World War defences). More of the archaeological process is referenced, but there is still a focus on the visible, monumental and built environment. PoP refers to the resources that are required to support the historic environment. In terms of funding, the government committed to providing resources for the historic environment, but there is clearly an increasing focus on the role of the private sector, which is emphasised in both PoP and Force for Our Future as part of the 'New' Labour rhetoric. This is to support a decentralisation of funding and outsourcing to encourage public institutions to become self-funding and self-sustaining through wider remits and activities to generate funds. Reflecting the sentiment in PoP that the historic environment could be used as an economic and social resource or instrument as well as a cultural asset, the government emphasises that the historic environment is itself an instrumental resource, and "one of our greatest national resources" (DCMS, 2001, p.4).

The government committed to mainstreaming the historic environment within other policy arenas by including this within the remit of existing 'green ministers' who were already responsible for ensuring that sustainable development was delivered within and across different government departments (Russel, 2007). This would serve to link the two policy spheres more closely, and was reflected in the focus on how the built historic environment and tourism and recreation could contribute to regeneration. Rather than using the term economic sustainability, Force for Our Future uses 'economic stability', which could be to distance the government from a discourse linked to growth as the country was still recovering from the 1990s economic crash and recession. Force for Our Future chooses to focus on social sustainability and the need

to address contemporary issues of social unrest. Management of the historic environment is a major theme within PoP, and Force for Our Future explicitly mentions the provision of skills and continuing professional development for the management and interpretation of the historic environment. However, rather than traditional 'heritage management' skills, this mainly refers to the skills required to manage visitor attractions to satisfy members of the public or 'customers'. Particular emphasis is placed on "skills in management, business management, marketing and fundraising" and how these skills can be brought into the sector through higher education courses (often at masters level) in 'heritage management' and 'leisure management' (DCMS, 2001, p.23). Past criticism of an economic focus in the British heritage industry (see Hewison, 1987) is discursively negated by the way in which the discourse on heritage and economics is portrayed as 'polarised'. Instead of highlighting the rift between economic and cultural value approaches to the historic environment, Force for Our Future instead proposes a "more sophisticated debate", although the call for balance echoes the discourse on sustainable tourism in PoP and the notion that you should not degrade the "asset upon which it depends" (English Heritage, 2000). The portrayal of the historic environment as fragile and vulnerable, which echoes PoP, also supports the argument for why it needs to be managed as an asset or a resource.

6.4. Sustainable management of the historic environment

Following public and professional consultation, in April 2008 English Heritage published the policy and guidance document *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* (English Heritage 2008a) (hereafter Conservation Principles). Although Conservation Principles was produced by English Heritage and intended to strengthen the credibility

of the decisions and advice made by English Heritage (see Appendix 1.17.1), the text of the document was outsourced to private consultants at the Drury McPherson Partnership: Historic Environment Policy and Practice. This outsourcing of elements of public services and working in public–private partnership was very much a growing trend in the heritage sector from the 1980s, and particularly within the cultural heritage sector. However, Conservation Principles can still be seen to reflect the English Heritage rhetoric and practice, as both named authors had previously been employed by English Heritage, with Paul Drury formerly the Director of the London region with a background in archaeology, and Anna McPherson a conservation architect with experience of working for English Heritage as well as the DCMS and private sector (Drury McPherson Partnership, 2016).

The political context of Conservation Principles was the final term of the ‘New’ Labour government under the leadership of Gordon Brown and the start of a worldwide economic recession caused by the financial crisis of 2007/8. The legislative framework for Conservation Principles was intended to be the reformed UK heritage protection system outlined in the white paper *Heritage Protection in the 21st Century* (DCMS, 2007) and the draft Heritage Protection Bill (DCMS, 2008b), which was originally expected to be included in the Queen’s Speech on 3 December 2008, identifying the legislative agenda for the forthcoming year. The Conservation Principles was published ahead of the proposed changes to strengthen the institutional identity of English Heritage and carve out a well-defined authoritative role for the organisation and its staff during this period of change and potential uncertainty. Previous analyses of Conservation Principles have included a CDA by Waterton (2010, p. 156) that focuses on how the document perpetuates an ‘AHD’ and the institutional ‘image’ of English Heritage within the ‘New’ Labour discourse of modernisation. However, with a

reprioritisation of government policy as a result of the start of a global economic recession, the bill was subsequently dropped from the Queen's Speech, which delayed its progression through parliament to become legislation.

Conservation Principles revolves around six declarative clauses that outline English Heritage's approach to the 'sustainable management' of the historic environment, supported by explanatory notes on concepts. Each principle draws upon a number of established discourse topics or themes within historic environment conservation and heritage management, such as preservation for the future, heritage values, 'significance', 'authenticity', resourcism, ownership and the instrumentalisation of heritage. Conservation Principles restates the established discourse of heritage management and the preservation or conservation of physical and intangible remains of the past for future generations. The concepts of conservation and preservation, although defined separately, can be seen to be part of the same process of managing change that is central to conservation – preservation as legally defined is the process of keeping a heritage asset's character or appearance safe from harm and balancing this against other development priorities. The definition of preserve was contested as part of a planning appeal - *South Lakeland DC v Secretary of State for the Environment and Rowbotham* [1991] 2 L.P.R. 97. The following definition was established drawing upon the lexical definition of preserve:

“The court is not here concerned with enhancement, but the ordinary meaning of 'preserve' as a transitive verb is 'to keep safe from harm or injury; to keep in safety, save, take care of, guard': Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. (1989), vol. XII, p. 404. In my judgment character or appearance can be said to be preserved where they are not harmed. Cases may be envisaged where

development would itself make a positive contribution to preservation of character or appearance. A work of reinstatement might be such. The parsonages board never advocated the new vicarage on that basis. It was not a basis which the inspector was invited to address but importantly he did not have to address it because the statute does not require him so to do. The statutorily desirable object of preserving the character or appearance of an area is achieved either by a positive contribution to preservation or by development which leaves character or appearance unharmed, that is to say, preserved.” (House of Lords et al., 1992, p.7)

Harm itself is of course a subjective term but does have legal definitions within the 1990 Environmental Protection Act (HM Stationery Office, 1990). Essentially, preservation by keeping a heritage asset from harm is judged through the conservation process, which determines the level of harm and whether it is acceptable, and through this process manages changes to the historic environment. The ‘sustainable’ approach to heritage management used in Conservation Principles applies a variation of the OCF (WCED, 1987a) definition of sustainable development, with heritage or ‘inherited resources’, whether these are environmental, economic or cultural, able to meet the *heritage* needs of contemporary populations in terms of access and use of them without comprising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (see Appendix 1.17.2). This essentially means that future generations as inheritors should be able to access and make use of heritage resources based on their own understandings, values and worldviews. The Conservation Principles sets up English Heritage as the national authority in decision-making for the conservation of the historic environment, which is legitimised through a number of discursive strategies and primarily their claim of expert knowledge to act as the authority on heritage

management. Unlike PoP, there is no distinction between experts and non-experts, the second CP advocates a participatory democracy approach to heritage management, continuing the themes of shared responsibility, international sustainable development and UK planning discourse (English Heritage, 2008a, p.20). However, there is a subtle difference within the text between an authorised form of management (i.e. professional curation) and informal management by owners and the public in general, which is mostly signified by the concept of stewardship. The second principle demonstrates epistemic modality, because although there is a rhetoric of participatory democracy in management of the historic environment, the reality is that there are still various barriers to participation. Although the verb *participate* suggests that the engagement of 'others' with the historic environment is active, the theme of expertise as part of the AHD is to encourage them to do this through legitimate types of participation and a passive engagement with the past (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010, p.163). The use of the adjective 'informed' signifies the *necessity* of expert input, with the experts as enablers to facilitate a particular way of understanding, valuing and caring for the historic environment by *others* or non-experts (see Appendix 1.17.3).

The first CP states with deontic modality that the historic environment is a shared resource (English Heritage, 2008a, p.19). The associated statements indicate that the historic environment is a communal resource of contemporary 'publics' as well as private owners and a reserve of future publics (future generations). The second statement evokes the international discourse of commons and the rhetoric of heritage as a public good, which within this context is used to justify the use of public funds for what might be privately owned property. Although the statements are using deontic modality to express how the world *ought* to be, the reality is that, although the historic environment might be seen as a communal resource, many sites reside in private

ownership on private land. The need for management is supported by Conservation Principles reiterating the common belief propagated throughout historic environment conservation and AHM literature, that the material remains of the past are a finite and non-renewable resource (see Appendix 1.17.4). For the archaeological resource, this approach is particularly concerned with the destructive nature of investigative processes such as excavation, and how to best manage the resource in order to balance gaining knowledge through research and ultimately the partial loss of the resource and its preservation. However, there are departures from this tenet, with some components of the historic environment, namely historic buildings, considered to be to some extent a renewable resource and also contributing to meeting other sustainable development objectives, such as a lower carbon economy, providing an economic as well as moral argument for their preservation (see Appendix 1.17.5).

Discourses on renewal and recycling have clearly been embraced by *Conservation Principles*, with periodic renewal of structures encouraged as part of their general maintenance, and more extensive restoration seen as reverting a resource back to a previous phase of its being to reveal values that may have been obscured by development over time. The understanding of sustainability demonstrated by Conservation Principles, although referencing sustainable development and general sustainability discourse themes, is using the term purely in the lexical sense of keeping or maintaining heritage values, which may or may not relate to retaining heritage fabric as determined by conservation processes. The reduction of the concept of sustainability to the lexical definition is illustrated in the use of the derivative verbs ‘sustain’ and ‘sustaining’, which are used in the second and fourth principles to indicate that materials will be sustained or maintained within the traditional paradigm of conservation management rather than to reference the wider concept of sustainability.

Conservation Principles draws upon an established valuation framework, which is used to identify and ascribe national value or 'significance' and therefore statutory protection to listed buildings and scheduled sites in the UK, under the headings of Evidential, Historical, Aesthetic and Communal values. The notion of potential is also linked to the theme of stewardship; we conserve and preserve the materials of the past because they *might* constitute a 'valuable' source of knowledge at an unspecified point in the future. This sentiment can be likened to Carver's (1996) valuation system that emphasised research potential. In terms of social values attached to heritage assets, reservation is apparent in the Conservation Principles, which is likely to be because, unlike values associated with economic benefits, which might be considered self-evident, social or instrumental benefits are harder to understand and therefore measure and quantify.

Within the definitions of concepts used in Conservation Principles, heritage is defined as "All inherited resources which people value for reasons beyond mere utility" (English Heritage, 2008a). It is the category of evidential value that can be seen to relate specifically to archaeological materials, which are otherwise only mentioned 19 times throughout the text, often in relation to archaeological components of existing or proposed legislation and policy rather than any detailed discussion of how the concept of sustainable conservation relates specifically to the materials of archaeology. This can be contrasted with built heritage (buildings mentioned 77 times, structures 23, monuments 2). Although the physical remains of the past are championed as "the *primary source* of evidence about the *substance and evolution of places*, and of the people and cultures that made them" (English Heritage, 2008a, p.28, own emphasis), it has been suggested by Lucas (2012) that, in the case of the archaeological resource,

it is the paper record resulting from an archaeological intervention that is the true record or resource.

Waterton (2010, pp.180–181), in interviewing heritage professionals, observed that Conservation Principles displays much of the common confusion between the interchangeable use of the terms historic environment and heritage, with the latter often hinting at a cultural value that has been conveyed upon the materials of the past. The inclusion of intangible heritage as part of the world heritage designation categories has lessened, or rather rhetorically lessened, the hegemony of built or monumental heritage, and this changed understanding is also reflected in Conservation Principles through the use of the concept of ‘place’, which goes “*beyond physical form*, to involve all the characteristics that can contribute to a ‘sense of place’” (English Heritage, 2008a, p.14, own emphasis). However, the reality is that whilst Conservation Principles departs from previous assumptions regarding what legitimately constitutes heritage, it still reiterates traditional discourses of stewardship and management of resources that primarily focus on the physical and visible fabric of the past: “Relate identified heritage values to the fabric of the place” (English Heritage, 2008a, p.37).

The concept of place is used in Conservation Principles as a ‘proxy’ for the different elements of the historic environment, removing “barrier[s] to articulating common principles, and using them to develop a more integrated approach”, in anticipation of “the proposed consolidation of national cultural heritage protection” (English Heritage, 2008a, pp.13–14). Conservation Principles also hints at the immaterial values tied to fabric, drawing upon the social geography concept ‘sense of place’ (see Appendix 1.17.6). Despite this, the concept mainly relates to aesthetic and historic values attached to the visible fabric of heritage assets. The third CP uses the terminology

‘place’ but then reinforces the common assumption in heritage management that values or ‘significance’ are inherent in the fabric of the historic environment, with other values presented as secondary (see Appendix 1.17.7). Although the concept of ‘place’ was deliberately chosen to be more inclusive of different elements of the historic environment without resorting to specialised terminology, it proves inadequate for characterising the archaeological resource, which is often taken out of context through archaeological intervention to be substituted by paper records.

As acknowledged by Emerick (2014, p. 186), although Conservation Principles did not reflect contemporary developments in the critical study of heritage as a phenomenon, it did represent a shift towards a values-based approach to conservation. This meant that the less tangible values attached to social and cultural experience of heritage were considered alongside the tangible fabric-based approaches to its conservation. As Fairclough advocated in *Sustaining the Historic Environment* (English Heritage 1997), more than 10 years later Conservation Principles (English Heritage 2008a) continued a discourse of managed change within the historic environment. This acknowledged that change to the fabric of the historic environment was not only something that needed to be managed and was inevitable, but that creative changes could enhance and reveal heritage values.

Although the notion of changes to fabric had become an acceptable aspect of conservation, shifting away from the hegemony of authenticity understood as original materials (Emerick, 2014, p. 180-186), the use of the negative adjective ‘vulnerable’, in relation to changes to heritage values, could be seen as denying that heritage values might also change. This could be positive, with values being intentionally enhanced or revealed in a similar way to conservation practice, but equally heritage

value could be lost, and not necessarily in a passive or neglectful way but perhaps intentionally. A discourse of the perceived permanence of heritage values is reflected in the use of the infinitive 'to sustain' in relation to heritage values. In the same way that archaeology became increasingly procedural and conservation understood primarily as a 'technical process' (Emerick 2014, p.187), the ascription of heritage value as set out in Conservation Principles could be seen as something to be observed using set criteria, and replicated across different contexts to create an accountable framework for making decisions about change based on that value. However, within the framework presented in Conservation Principles, there is a degree of flexibility in terms of how the text and overall philosophy it represents is interpreted and therefore put into action by conservation professionals, both within and outside English Heritage.

I witnessed the creative interpretation of Conservation Principles by my colleagues Inspector Keith Emerick and Principal Inspector Neil Redfern when I worked for them covering the position of assistant inspector over a period of 6 months in 2017. The way Conservation Principles was 'creatively' used by my colleagues (Emerick 2014, p.186) emphasised to me that AHM as a practice and philosophy is not a standardised one-fits-all approach to protection, preservation and conservation, but is dependent upon the experience, personalities and worldviews of individual practitioners and how these influence their decision-making. As highlighted by Merriman (2008) in relation to archives, valuation decisions, no matter how they are guided by a bureaucratic framework, are still an idiosyncratic representation of a person or indeed a group's cumulative ideas on how to approach valuation. It is therefore possible that these values or valuations might not hold up in terms of future understandings and approaches to conservation or AHM, and therefore to assume that heritage values can be or should be *sustained* in the sense of being maintained indefinitely is nonsensical.

6.5. Changes in planning and heritage policy, 2008 –2018

Over the last 10 years there have been changes to UK planning policy, often in quick succession, with PPG 16 and PPG 1 being replaced by Planning Policy Statement 5 (PPS 5) in 2010 and then with a National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) that was revised in 2018. The major difference between the PPGs and PPS 5 was that PPS 5 finally merged archaeology formally with the historic environment planning policy. Building upon the work of English Heritage and other professional heritage bodies, PPS 5 shifted the emphasis of commercial archaeology from an exercise in preserving an archaeological site by record, to considering the value of research to understand the significance of sites better. This saw a shift from considering preservation by record was not an end in itself, to an objective of development-led archaeology to advance and promote the value of the heritage assets (Flatman and Perring, 2013, p.4), in a similar way to the values-based approach to conservation. Advocating for a research-led approach to commercial archaeology was seen as a ‘quiet revolution’, reversing two decades of archaeology being treated like a form of ‘contamination’ with the rhetoric of commercial archaeology focused on cost and process efficiency as a recording service. PPS 5 emphasised that archaeological evaluation was to advance knowledge to off-set damage or loss of a heritage asset by providing public benefits in the form of improved understanding (Hinton, 2013, p.13).

In 2005 when PPS 5 was published, the UK coalition government released a statement on the historic environment explaining their vision for its management as an instrument to foster economic, social and cultural development, contributing to the cultural life of citizens (DCMS, 2010). It repeats various assumptions about the historic environment, such as the ‘irreplaceable’ nature of some heritage assets, which hints at a value

attached to the unique qualities of an asset and concepts such as authenticity, although this term is not specifically used. The start of the statement uses the notion of intrinsic value or the 'inherent sustainability' of the historic environment in relation to the economic and environmental sustainability agendas, primarily in relation to built heritage and landscapes. Although not specifically mentioned, it can be assumed that archaeological heritage assets are referenced as 'other types of evidence', which is seen as providing analogues to low carbon economies to help mitigate and adapt to climate change, utilising an eco-resilience storyline to argue the significance of the past to contemporary issues such as adaptation to climate change (see Chapter 3).

The 2010 DCMS statement considers the cultural value of the historic environment, but the case studies and the text of the statement conflate this with social value (the value of heritage and the historic environment to society), or rather the social values, morals or principles that govern the way society is organised, that in turn conditions and encourages certain understandings of and behaviours towards heritage. For example, the statement suggests that it is not *enough* for people merely to enjoy the historic environment, but that they *should* actively participate in its management to foster a sense of ownership (see Appendix 1.18.1). The statement makes assumptions that public spaces are enjoyed and utilised by 'people from all backgrounds'. However, this does not appear to acknowledge that how people use space is not just socially informed but is also a culturally informed practice, with access to places depending not just upon how the space is configured to needs and physical access, including any restrictions placed on use, but also intellectual access through narratives about what those spaces mean. Although culture is treated as a separate category, the statement does not elaborate on how this relates to the concept of cultural value as a worldview, but instead advocates the value of the national heritage protection framework in

protecting, investigating and promoting the historic environment as an inheritance for contemporary and future generations.

As with the rest of the statement, the types of heritage discussed within the culture section relate to national collections that the government is responsible for, which are primarily built or monumental heritage assets within wider landscapes (i.e. they are visible or can be experienced). The distinction is made between 'cultural artefacts', which could relate to both historic and contemporary material culture, and the built environment, although this is done to illustrate how they both have intrinsic value "in and of themselves" (DCMS, 2010, p.12). Archaeological sites are included in the paragraph on culture, but it is clear that these are understood as 'evidence', which makes the useful distinction between assets that could be considered to have value inherent in their materials and design (e.g. aesthetic, linked to historic figures, innovations, illustrative of a particular period) and the majority of archaeological materials, which require further processes to determine or make apparent their significance and cultural value. The prefix of 'primary' could relate to the way that archaeological material is seen to be a direct tangible link back to the past and the value of the physical archives. A specifically archaeological case study is given for the redevelopment scheme for the neighbourhood of Spitalfields, London, which was the focus of extensive commercial excavation. Although the excavation effectively destroyed the archaeological deposits, the loss of these is weighed against the public benefit of the information generated about the cultural diversity of the area, and also the involvement of the community in the project to engender a sense of ownership. This case study can be seen as a combination of heritage and locality storylines and it is interesting to note that the public engagement was also seen to have made local opinion about the development more favourable.

The progress made by PPS 5 (DCLG, 2010) was short-lived, however, and in 2012 it was replaced with the NPPF (DCLG, 2012). For many, NPPF was felt to be retrograde in the way that it returned archaeology to being process driven, as a planning condition to be met and discharged. The presumption in favour of preservation present in PPG 16 and PPS 5 was replaced with a 'presumption in favour of sustainable development' (DCLG, 2012, p.i). Flatman and Perring (2013) suggest that this could be considered a lessening of the importance of the historic environment, because of the interpretation of 'sustainable development' in NPPF comprising a balance between economic, social and environmental aspects of planning.

In 2018 both the NPPF (Ministry of Housing Communities, 2018) and Conservation Principles were revised, although the latter has still not been published. In the role of a temporary position as Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments, in February 2018 I commented on the revised draft of Conservation Principles (Historic England, 2017; see Appendix 1.19 for my full comments). The main difference between the 2008 and 2018 versions is that the latter is much more condensed and proposes changes to terminology that appear to reintroduce the kind of biases and prejudices regarding heritage that critical landscape and heritage studies had sought to challenge. What this demonstrates is a lack of understanding, or perhaps awareness, of critical heritage research by the Historic England group that drafted the revised principles. It was interesting to find out that members of staff who were well-versed and active in critical heritage research were not invited to contribute to the redrafting of the new principles, although all members of staff were invited to comment on the draft document as part of the wider sector consultation. Given the research of prominent Historic England staff, such as Inspector of Ancient Monuments Keith Emerick on the philosophy of conservation, AHM and its interface with critical heritage studies (see Emerick 2014),

it was surprising that they were not invited to participate in the redrafting of the principles (Emerick pers. comm.). It is possible that, as with the revisions to planning policy over the last 10 years, the main aim was to reduce the size of the original document to something that was shorter and thought to be, by extension, easier to utilise by the heritage sector. However, what appears to have happened is that a substitution of terminology has changed the focus and meaning of the CPs.

As with the original CPs, the use of the gerund 'sustaining' reduces the complex discourse regarding sustainability to merely the process of maintaining or enabling something to endure through time. This loses the extensive discourse and debate regarding a sustainable approach to the management of change through a balance of environmental, social, economic and cultural basic needs or desires for development, in the broadest sense of human development. The 2017 draft CPs substitute 'aesthetic value' with 'artistic value', which subtly changes the meaning, with the latter imply intention, whereas the aesthetic qualities of the historic environment might be unintentional, such as palimpsests comprising layers of history and archaeology within historic landscapes and settlements. I suggested that artistic should not be adopted to replace aesthetic value. Whilst aesthetic is not completely unproblematic, it can more broadly encompass designed intentional aesthetics (e.g. designed landscapes dating to specific periods) as well as unintentional aesthetics that have developed through the layering of different periods over time. The revised CPs reference inevitable natural processes that will lead to loss or threats to the historic environment. However, I highlighted that the way the HAR programme was set up in terms of metrics for measuring success, the recording of archaeological sites ahead of loss from natural processes such as coastal erosion, is not seen as a 'positive removal' or intervention. I suggested that, until attitudes changed in relation to HAR and loss of archaeological

sites from natural processes of decay and erosion, we would continue to lose not only heritage assets to these natural processes, but also any potential evidential value they may have had.

The draft CPs start by reasserting a common misnomer about heritage, that intangible heritage is somehow different to, or disconnected from, the physical fabric of heritage (Historic England, 2017, p.1). The latter is of course what Conservation Principles and Historic England, as the statutory body for national heritage protection, focus upon. However, this overlooks critical heritage research that has shown that all tangible forms of heritage have an intangible component, and often vice versa (see Carman 2009). Although the terminology heritage asset has been adopted to refer to different types of heritage, the revised CPs do not emphasise that heritage is not just an ‘asset’ or ‘product’ but is an ongoing *process* of making sense of the world by attaching different values to people, things, structures and places. The revised Conservation Principles describe heritage within a traditional framework as an inheritance, and as such it is portrayed as a passive rather than active process. As with the 2008 Conservation Principles, the revision is still about championing the role of the national heritage agency Historic England. By portraying the process of heritage as passive, this ignores the influence of Historic England and their staff in *creating* a particular vision and notion of heritage using their framework of designation and the CPs. This is to acknowledge that heritage management is not just a neutral process or purely procedural but is adding new meanings and value to things.

The redrafted Conservation Principles replaces the concept of ‘communal value’ with ‘historic interest’, which supposedly incorporates communal, social and cultural values (Historic England, 2017, pp.7–9). The loss of communal value misses the point of

heritage as a process and as a dialogue with people about what they value (see Harrison, 2013b; Low, 2003), which reflects the public benefit aspect of what Historic England does as an organisation. In my response, I suggested that there could be more of a discussion regarding designation as a two-way conversation between professionals and publics.

At present, heritage scheduling, listing and registration rely upon a checklist of criteria that designates assets as of national importance or significance. I suggested that the CPs appear to be outlining two heritage frameworks: one that relies upon national and authorised designation criteria associated with professional heritage practice, and another that relates to what members of the public value about the historic environment, which might not relate to or correlate with official designation criteria and values. For example, 'historic interest' is defined as "connections between past lives and events through [the medium of] place" (Historic England, 2017, p.17). Although this may be assumed in the text, the crucial missing element to this definition is the interaction of contemporary people and their lives with past lives and events *through* the medium of place (see Carman, 2004). This is because people's interest in a place does not just stem from their *understanding* of its history, and in fact there are multiple ways to value a place that might not rely upon an understanding of their *true* history but instead a fabricated history or narrative stemming from fiction (Carman, 2009). In the PoP consultation, Emerick (2014) indicated that communal value was preferred over social value. As mentioned in introduction to this thesis, I consider the social sphere of sustainability to be more about the social structures and the way these might work, or not work, with official heritage frameworks within the participatory democracy heritage policy paradigm. As such, in my response to the draft CPs, I suggested that social value could be broadened to social-cultural values, to acknowledge the way that

cultural values interact or maybe come into conflict with social values and structures. This would also bring the revised CPs in line with the cultural turn within sustainable development discourse towards 'culturally sustainable' heritage, rather than the heavy emphasis on economic and social sustainability within heritage conservation and as such a preoccupation with fabric and notions of authenticity.

I highlighted the way that the CPs were still heavily influenced by the materialism of the modern period, with the maintenance of authentic fabrics seen to be the prime goal of heritage management. I suggested that the idea of heritage value being sustainable over time was nonsensical, and that whilst some values associated with a heritage asset might be enduring, others might change or be lost over time. I suggested the possibility of heritage devaluation should be accepted, with some things dropping out of consciousness as being considered heritage, just as other things not considered heritage, within current valuation frameworks, might replace them. As suggested by curators such as Merriman (2008) and discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, informed loss or deaccessioning, even from national heritage lists, should be acknowledged as part of the sustainable management process to prevent being overwhelmed by heritage to the extent that it becomes meaningless (see Harrison, 2013a). This is because heritage management and conservation are not just about conserving the fabric, but ensuring that changes are socially and culturally informed or 'sustainable'. This sentiment was clear in the 2008 Conservation Principles but was lost in the 2017 redraft (also see Emerick 2014). Although the rhetoric of heritage is protection for future generations, I suggested, as other critical heritage commentators have, that it needs to be grounded in the now. In terms of how this relates to the work of government agencies such as Historic England and professional heritage managers, we can only do our best, and what we think might be best, for now. However, the

precautionary approach to heritage coupled with the anticipatory approach to delaying decision-making until better information becomes available, could mean that a lack of action or engagement now in favour of *preservation* for the future, might actually increase the risk of heritage being lost (see Hoberg et al. 2018).

6.6. Summary

Through an examination of international sustainable development policy and English planning and heritage policy, this chapter has demonstrated how the principles of ecological modernisation and environmental economics has been applied to natural environment policy, to create a market for environmental resources so that they can be taken into consideration within national accounting frameworks. As observed within the sustainable development policy, accounting metaphors were already common place in the discourse of resource management for the future, and this lexicon provided a way to fuse heritage management and resource economics. Although two economic schools of thought emerged in relation to the way the resources of the environment were managed and utilised, ecological economics and environmental economics, the latter fitted well with the trend in the UK for deregulation and market-based incentives to environmental regulation and management in the 1970s and 1980s. Environmental economics treated the environment as an externality that could be brought into market-based approaches by effectively creating a market where none previously existed, which was particularly important for resources considered to be 'commons' or public goods. This approach to auditing the environment favoured weaker interpretations of sustainability, and introduced notions such as resource substitution, compensation for loss and replacement to the heritage management

lexicon, utilising tools such as WTP and WTA to assign market values to heritage 'assets' and management processes.

In the early 1990s, heritage policy statements and exploratory documents sought to understand how environmental auditing and accounting could be applied to the work of government agencies charged with the protection of nationally designated natural and cultural heritage. As part of auditing the historic environment to understand carrying capacity for change and critical thresholds, campaigns such as the HAR programme were started to gather information on the state of heritage assets, and tools like HLC were used to record palimpsest characteristics to understand loss and change within landscapes. Economic metrics were gathered and reported through the annual *Heritage Counts* reports, to bring the historic environment into national accounting frameworks as had been done for the natural environment (Carman, 2005b, p.48). These information gathering exercises were undertaken to remove some of the uncertainty regarding the management of heritage assets, continuing the precautionary approach to preservation established within AHM, as well as demonstrating value for public money in their management.

Historic environment auditing can be likened to the anticipatory approach to sustainability, where action is postponed until better information becomes available or new technologies help to remedy issues. However, it can also be seen as part of the reason why striving for sustainability can appear to have issues with operationalisation: at what point is information used to inform decisive action? Could technology really solve some of the inherent problems with heritage curation? Or does it merely temporally shift problems to the future? Conservation Principles (English Heritage 2008a) can be seen as the culmination of a discourse cultivated throughout

the 1980s and 1990s, legitimising the role of the state in heritage management within a wider discourse of spatial planning reforms and modernisation of the planning system. The sustainability referred to within Conservation Principles is as much about maintaining the legitimacy of the state heritage body and their management activities, as sustaining the materials and values of the nation's heritage. However, there is also a counter-discourse on participatory democracy and the public ownership, or rather cognitive ownership, of heritage to encourage people to act as stewards.

In the past, criticism had been levelled at the way understandings of heritage were biased towards Western forms of archaeological, monumental and built environment, neglecting intangible or less tangible forms of heritage (see Smith 2006). Establishing the historic environment as the focus of planning and heritage policy was intended to reflect new landscape approaches to heritage in-line with the emergence of academic landscape studies and recommendations made within the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000), such as the development of landscape management auditing tools such as HLC. However, what this approach inadvertently did was introduce a new bias in terms of championing the visible and the perceptible, as seen in the place-making approaches to spatial planning and economic development. It also established a dominant discourse on the socio-economic value of heritage, or heritage as an instrument of economic development and a way to structure society by creating good consumers of this repackaged past. There are two strands to this 'heritage dividend': 1.) heritage as premium property, utilising sustainability discourse on resource recycling and renewal as part of regeneration agendas, which effectively creates a new market for historic properties and areas where dividends are paid for their pleasing historic or characterful aesthetics, and 2.) heritage service industries associated with tourism and recreation.

By utilising a pre-existing common discourse and lexicon in terms of the way that cultural heritage was characterised in a similar way to environmental resources from being finite and non-renewable to renewable and recyclable, in the early 1990s 'the environment' became the discursive frame, or meta-narrative, within which heritage management was undertaken. The perceived success of environmental heritage management was appealing to the cultural heritage sector because the argument for the intrinsic value of nature was more readily accepted by members of the public, and therefore government, as opposed to cultural heritage, which was seen as subjective and ad hoc. Although internationally a discourse on the cultural sustainability of development had been developing alongside environmental auditing approaches, which would have made more sense in terms of the cultural and social value that heritage aspires to, a discourse on the cultural relevance of heritage is largely absent from heritage management. In terms of the way cultural heritage was understood in Britain, there was a discursive shift with the 'New' Labour government of the mid-1990s from heritage as something primarily about the past and nostalgia for how Britain was, to more of a focus on contemporary forms of culture and diversity in cultural expression. However, in terms of cultural heritage, this continued to comprise traditional forms of culture or high culture.

Chapter 7. Discussion

This research has sought to understand how the discursive construction of the concept of sustainability within the UK historic environment management literature has influenced its application to archaeological materials and processes. Chapter 2 demonstrated the emergence of two distinct but often overlapping discursive frameworks that have affected the way in which a sustainable approach to development is understood, delivered and measured in terms of outcomes. One framework is based on the principles of an eco-modernist perspective that discursively mitigates the tensions between economic development and environmental protection to create a win–win rhetoric that greater consideration of the environment can actually bolster economic growth rather than halt it. This discursive framework champions advancements in science and technology to create new competitive markets based around ‘greening’ of businesses and industrial processes to overcome resource limitations through the premise of substitution, which can also be observed in AHM literature in relation to digital recording technology. The main document that is referenced in relation to this eco-modernist framework is OCF (WCED 1987).

The second framework, or the ‘cultural turn’, in sustainable development discourse arose in part as a response to the dominance of economic accounting and ultimately Western notions of what constituted development rooted in modern philosophies of universalism, homogeneity and rationalism. The World Decade for Culture (UNESCO, 1988) marked the beginning of a semantic shift to ‘culturally sustainable development’, which is captured within the publication OCD (UNESCO 1995). Related to this cultural development discourse is the focus on ‘local’ delivery of sustainable development,

which is articulated within Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1992a) and can be seen to partly bridge the two discursive frameworks.

Chapter 3 critically examined the discursive construction of cultural sustainability within academic literature and the way that, despite a cultural perspective on the concept offering more affinity with archaeology as a cultural process and product, AHM policy, guidance and practice sought to align itself with natural resource management and ultimately an eco-modernist discourse. In Chapter 5 historic environment policy and supporting documentation in England was examined to understand how this eco-modernist perspective influenced policy documents and through this AHM practice and philosophy. Sustainability within this context was defined as the ongoing process of balancing conservation with social and economic needs relating to development and landscape change, through the processes of heritage management. Within Conservation Principles (English Heritage 2008a), a *sustainable* historic environment is one where this balancing act is able to continue indefinitely to meet the heritage *needs* of contemporary populations and future generations, which is one of the two overarching themes of the original sustainable development discourse.

In the UK, the state framework for environmental protection favoured an economic accounting approach to auditing of environmental resources in response to OCF, which was outlined in the report *Blueprint for a Green Economy* (Pearce et al., 1989) produced by eminent environmental economists. In the early 1990s, this environmental accounting approach was investigated for its potential to be applied to the management of the historic environment, considering change thresholds in relation to the relative importance of heritage assets (see Chapter 5). The accounting and auditing approach addressed the second theme of sustainable development, that of

environmental *limits* and thresholds where changes become irrevocably damaging. In terms of limits and thresholds, archaeology characterised as a finite non-renewable environmental resource presents an issue for a *sustainable* historic environment, especially if archaeological materials are understood within a framework that focuses on durability, permanence and the concept of authenticity. As such, when the historic environment emerged as a new discursive framework for heritage in the 1990s, the problem of archaeological deposits as a finite and fragile environmental information resource could be glossed over by focusing on the *inherent* sustainability of other forms of built heritage that fitted within a recycling and renewal paradigm of sustainable resource use. It is around this time that discourses in relation to archaeology started to advocate using the archaeological record and information resource to add time-depth to ecological studies of human–environment interactions through adaptations to landscape and climatic change. This further cemented the link between the natural and cultural environment and was reflected in the introduction of ‘cultural landscapes’ within the UNESCO world heritage categories (see UNESCO, 2018). This environmental *enframing* of cultural heritage represented a particular way or culturally informed view or *gaze* upon the natural environment based on its economic utility and pleasing aesthetic qualities.

The cultural turn in sustainable development discourse sought to address needs in relation to the development of people as well as local and global economies, by ensuring that development was ‘culturally sustainable’. Of course, the concept of nature is itself a cultural construct as much as it is a *real* or physical entity or container of ‘standing reserves’ of raw materials, and the cultural value of the environment was first highlighted by the transcendentalist environmental movement and John Muir in the early 20th century (Edwards, 2005, pp.12–13). However, rather than culture becoming

the framework for understanding human–environmental interaction, as advocated by the cultural turn in relation to sustainable development, culture is more often than not employed as part of a moral argumentation strategy for the protection of the environment.

The two discursive frameworks of ecomodernism and culture are used to influence different situations and the motivations of social and political actors as part of the wider discourse coalition of environmental sustainability. Historic environment policy in the UK acknowledged that the heritage needs of people are also influenced by social and cultural context, and the particular values held by individuals and groups, with social structures between individuals, groups and institutions determining what they consider to be heritage, how they value it, and how heritage management provision ought to be delivered. In the 20th century in Britain and much of Europe, heritage was formally protected through the bureaucratic framework of the ‘heritage state’, initially through legislation and later planning policy, where national and local government institutions as well as non-departmental public bodies and other NGOs were established to identify, curate and protect heritage on *behalf* of the public. As with the environmental states in relation to international development policy in the 1970s, heritage states were brought together around the notion of global commons and ‘world heritage’ as part of a cultural heritage ‘world polity’ led by UNESCO (see Barthel-Bouchier, 2012). However, this global heritage was still very much governed by Eurocentric visions of culture bound up with national identity and adhering to traditional notions of heritage.

Over the last 30 years there has been a discursive shift from what was classified as authorised and state-led approaches to culture, towards the recognition of more diverse, locally embedded forms of tangible as well as intangible culture and heritage.

The heritage state, although still accountable for formal heritage protection, is now one of three main sectors that are responsible for national and international heritage , which includes the voluntary or 3rd sector and private sectors.

7.1. Sustainable development, meta-narratives and the environmental schema

Although one might have expected the cultural turn within sustainable development discourse to offer the most attractive means of transferring ideas relating to sustainability into an AHM context, most sustainability policy and literature relating to UK heritage deliberately sought to align itself with the natural environment. This can be seen in the amalgamation of various categories of heritage into a single frame of the 'historic environment', with methodologies taken from environmental auditing and resource management to characterise the historic environment, evaluate risks and monitor the condition of this environmental 'resource'. It is possible that this link was also due to the way that heritage had been overseen by the Department for Environment. In terms of decontextualised sustainability discourse, as it was brought into historic environment policy, the cultural turn and its associated literature and international policy remained absent from UK government policy and discussion papers that continued to cite OCF (WCED 1987).

Various aspects of what we now recognise as modernity influenced the development of the discipline of archaeology and later historic environment conservation and culminated in the ecological modernisation perspective that informed 1980s sustainable development discourse. This provided a discursive bridge between the subjects of culture and environment that coalesced around resourcism, instrumentalisation and commodification of natural and cultural resources for

development. The eco-modernist discourse of sustainable development can be seen as a new meta-narrative for the Anthropocene. This new geological period references the way that humans are now the dominant force for changes to the earth on a scale previously only affected by geological processes that could be witnessed in geological strata (Lewis and Maslin, 2015). This new epoch continues to utilise various meta-narratives associated with modernity, particularly those of human progress, unrestricted economic growth, the power of technology in overcoming resource and social limits placed on human development, rationalisation in relation to science and knowledge, globalised society and political arenas, and the promotion of a Western democratic model of governance. These are used to explain how humans have shaped the global environment from the 1960s. Even the potentially revolutionary nature of sustainability can be seen as another modern ideal.

Meta-narratives frame our understanding of the world, events and phenomena through the structuring of knowledge and experience (Lyotard, 1984). Archaeology itself has been an instrument in maintaining the hegemony of modern meta-narratives, as seen in the stories of human development over time and increasing complexity. Within sustainable development discourse, as transplanted into an AHM context, the environment can be seen to have become a dominant framework upon which cultural life, comprising meaning and understanding as well as material culture, is appended. The environment understood from an eco-modernist perspective can be seen as a 'totalising cultural narrative schema' (after Stephens and McCallum, 2013, p.6), which frames, orders and explains knowledge and experience as something that is *real* in the sense of being perceptible as well as auditable. This can be seen in the way that concepts associated with the risk society and audit society have become part of the AHM lexicon and shaped practice in relation to the protection of the historic

environmental resource. The environmental schema can be seen to have emerged with political economists interested in resource management economics in relation to the natural environment in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Although both cultural and environmental discourse frameworks were apparent within international policy in relation to sustainable development, the environment can be seen to have emerged as a schema that was utilised even within a cultural context, with many documents heavily influenced by discourse storylines associated with ecological modernisation. These often focused on the *contribution of* culture as an instrument of economic development rather than as a basis for culturally embedded human development and a worldview to inform social, economic and environmental development and governance. The influence of the environmental meta-narrative within cultural sustainability discourse can be seen in the use of metaphors comparing culture with ecosystems, with even the concept of diversity being drawn from *bio*-diversity. In addition, and by extension, environmental resource management perspectives also influenced the cultural turn.

Although the rhetoric of documents such as OCD (WCCD, 1995) advocated that culture should not just be reduced to cultural products and services *for* economic development, much of the literature and subsequent approaches to culturally sustainable forms of development indeed focused on the value of culture as alternative industries. This introduced new economies and new markets for cultural products and services, particularly within developing countries, but also within developed economies. In Britain, these were branded as ‘creative industries’, possibly to avoid the negative connotations that had become associated with the heritage industry under the previous Conservative government and to be in keeping with the rebranding

of Britain as forward-looking rather than as a country obsessed with the past. Within this new cultural framework, the primary focus was on contemporary forms of culture.

The success of environmental sustainability discourse in the way it was mainstreamed into all sectors of government, and therefore the difficulty in denying its centrality and importance, appealed to the UK cultural heritage sector, which had struggled to find the same level of support. From the 1980s the cultural heritage sector sought to align itself further with natural environment management. The benefit of doing so is articulated by Fairclough (English Heritage, 1997, p.2) in terms of accepting the *intrinsic* value of the natural environment in relation to wildlife and commons as 'global goods', in comparison with cultural values, which are seen as 'less absolute'. What I believe is meant by this sentiment is that cultural values, as expressed in OCD (WCCD, 1995), are diverse, and values within and between different cultural contexts can be at the same time meaningless and meaningful. Cultural values are not unconditional and as such are hard to track and audit, which makes them difficult to integrate into the environmental and heritage national accounting frameworks.

Whereas the natural environment is seen as having inherent value because without it, and the systems that operate within it, there would be no human or indeed other life on Earth. This picks up on a common theme running throughout the early literature on sustainability in relation to the historic environment: the notion of sustaining, or rather maintaining, the historic environment *for its own sake* or for its intrinsic value. For example, Clark's (2008) discussion of why heritage should be *sustained*, argues that the natural environment is of intrinsic value and therefore justifies protection and management to preserve those intrinsic values. By bringing historic elements of the environment into a whole environment framework, this extended the intrinsic value of

the natural environment to historic and cultural aspects, better justifying the resources needed to protect and enhance them (Clark 2008, p. 87). In terms of the overarching theme of needs, the needs of the environment might be considered just as important as the needs of people, as advocated by the 'deep ecology' perspective (Devall, 1980). What I have observed of the way that some international and national organisations talk about cultural heritage, especially heritage that is perceived to be in danger, is that it is almost as though heritage is an entity that has *needs*. This sets up archaeologists as having an ethical responsibility to this material, rather than the human needs and indeed rights that might be violated around and even through a heritage management framework (see Hamilakis, 2003; May, 2009). This might be true if we consider the 'heritage industry' or the 'heritage sector' as systems analogous to natural ecosystems, as these almost certainly have needs, and this often relates to the need for processes and activities relating to heritage management to continue. This is why the discourse of environmental sustainability and systems ecology was attractive to cultural services but neglects the important questions of why these should be maintained in their historic forms and how they might be developed to be relevant to 21st-century cultures and society.

The language and methods of resource management became popular from the 1970s, at the time that one of the most enduring metaphors shaping modern AHM was established: that archaeology was a *finite* resource akin to fossil fuels or land. This approach was established through the publication of the influential report *Blueprint for a Green Economy* (Pearce et al., 1989), effectively to create a market for the environment, which was traditionally treated as an externality, in order to bring it into national accounting frameworks using the methods of environmental economics. The applicability of this approach to bring nature and then cultural conservation into a

market-based resource management framework in the 1990s was investigated in Chapter 5. These discourses advocated environmental economics and resource accounting methods essentially to *create* a market for the natural and historic environment through qualitative and economic methods of assessment such as WTP. By creating a ‘standard measuring rod’ in the form of economic accounting, the natural and historic environments could be broadly compared with other sectors in terms of expenditure and outputs, particularly in relation to sustainability indicators. The general shift towards economic valuation within the heritage sector during this period can be seen in the incorporation of the term ‘heritage asset’ into the heritage management lexicon. The early 1990s ushered in a new era of resource accounting and resource managerialism within the historic environment sector, and new metrics and indicators. The annual HAR and *Heritage Counts* surveys produced by Historic England provide an overview of the state of the historic environment, much in the same way that the natural environment was monitored.

The sustainability of the ‘authentic’ or ‘original’ archaeological resource was always going to be a paradox for those archaeological resources that were belowground and could only be revealed through destructive archaeological investigations. What emerged out of a utilitarian discourse on the sustainability of the archaeological resource was a hybrid discourse combining the idea that archaeology could contribute to socially, culturally and environmentally sustainable forms of development, which could in turn ensure the sustainability of archaeology as a cultural resource. The main example of this approach is seen in ‘sustainable cultural tourism’ and ‘sustainable craft production’ informed by ancient and historic material culture (see Barthel-Bouchier, 2012; Burtenshaw, 2013, 2014), although some sites could be considered economically self-sustaining through revenue generated from recreation and tourism

markets, which can be seen in the entrance fees charged for nationally designated heritage sites within the economic models of English Heritage and the National Trust. However, the vast number of monuments scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Act are located on private land with little or no possibility of being financially self-sustaining. The idea here is that, although they reside on private land with little or no possibility of public access, they are part of the patrimony of the nation and therefore justify the use of public funds for their maintenance as a national heritage.

Following close scrutiny of national spending on heritage in the UK from the 1970s, and the emergence of heritage as an 'industry' able to contribute to GDP, the growing collection of national heritage was seen as a drain on central government funds and in need of a means for it to become self-sustaining. What emerged from this period was a rhetoric of 'preservation pays' and 'constructive conservation' in relation to the built historic environment. By bringing the environmental ethos of PPP into commercial archaeology through 1990s planning policy, archaeology was no longer considered unsustainable in terms of national accounting, with funds from the private sector enabling central government's financial commitment to be reduced. The effect of this was to establish archaeology as procedure, with the effective creation of a private sector market to 'clean up' archaeology ahead of development (see Chadwick, 1997; Hinton, 2013).

7.2. Archaeology and cultural sustainability

The cultural turn within the humanities and social research can be seen as the precursor to contemporary critical heritage scholarship. Within an AHM context, this occurred in reaction to what was perceived to be an authorised version of the past biased towards the tangible, monumental, built environment that relayed narratives of

nationhood and Western progress, and the methods of valuing and accounting for those forms of heritage as national resources. The emergence of critical heritage approaches and 'culturally sustainable' development within international policy in the 1990s saw a refocusing of culture as a value system that influences the type and nature of development, rather than being an economic subset of development drawing on high cultural forms (i.e. heritage industry, heritage-led regeneration, visitors to art galleries and museums, etc.). This sentiment was similar to the ethos of ecological economics, which saw the economy as a subsystem of the biosphere rather than an externality. Jon Hawkes (2001) distinguished between culture as a worldview and high culture relating to Western notions of art, architecture and cultural expression. In trying to articulate the centrality of a culturally informed approach to sustainable development, the metaphor of 'pillars', which had been used to symbolise the way that sustainable development was *supported* by consideration of social, economic and environmental factors, was recycled to add culture as the '4th pillar' of sustainable development (Hawkes, 2001).

In the decade following Hawkes' publication, there were various calls to have culture positioned as a pillar of sustainable development to demonstrate its importance within the canon of social, economic and environmental spheres of sustainability. Whilst UNESCO's campaign to get culture recognised as a fundamental aspect of development and an overarching value system representing diverse worldviews, and therefore different notions of development, was a rhetorical success, in terms of formally measuring progress, culture was absent from the millennium and post-2015 SDGs (Duxbury et al., 2017). This highlights what is perceived to be an enduring policy problem for cultural heritage that is periodically revisited but often with no resolution: the intangible value of heritage cannot be easily captured by the kind of metrics

favoured in reporting progress on SDGs. What UNESCO's reaction to the lack of specific SDGs highlights (see Hayashi et al., 2015), is the way that despite, their rhetoric of culture as a worldview that should not be restricted to limited expressions of material culture, UNESCO itself still uses a reductive and Eurocentric understanding of culture and heritage, as exemplified by the majority of sites inscribed as world heritage. Within this context, the concept of sustainability is very much about sustaining or maintaining these sites because they have been identified as being a global heritage or commons. The absence of culture as a narrowly defined output was perhaps not the failure it was perceived to be, even though the lack of specific SDGs relating to culture was initially taken as an affront to the work of UNESCO to get culture on the sustainable development agenda. However, if culture is understood as a worldview and cultural frame within which to interpret and make sense of the world, then technically culture or a culturally sustainable approach to development informs all of the SDGs.

The rise of multivocality within heritage studies started to highlight the damaging narrative that was associated with the high cultural forms of European culture that had spread across the world through colonial expansion and later been perpetuated through academic discourse and international cultural heritage NGOs such as UNESCO. This dominant perspective on what constituted culture and cultural heritage was labelled the AHD by Smith (2006). Whilst this critique emphasised how a discourse on the monumental, the built and the visible forms of heritage had become naturalised, it did not necessarily offer any alternative other than to reject this hegemony in favour of less tangible forms of contemporary culture. The origins of AHM within Europe undoubtedly meant that the way the concept of heritage was approached had a distinct Western-centrism grounded in the emerging disciplines and

paradigms of the modern period (Thomas, 2004). The reaction against the Western hegemony of heritage can be observed in international policy documents such as OCD (WCCD, 1995), which specifically aimed to pluralise or diversify what was considered heritage and culture and what it meant to people. However, despite the reaction to the AHD and the emergence of a counter-discourse that criticises and rejects the norms represented within Western heritage management, it is clear that the counter-discourse is still laden with ideas that essentially represent Western heritage ideology. Although OCD highlighted archaeology as a particularly problematic discipline because of its associations with colonialism, it did not extend this sentiment to built heritage, which in a number of contexts is directly linked to colonial activities (see Graham et al., 2016, pp.244–247).

Although the investigation of difficult histories and heritages associated with the built environment presents an opportunity for dialogue to discuss prejudice, it is clear that OCD refers to the lack of investigative skills within a Western gaze or framework pertaining to high art and architectural history. Even though late 19th-century and early 20th-century archaeology did represent the ideals of nation-building and empire, OCD appears to be unaware of the emergence of public archaeology within AHM as a counter-movement trying to challenge the dominance of a traditional emphasis on expertise and formal education as well as the post-processual and post-modern discourses in archaeological theory. This could be because of the disconnect between professional practice and philosophical reflexivity within the academe that has characterised archaeology. As archaeology has become subsumed into wider categories of cultural heritage and the historic environment, professional practice of AHM has been shifting away from subject-specific knowledge and experience to more general project management skills and, more often than not, transferable skills such

as project management, negotiation and influencing. This is reflected in the syllabus of numerous taught post-graduate degrees that relate to heritage management and sustainability, where, although there may be critical heritage aspects, the focus is on *teaching* the next generation of heritage managers how to *operate* within the heritage state or heritage world polity.

The negative critique in the form of the counter-AHD highlighted the discursive tropes and practices that strengthened biases and prejudice with regard to what could be considered legitimate forms of heritage within the heritage state and world heritage polity (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010; Waterton and Smith, 2009), but it provided no means of overcoming it. By discursively detaching subjects such as archaeology from debates regarding cultural sustainability, it is not surprising that this has served to strengthen further its ties with environmental and economic sustainability frameworks, where it was felt to share more affinity. Much in the same way that the rhetorical destruction of archaeology was seen as problematic in commercial developer-led archaeology (Cooper, 2008), the counter-discourse to AHD in critical heritage studies has reinforced the rhetorical exclusion of disciplines such as archaeology from discussions regarding cultural heritage as a contemporary practice. However, this perspective fails to consider that AHM is itself a cultural and historically contingent practice. In addition, an uncritically applied anti-expert discourse ignores the fact that practitioners have a degree of reflexivity, to understand the real or perceived power that they hold and how they can help to negate this. I found this self-reflexivity to be greatest in practitioners who themselves worked within and were aware of critical heritage studies.

Through the World Decade for Culture UNESCO sought to understand the relationship between culture and development, informed by questions of how culture as a worldview, and society as the framework within which individuals and cultural groups exist, interact with the concept of development. In discussing the themes that have emerged from this thesis, I revisit these questions to look at whether the cultural turn did offer an alternative view of the concept of sustainability in relation to AHM. Besides the research of the European COST initiative (COST, 2011; see Chapter 3)(see Chapter 3), there have been few attempts to understand the cultural turn of sustainability in relation to the materials and processes of archaeology. By replacing the word development with archaeology, the questions originally posed for the World Decade for Culture can be re-examined.

Starting with the question of *what are the cultural and sociocultural factors that affect archaeology?*, contrary to popular belief, archaeology is not the study of the past, nor is AHM purely about the management of the past for the future. It is firmly grounded in the contemporary, with the past or idea of pastness effectively being created in the present (after Holtorf, 2013). AHM can be considered as much a cultural practice as the performance of traditional forms of art, music and dance that are informed by historic as well as contemporary social and political structures (e.g. disciplinary norms, governance and government), cultural specificity and the personal frameworks or worldviews of individuals and coalitions of people. The latter give rise to particular ways of understanding and approaching a practice such as the management of archaeology, which within Western culture has shifted, although not been completely revised, over the last 200 years.

As discussed in Chapter 3, archaeology is often seen to contribute to social and economic sustainability agendas, but these do not necessarily ask *what is the cultural impact of social and economic forms of archaeology?* Although culture was added as a 4th pillar within sustainable development discourse, the social sphere of sustainability has primarily been used as a discursive framework within public archaeologies. This frame is based on the eco-modernist sustainable development discourse and is more about the *social structures* within society that are required to deliver public benefits or human development, for example collective and individual well-being through access to improved civic services, and participatory democratic processes to enable people to determine *how* they interact and inform national and local governance structures and influence decision-making.

Although a subdiscipline of social archaeology exists, this is more about the understanding and interpretation of how social aspects of past human culture are expressed as material culture found in the archaeological record (Meskell and Preucel, 2007). It relates to key concepts within CDA, particularly ideology and power in the creation and maintenance of societal structures and governing the behaviour of people, but also recognises individual and collective human agency. Archaeology as a social instrument has been examined more recently as part of community archaeologies that seek to provide social benefits to participants. This is often by making archaeology, or the archaeological process as an activity, more socially and physically accessible to those often excluded from traditional approaches prejudiced towards ableism and exhibiting classism (see Kiddey, 2014; Schofield and Kiddey, 2015; Kiddey and Schofield, 2011; Winterton, 2014). This instrumentalisation of archaeology was the basis of a house-style debate I co-organised as a conference session at the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) 2014 conference (Sutcliffe and

Howard, 2014). Although the debate format did not necessarily help clarify the discussion around the, often uncritical, use of a rhetoric of archaeology as a 'social good', it did highlight how in many cases it was just assumed that archaeology was of benefit to society (see May, 2014 for discussion and comments).

The notion of archaeology, or rather the archaeological process, as a social good is similar to the concept of public goods in the sense that no one *should* be excluded from them. This is especially important given the argument that archaeology *is* a public good, with AHM undertaken to secure future access for all people. However, in determining the form and nature of management, the cultural context within which AHM is being undertaken needs to be understood, and there also needs to be honesty regarding what the *archaeologists* seek to get out of the arrangement and whether this is truly of benefit to people, or the social good rhetoric used to justify doing AHM. To understand this better, we need to ask *how do the paradigms within which archaeology is, and has been, structured relate to contemporary culture?* This is essentially the research that has been undertaken in the form of the historiographies of archaeology, as seen in the work of Trigger (2006) and, more specifically AHM, Chippindale (1983) and Carman (2015, 1996, 2005b). These studies relate the discipline of archaeology comprising philosophy and practices to their historically specific contexts, but they also show how the predominance of particular philosophies relating to modernity led to the creation of disciplines such as archaeology during the consolidation of nation states and construction of national identities in Europe. In examining this question, OCD (WCCD, 1995) and later Smith (2006) highlighted the way hegemony relating to Western notions of heritage dominated the discourse and practice of archaeology globally. This has only just started to shift concepts of materiality and what constitutes archaeological enquiry, often as part of post-colonial approaches to archaeology (see

Gosden, 2012). Contemporary culture is not fixed and continues to change. However, the underlying assumptions for *why* we do archaeology, which are culturally informed, continue to divorce AHM further from considering it a cultural practice.

7.3. Archaeology and social sustainability

Within the original sustainable development discourse, society occupied one of the three main spheres of sustainability. Although to anthropologists and archaeologists there is a clear distinction between what can be considered social and what is cultural, the two are often conflated within sustainability discourse. The rise of the 3rd sector in historic environment policy can be seen as part of the discursive shift within UK politics from sustainable development to ‘sustainable communities’ and a focus on social inclusion and participatory democracy rhetoric across the breadth of society. HLF has played a key role in supporting archaeological investigation over the last 20 years as part of its community and locality focus, further aligning archaeology as an instrument of social sustainability. By introducing new audiences for archaeology in the 3rd sector, this introduced a degree of economic and social sustainability, or rather new social structures, to support AHM.

In terms of the difference between social sustainability and cultural sustainability, a cultural discourse on sustainability relates to whether activities are culturally informed, whereas social sustainability is more about creation and maintenance of social structures supporting governance of the natural and cultural environment. Within AHM discourse and practice, the concept of social sustainability has been preferred to cultural sustainability. This can be observed in the earliest discussions regarding the *social* sustainability of archaeology, which focused on the establishment of social structures that would enable members of the public or the 3rd sector to become more

active within AHM, within the existing frameworks as part of participatory democracy approaches advocated in sustainable development discourse (see Clark, 1993; English Heritage, 1997). Although reflecting the new discourse of society and culture, the social forms of archaeology over the last 20 years can still be seen to retain an environmental resource management ethos and, by extension, an economic focus in terms of the self-sustainability of the archaeological process.

Although archaeology could be seen to have become socially sustainable, with popular support hardly waning even through cuts to the heritage sector, it continues broadly within the extractive–consumptive paradigm, with community archaeologies often focusing on excavation. Britain’s social sustainability agenda in general can be seen to be more about governance and creating citizens that will contribute to and consume the new creative industries, in-line with the reimagined ‘Cool Britannia’. The shift to more democratic practices in terms of AHM can be seen broadly as governmentality, with the discourse and rhetoric of participatory democracy aiming to change society’s relationship with AHM, but not necessarily changing the framework. As such, adjustments and discursive reorientations of archaeology are apparent over the last 30 years, but this has not resulted in any real change.

Archaeology has been repurposed for social sustainability agendas, but the philosophy and practice has not been reimagined as a 21st-century cultural practice. It has been acknowledged that the role of heritage within national narratives needs to change to reflect changes within society and how these relate to people’s culturally specific heritage *needs*, but the frameworks and the ways of valuing heritage do not necessarily allow for this, being rooted in the origins of the nation state in Europe. Lyotard (1984) saw the end of the modern period and transition to the post-modern

period as representing a shift from overarching grand narratives to smaller, disjointed and disconnected stories. There are examples where heritage narratives were diversified as part of deliberative multiculturalism (see Bressey, 2009; Historic England, 2019c), but these narratives are often *appended* to the authorised heritage framework rather than reflecting a true change to the underlying principles of national heritage.

Not only did community archaeologies provide new audiences for archaeology to ensure that it became more socially relevant, through periods when budgets were being cut to national and local government heritage services, it also opened up new sources of funding through initiatives such as the HLF. In addition to commercial archaeology being project-orientated, the community archaeology framework cemented this project-based and fixed-term approach to heritage projects. Although this could have presented a problem for the economic as well as social sustainability of archaeological projects, many schemes repeatedly applied for project funding to extend the longevity of projects. Although there was a rhetoric of grassroots approaches to archaeological projects where communities identified what they wanted to investigate and then sought guidance from archaeological professionals, the reality was that many local government services applied for funds to undertake specific projects *with* communities.

Rather than communities being the driving force behind projects, many projects have been set up by organisations and project officers who then seek communities to work with or effectively create a new 'heritage community' (Trelka, 2019). Project funding has become another alternative to central government funding to improve heritage services that would traditionally be funded through government. Over recent years the

market for community archaeology has been expanded by the introduction of the economic model of 'crowd-funding'. This sees people purchasing archaeology, almost exclusively archaeological excavation. Whilst this provides financial aid for the preservation of the archaeological resource under an environmental management framework, in some cases it can be seen to fuel further the extractive–consumptive paradigm of archaeology. In terms of its social sustainability by creating exclusive products, crowd-sourcing also reintroduces issues relating to social and cultural exclusion from what is supposedly a 'public good'.

7.4. Place-making, the new heritage gaze and making the invisible visible

The concept of place emerged from social and cultural geography, or the way that people's perception and attachment to spaces is informed by their socio-cultural values and how this might shape their identity. The concept relates to spatial planning and economic development through the practice of place-making, or the planning and construction of spaces that contribute to the social as well as economic welfare of people. The concept place began to be utilised within historic environment discourse as part of the broadening of heritage from individual sites to landscapes and localities. The use of place was intended to remove biases inherent in the national heritage framework, which championed the built and the monumental, places where intangible cultural and social values manifested as cultural landscapes. Eventually place was used within Conservation Principles (English Heritage 2008a) as a *proxy* for all types of heritage asset that were felt to have a distinct identity or character that could be *perceived*. Directly related to the concept of place were notions of localities having aesthetic and community values. Following the publication of Conservation Principles, there has been a successful period of 10 years where constructive conservation has

become an accepted part of spatial planning and economic development and redevelopment, using heritage assets and landscapes in the creation of new places. Conservation Principles and sustainable conservation could be considered a form of discourse coalition in the sense that they brought together heritage practitioners from different disciplinary backgrounds, and ultimately the interpretation of the CPs was supported by disciplinary history carried by the knowledge and experience of heritage practitioners. An early precursor to the place-based approach to heritage advocated by Fairclough (English Heritage, 1997; Fairclough, 2008) was HLC, which was seen as a way to capture landscape epochs. The rhetoric of the HLC approach was that, while it did help support the enjoyment of the historic environment, it primarily served as an auditing tool, which was my experience of it within archaeological planning advisory services. Using an archaeological approach to record 'time depth' within landscapes to identify distinguishing patterns, features and qualities, or attributes that could be perceived as understood within the European landscape convention, captured this character so that it could be used to manage landscape change through planning.

In terms of where specifically archaeological heritage fits into a place-based approach to cultural heritage, many monuments and built aspects are often defining elements of landscapes that add to their character (e.g. industrial and prehistoric landscapes) and show their evolution over time. Whilst part of the cultural turn critique was that monumental and archaeological forms of culture were seen as part of the hegemony of a Western approach to heritage, it ignored the way that archaeological investigation within the changing interpretative frameworks of post-processual and post-modern theory often helped to diversify narratives, by making apparent the everyday and the minority stories that were mostly absent from written histories. For example, archaeological investigation has made people and communities that were invisible

from historical accounts visible through the archaeological study of material culture ahead of commercial developments, such as the excavation of working-class housing in Manchester (Nevell, 2011) and the application of 'cultural archaeology' to recover black British histories in England (Bressey, 2009). Although place is seen to contribute to pluralising heritage by removing previous designation categories, it can also be seen to introduce new biases by championing the visible aspects of the environment, because it is not clear how belowground archaeological deposits encountered through development can be incorporated into the new focus on 'place-making' in the planning and economic development process.

Although there are examples where previously hidden or invisible archaeology has contributed to the creation of new spaces, these are often restricted to developments with large budgets, such as the commercial work for the new Bloomsburg European headquarters in London and the reinstatement of the Roman Temple of Mithras (Bloomberg, 2017). However, this method of including archaeology within the construction of new places can occur at a much smaller scale. For example, within my own planning work for Historic England there have been occasions where even an archaeological site that is adjacent to a development site might be referenced within a new scheme. For example, a new prefabricated school was to be built that would utilise a modular layout that was reminiscent of the scheduled deserted medieval village adjacent to the new school site. Although the remit to exercise creativity within statutory planning advice is limited, it was suggested by my manager that the school could reference the archaeological site through the naming of rooms and adding details to make a connection between the past, present and future of the new school. This is particularly important, as it has been shown that the creation of new places with no reference to previous cultural landscapes or social structures have often failed,

such as the clearance of terraced housing and replacement with high-rise tower blocks in the 1960s (Clampet-Lundquist, 2010). Walsh (1992, pp.148–152) suggested that places are constructed by ‘time markers’ of cultural and geological time that enable people in the present to make a connection with the past through their subjective engagement with these markers, to overcome the ‘gap’ that exists between past and present. However, as shown with the school example, the time markers themselves do not necessarily need to be of the time period they reference.

The concept of place has been part of the heritage management lexicon since the 2008 Conservation Principles used the term as a ‘proxy’ for all elements of the historic environment (English Heritage, 2008a, p.13), but it has seen a resurgence in importance with Historic England producing new guidance and a place-making strategy (Historic England, 2018a) as part of a wider reorganisation of England’s national heritage agency, with a focus on more than statutorily protected sites, and expanding the agency’s remit to ‘places’ that may be wider areas than individual heritage assets and include non-designated assets. Whilst this may indicate an evolution of the notion of national heritage that moves beyond the national list and the criteria for designating something of national significance, it might also be seen as a return to central control by government with regard to planning and development. For example, the revised NPPF (Ministry of Housing Communities, 2018) and redrafted *Conservation Principles* (English Heritage 2017) show a return to heritage management as procedure within the planning process to enable a ‘presumption in favour of sustainable development’, rather than being seen as an opportunity to add value through the process of development (Hinton, 2013). Although it may not have been immediately apparent how archaeology could specifically contribute towards sustainability agendas relating to place-making, as demonstrated in the absence of

the topic within early UK planning policy, when archaeology was amalgamated into the wider category of the historic environment this enabled sustainable development themes relating to reuse and recycling to be drawn into heritage management discourse and practice. This theme of reuse and efficient use of previously developed land, more likely to yield archaeological deposits (see Boldrini 1998), is emphasised within the 2018 revised NPPF in relation to “making efficient use of land” (Ministry of Housing Communities, 2018, p.36).

In 2017 a draft of the revised Conservation Principles was released for consultation, eliciting polarised responses within Historic England. It was clear that some uncritical concepts that had previously been challenged through the disciplinary development and growing pains of archaeology, and particularly landscape archaeology, had crept back into the authorised discourse of place. This was namely the replacement of aesthetic values with artistic values, which might be considered comparable, but the latter introduces an intentionality behind the development of these visual aspects of the landscape (i.e. the intention of a landscape architect in a designed parkland). In most cases, the aesthetic of the historic environment is something that accumulates over time and, whilst some aspects might be intentionally designed or result from the decisions of heritage managers, some aesthetics are completely unintentional through layering of historic environment characteristics, but still contribute to the value and meaning of a place. Artistic also, more often than not, has a positive connotation and, whilst there is the assumption that aesthetic refers to something that is visually pleasing, an aesthetic can also be displeasing or disruptive, which might part of its history.

Although the visual, experience and aesthetic aspects of heritage were seen as pluralising what was understood as cultural heritage, they reinforced certain values and biases. Despite a long debate over the 'Western gaze' within early landscape archaeology (Thomas, 2004, p.199), much of the discourse of place is reverting back to this nostalgic and uncritical way of perceiving our surroundings and why people should value them. Potentially loaded terms such as 'beauty' are now being used more frequently to describe landscapes that may have been quite contentious in the past but now have a pleasant semi-rural aesthetic. Not only is this potentially concealing difficult histories and replacing them with what is perceived by heritage organisations as more appealing, it is also potentially restricting what values are placed onto places and are perpetuated through the planning system. Waterton and Watson (Waterton and Watson, 2015, p.12) acknowledge that "the visibility of landscape has an obvious touristic context", but they also consider that it is about how heritage is *experienced* and how it *affects* people, which is often utilised as part of site branding (see Holtorf, 2007a).

Place can be seen to have introduced a new Western hegemony of the visible. What a focus on the visible does is restrict the forms of heritage that are considered able to contribute to enhancing or developing a new sense of place. For example, the majority of archaeological sites and *ex-situ* records are invisible. Even those sites still visible on the surface could be considered *culturally invisible*, because over time people lose connections to places as they fall out of use and eventually into ruination. Because archaeology is often automatically considered to be heritage, especially sites nationally designated in the past, there has been a drive to try and re-establish people's connections to them by using the process of archaeology to make them visible, even if this visibility is fleeting and does not result in a physical archive, as

seen in the Homeless Heritage project (see Schofield and Kiddey, 2015). In the case of archaeology as a social and cultural activity, the processes of archaeology are increasingly seen to be just as important, if not more so, than the end-product of information and knowledge.

7.5. Disciplinary history, self-reflexivity, continuity and change

Whilst the creation of larger umbrella categories for heritage was inevitable as part of the process of making national heritage more holistic and reflecting developments in international heritage conventions to strengthen the links between cultural and natural aspects of landscape, it also served to mitigate the issue discursively that, whilst some national and regional heritage was easily inserted into a sustainable development framework and could be shown through indicators to contribute to wider socio-economic agendas, other aspects, such as the archaeological record and resource, could be considered to be inherently *unsustainable*. By unsustainable, I mean that AHM processes and frameworks that have remained more or less unchanged for more than 100 years, are creating issues that cannot not be resolved without significant changes to ideological, social, cultural and operational frameworks. The main example of this in relation to archaeology in the UK is the storage crisis of the 2000s. Although this crisis did not suddenly occur but had been growing since the intensification of archaeological excavation as part of the planning process from the 1970s, if not before, it finally became an issue that could no longer be ignored because it could not be simply resolved by creating *more* storage space or substituting physical space for digital storage requirements. It is a fundamental and philosophical issue at the very heart of why we do archaeology and what we gain from the study of the material remains of the past and their valorisation. This issue of collecting and accumulation

was first addressed as a theoretical issue within museum collections by Merriman (2008), who sought to draw further parallels with ecological systems and their regulation. This introduced the 'ecosystem' metaphor to discuss the dynamic process of collection management with periodic review and disposal of materials to ensure that museums and their collections remained sustainable in the sense that collections remained of social relevance to the institution retaining them, and did not pose an economic threat to that institution in terms of the cost of managing and maintaining redundant materials for posterity. Whilst deaccessioning was starting to be discussed as means of managing the materials that had been deposited with museums (Merriman, 2008; Cooke, 2003), it was a relatively minor modification to the attitudes and framework that had led to the issue of museums being overwhelmed by collections in the first place. This realisation also highlighted an issue with the way that collections curation had increasingly become a bureaucratic process rather than an academic or cultural role. By the mid-2000s, many museum curators lacked the skills and knowledge to make sound judgements about specific collections such as archaeology in terms of what should be retained (Merriman, 2008; also see Chartered Institute for Archaeologists, 2016; Historic England, 2016 for wider skills shortage discussion). This also relates back to the valuation framework for archaeology, which relies upon latent value of the resource. As a result of changes in the way funding is raised and distributed to heritage services, especially since the 2008 UK recession, it is no longer enough that these things are kept for posterity with an 'existence value' for the future, because their existence in the present is causing huge issues for already fragile institutions that are in transition from their origins out of modern rationalism. Archaeology is recorded to create a dormant information resource awaiting future

developments or scholarly interest to elevate it from being merely a record of the past to being something of value or a form of heritage.

Within the 'heritage state' there has been an increasing tendency towards taking an accounting and auditing approach to heritage whereby the complexities of heritage as a cultural and social construct are reduced to management 'by numbers'. By this, I am likening historic environment decision-making to the 'painting by numbers' method, where complex artwork can be broken down into the atomistic components so that anyone can recreate them but without necessarily having a greater understanding of the process by which that artwork was composed in the mind of the original artists, who were informed by their experience, knowledge and worldviews. This is what Hinton (2013) refers to as archaeology reduced to procedure rather than a process of adding meaning and value to the archaeological record and resource.

The way that an archaeological practitioner's knowledge and experience informs the way they go about archaeology, even within a procedural framework, was also investigated by Zorzin (2016). Even though commercial archaeologists were excavating to the same standards in terms of recording for a site that was run over 24 hours, with teams working in relay, Zorzin (2016) found that there was tension between teams because no one archaeologist approached the excavation and recording of a feature in the same way. Archaeologists do not passively reflect or record what they encounter, but are active in creating, rematerialising or transforming it. As demonstrated by Zorzin's case study, once an archaeologist makes a judgement about what a feature is or might be, this affects how she or he goes about the fieldwork and recording of it. This is because excavation is undertaken by contexts, which relies first upon the archaeologist identifying and defining those contexts. Although this

practice might be considered standardised, the judgement is in fact subjective, even if a consensus might be reached with colleagues through discussion about a feature. It is also apparent that people from different disciplinary backgrounds approach the management of the same heritage asset from different perspectives. This is helpful for moving away from a restrictive ideas of national heritage management grounded in classical conceptions of archaeology and architecture. However, it should be noted that some heritage specialisms that focus on technical skills do not necessarily provide their practitioners with the philosophical understanding of heritage that would enable critical reflection in terms of how they are transforming that heritage. What these examples indicate is that archaeology is not simply a process or a manual labour but a cultural practice in and of itself that is informed by the worldviews of individuals and communities as well as administrations.

A growing tension I have observed within the heritage management sector relates to the retention and encouragement of knowledge and experience specialisation within subjects such as archaeology, and the tendency for job descriptions towards generic management skills. The rhetorical destruction that Cooper (2008) observed from outside the heritage management sector is increasingly coming from within, with a rhetoric of 'over-specialisation' and 'anti-expert'. This overlooks the fact that many archaeologists have travelled a traditional route into heritage management via higher or further education, and so often have a firm grasp on archaeological theory. This can sometimes be a contentious issue, as some debate the relevance of archaeological theory in practice, but I would strongly argue that my own grounding in archaeological theory, and particularly landscape studies, at undergraduate level has imparted a critical knowledge of various gazes or biases that exist in relation to the visible and perceptible aspects of cultural landscapes. The issue of understanding the principles

of AHM as more than merely the procedure of preservation, and how this relates to the understanding of a site's heritage value or significance, was also raised by Historic England HAR project officers Tom Gledhill and Chris Mayes (pers. comm.). They emphasised that the management of risk to archaeological monuments should be informed by an understanding of the relative significance of components of a site, especially within large or complex sites and cultural landscapes. This therefore requires that at least some heritage managers have specialist knowledge and experience as well as critical reflexivity, to not only characterise important aspects of a site but to make judgements about whether a risk factor poses a threat to a site whilst acknowledging that this is subjective and may change. Redfern (2019) and Emerick (2014), both inspectors of ancient monuments, highlight that expertise need not be contentious if the people labelled as experts exercise critical reflexivity. This is to understand their role in defining what is considered heritage and how it should be managed within a balanced planning, economic development and place-shaping system.

Expertise, as I and many others define it, is the sum of experience and knowledge in relation to a particular subject or practice. The concept of expertise exists less contentiously within a number of similarly set up subjects such as Law that have a much better framework for career development and progress than archaeology (Carman pers. Comm.). The criticism of disciplines such as archaeology in the cultural turn within sustainable development discourse reflects a reductive understanding of what archaeology is and ignores the theoretical and social development of the discipline over the last 30 years, which has been developing alongside a cultural perspective on development. However, because of the way the AHM lexicon has developed using the language of environmental resource management, natural

environment accounting and resource management discourse were seen to be more of a natural fit with AHM and later historic environment policy. It is also possible that, because of the emphasis on culture as an overarching value system allowing for diversity of worldviews and a contemporary process and practice, the traditional understanding of archaeology as predominantly about the past, means it does not sit well with cultural sustainability frameworks that focus on contemporary forms of culture.

Chapter 8. Conclusions, Future Research and Practical Applications

This research started with the question of how the concept of sustainability has been discursively constructed within historic environment policy, spatial planning and economic development policy, to examine how this has influenced its application to AHM. The aim of this thesis was not to offer a definition for sustainability within AHM, but to undertake prospective research into the consequences of recontextualising sustainable development and generic sustainability discourses within AHM using CDA.

The key findings were that:

- 1.) **An eco-modernist perspective has been more influential than previously thought on the ‘cultural turn’ within sustainable development discourse.**
 - a. Through a shared lexicon of resource management and accounting, an eco-modernist perspective was recontextualised into heritage management.
 - b. The dominance of economic accounting methods has biased heritage values towards those based on the economic value of heritage as products and services *for* development.
- 2.) **Sustainability within heritage management policy is employed as a problem-solving discourse**, and the ‘next step’ in correcting a previously unsustainable behaviour or activity, to enable the broader goal of preservation to continue.

- a. A major issue for the economic sustainability of practice is the extractive-consumptive paradigm within a traditional understanding of archaeology as the preservation and management of a finite cultural resource. This might be considered less of an issue if archaeology and AHM is considered a cultural practice in and of itself.
- 3.) **The spheres of cultural and social sustainability have been conflated within AHM. Rather than examining the cultural context and specificities within which AHM is practiced, sustainability discourse often relates to the maintenance of management frameworks.** This is seen in rhetorical but not necessarily philosophical or practical shifts towards communitarianism and participatory democracy within heritage policy.
- 4.) **Within heritage management a *needs* discourse had been carried across from original sustainable development policy** invoking human rights discourse to intensify arguments for *why* heritage *ought* to be protected. However, these needs are less about the needs of humans in relation to heritage and more about the needs of the heritage frameworks to be sustainable or to be maintained.

8.1. The influence of eco-modernism

Chapter 2 outlined the two discursive frameworks of ecological modernisation and the cultural turn or 'culturally sustainable' forms of development that emerged within international sustainable development policy discourse. An eco-modernist perspective characterised the environment as a container of resources *for* development that were either finite or renewable. In the case of the former, a technological optimism was

expressed in relation to the potential to find substitutes for non-renewable resources through advances in technology and science. The cultural turn sought to address issues of developments failing to consider the social, economic and cultural specificity of different locales, by advocating that development should be informed by people's culturally determined preferences and needs as well as environmental limits. However, what this research has shown is that the eco-modernist perspective influenced the development of the cultural turn in sustainable development discourse. In recontextualising of the concept of sustainability from development economics into cultural heritage management and AHM, a shared lexicon of resource management bridged the two disciplines, with the environment becoming a totalising discursive frame. This finding is significant because research initiatives such as COST called for further research to investigate the applicability of an ecological modernisation perspective to better understand the role of culture within development (see Soini and Birkeland 2014), not realising that it has already been highly influential.

The effect of an environmental resource management lexicon on the way sustainability is understood in relation to culture can be seen in the differential treatment of materials characterised as finite or renewable. For example, archaeology is often considered to be analogous to finite natural resources such as fossil fuels, but historic buildings are considered renewable in the sense that they can be reused, or their materials reconstituted. This research has shown how these perceived differences led to biases in the application of the concept of sustainability and sustainable development. For example, historic buildings have been considered *inherently* sustainable in relation to economic development and spatial planning through reuse and the successful rhetoric of heritage-led regeneration. Some forms of archaeology were also seen as

contributing to economic sustainability by providing alternative tourist and recreation economies, often following de-industrialisation, as well as classical forms of national heritage (e.g. monumental archaeological sites, castles, stately homes and parklands). An environmental enframing means that archaeology has been primarily seen as a finite cultural information resource providing a deep time perspective on human–environmental interaction, an economic resource for recreation and tourism, and as a form of social good and instrument, but not necessarily as a historically contingent meaning-making cultural practice in and of itself. In addition, less tangible or visible forms of archaeology, such as those encountered through the planning process, have been discursively omitted from debates regarding sustainability and their contribution to sustainable development and place-making agendas.

8.2. Sustainability as a problem-solving discourse

Sustainability is often seen as a problem-solving discourse, with ‘sustainable solutions’ seen to correct some previous oversight or unsustainable behaviour or activity. For example, the dominance of the extractive–consumptive paradigm within archaeology, discussed in Chapters 3, has been shown to be fundamentally unsustainable within a traditional understanding of AHM as the *preservation* of the archaeological record. This is because despite a rhetoric of preservation, the process of archaeology not only destroys the original archaeological site or deposit, but creates a financial commitment and sometimes burden to future generations by transforming them into archives requiring continuing economic resources to preserve them. Unlike standing reserves of natural resources awaiting transformation into something of value, most

archaeological archives are created purely as procedure to record sites ahead of destruction to fulfil and discharge planning conditions (see Hinton 2013). Many archaeology archives have not and will not make the transformation into a valued information resource or form of heritage because of the lack of financial support for the post-excavation processes to add meaning and value to these materials.

The way archaeological heritage has been seen to contribute to economic and social sustainability agendas has relied upon the direct *consumption* of the resource. This was discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to the erosion of sites subject to intensive tourism (see Pace 2012) and community archaeology where social support and cultural appeal of archaeology is often derived from the *experience of doing* archaeology (Holtorf, 2008b, 2007a). From a traditional AHM perspective, the consumption of archaeology in this way is only considered unsustainable and problematic because of the way it is characterised as a finite resource. However, as highlighted in Chapter 3, numerous scholars consider that archaeology might be considered renewable in relation to the archaeological process generating new heritage, extending classifications of heritage or by people deriving new meaning and heritage values from old materials (see Holtorf, 2008a and Carman, 2004).

Whether or not archaeology is a finite environmental resource will always depend upon the perspective of the author regarding what they consider the role of AHM and the specific cultural and social context within which it is being practiced. My personal opinion is that original archaeological material culture (i.e. materials dating to a specific

period or culture) are finite. However, their loss or erosion might not be so problematic, or necessarily lead to the loss of information or value, because of the propensity for the discipline of archaeology. This is through often the creativity of the individuals working within the heritage sector to imaginatively renew and reimagine to create new heritages for new audiences. For example, the reuse or recycling of archaeological information resources from grey literature, first highlighted by Boldrini (1998), is only now being realised through the introduction of 'big data' and large national and international synthesis projects that create new narratives (Allen et al., 2015; Cooper and Green, 2016).

As with the original discourse of sustainability, different spheres of AHM might be considered more or less sustainable. For example, an AHM practice such as community excavation might be socially and culturally sustainable but considered unsustainable from an environmental perspective in terms of the destruction of the finite and authentic archaeological resource. However, if the concept of authenticity is refuted as suggested by Holtorf (2013) and a number of heritage managers (Emerick and Redfern pers. comm.), the notion of what makes materials 'of the past' or gives them a sense of 'pastness' might be fabricated in the present from modern materials. There is also increasing evidence that authenticity is not necessarily as highly valued by members of the public as it is for heritage managers and archaeologists. This can be seen in the positive reception of reproductions of cultural artefacts and, through advances in digital scanning and fabrication technology, recreated archaeological sites (Holtorf, 2013).

In terms of whether sustainability as a problem-solving discourse has helped AHM to become more socially, culturally and economically sustainable, in a session at the 2016 World Archaeological Congress (WAC) Holtorf (pers. comm.) made the statement that “sustainability had failed”. This proclamation was made to spark debate because the session was failing to critically engage with the topic, with most speakers demonstrating the unquestioning assumption that applying the concept of sustainability to AHM was a good thing. In response I suggested that whilst a discourse of sustainability may have *failed* to turn its rhetoric into reality or operationalise its principles, the aims, objectives and outcomes of a sustainable approach to AHM are ultimately constructed by archaeologists and heritage managers. As such, they have the power to determine when something is seen to be a failure or a success and by what metrics or qualitative gauges this judgement is made. For example, I have observed on numerous occasions the rhetorical lessening of failures, or perceived failures, in relation to reporting of project outcomes from HLF-funded heritage projects. Fear of failure, or perceived failure, in relation to stated objectives, has prevented reflexivity in relation to projects to determine what does or does not work see (Burtenshaw 2014; Pyburn 2014), by accepting and acknowledging failure as simply *trying* (Richardson and Atkin, 2017). Sustainability in relation to cultural heritage management might be considered a failed or flawed paradigm, but rather than being seen as a discourse about solutions, it should be considered a discourse about potential solutions or ways forward.

8.3. Implications of findings on heritage practice

The entirety of this research was undertaken whilst I was working professionally as an archaeologist across a range of heritage management organisations in England. As such, this research is not only an academic critique informed by notional observations of the professional sector, which are often contrived, but a situated and therefore prospective critique. As such, this research goes further than others that have used CDA to analyse heritage management, by not only identifying the dominant discursive frame (e.g. AHD), but also highlighting discursive biases and showing how these have influenced practice. It is this prospective critique that is the start of seeking to bring balance back to discourses and practice by looking at alternative narratives and discursive frames.

8.3.1. Future development of heritage management policy

As demonstrated throughout this thesis, AHM has chosen to adopt an eco-modernist perspective on environmental resource management, adapting this discourse and the methods of environmental valuation, auditing and accounting to the historic environment. One of the first attempts to try and use CDA to understand the discursive construction of the concept of cultural sustainability was by Soini and Birkeland (2014) as part of the COST programme (see Soini et al. 2015). The conclusion of this research was that to help understand the meaning of cultural sustainability, related concepts such as ecological modernisation should be investigated (see Soini and Birkeland 2014). This suggests that in analysing scientific and primarily academic literature on cultural sustainability and omitting policy documents, the COST researchers failed to appreciate that cultural perspectives on sustainable development had already been influenced by ecological modernisation. This finding highlights a

serious disconnect between academic studies of discourse and the implications of their practical implementation within policy arenas.

This research has shown that international and national planning and heritage policy documents have been the main medium through which the concept of sustainability was developed and recontextualised. Whilst academic studies such as those conducted by Soini and Birkeland (2014) might understand the disciplinary history within which concepts such as sustainability have been developed, they are not necessarily engaging with policy outcomes. In addition, it is clear that those charged with creating and implementing policies are often only referring to preceding policy documents and not tracking the discursive history of policy concepts. This means they often do not understand the historic context and development of concepts, nor how this is potentially biasing their approaches to the discursive construction of policy problems and therefore solutions. The result of this disconnect between academic studies and policy creation was observed in Chapter 5 in the way that English historic environment policy did not reference OCF, but instead indirectly referenced this through UK planning policy documents.

This research demonstrates the need for critical linguistic approaches to be applied to the formulation and study of heritage policy, heritage management discourse and heritage practice as part of formal, informal and continuing education within all disciplines that supply practitioners for the sector. The skills to reflect critically upon the way that policy problems are discursively constructed and therefore influence actions to resolve them will become increasingly important in ensuring that heritage management remains culturally relevant and professionally reflexive. I believe the

skills to critically appraise practise within heritage management also needs to be incorporated into continuing professional development (CPD), with professional organisations being more open to self-reflexivity within their staff, even if this highlights the subjective nature of heritage management practice rather than continuing the rhetoric of professional objectivity. CPD should not just focus on providing practical skills and specialist knowledge to members of staff in order to perform procedural tasks relating to archaeology and heritage management, but also the ability to critically appraise their decisions and those of their colleagues, to enter into *debate* and acknowledge that, as a cultural practice, AHM is subjective.

8.1.2. Culture, society and the sustainability of AHM

Subjects such as archaeology have been rhetorically ostracised from global discussions in relation to cultural sustainability because of the biases they are perceived to carry forward as throwbacks from colonialism. In the past these biases served to objectify and filter out dissonance from landscapes through a Western and particularly male gaze relating to notions of artistic intent and aesthetic beauty (see Thomas 2004). For example, I have observed the way that some national heritage is rhetorically destroyed from within heritage agencies, which exercise the same biases often driven by class misgivings and practitioners not being able to reflect upon their own privilege regarding their experience of locations. Some of the rhetoric I have heard from heritage leaders is worryingly reminiscent of John Major's speech recalling an aesthetic and cultural idealism of what he thought represented Britain (Major, 2019), but was in fact exclusive and exclusionary for the majority of the population. Combating this uncritical use of language is particularly important for heritage plurality as some places do not adhere to these visual ideals but are nonetheless important in

the development of locales and how this relates to people's identities and sense of belonging.

This research has demonstrated that the uncritical adoption of the lexicon and discourse of eco-modernism aligned AHM with natural resource management but detached the discipline of archaeology from cultural approaches to understanding sustainable human development. Unlike other literature and academic studies that have tended to conflate the concepts of culture and society, using composite terms such as socio-cultural, this thesis distinguishes between cultural and social perspectives on sustainability. The latter I characterise as being more about the sustainability of the frameworks that secure AHM rather than seeing AHM as a cultural practice in and of itself (see Carman 2006). I consider that a rhetoric of participatory democratic approaches is often employed to maintain social support for the administration of archaeological heritage by the bodies that comprise the 'heritage state'. I consider a genuinely cultural approach to AHM, addressing all spheres of sustainability, would focus on discovering what heritage is important to people, even if this does not adhere to the heritage state's notion of heritage worthy of protection.

To intensify arguments made for the preservation and protection of heritage, the heritage state has invoked a needs discourse similar to that employed within the original sustainable development discourse in relation to human rights. But this discourse is less about human cultural needs or aspirations in relation to heritage and more about the needs of the heritage state to justify its continuation. What this has done is culturally detach heritage from people and overlooks heritage management as a meaning-making cultural process in and of itself, reducing it to the purely procedural

management of heritage resources (see Hinton 2013). Within this framework heritage is treated as a standing reserve of future potential, rather than realising its potential in the present. I conclude that there is yet to be a truly cultural approach to the sustainability of AHM, treats it as a meaning-making process and a cultural practice in and of itself. For example, AHM understood as a cultural practise might be more interested in the *process* of heritage and what this can tell us about contemporary society and culture, to reflect upon our reasons for wanting to pass this to the future. This is starting to be investigated through research projects such as Heritage Futures (see Högberg et al. 2017)

If the focus of a sustainable form of archaeology shifts from a social perspective about the maintenance of frameworks to a cultural one, as with any other cultural practices such as art, music or dance, what is created should be understood and situated in terms of its creator (i.e. the heritage managers). Within the heritage state, heritage managers are seen as impartial mediators, their own cultural influence over practice disregarded. This sets up a false sense of impartiality and strengthens the distinction between professionals, who supposedly have this impartiality, and various publics who are often seen to have vested interests (e.g. nimbyism).

The reality is that the cultural background of those employed by the heritage state will ultimately influence their understanding and therefore approach to heritage management based on their worldviews, even if they operate within an official framework. This difference in interpretation of supposedly official concepts and frameworks was demonstrated by Waterton (2010), and I have observed this within my professional work. In terms of future practice, this could mean accepting that, whilst

there is a heritage state and framework that guides how personnel approach heritage management, but that their interpretation and operation within that framework will still be governed by their own worldviews and personal experiences. The acknowledgment of AHM as a cultural practise might also be the key to diversifying the professional heritage sector to ensure that state heritage remains culturally diverse and relevant in a changing society.

I have outlined a potential alternative approach to understanding AHM as a historically contingent cultural practice analogous to some of the cultural traditions that the heritage state seeks to understand, protect and preserve. However, the reality is that the illusion of impartiality and rigorous accounting and auditing, akin to natural resource management, is what legitimises and allows for the continuation or sustainability of the heritage state in a world of competing discourses and national policy priorities. There would need to be a fundamental shift in heritage management philosophy within a national heritage framework for this approach to be considered.

8.2. Future Research

Despite a history of AHM adopting an eco-modernist environmental frame to understand cultural aspects of landscapes and locales, in other countries there are examples of what appear to be truly cultural approaches to the environment. For example, in the Netherlands the relationship between human culture and natural environmental processes continues into historical periods and remains of importance to contemporary society (see van Beek and Keunen, 2006; van Beek et al., 2010; van Beek and Gearey, 2019). Research into Dutch and Irish wetland environments is now underway to investigate how cultural heritage might contribute to understanding contemporary demographic and climate driven changes in these environments (van

Beek pers. comm.). If AHM is to be treated as a cultural practice rather than a form of environmental auditing, further research is required to investigate what a truly cultural approach to AHM might entail. Within a heritage place-making agenda, I believe archaeology and archaeologists have much to contribute in terms of taking a critical approach to understanding and interpreting landscapes. To prevent historical biases and prejudices from being reintroduced through uncritical use of language in heritage policy, I suggest that future research focusses on the combination of critical landscape studies and CDA to appraise the discourse of place-making.

Rather than potentially creating two separate approaches to AHM, one treating materials as environmental resources to be audited and the other focussed on the processes that create cultural value, research is required into integrating the two. Part of this might be through work that is being started by Historic England looking at the Public Value Framework (PVF) within England (Andy Brown pers. comm.). This would also be the start of gaining a better understanding of heritage needs in relation to the cultural needs or aspirations of people in relation to archaeological forms of heritage and how AHM interacts with society. This research has started to be undertaken in relation to participatory democratic approaches to community archaeologies hosted by the Council for British Archaeology (CBA) and The University of York (see Fredheim 2017).

Research into cultural approaches to AHM should not only be conducted within an academic context, but fully integrated between the public bodies charged with the protection of cultural heritage and academic departments. This approach has been pioneered by some cultural heritage departments where collaborative doctoral

partnerships (CDPs) seek to place students within professional organisations. However, this approach starts with students who often have no or little professional experience, the aim being to teach them the practical skills or procedural approaches to AHM through a placement with a professional body. However, what this ignores is a large untapped intellectual resource within these organisations – their employees. Many are not only professionally curious but more than have the capacity to undertake research at post-graduate level. This is demonstrated by the number of heritage professionals, like myself, Keith Emerick and Katy Whittaker, as well as countless others, who undertake doctoral research whilst working.

With the potential for professional organisations such as Historic England and Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) to become independent research organisations (IROs), there is now more scope for cross-over between academic critical heritage research and professional practice. This would help to not only close the perceived schism between the different sectors of archaeology but also archaeology and the wider cultural heritage sector by recognising AHM as a contemporary practise. With this changed research funding landscape, professional bodies would be research leads rather than secondary partners. Doctoral research undertaken by employees on priority research topics for organisations could be part of CPD. This would help to address the lack of research skills within organisations as well as job satisfaction for those wanting to stretch themselves intellectually. It also would save financial resources on contracting out research projects to consultants. Part of seeing AHM as a cultural practise is cultivating the minds of the people who work within the public sector to exercise the professional and personal critical reflexivity required to connect heritage with a diverse public. It is the latter that will

ensure that AHM remains culturally, socially, environmentally and economically responsive and therefore sustainable now and into the future.

Appendices

1.1. Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (United Nations 1972)

Quotations are taken from a scanned copy of the original report available online. Only the text of the Declaration is presented below, citations from the rest of the report will be referenced in the main body of the thesis using the standard in-text citation format. The text is highlighted in such a way as to indicate the author's emphasis.

“Chapter 1 - Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment...

...The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, having met at Stockholm from 5 to 16 June 1972, having considered the **need for a common outlook and for common principles to inspire and guide the peoples of the world in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment**,

Proclaims that:

1. **Man is both creature and moulder of his environment**, which gives him physical sustenance and affords him the **opportunity for intellectual, moral, social and spiritual growth**. In the long and tortuous evolution of the human race on this planet a stage has been reached when, through the **rapid acceleration of science and technology**, man has acquired the power to transform his environment in **countless ways and on an unprecedented scale**. Both aspects of man's environment, the **natural and the man-made**, are essential to his **well-being** and to the enjoyment of **basic human rights** the right to life itself.

2. The **protection and improvement of the human environment is a major issue which affects the well-being of peoples and economic development throughout the world; it is the urgent desire of the peoples of the whole world and the duty of all Governments.**

3. Man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. In our time, **man's capability to transform his surroundings**, if used wisely, can bring to all peoples the benefits of development and the opportunity to enhance the quality of life. **Wrongly or heedlessly applied, the same power can do incalculable harm to human beings and the human environment.** We see around us growing evidence of **man-made harm in many regions of the earth: dangerous levels of pollution in water, air, earth and living beings; major and undesirable disturbances to the ecological balance of the biosphere; destruction and depletion of irreplaceable resources; and gross deficiencies, harmful to the physical, mental and social health of man,** in the man-made environment, particularly in the living and working environment.

4. **In the developing countries most of the environmental problems are caused by under-development.** Millions continue to live far below the minimum levels required for a decent human existence, deprived of adequate food and clothing, shelter and education, health and sanitation. Therefore, the developing countries must direct their efforts to development, bearing in mind their priorities and the need to safeguard and improve the environment. For the same purpose, the **industrialized countries should make efforts to reduce the gap themselves and the developing countries.** In the **industrialized countries, environmental problems are generally related to industrialization and technological development.**

5. The natural growth of population continuously presents problems for the preservation of the environment, and adequate policies and measures should be adopted, as appropriate, to face these problems. **Of all things in the world, people are the most precious.** It is the people that propel social progress, create social wealth, develop science and technology and, through their hard work, continuously transform the human environment. Along with social progress and the advance of production, science and technology, the capability of man to improve the environment increases with each passing day.

6. A point has been reached in history when we must shape our actions throughout the world with a more prudent care for their environmental consequences. Through ignorance or indifference we can do massive and irreversible harm to the earthly environment on which our **life and well being depend**. Conversely, through fuller knowledge and wiser action, we can achieve for ourselves and our posterity a better life in an environment more in keeping with **human needs and hopes**. There are broad vistas for the enhancement of environmental quality and the creation of a good life. What is needed is an enthusiastic but calm state of mind and intense but orderly work. **For the purpose of attaining freedom in the world of nature, man must use knowledge to build, in collaboration with nature, a better environment.** To **defend** and improve the human environment for present and future generations has become an **imperative goal** for mankind—a goal to be pursued together with, and in harmony with, the established and fundamental goals of peace and of worldwide economic and social development.

7. To achieve this environmental goal will demand the **acceptance of responsibility by citizens and communities and by enterprises and institutions at every level**, all sharing equitably in common efforts. Individuals in all walks of life as well as organizations in many fields, **by their values and the sum of their actions, will shape the world environment of the future.**

Local and national governments will bear the greatest burden for large-scale environmental policy and action within their jurisdictions. International cooperation is also needed in order to raise resources **to support the developing countries in carrying out their responsibilities in this field.** A growing class of environmental problems, because they are regional or global in extent or because they affect the **common international realm**, will require extensive cooperation among nations and action by international organizations **in the common interest.**

The Conference calls upon Governments and peoples to exert common efforts for **the preservation and improvement of the human environment**, for the benefit of all the people and for their posterity.

Principles

States the common conviction that:

Principle 1 - **Man has the fundamental right to freedom, equality and adequate conditions of life, in an environment of a quality that permits a life of dignity and well-being, and he bears a solemn responsibility to protect and improve the environment for present and future generations.** In this respect, policies promoting

or perpetuating apartheid, racial segregation, discrimination, colonial and other forms of oppression and foreign domination stand condemned and must be eliminated.

Principle 2 - The **natural resources of the earth**, including the air, water, land, flora and fauna and especially representative samples of natural ecosystems, must be safeguarded for the benefit of present and future generations **through careful planning or management, as appropriate.**

Principle 3 - The **capacity of the earth to produce vital renewable resources must be maintained** and, wherever practicable, **restored or improved**.

Principle 4 - Man has a special responsibility to safeguard and wisely manage the **heritage of wildlife** and its habitat, which are now gravely imperilled by a combination of adverse factors. **Nature conservation, including wildlife, must therefore receive importance in planning for economic development.**

Principle 5 - The **non-renewable resources of the earth must be employed in such a way as to guard against the danger of their future exhaustion** and to ensure that **benefits from such employment are shared by all mankind...**

...Principle 8 - **Economic and social development is essential for ensuring a favorable living and working environment for man** and for creating conditions on earth that are necessary for the improvement of the quality of life.

Principle 9 - **Environmental deficiencies generated by the conditions of under-development and natural disasters pose grave problems** and can best be **remedied by accelerated development** through the **transfer of substantial quantities of financial and technological assistance as a supplement to the**

domestic effort of the developing countries and such timely assistance as may be required...

...Principle 12 - **Resources should be made available to preserve and improve the environment**, taking into account the circumstances and particular requirements of developing countries and any costs which may emanate- from their incorporating environmental safeguards into their development planning and the need for making available to them, upon their request, additional international technical and financial assistance for this purpose.

Principle 13 - In order to **achieve a more rational management of resources and thus to improve the environment**, States should adopt an integrated and coordinated approach to their development planning so as to ensure that **development is compatible with the need to protect and improve environment for the benefit of their population**.

Principle 14 - **Rational planning constitutes an essential tool for reconciling any conflict between the needs of development and the need to protect and improve the environment**.

Principle 15 - **Planning must be applied to human settlements and urbanization with a view to avoiding adverse effects on the environment and obtaining maximum social, economic and environmental benefits for all**. In this respect projects which are designed for colonialist and racist domination must be abandoned...

...Principle 17 - **Appropriate national institutions must be entrusted with the task of planning, managing or controlling the environmental resources of States with a view to enhancing environmental quality.**

Principle 18 - **Science and technology**, as part of their contribution to economic and social development, must be **applied to the identification, avoidance and control of environmental risks and the solution of environmental problems and for the common good of mankind.**

Principle 19 - **Education in environmental matters, for the younger generation as well as adults, giving due consideration to the underprivileged, is essential in order to broaden the basis for an enlightened opinion and responsible conduct** by individuals, enterprises and communities in **protecting and improving the environment in its full human dimension**. It is also essential that **mass media** of communications avoid contributing to the deterioration of the environment, but, on the contrary, disseminates information of an educational nature on the need to protect and improve the environment in order to enable man to develop in every respect.

Principle 20 - **Scientific research and development in the context of environmental problems**, both national and multinational, **must be promoted in all countries, especially the developing countries**. In this connection, the **free flow of up-to-date scientific information and transfer of experience must be supported and assisted**, to facilitate the solution of environmental problems; **environmental technologies should be made available to developing countries** on terms which would encourage their wide dissemination without constituting an economic burden on the developing countries.

Principle 21 - **States have**, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, **the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental policies**, and the **responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other States or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction**.

Principle 22 - **States shall cooperate to develop further the international law regarding liability and compensation for the victims of pollution and other environmental damage** caused by activities within the jurisdiction or control of such States to areas beyond their jurisdiction.

Principle 23 - Without prejudice to such criteria as may be agreed upon by the international community, or to standards which will have to be determined nationally, **it will be essential in all cases to consider the systems of values prevailing in each country**, and the extent of **the applicability of standards which are valid for the most advanced countries but which may be inappropriate and of unwarranted social cost for the developing countries**.

Principle 24 - **International matters concerning the protection and improvement of the environment should be handled in a cooperative spirit by all countries, big and small, on an equal footing**.

Cooperation through multilateral or bilateral arrangements or other appropriate means is essential to effectively control, prevent, reduce and eliminate adverse environmental effects resulting from activities conducted in all spheres, in such a way that due account is taken of the sovereignty and interests of all States.

Principle 25 - States shall ensure that international organizations play a coordinated, efficient and dynamic role for the **protection and improvement of the environment...**

...21st plenary meeting, 16 June 1972” (United Nations General Assembly, 1972, pp.3–5)

1.2. Our Common Future (1987)

The quotations and citations used within this thesis are taken from the full unabridged text available online as a PDF document (WCED, 1987b) with page numbers and text mistakes introduced through the OCR process checked against the 1987 paperback version of the report published by Oxford University Press (WCED, 1987a). The text below is highlighted in such a way as to indicate the author's emphasis.

1.2.1. Until recently, the planet was a large world in which human activities and their effects were neatly compartmentalized within nations, within sectors (energy, agriculture, trade), and within broad areas of concern (environment, economics, social). These compartments have begun to dissolve. This applies in particular to the various global 'crises' that have seized public concern, particularly over the past decade. **These are not separate crises: an environmental crisis, a development crisis, an energy crisis. They are all one.** (WCED, 1987a, p.4)

1.2.2. ...When the terms of reference of our Commission were originally being discussed in 1982, **there were those who wanted its considerations to be limited to "environmental issues" only.** This **would have been a grave mistake**. The **environment does not exist as a sphere separate from human actions, ambitions, and needs, and attempts to defend it in isolation from human concerns have given the very word "environment" a connotation of naivety in some political circles.** The word **"development"** has also been narrowed by some into a very limited focus, along the lines of **"what poor nations should do to become richer"**, and thus again is automatically dismissed by many in the international arena as **being a concern of specialists, of those involved in questions of "development assistance"**. But the **"environment" is where we all live; and**

"development" is what we all do in attempting to improve our lot within that abode. The two are inseparable...

1.2.3. ...Sustainable development seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future. Far from requiring the cessation of economic growth, it recognizes that the problems of poverty and underdevelopment cannot be solved unless we have a new era of growth in which developing countries play a large role and reap large benefits...

1.2.4. ...The environmental difficulties that confront us are not new, but only recently have we begun to understand their complexity. **Previously our main concerns centred on the effects of development on the environment. Today, we need to be equally concerned about the ways in which environmental degradation can dampen or reverse economic development. In one area after another, **environmental degradation is eroding the potential for development.** This basic connection was brought into sharp focus by the environment and development crises of the 1980s. (WCED, 1987a, p.35)**

1.2.5. the case for the conservation of nature should not rest only with development goals. It is part of our moral obligation to other living beings and future generations. (WCED, 1987, p.57)

1.2.6. Many present efforts to guard and maintain human progress, to meet human needs, and to realize **human ambitions are simply unsustainable - in both the rich and poor nations. They draw too heavily, too quickly, on already overdrawn environmental resource accounts to be affordable far into the future without bankrupting those accounts. They may show profit on the**

balance sheets of our generation, but our children will inherit the losses.
We borrow environmental capital from future generations with no intention or prospect of repaying. They may damn us for our spendthrift ways, but they can never collect on our debt to them. We act as we do because we can get away with it: future generations do not vote; they have no political or financial power; they cannot challenge our decisions...

- 1.2.7. ...**The concept of sustainable development does imply limits - not absolute limits but limitations imposed by the present state of technology and social organization on environmental resources** and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities. But **technology and social organization can be both managed and improved to make way for a new era of economic growth**. (WCED, 1987, p.8)
- 1.2.8. Good city management requires decentralization of funds, political power, and personnel - to local authorities, which are best placed to appreciate and manage local needs. But the sustainable development of cities will depend on closer work with the majorities of urban poor who are the true city builders, tapping the skills, energies and resources of neighbourhood groups and those in the 'informal sector' (WCED, 1987a, p.17)
- 1.2.9. The processes of development generally lead to the gradual integration of local communities into a larger social and economic framework. But some communities - so-called indigenous or tribal peoples - remain isolated because of such factors as physical barriers to communication or marked differences in social and cultural practices. Such groups are found in North America, in Australia, in the Amazon Basin, in Central America, in the forests and hills of Asia, in the deserts of North Africa, and elsewhere. The isolation of many such

people has meant the preservation of a traditional way of life in close harmony with the natural environment. Their very survival has depended on their ecological awareness and adaptation. (WCED 1987, p.114)

1.2.10. 53. The [United Nations] Convention [on the Law of the Sea] also **defines the waters, sea bed, and subsoil beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, and recognizes this as international.** Over 45 per cent of the planet's surface, this **sea-bed area and its resources are declared to be the 'common heritage of mankind'**, a concept that represents a milestone in the realm of international cooperation. (WCED, 1987a, p.273)

1.2.11. In Europe, acid precipitation kills forests and lakes and damages the **artistic and architectural heritage of nations**; it may have acidified vast tracts of soil beyond reasonable hope of repair. (WCED, 1987, p.2)

1.3. Agenda 21 (1992)

Quotations are taken from the online version of the Agenda 21 report (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992). The text is highlighted in such a way as to indicate the author's emphasis.

1.3.1. "No nation can achieve this on its own; but together we can - in a global partnership for sustainable development" (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.1.1)

1.3.2. "Agenda 21 addresses the pressing problems of today and also aims at preparing the world for the challenges of the next century. It reflects a global consensus and political commitment at the highest level on development and environment cooperation. **Its successful implementation is first and foremost the responsibility of Governments. National strategies, plans, policies and processes are crucial in achieving this.** International cooperation should support and supplement such national efforts. In this context, the United Nations system has a key role to play. Other international, regional and subregional organizations are also called upon to contribute to this effort. The broadest **public participation and the active involvement of the non-governmental organizations and other groups should also be encouraged.**" (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.1.3)

1.3.3. "**Poverty and environmental degradation are closely interrelated.** While **poverty results in certain kinds of environmental stress**, the major cause of the continued deterioration of the global environment is the unsustainable pattern of consumption and production, particularly in industrialized countries, which is a matter of grave concern, **aggravating**

poverty and imbalances.” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.4.3)

1.3.4. “This global partnership must build on the premises of General Assembly resolution 44/228 of 22 December 1989, which was adopted when the nations of the world called for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, and on the acceptance of the need to take a **balanced and integrated approach to environment and development questions.**” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.1.2)

1.3.5. “Humanity stands at a defining moment in history. We are confronted with a perpetuation of disparities between and within nations, **a worsening of poverty, hunger, ill health and illiteracy, and the continuing deterioration of the ecosystems on which we depend for our well-being.** However, **integration of environment and development concerns and greater attention to them will lead to the fulfilment of basic needs, improved living standards for all, better protected and managed ecosystems and a safer, more prosperous future.** No nation can achieve this on its own; but together we can - in a **global partnership for sustainable development.**” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.1.1)

1.3.6. “Many indebted developing countries are undergoing structural adjustment programmes relating to debt rescheduling or new loans. While such programmes are necessary for improving the balance in fiscal budgets and balance-of-payments accounts, in some cases they have resulted in **adverse social and environmental effects**, such as **cuts in allocations for health care, education and environmental protection.** It is important to ensure that structural adjustment programmes do not have negative impacts on the

environment and social development so that such programmes can be more in line with the objectives of sustainable development.” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.2.33)

1.3.7. “Adopt or strengthen appropriate policies and/or legal instruments that will protect indigenous intellectual and cultural property and the right to preserve customary and administrative systems and practices.” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.26.4b)

1.3.8. “unsustainable practices, such as the exploitation of marginal lands and the encroachment on forests and ecologically fragile areas by commercial interests and landless rural populations, [which] result in environmental degradation, as well as in diminishing returns for impoverished rural settlers.” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.7.27)

“Promote the formulation of environmentally sound and culturally sensitive tourism programmes as a strategy for sustainable development of urban and rural settlements” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.7.20e)

Diversify mountain economies, inter alia, by creating and/or strengthening tourism, in accordance with integrated management of mountain areas” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.13.6e)

“Promoting and supporting the management of wildlife, as well as eco-tourism...for improved rural income and employment, **ensuring economic and social benefits** without harmful ecological impacts” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.11.22h)

“Consider undertaking pilot projects that combine environmental protection and development functions with particular emphasis on some of the traditional environmental management practices or systems that have a good impact on the environment” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.13.21)

1.3.9. National authorities should endeavour to promote the internalization of environmental costs and the use of economic instruments, taking into account the approach that the polluter should, in principle, bear the cost of pollution, with due regard to the public interest and without distorting international trade and investment. (Rio Declaration:4)

1.3.10. “Improve the urban environment by promoting **social organization and environmental awareness** through the **participation of local communities** in the identification of public services needs, the provision of urban infrastructure, **the enhancement of public amenities and the protection and/or rehabilitation of older buildings, historic precincts and other cultural artifacts.**” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.7.20b)

“Schools should involve schoolchildren in local and regional studies on environmental health...linking these studies with services and research in national parks, wildlife reserves, ecological heritage sites” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.36.5e)

“Countries should promote, as appropriate, environmentally sound leisure and tourism activities, building on The Hague Declaration of Tourism (1989) and the current programmes of the World Tourism Organization and UNEP, making

suitable use of museums, heritage sites, zoos, botanical gardens, national parks, and other protected areas” (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992, para.36.10g)

1.4. Our Creative Diversity (1995)

1.4.1. "...it is culture that defines how people relate to nature and their physical environment...It is in this sense that all forms of development, including human development, ultimately are determined by cultural factors. Indeed, **from this point of view it is meaningless to talk of the "relation between culture and development" as if they were two separate concepts**, since development and the economy are part of, or an aspect of, a people's culture. Culture then is not a means to material Progress: it is the end and aim of "development" seen as the flourishing of human existence in all its forms and as a whole...It is for this reason that **attempts to make culture a qualifier of development, as in the notion of "culturally sustainable" development, must be undertaken with great care**. It should not be interpreted in such a way as to confine culture to the role of an instrument that "sustains" some other objective; nor should it be defined so as to exclude the possibility..." (WCCD, 1995, p.24)

1.4.2. "By 1988, it was already clear to us that development was a far more complex undertaking than had been originally thought. It could no longer be seen as a single, uniform, linear path, for this would inevitably eliminate cultural diversity and experimentation, and dangerously limit humankind's creative capacities in the face of a treasured past and an unpredictable future. To counter this hazard, a vigorous cultural diversification had already taken place across the world, fed by the awareness that human civilization was a mosaic of different cultures. This evolution in thinking was largely the result of political emancipation, as nationhood had led to a keen awareness of each people's own way of life as a value, as a right, as a responsibility and as an opportunity. It had led each

people to challenge the frame of reference in which the West's system of values alone generated rules assumed to be universal and to demand the right to forge different versions of modernization. It had led peoples to assert the value of their own cultural wealth, of their manifold assets that could not be reduced to measurement in dollars and cents, while simultaneously asserting the universal values of a global ethics." (WCCD, 1995, p.22)

"the modernization of the West need not be the model to be copied by all societies" (WCCD, 1995, p.47)

"A great deal of confusion arises in both academic and political discourse when culture in the humanistic sense is not distinguished from 'culture in its anthropological senses, notably culture as the total and distinctive way of life of a people or society. From the latter point of view it is meaningless to talk of 'the relation between culture and the economy'; since the economy is part of a people's culture... Indeed the ambiguities in this phrase pose the great ideological issue confronted by the Commission: is 'culture' an aspect or a means of 'development', the latter understood as material progress; or is 'culture' the end and aim of 'development': the latter understood as the flourishing of human existence in its several forms and as a whole?" (WCCD, 1995, p.21)

- 1.4.3. **"Culture, therefore, however important it maybe as an instrument of development (or an obstacle to development), cannot ultimately be reduced to a subsidiary position as a mere promoter of (or an impediment to) economic growth. Culture's role is not exhausted as a servant of ends – though in a narrow sense of the concept this is one of its roles – but is**

the social basis of the ends themselves. Development and the economic are part of a people's culture." (WCCD, 1995, p.15)

"Unlike the physical environment, where we dare not improve on the best that nature provides, culture is the fountain of our progress and creativity. **Once we shift our view from a purely instrumental role of culture to awarding it a constructive, constitutive and creative role, we have to see development in terms that encompass cultural growth.**" (WCCD, 1995, p.25)

- 1.4.4. "The Commission expands the concept of cultural policy from a narrow focus on the arts, and suggests a different way of thinking about it. Cultural policy should be directed at encouraging multi-cultural activities. Diversity can be a source of creativity. Supporting new, emerging, experimental art forms and expressions is not a subsidy to consumption but an investment in human development." (WCCD, 1995, p.18)

"Behind the West's commitment to preservation lies half a millennium of evolving attitudes and material realities. Together they have made historic preservation a prominent social value. In the **United Kingdom**, for instance, the number of historic and natural sites, monuments and buildings with **some form of special legal or planning protection has shot up from around a thousand in 1945, and perhaps ten thousand in the 1960s, to close to a million today. Heritage safeguard in all its forms attracts a modicum of public as well as private investment in industrially advanced countries**. It is motivated by broad **social commitment**, and served by an **enthusiastic cadre of trained personnel**. In **less affluent countries, however, whose economies cannot afforded investing in conservation on the same scale, this is far from being the case.**" (WCCD, 1995, pp.177–178)

- 1.4.5. “The situation is illustrated by **UNESCO’s 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage**. This instrument applies only to immovable and was conceived, supported and nurtured by the **industrially developed societies**, reflecting concern for a type of heritage that was highly valued in those countries. The World Heritage List, which in mid-1995 carried 411 properties, **reflects a framework which is not really appropriate for the kinds of heritage most common in regions** where cultural energies have been concentrated in **other forms of expression such as artifacts, dance or oral traditions**.” (WCCD, 1995, p.178)
- 1.4.6. “This has rarely happened, mirroring other failures of the “top down” urban approaches planned and delivered by bureaucratic centres. The problem has been compounded when **state institutions such as departments of antiquities and/or archaeology were established during the colonial period and tailored to the needs of empire**. Many such bodies focus on the buried past: the skills of their personnel in respect of the architectural heritage are limited.” (WCCD, 1995, p.183)
- 1.4.7. “Historic preservation was one of the first cultural domains to be considered “bankable”. Already in the 1970s, for instance, both UNDP and the World Bank began to devote funds to the preservation of the built environment and for crafts development, both of which could be justified in purely economic terms. In historic city centres, the **adaptive re-use of historic monuments as public buildings, often as museums, could be cost-effective and even help rejuvenate the economic base of the old part of the city**, generating both income and employment. “Preservation pays”, a slogan coined in the United Kingdom in the 1980s, soon found adherents

across the globe, as the idea of **“conservation as development” gathered legitimacy**, both in theory and in practice. Yet the marriage between economic opportunities and the often alien value systems that conservation represents has not always been happy. The **wide gulf between poverty and the preservationist values developed in the West could not be bridged by an approach to the built environment...** (WCCD, 1995, p.182)

1.4.8. “Recognizing the contribution of heritage to the promotion of tourism has become a commonplace. Tourism is fast becoming the biggest industry in the world and cultural heritage provides much of its life blood. The burgeoning of a symbiotic relationship between the two is apparent everywhere, having fed the emergence of a “heritage industry”...**The Commission is concerned, however, that cultural heritage does not become an exclusive commodity to serve tourism (and is *degraded* and *despoiled* in the process), but is brought into a mutually supportive relationship with it.**” (WCCD, 1995, p.184)

1.4.9. “the strength of the art market in the industrialized countries acts as a magnet to the flow of trade, licit and illicit. Only the utmost diligence on the part of museums, collectors and dealers in those countries will therefore prevent traffickers and speculators in illegally gotten goods from passing them into the legitimate market...The clandestine art trade is increasingly decried. It was even the subject of a special panel discussion at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum at Davos. Speaking on that occasion, Lord Renfrew, the distinguished British professor of archaeology, pointed out that what we learn about the past from archaeological objects depends on relating them to their original context. Once connections to that context have been

destroyed by illicit excavation, such objects can tell us very little about the past.”
(WCCD, 1995, p.199)

1.4.10. “Our generation has inherited a wealth of tangible and intangible cultural resources that embody the collective memory of communities across the world and buttress their sense of identity in times of uncertainty. **Held in trust for humankind, these resources are essentially non-renewable. Awareness of responsibility for this fragile wealth has crystallized mainly around the built environment: historic monuments and sites.** There has been a parallel sense of responsibility for museum construction and attendance, and the concomitant enrichment of museum collections. **As a result it is physical objects – great monuments and works of art and craft – that are the main beneficiaries of the notion of heritage preservation**. It has become a **worldwide movement** - the pride of international cultural co-operation, as it cements solidarity between peoples for a common cause. **The intangible heritage has not fared so well. If all forms of cultural heritage are fragile, the immaterial ones lodged in people’s minds and hearts are especially so.**” (WCCD, 1995, p.176)

1.4.11. “Although humanity appears to be investing increasingly in “the future of the past” there is still a wide gap between word and deed when it comes to how much is actually preserved and how well. **So much seems to need to be conserved, as the heritage concept itself is extended to many new categories of artifacts** – including, for instance, the perishable celluloid on which is inscribed cinema and other “moving images”, the twentieth-century art form par excellence. **This is a problematical kind of inflation. Our means being finite**, how are we to choose? And do we know enough to do so with

assurance? **It is both physically and economically impossible to preserve all the vestiges of the past.** And dare we even attempt to do so when the money and energy may be better spent helping people meet basic needs? Hence questions arise: What should be preserved? Who is to decide? According to what criteria? Have the special needs of diverse heritages been recognized and have their custodians been properly trained?" (WCCD, 1995, p.177)

1.4.12. "In the post-independence situation, an overzealous belief in modernist paradigms in architecture and city building has led to the demolition of entire sections of pre-colonial cities, for example in medieval Cairo. In such cases nationhood has not been brought nearer to the heritage as a source of identity; instead, the gap between identity and the valorization of the past has widened. Often uncontrolled private initiative has been responsible for the gouging out of large sections of the historic residential urban fabric and its conversion to large scale commercial land use.

1.4.13. Shortcomings such as these have been tackled in different cities across the world. Various grassroots approaches have brought about community development and the upgrading of living standards at economically realistic and technically appropriate levels. Forged by social workers, planners and architects, and other specialists, a number of new institutions have appeared to fill the space vacated by traditional ones that have died out. These new institutions have helped local communities themselves deal with cultural conservation. For their leaders, the most durable return on investment has not been financial but educational and social. Spending on historic preservation remains difficult to justify in the midst of poverty, and the deficiencies of

infrastructure and local governance encountered in decaying inner cities throughout the South. Yet non-governmental efforts are beginning to challenge governments to move in this domain as well from centrally conceived and administered programmes to schemes that are based on community participation. In many instances prominent and successful non-governmental agencies are even competing with governments for external aid.” (WCCD, 1995, p.183)

- 1.4.14. “The problem has been compounded when state institutions such as **departments of antiquities and/or archaeology were established during the colonial period and tailored to the needs of empire. Many such bodies focus on the buried past: the skills of their personnel in respect of the architectural heritage are limited.** Many have also inherited the distances created by colonial period relationships between ordinary people and the **bureaucracy**. This has resulted in a profound **hiatus between ordinary civic life and public concern for the cultural past embodied in an officially listed monumental heritage**. As a consequence, this **heritage has been owned by the state and not by the people, both in a technical-legal sense and in allegorical terms. “Protected” monuments have been relegated to the lowest priority of resource allocation.** They often exist behind heavily guarded boundaries in varying states of care, surrounded if not invaded by low income squatters and illegal business premises. **Monuments not listed are left to decay and oblivion...**
- ...Few antiquities and archaeology departments are equipped to deal with the socio-political aspects of culture and development.** New thinking and training is required, so that the relationships of societies to their heritage can

be revalued. This means involving the disciplines of the human sciences as well as building a new institutional base, structured around conceptions of the heritage linked to the life of society and to cultural continuities. Finding a better place for the historic built environment in the current ecological dynamic, for example, would require the creation of political lobbies and popular opinion balanced by new legislation and new professional and administrative bases at a fairly high level in the executive hierarchy. **A new array of disciplines would enter the picture, from the bio-sciences, through development economics and social sciences, the history of art, architecture and other fields of culture, the urban sciences, urban design and architecture.** They would help forge a sensitivity that promotes respect for the built fabric of traditional neighborhoods. **Their entry would call for structural changes in the old institutions and the creation of new educational institutions, including non-governmental professional organizations and new departments for conservation in existing institutions of architectural and urban design education.** (WCCD, 1995, p.183)

- 1.4.15. Without specialized personnel, heritage resources could neither be identified nor conserved and enhanced in imaginative ways. There is a range of disciplines in which training is needed, most acutely, no doubt, when it comes to management skills.

The Commission, observing **the discrepancy between the ends and means of heritage conservation** throughout the world, recommends that **international efforts be made to mobilize the goodwill of volunteers of all ages to work as “Cultural Heritage Volunteers” under professional guidance and alongside professional staff.** Their permanent mission would

be to contribute to the preservation and enhancement of the human heritage, whether tangible or intangible, using modern techniques, in order to disseminate useful knowledge, enrich humanity's awareness of its heritage and promote deeper mutual understanding and respect between cultures...

1.4.16. ...ecology is not merely resource management but the calculus of power about who appropriates nature, both its physical resources and the cultural meaning associated with them" (WCCD, 1995, p.201)

1.4.17. "Discussions on sustainability have laid too much stress on the large-scale economic relationship between societies and the natural environment. But sustainable strategies should also be considered at the level of individual households and commercial firms, failing which we will only be dealing in oversimplified generalizations with little bearing on actual everyday practices. Many of the environmental issues now being discussed on a global scale are even more urgently felt in micro-social situations. Thanks to detailed studies of living organisms and their ethology we have the technical means today of developing a much better informed "nature culture" than ever before. There is indeed a "way", but there must also be a will to propagate the idea, starting at elementary school, that we are "the gardeners of the world": [to quote a speech delivered in 1854 by Chief Seattle, Chief of the Nez Percé Indian Nation, in response to a demand that he sell his people's land to the United States Government] We are part of the earth and it is part of us . . . This we know. The earth does not belong to man; man belongs to the earth. This we know. All things are connected. Like the blood which unites one family, all things are connected. Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth. Man did not

weave the web of life, he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself.” (WCCD, 1995, p.224)

- 1.4.18. “First, there is the problem, already mentioned, as to whether one should be concerned with sustaining the constituents of well-being or its determinants, whether with the ends or the means, with the objectives or the instruments. Clearly, what ought to matter are the constituents, the health, welfare and prosperity of the people, and not so many tons of minerals, so many trees, or so many animal species. Yet, some of the writings on the subject confuse the two*. If in the process of curing ovarian and other forms of cancer the Pacific yew trees (or even the Northern spotted owl, to whom the forests are home) had to be reduced in number, in order to produce the drug taxol, many would believe that people’s health should be given priority over trees. Some would want to attach end-values to many of the determinants [elements], in so far as they are part of “nature” (such as the Grand Canyon) This view might be called ethical environmentalism in contrast with prudential environmentalism, which regards environmental resources as means. Culture is in this respect quite different from the physical environment. We respect and value it for its own sake.” (WCCD, 1995, pp.207–208)

* “We have been, so far, remarkably successful in inventing substitutes for, or economizing in, exhaustible resources. The exhaustion of a natural resource cannot leave us worse off than we were before its discovery. Wilfred Beckerman once pointed out that the world had survived remarkably well without Beckermonium, a mineral named after an ancestor of his who failed to discover it in the nineteenth century.” (WCCD, 1995, p.226)

1.5. This Common Inheritance (1990)

1.5.1. We have a moral duty to look after our planet and hand it on in good order to future generations. That does not mean trying to halt economic growth. We need growth to give us the means to live better and healthier lives.” (HM Government, 1990a, p.1)

“The foundation of policy: stewardship

1.14 The starting point for this Government is the ethical imperative of stewardship which must underlie all environmental policies. Mankind has always been capable of great good and great evil. That is certainly true of our role as custodians of our planet. The Government's approach begins with the recognition that it is mankind's duty to look after our world prudently and conscientiously. It was the Prime Minister who reminded us that we do not hold a freehold on our world, but only a full repairing lease. We have a moral duty to look after our planet and to hand it on in good order to future generations. That is what experts mean when they talk of "sustainable development": not sacrificing tomorrow's prospects for a largely illusory gain today. We must put a proper value on the natural world: it would be odd to cherish a Constable but not the landscape he depicted. The foundation stone of all the policies in this White Paper is our responsibility to future generations to preserve and enhance the environment of our country and our planet.” (HM Government, 1990b, p.10, own emphasis)

“Although the Government has to be the lead, responsibility for our environment is shared by all of us: it is not a duty for Government alone. Businesses, central

and local government, schools, voluntary bodies and individuals must all work together to take good care of our common inheritance. *That is a job for all of us.*" (HM Government, 1990a, p.3)

"The principle of stewardship requires everyone who owns, occupies or uses land - individuals, businesses, local authorities, government departments - to hold it in trust and to preserve it and enhance it where they can. Everyone needs to be involved in the task of ensuring that the best of our present environment is preserved for future generations" (HM Government, 1990b, p.97, own emphasis)

The Government constantly aims for the highest standards of conservation and will ensure that those responsible for its historic buildings are aware of the importance of the heritage they hold in trust. (HM Government, 1990b, p.128, own emphasis)

1.5.2. Economic growth is not an end in itself. It provides us with the means to live better and fuller lives. We should naturally avoid policies which secure growth in the short term at the expense of blighting our broader, longer term ambitions. But we should not be misled. Growth is a necessary though not a sufficient condition for achieving the higher quality of life that the world wants. In countries already rich beyond the dreams of a generation ago, growth is still needed to provide the resources to clean up the pollution of old industries and to produce the technology to accommodate tomorrow's industrial processes to cleaner surroundings. In countries still miserably poor, growth which will last is essential to overcoming the ruinous impact that poverty itself has on the environment. There is, therefore, no contradiction in arguing both for economic growth and

for environmental good sense. The challenge is to integrate the two. (HM Government, 1990b, p.8, own emphasis)

1.5.3. “It was the Prime Minister [Margaret Thatcher...]who reminded us that we do not hold a freehold on our world, but only a full repairing lease. We have a moral duty to look after our planet and to hand it on in good order to future generations. That is what experts mean when they talk of "sustainable development": not sacrificing tomorrow's prospects for a largely illusory gain today. (HM Government, 1990b, p.10, own emphasis)

1.5.4. “1.25 If Governments want to stop something happening, or make something happen in a different way, they have broadly two choices: they can by law lay down rules and regulations on standards to be met or equipment to be installed; or they can use the market to influence the behaviour of producers and their customers. Whichever course they choose, the objective is to make those who cause environmental damage face the costs of control in full, without subsidy. That is called the "polluter pays" principle which the Government, in common with many other Governments, adopts.” (HM Government, 1990b, p.13)

1.5.5. “Tourism can play an important part in the development and diversification of the rural economy. The past few years have seen many new developments in, for example, nature trails, farm museums, craft workshops and other activities designed to encourage tourism in rural areas. Tourist income is often essential to the maintenance of services and facilities. Many rural areas would have a greatly reduced range of shops and transport facilities were it not for the income generated by visitors.” (HM Government, 1990b, p.102, own emphasis)

1.5.6. “9.26 In recent years many private individuals and trusts have committed their efforts and enthusiasm to preserving some of the surviving remains of the

industrial revolution, and to getting them back into working order. SAVE Britain's Heritage's recent book 'Bright Future' illustrates what has been achieved - and the opportunities that still remain for conserving industrial buildings. The Government believes that the enthusiasm and energy of private organisations and individuals can be harnessed to safeguard this part of our heritage. They will continue to have the support, in varying degrees and forms, from the National Museums, and from some local authorities. English Heritage has also made funds available for the preservation and restoration of mills, warehouses and industrial buildings, and structures of other kinds, and they will receive more attention in future." (HM Government, 1990b, p.131, own emphasis)

1.5.7. "They attract the admiration of millions of visitors from around the world." (HM Government, 1990b, p.126)

"Heritage and tourism

1.5.8. 9.15 There has been concern recently that some of the most popular historic sites may be spoilt by overvisiting - by the wear and tear that results from the large numbers attracted to them at peak times, and by the facilities that have to be provided for them. The interest that overseas visitors and our own citizens are taking in the physical heritage is welcome, but it is also a management problem for the bodies in whose care the most popular sites happen to be. They are tackling the problem in a variety of ways - partly through visitor management, physical protection and admission charges, and partly by widening the range of heritage sites on offer to a public which is increasingly informed, discerning and ready to enjoy them." (HM Government, 1990b, p.129)

“ensuring that tourism damages the environment as little as possible” and “We can all play our part in preserving heritage. As visitors to sites we can take care not to cause damage.” (HM Government, 1990a, p.21)

1.5.9. “9.24 The Government provides grants through English Heritage for the repair and restoration of nearly all kinds of buildings of architectural and historic interest. In future, English Heritage will give a high priority, within available resources, to buildings in historic town centres - houses, shops, market- halls and other buildings, many of which form part of conservation areas. These areas are readily accessible for large numbers of people to enjoy in their everyday life. They give character to surroundings and a sense of place, and show the continuity of the past with the present and the future.” (HM Government, 1990b, p.130)

1.5.10. “4.54 Many British voluntary bodies concerned with the environment and development have a high international reputation. The Government values their expertise and their special ability to help at the local community level. It meets them regularly to exchange ideas and encourages their participation in promoting sustainable development.” (HM Government, 1990b, p.59)

1.6. Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) 12: Development Plans and Regional Planning Guidance (1992)

1.6.1. “The planning system, and the preparation of development plans in particular, can contribute to the objectives of ensuring that development and growth are sustainable. The sum total of decisions in the planning field, as elsewhere, should not deny future generations the best of today’s environment...”

1.6.2. ...The preparation of local plans gives local communities the opportunity to participate in planning choices about where development should be accommodated in their area.” (Department of the Environment, 1992a, para.1.8)

1.6.3. “a finite resource, and we have to find enough for all our needs – homes, jobs, shops, food, transport, fuel, building materials and recreation – while protecting what we value most in our surroundings...”

1.6.4. ...Conservation and development should not be seen as necessarily in conflict. Policies for land use must weigh and reconcile priorities in the public interest...Some priorities are economic and social[e.g. economic growth, jobs, housing, physically safe environment, food production, transport, waste management]...Other priorities have conservation and the environment as their common flavour:

- sustaining the character and diversity of the countryside...including wildlife habitats...
- maintaining the character, as well as the vitality, of town and city centres
- revitalising older urban areas, so that they become more pleasant places to live and work in

- safeguarding and improving the amenity of residential districts
 - giving high priority to conserving the built and archaeological heritage”
- (Department of the Environment, 1992a, para.6.4-6.5)

1.6.5. “Urban policies to encourage regeneration in inner cities mean that areas of urban decay are now seen increasingly as offering opportunities for new economic growth. This helps reduce development pressure in more sensitive areas by encouraging re-use of previously used urban land.” (HM Government, 1990b, p.81)

“6.60 Government policies are directed at making the best use of our finite supply of land. An important part of this is to bring previously-developed land back into constructive use. This is a major aim, for example, of the policies for inner cities... Analysis of land use changes has shown that currently half the land developed for new housing was previously developed or vacant in urban areas.” (HM Government, 1990b, p.91)

1.6.6. “7.18 With the development of geographic information systems (GIS) technology, local planning authorities should in due course make maps and diagrams in plans in digital form. This would allow plan and other data to be correlated, analysed, and revised more easily.” (Department of the Environment, 1992a, para.7.17)

1.7. General Policy and Principles PPG1 (1988)

1.7.1. “control of external appearance can be important, especially for instance in environmentally sensitive areas such as National Parks, Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, conservation areas and areas where the quality of the environment is of a particularly high standard.” (Department of the Environment, 1988a, para.28)

1.7.2. The planning system fails in its function whenever it prevents, inhibits or delays development which can be reasonably permitted. There is **always** a presumption in favour of allowing applications for development... Except in the case of inappropriate development in the Green Belt the developer is not required to prove the case for the development her proposes to carry out” (Department of the Environment, 1988a, para.15, own emphasis)

1.8. UK Sustainable Development Strategy (1994)

1.8.1. need to *“be sensitive to the intangibles that cannot be reduced to scientific imperatives and the narrow language of economics”* (HM Government, 1994, p.3)

1.8.2. “Economic development is just as important a concept as environmental protection, and we must find ways of achieving both together” (HM Government, 1994, p.5)

1.8.3. “Demands [for development are] reconciled with the need to protect **open countryside**, for its importance as part of the **landscape heritage** and as natural habitat” (HM Government, 1994, p.160)

- 1.9. Strategic Planning and Sustainable Development (1992) and Conservation Issues in Strategic Plans (1993)
- 1.9.1. “By ‘characterisation’ we mean establishing what wildlife and natural features are typical and special within an area. The term ‘audit’ is sometimes used...Sustainability does not necessarily require the environment is improved. However, in many areas it will be felt that this objective is too limited and that environmental decline should be reversed and not merely arrested.” (English Nature, 1992, p.8)
- 1.9.2. “we [the government agencies] do not want to stop development, but rather to encourage the *right* type in the *right* place....
- 1.9.3.Conservation and development are not alternatives, but are contrasting interests that must be reconciled and integrated.” (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, p.4, own emphasis)
- 1.9.4. “Fears that human and economic development might outstrip the regenerative properties and resources of the natural environment are not new. Indeed, archaeology can give many examples of this happening.” (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, p.8)
- 1.9.5. “Ethics. The belief that we have not inherited the earth from our parents, we have *borrowed* it from our children” (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, p.9, own emphasis)
- “Our resource-use decisions of today should not *foreclose* options for future generations.” (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, p.10, own emphasis)
- 1.9.6. “The accepted principles of sustainable development require that there is effective public involvement in the process. In strategic planning, ways need to be found to involve people meaningfully in the decisions that will affect their

future environment – not as a statutory ‘hoop’ to go through, but as a positive opportunity to give communities a sense of ownership in tackling environmental problems.” (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, p.15)

1.9.7. “In planning for sustainable development, the aim must be to set finite limits to acceptable environmental change. This means making judgements about the capacity of environmental resources to accept demands upon them without irreversible or otherwise unacceptable change. In dealing with resources of landscape, wildlife, and the historic and cultural environment, it is useful to think in terms of:

- key or essential environmental resources that are considered critically important and irreplaceable and where any loss or damage would be extremely serious (sometimes referred to as critical environmental capital);
- areas where there is a need to maintain the overall character and quality of the environment, but not necessarily its current make-up and where ‘trading-off’ between environmental considerations and the needs of social and economic development may be acceptable (sometimes referred to as constant environmental assets).” (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, p.4)

1.9.8. “An important consideration in assessing environmental resources is whether or not they could be replaced or re-created in an acceptable way or on an acceptable time-scale. Many environmental resources cannot be satisfactorily re-created or replaced. This is especially so in the case of archaeological sites, historic buildings, or indeed ancient woods, because of their character, authenticity, information and fragility. If such features cannot be preserved, a

replacement value of a kind can be obtained by keeping records of lost features and information...

1.9.9. ...Concepts of environmental capacity and thresholds have their roots in ecological principles relating to natural ecosystems and are particularly well established in relation to air and water pollution, where environmental quality and emission standards are well accepted. Similar standards and limits can be set for natural habitats, even though knowledge is not yet complete. However, we are more tentative in our advice in relation to the resources of landscape, and the cultural environment where there are fewer absolute or easily measurable thresholds." (Countryside Commission et al., 1993, pp.10–11)

1.10. Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) 15 (1994)

1.10.1. The Government has committed itself to the concept of sustainable development - of not sacrificing what future generations will value for the sake of short-term and often illusory gains...This commitment has particular relevance to the preservation of the historic environment, which by its nature is irreplaceable. Yet the historic environment of England is all-pervasive, and it cannot in practice be preserved unchanged. We must ensure that the means are available to identify what is special in the historic environment; to define...its capacity for change; and, when proposals for new development come forward...assess their impact on the historic environment and give it full weight, alongside other considerations." (Department of the Environment and Department of National Heritage, 1994).

- 1.11. Sustainability and the Historic Environment: Technical Report (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996) and Sustaining the Historic Environment (English Heritage 1997)
- 1.11.1. “Sustainable development focuses on sustaining, or improving, the quality of life of successive generations of human beings. The notion of passing on a sound legacy to the future (which lies at the heart of the very idea of inheritance and heritage) is central to the sustainability debate and immediately creates relevance for the historic environment. Leaving a sound legacy cannot be achieved...without the sustainability of the cultural, semi-natural and natural environment on which our societies depend.” (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.5)
- 1.11.2. “sustainability is about ensuring that the activities that we **have** to carry out to meet our range of needs can be continued **indefinitely**” (English Heritage, 1997, p.2, own emphasis)
- 1.11.3. “improving the quality of life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems... (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.5)
- 1.11.4. ...sustainability is essentially about stewardship. It is people-based in that it puts the well-being of present and future generations at the heart of policy-making.” (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.5)
- 1.11.5. It [sustainability] calls for a long-term view..., in which the future consequences as well as the immediate benefits of development and exploitation are considered; we aim to ensure that our grandchildren will be able to enjoy the heritage that we pass on to them, and to study and appreciate their origins and culture at first hand, not merely through books or film. But at the

same time sustainability is firmly rooted in the present...” (English Heritage, 1997, p.3)

1.11.6. “People believe it is important to keep sight of the past for personal reasons, and because it gives them a sense of belonging, defines their identities at national and local scale, and provides depth and character for their working and living environment.” (English Heritage, 1997, p.2)

1.11.7. “sustainability offers us something more important, the chance to create wide-ranging debate...with our usual partners but with a wider public” (English Heritage, 1997, p.2)

1.11.8. “We therefore need to look at how non-experts can be involved in the process of sustaining the historic environment.” (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.16)

1.11.9. “We wish...to understand why a particular site or area is important and to whom and for what reasons. The list of ‘heritage values’ indicates some of the principal reasons for why people value their environment for its historic interest.” (English Heritage, 1997, p.4)

1.11.10. “sudden or rapid change may not be sustainable.” (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.1)

“Sustainability is about making the best possible decisions, based on good information and taking into account the short, medium and long terms effects of a given action.” (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.15)

1.11.11. “*readier to acknowledge objective truths or intrinsic worth...*” **“we protect wildlife for its own sake**, because we recognise that the animals have in some degree their own right to survive; we protect air and water for an even more

global good...Our reasons for protecting the cultural heritage, however, are less absolute" (English Heritage, 1997, p.2)

1.11.12. "We do not seek the **static** preservation of our heritage" (English Heritage, 1997, p.2)

"It would be taking the precautionary principle too far to say that this type of organic change should be 'frozen' at a particular point in time." (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.12)

1.11.13. "It is important to recognise that heritage values are neither absolute nor static. Public and professional views and fashions change over time...Archaeology is also subject to the same changes in approach and interest that affect all areas of human activity. References to past archaeological priorities and investigative techniques shows how significantly interests change." (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, p.8)

1.11.14. "**Since the historic environment is, by definition, irreplaceable**, there are even fewer opportunities for substitution...However, three areas where it might come into play[are]:

- Characterisation...aspects of a resource could be the subject of some sort of replacement...**substituting records gained from excavation and investigation**, or even **relocation of a structure to a museum in place of conserving the site itself**...this is a **very incomplete, second best and short term replacement**, *denying* future techniques of excavation or academic understanding...*denying* future generations the right to find out themselves using primary evidence... In education terms, **moving a resource from its context diminishes its overall value**...full substitution is impossible...these forms of

replacement...are **more accurately characterised as converting one type of value into another...**

- A new development...‘trading off’ within individual assets...facilitates economic use which in turn provides the impetus for conservation of the building as whole...
- New development may provide the economic stimulus for conservation of a wider area...
- The concept of substitution will...apply to the historic environment only rarely and for certain types of heritage values. IF admissible at all, it is most likely to be applied within an area defined as part of the constant environmental capital such as a conservation area...The first aim, whether in relation to an archaeological site or an historic building, must be to strive to retain historic fabric and maintain genuine character.” (Land Use Consultants et al., 1996, pp.13–14)

1.11.15. If parts of the historic environment are to be lost, we could at least plan alternative action such as recording before loss. (English Heritage, 1997, p.9)

1.11.16. “...we see sustainability as a process as well as a goal” (English Heritage, 1997, p.2)

1.12. Britain TM (1997)

1.12.1. “Margaret Thatcher saw herself as a descendant of Boadicea and Queen Elizabeth I. She wanted the nation to take pride once again in its trading strength, its enterprise...she sought, in the **traditional way**, to **define the nation through identifying its enemies** – from the liberal establishment of institutions with ‘British’ in their name to working-class miners, from immigrants to General Galtieri. For a time her sheer charisma seemed to be recasting the nation in her image. Britain’s stock around the world certainly rose. Yet in retrospect we can see that she largely failed. **Her image of Britain was too nostalgic, too bound up with empire, too exclusive**” (Leonard, 1997, p.69)

1.12.2. “The multiple inventions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are a useful reminder that national identities are neither unchanging or natural. They are invented – and reinvented – over periods of time, in response to changing demands and opportunities. Today, if we are living in the shadow of an older identity, it is not because this identity is somehow more authentic than any other. It is rather because the original invention of Britishness was so successful – providing a framework for Britain’s rise to empire and industrial predominance – that it has proven extraordinarily difficult to update it.” (Leonard, 1997, p.69)

1.13. A Better Quality of Life: A Strategy for Sustainable Development for the United Kingdom (1999)

1.13.1. “Social progress which recognises the needs of everyone. Everyone should share in the benefits of increased prosperity and a clean and safe environment. We have to improve access to services, tackle social exclusion, and reduce the harm to health caused by poverty, poor housing, unemployment and pollution. Our needs must not be met by treating others, including future generations and people elsewhere in the world, unfairly.” (Department of the Environment, 1999, p.9)

1.13.2. “improving the larger towns and cities to make them better places to live and work” (Department of the Environment, 1999, p.4)

“Our towns and countryside contribute significantly to our quality of life. We need to make our towns and cities better places to live and work, and to retain the special characteristics of our landscape which we most value.” (Department of the Environment, 1999, p.21)

1.13.3. “7.71 Business, local authorities, tourism and conservation bodies can work in partnership - for example, through Heritage Economic Regeneration Schemes, part of English Heritage’s new strategy for conservation-led regeneration. Grants are also available through the Heritage Lottery Fund’s Urban Parks Programme and Townscape Heritage Initiative...7.73 The Government will be working to develop indicators to measure conservation of the entire historic environment. In the meantime, an indicator of listed buildings at risk of decay will be included in the national set of sustainable development indicators.” (Department of the Environment, 1999, p.64)

1.13.4. “8.49 Soil is an integral part of the environment. It is essential for the production of food and other crops, for maintaining biodiversity, for the landscape. It contains much archaeological evidence of our history...

...8.55 The special natural, cultural and archaeological characteristics of our landscape are highly valued and must be retained. We must also reverse the decline in wildlife and habitats - our biodiversity.” (Department of the Environment, 1999, p.81)

“8.54 Our aim should not be a landscape frozen in time. What we treasure today is the result of centuries of gradual change. The activities of our ancestors, in particular in agriculture, shaped the landscape; many landscape features are archaeological sites. Important wetland sites came from mineral workings. Many reservoirs provide valuable recreational and visual amenity. In urban areas, rich wildlife sites have grown up on land that was once derelict.” (Department of the Environment, 1999, p.82)

“Protection for individual features such as hedges, ponds, drystone walls, and historic and archaeological sites. The Government will provide advice and incentives to support sound management of these features, and will strengthen legal protection of important countryside hedgerows in England and Wales. Following the Countryside Survey 2000, it will consider whether other field boundaries should be given legislative protection.” (Department of the Environment, 1999, p.83)

1.13.5. “7.39 The arts and sport make a significant contribution to quality of life and should be accessible to everyone. They can also contribute significantly to

regeneration and bring communities together” (Department of the Environment, 1999, p.59)

“7.92 Effective participation involves all sectors of society. The modernising local government agenda recognises that ethnic minorities in particular are often under-represented in local decision making and a Local Agenda 21 Round Table report highlighted that their participation in specific sustainable development activities has been relatively low...This may be because of language or cultural barriers to involvement, which need to be identified and broken down, or because of different cultural perspectives on sustainable development.” (Department of the Environment, 1999, p.68)

1.14. Planning Policy Statement (PPS) 1: Delivering Sustainable Development (2005)

1.14.1. “Voluntary and community activity can do much to promote social inclusion and cohesion in a community, with benefits for the recipients, participants and society as a whole. The Prime Minister wants to see a greater involvement by everyone in community life.” (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005b, p.68)

1.14.2. “The Government is committed to developing strong, vibrant and sustainable communities and to promoting community cohesion in both urban and rural areas. This means meeting the diverse needs of all people in existing and future communities, promoting personal well-being, social cohesion and inclusion and creating equal opportunity for all citizens.

15. Regeneration of the built environment alone cannot deal with poverty, inequality and social exclusion. These issues can only be addressed through the better integration of all strategies and programmes, partnership working and effective community involvement.” (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005b, p.7)

1.14.3. “Community involvement is an essential element in delivering sustainable development and creating sustainable and safe communities. In developing the vision for their areas, planning authorities should ensure that communities are able to contribute to ideas about how that vision can be achieved, have the opportunity to participate in the process of drawing up the vision, strategy and specific plan policies, and to be involved in development proposals.” (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005b, p.6)

1.14.4. “Protection and Enhancement of the Environment

17. The Government is committed to protecting and enhancing the quality of the natural and historic environment, in both rural and urban areas. Planning policies should seek to protect and enhance the quality, character and amenity value of the countryside and urban areas as a whole. A high level of protection should be given to most valued townscapes and landscapes, wildlife habitats and natural resources. Those with national and international designations should receive the highest level of protection.

18. The condition of our surroundings has a direct impact on the quality of life and the conservation and improvement of the natural and built environment brings social and economic benefit for local communities. Planning should seek to maintain and improve the local environment and help to mitigate the effects of declining environmental quality through positive policies on issues such as design, conservation and the provision of public space.” (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005b, p.7)

“Community Involvement

40. Planning shapes the places where people work and live. The planning system operates in the public interest to ensure the development and use of land results in better places for people to live, the delivery of development where communities need it, as well as the protection and enhancement of the natural and historic environment and the countryside. The outcomes from planning affect everyone, and everyone must therefore have the opportunity to play a role in delivering effective and inclusive planning. Community

involvement is vitally important to planning and the achievement of sustainable development.” (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005b, p.15)

1.15. Agenda 21 for Culture (2006)

- 1.15.1. Agenda 21 for culture provides an opportunity for every city to create a long-term vision of culture as a basic pillar in its development. (UCLG CC, 2006, p.4)

To the continental organizations (European Union, Mercosur, African Union, Association of Southeast Asian Nations): incorporate culture as a pillar of their construction. Respecting the national competences and subsidiarity, there is a need for a continental cultural policy based on the principles of the legitimacy of public intervention in culture, diversity, participation, democracy and networking. (UCLG CC, 2006, para.65)

- 1.15.2. **Cultural diversity, as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature.** (UCLG CC, 2006, p.5)

- 1.15.3. To encourage the free exploration of cultural heritage by all citizens in all parts of the world. To promote, in relation with the professionals in the sector, forms of tourism that respect the cultures and customs of the localities and territories visited. (UCLG CC, 2006, para.44)

- 1.15.4. Diversity of cultural expressions brings wealth. Importance of a wide cultural ecosystem, with diversity of origins, actors and content. (UCLG CC, 2006p. 5)

- 1.15.5. Cities and local spaces are a privileged setting for cultural invention which is in constant evolution, and provide the environment for creative diversity, where encounters amongst everything that is different and distinct (origins, visions, ages, genders, ethnic groups and social classes) are what makes full human development possible. Dialogue between identity and

diversity, individual and group, is a vital tool for guaranteeing both a planetary cultural citizenship as well as the survival of linguistic diversity and the development of cultures. (UCLG CC, 2006, para.7)

- 1.15.6. Relations between cultural facilities and the organisations of the knowledge economy. (UCLG CC, 2006, para.6)

The appropriation of information and its transformation into knowledge by the citizens is a cultural act. Therefore access without discrimination to expressive, technological and communication resources and the constitution of horizontal networks strengthens and nourishes the collective heritage of a knowledge-based society. To promote programmes aimed at popularizing scientific and technical culture among all citizens, especially taking into account that the ethical, social, economic and political issues raised by possible applications of new scientific knowledge are of public interest. (UCLG CC, 2006, para.41)

- 1.15.7. To establish legal instruments and implement actions to protect the cultural heritage by means of inventories, registers, catalogues and to promote and popularize heritage appreciation through activities such as exhibitions, museums or itineraries.

To protect, valorize and popularize the local documentary heritage generated in the public local/regional sphere, on their own initiative or in association with public and private entities, providing incentives for the creation of municipal and regional systems for that purpose. (UCLG CC, 2006, paras42-43)

1.16. The Hangzhou Declaration: Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies (2013)

1.16.1. These new approaches should fully acknowledge **the role of culture as a system of values and a resource and framework to build truly sustainable development**, the need to **draw from the experiences of past generations, and the recognition of culture as part of the global and local commons as well as a wellspring for creativity and renewal.**

1.16.2. In the context of globalization, and in the face of the identity challenges and tensions it can create, intercultural dialogue and the recognition of and respect for cultural diversity can forge more inclusive, stable and resilient societies. They should be promoted notably through educational, communication and artistic programmes, as well as through dedicated national councils, to foster an environment conducive to tolerance and mutual understanding. In areas that have experienced violent conflicts, the rehabilitation of cultural heritage and cultural activities should be promoted to enable affected communities to renew their identity, regain a sense of dignity and normalcy, enjoy the universal language of art and begin to heal the scars of wars. Consideration of cultural contexts should also be integrated into conflict-resolution initiatives and peace-building processes. (UNESCO, 2013b, p.6)

1.16.3. Leverage culture for poverty reduction and inclusive economic development...Culture, as knowledge capital and as a resource, provides for the needs of individuals and communities and reduces poverty. The capabilities of culture to provide opportunities for jobs and incomes should be enhanced, targeting in particular women, girls, minorities and youth. The full potential of

creative industries and cultural diversity for innovation and creativity should be harnessed, especially by promoting small and medium-sized enterprises, and trade and investments that are based on materials and resources that are renewable, environmentally sustainable, locally available, and accessible to all groups within society, as well as by respecting intellectual property rights. Inclusive economic development should also be achieved through activities focused on sustainably protecting, safeguarding and promoting heritage. Special attention should be given to supporting responsible, culturally- aware, inclusive and sustainable tourism and leisure industries that contribute to the socio-economic development of host communities, promote cross-cultural exchanges, and generate resources for the safeguarding of tangible and intangible heritage. (UNESCO, 2013b, pp.7–8)

1.17. Conservation Principles: Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment (2008)

1.17.1. These Principles, Policies and Guidance for the sustainable management of the historic environment have been developed through extensive debate and consultation, both within English Heritage and with colleagues in the historic environment sector and beyond. Our main purpose in producing the Principles, Policies and Guidance is to strengthen the credibility and consistency of decisions taken and advice given by English Heritage staff, improving our accountability by setting out the framework within which we will make judgements on casework. Our success will also be measured by the extent to which this document is taken up more widely in the sector (English Heritage, 2008a Foreword)

1.17.2. Sustainable - Capable of meeting present needs without compromising ability to meet future needs. (English Heritage, 2008a, p.72)

1.17.3. The public interest in significant places is recognised through specific legislative and policy constraints on their owners, but there are few fiscal concessions to encourage conservation, and direct financial assistance is very limited. It is the potential of significant places to be used and enjoyed that generates value in the market or to a community, and so tends to motivate and enable their owners to exercise positive, informed stewardship. Very few significant places can be maintained at either public or private expense unless they are capable of some beneficial use; nor would it be desirable, even if it were practical, for most places that people value to become solely memorials of the past. (English Heritage, 2008a, p.43)

1.17.4. The continuing development of investigative techniques suggests that, in future, it will be possible to extract more data from excavation and intervention than is currently possible, just as now it is usual to extract much more information than was possible a few decades ago. This demands a cautious approach to the use of a finite resource, and seeking to avoid loss of integrity, but it cannot reasonably exclude all research at a significant place. It must be recognised that much of the evidential value of the primary archive – the place itself – lies in its potential to increase knowledge of the past, to help protect the place and other similar places by a better understanding of their significance, to stimulate research, to encourage the further development of techniques to extract data, and to train successive generations of archaeologists. (English Heritage, 2008a, p.54)

The historic environment is constantly changing, but each significant part of it represents a finite resource. If it is not sustained, not only are its heritage values eroded or lost, but so is its potential to give distinctiveness, meaning and quality to the places in which people live, and provide people with a sense of continuity and a source of identity. The historic environment is a social and economic asset and a cultural resource for learning and enjoyment. (English Heritage, 2008a, p.67)

1.17.5. Sustaining heritage values is likely to contribute to environmental sustainability, not least because much of the historic environment was designed for a comparatively low-energy economy. Many historic settlements and neighbourhoods, tending towards high density and mixed use, provide a model of sustainable development. Traditional landscape management patterns have been sustained over centuries. Many traditional buildings and building materials

are durable, and perform well in terms of the energy needed to make and use them. Their removal and replacement would require a major reinvestment of energy and resources.

The re-use of sound materials derived from the place being repaired or altered is traditional practice and contributes to the sustainable use of energy and material resources. Mixing old and new materials in exposed situations, however, may be inadvisable. Maintaining demand for new traditional and local materials will also stimulate their continued or renewed production, and help to ensure a sustainable supply and the craft skills to utilise it.

The re-use of sound traditional materials recovered from alteration and demolition elsewhere can also contribute to sustainability, provided they are not derived from degrading other significant places primarily because of the value of their materials. (English Heritage, 2008a, p.46)

- 1.17.6. The term 'place' goes beyond physical form, to involve all the characteristics that can contribute to a 'sense of place'. It embraces the idea that places, of any size from a bollard to a building, an historic area, a town, or a region, need to be understood and managed at different levels for different purposes; and that a particular geographical location can form part of several overlapping 'places' defined by different characteristics. Similarly, we have stretched the concept of 'fabric', commonly used to describe the material from which a building is constructed, to include all the material substance of places, including geology, archaeological deposits, structures and buildings, and the flora growing in and upon them. 'Designation' embraces any formal recognition of heritage value, including registration, listing, scheduling and inscription. (English Heritage, 2008a, p.14)

1.17.7. “to identify the significance of a place, it is necessary first to understand its fabric and then to consider... who values the place” (English Heritage, 2008a, p.21)

1.18. Government's Statement on the Historic Environment (2010)

- 1.18.1. "At its most basic, in providing distinctive local features and a tangible link to the past, the historic environment is often central to local identity in both urban and rural areas. Local environments which offer a range of attractive and accessible public spaces, including local heritage, also encourage people of all backgrounds to enjoy them, creating places where people come together and mix. Taking this one step further, by encouraging people not just to enjoy, but also to involve themselves in the management of historic places and make active use of them for their own benefit, we can help to create a sense of ownership in the locality and so help to strengthen local communities." (DCMS, 2010, p.11)

1.19. Consultation Response to the revised draft of the Conservation Principles
(2017)

Personal response from Sarah Howard provided to Historic England February 2018
with following disclaimer:

Please note that since Sept 2011 I have been undertaking part-time doctoral research taking a critical discourse approach to understanding the concept of sustainability within cultural heritage and planning policy, with particular focus on how this affects the way we talk about archaeology in relation to sustainability and how this affects actions (discourse in action – social, political consequences of accepted discourse and rhetoric). See <https://bham.academia.edu/SarahHoward> and <https://uk.linkedin.com/in/sustainability4archaeology>. I also organised a discussion group as part of EU project NEARCHing Factory <https://nearching8.wordpress.com>. As some of these comments are part of an unpublished doctoral research project, they should not be reused without first discussing this with me.

p.1, para. 2 – ...It does not directly address intangible heritage

- I think this should be removed as **all tangible forms of heritage have an intangible component, and indeed this is often vice versa.**
 - **The values attached to tangible forms of heritage are themselves intangible.** This has been debated a lot in critical heritage studies. See volume from Theoretical Archaeology Group conference session published as Smith & Waterton 2009, and particularly chapter within http://pure-oai.bham.ac.uk/ws/files/10261300/Carman_FINAL.pdf)
 - **Heritage is not just a product or an asset, but an on-going process of meaning making** and making sense of the world by attaching

different values to people, things, structures, places, etc. A lot of literature has been dedicated to discussing this again in critical heritage studies – see work of Laura-Jane Smith, John Carman, and Historic England's own Keith Emerick.

- **Heritage is an active process but the CPs mostly talks about it in passive terms** like inherited rather than acknowledging or making transparent our role (HE staff) in creating heritage according to our own framework (outlined in the CPs), and that **various publics are (or should be) active in the creation and recreation/reworking of heritage but using their own value framework.**

p.1 para 4. – loss of ‘communal value’ and incorporation of communal, social and cultural value into ‘historic interest’

- **The loss of communal value misses the point of heritage as a process** and conversation with people about what they value (i.e. the public benefit aspect of what Historic England does as an organisation).
- Historic interest (as the glossary defines) is about connections between past lives and events through [the medium of] place.
 - Although this is maybe assumed in the text, **the crucial missing element to this definition is the interaction of contemporary people and their lives with past lives and events *through* the medium of place.** The definition should make this clearer.
- People's interest in a place does not just stem from their understanding of its history, and I feel that communal value was a better overarching term (if not still

also problematic) for understanding heritage and non-heritage (often instrumental) values attached to heritage assets.

- As debated during the 1999 PoP internal consultation workshops, is it possible that social value should now be embraced as originally suggested by Keith Emerick? (see Emerick 2014 <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=UtTCAwAAQBAJ&lpg=PP1&pg=PR5#v=onepage&q&f=false>)
- The use of the term social value or, to broaden it, sociocultural value, would make more sense in terms of the way that the concept of sustainability has been discussed over the last 30 years in policy and critical heritage/environmental literature (see below comments).
- 'Palette of terms' is vague. It is true that outside of the HE framework there are a multitude of ways to describe what we refer to as 'significance', but if the purpose of CPs is to set out a framework within which HE describe significance for clarify/accountability, etc. we need to clarify our terms and where necessary show where they relate to other terms or valuation frameworks.
 - Maybe this is where there could be a short discussion regarding designation as more akin to a two-way conversation between professionals and publics rather than a checklist just for professionals?
 - **I feel like CP is describing two disparate heritage frameworks** rather than trying to finally bring the professional curatorial approach to heritage assets (things) in-line with people-focused approaches/understandings of heritage (process).

Principle 1

- **This needs rewording - there are *still* issues with the representation of diversity within the historic environment**, particularly the designated historic environment where **diverse values are merely appended to heritage assets** which were designated according to limited values shared by a small section of society. **This is because the heritage management and protection framework is inherently a modern, western, privileged concept.**
 - Possibly reword to - The historic environment ***should*** be representative of the diversity of England (i.e. we aspire to this, but we still have work to do to realise this)

Sustainable management as a concept

- Often cultural sustainability has been interpreted as sustaining (maintaining) cultural heritage, customs, etc., but in the 1990s discourse on 'Sustainable Development' shifted to 'culturally sustainable' development (see Our Creative Diversity 1995).
 - This meant understanding development and resource management processes as being culturally informed and subject to change between cultural groups and over time.
- Contemporary society is materialistic and draws heavily upon nostalgia hence an interest in collecting and curating the material of the past for the last c.200 years.
 - This might change in the future (Ha!) But seriously, it could, and **we simply do not know what the needs or desires of the future will be in relation to heritage** and how we as heritage managers will deliver public benefits in relation to heritage.

- **Heritage therefore needs to be grounded in the now – we can only do our best, and what we think might be best, for now.** Also, lack of engagement now in favour of preservation for the future actually increases the risk of heritage being lost (see my own research and also Heritage Futures research particularly recently paper by Högberg et al. (2017).
- For the management of the historic environment to be sustainable (i.e. balancing multiple competing human needs within the spheres of society, environment, economy), **heritage (as a process that attaches value and meaning) needs to be understood as something that is culturally informed and subject to change over time.**
- **The idea of heritage interest being sustained over time is a non-sense.** Certain values associated with a heritage asset might be enduring, but other values might change or be lost – it is acceptable that some things may drop out of consciousness as heritage and other things currently not considered heritage might replace them (this is part of the management process, not just conserving the fabric, but encouraging socially and culturally informed (i.e. 'sustainable') change. **This sentiment was very clear in the original conservation principles but has been lost in the redraft.**

Difference between to sustain and sustainable

- The use of the verb 'sustaining' (understood as maintaining, enduring, etc.) is not helpful and conflates this with the broader concept of sustainability or sustainable development.

- Reducing sustainability to the verb to sustain ignores 30+ years of debate and research regarding sustainability understood as the balance of environment, social, economy, cultural basic needs/desires for development in its broadest sense (i.e. human development).
- **If it is meant in the sense of maintaining, this is the word that should be used.**
- Heritage interest [is not defined in the glossary] – and with regard to sustaining it (again passive), surely it should be more about communicating, revealing and enhancing values (or significance within HE's own framework).
- The management and balance aspects should be discussed more within the context of sustainable management of the historic environment, because if sustain is being used instead of maintain, this could be seen to contradict the notion of managed change.
- See Graham Fairclough discussion paper *Sustaining the Historic Environment* (1997), despite being 20 years old this document was the first attempt to really understand the concept of sustainability in relation to the historic environment. It's not perfect but it was a good start. Graham has since gone on to do further work on the concept of cultural sustainability as part of the European COST initiative. See <http://www.cost.eu/media/publications/Culture-in-for-and-as-Sustainable-Development-Conclusions-from-the-COST-Action-IS1007-Investigating-Cultural-Sustainability>

Artistic and aesthetic are not interchangeable

- Artistic implies intention and often the historic environment aesthetic is unintentional esp. in the case of the layers within a historic settlement, town or city.
- I believe aesthetic is better as it is broader and encompasses designed intentional assets (e.g. designed landscapes dating to specific period) and the unintentional (e.g. historic towns) where the aesthetic has development through layering of different periods time.

Inevitable natural processes and loss

- I am pleased to see a commitment from HE to addressing this issue, but currently HAR (one of HE's major public facing heritage protection and management programmes) does not see interventions such as recording of an archaeological site ahead of loss from natural processes as a 'positive removal'.
- Until this attitude changes, we will continue to not only lose heritage assets to natural erosion processes, but also lose any potential evidential value they may have had.

Bibliography

Adorno, T.W. (2005) *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*.

Routledge Classics. Bernstein, J.M. (ed.). London: Taylor & Francis.

Aitchison, K. (2009) *Archaeology and the global financial crisis*. Available at:

<http://www.antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/aitchison319/> (Accessed: 27 April 2014).

Aitchison, K. (2011) The Economic Crisis and the Coming Second Wave: How the economic situation will affect archaeological practice in universities and government.

Archaeological Review from Cambridge, 26: 79–98.

Aldred, O. and Fairclough, G. (2003) *Historic Landscape Characterisation - Taking Stock of the Method*. London: English Heritage.

Allen, M., Blick, N., Brindle, T., et al. (2015) *The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain: an online resource: Map Viewer*. Available at:

<http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/romangl/map.html> (Accessed: 24 December 2018).

Allen, T.F.H., Tainter, J.A. and Hoekstra, T.W. (1999) Supply-Side Sustainability. *Systems Research and Behavioral Scienceral Science*, 16: 403–427.

Allmendinger, P. and Tewdwr-Jones, M. (2000) New Labour, New Planning? The Trajectory of Planning in Blair's Britain. *Urban Studies*, 37 (8): 1379–1402.

doi:10.1080/00420980020080171.

Appadurai, A. (1981) The past as a scarce resource. *Man*, 16 (2): 201–219.

Appadurai, A. (2002) "Sustainable Diversity: The Indivisibility of Culture and

Development.” *In UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity: a vision, a conceptual platform, a pool of ideas for implementation, a new paradigm*. Paris: UNESCO. pp. 9–16.

Arrhenius, T. (2012) *The fragile monument - on conservation and modernity*. London: Black Dog Publications.

Atkinson, R. (2004) The evidence on the impact of gentrification: new lessons for the urban renaissance? *European Journal of Housing Policy*, 4 (1): 107–131.
doi:10.1080/1461671042000215479.

Auclair, E. and Fairclough, G. (eds.) (2015) *Theory and Practice in Heritage and Sustainability: Between past and future*. London: Routledge.

Avrami, E. (2009) “Heritage, values and sustainability.” *In* Richmond, A. and Bracker, A. (eds.) *Conservation principles, dilemmas and uncomfortable truths*. Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann. pp. 177–183.

Avrami, E. (2011) Sustainability and the built environment: forging a role for heritage conservation. *Conservation perspectives: the GCI newsletter*, 26 (1): 4–9.

Barbier, E.B. (1987) The concept of sustainable economic development. *Environmental conservation*, 14 (2): 101–110.

Barthel-Bouchier, D. (2012) *Cultural Heritage and the Challenge of Sustainability*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Beagrie, N. and Houghton, J. (2013) *The Value and Impact of the Archaeology Data Service: A study and methods for enhancing sustainability*. Salisbury.

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: SAGE Publications.

Beder, S. (2006) "The changing face of conservation: commodification, privatisation and the free market." *In* Lavingne, D. (ed.) *Gaining Ground: In Pursuit of Ecological Sustainability*. Guelph: International Fund for Animal Welfare. pp. 83–97.

van Beek, R. and Gearey, B.R. (2019) *Wetland Futures in Contested Environments: an inter- and transdisciplinary approach to wetland heritage in the Netherlands, United Kingdom and Ireland (WETFUTURES)*. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/project/Wetland-Futures-in-Contested-Environments-an-inter-and-transdisciplinary-approach-to-wetland-heritage-in-the-Netherlands-United-Kingdom-and-Ireland-WETFUTURES> (Accessed: 27 January 2019).

van Beek, R. and Keunen, L. (2006) "A cultural biography of the coversand landscapes in the Salland and Achterhoek regions: The aims and methods of the Eastern Netherlands Project." *In* van Heeringen, R.M. and Lauwerier, R.C.G.. (eds.) *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek./Proceedings of the National Service for Archaeological Heritage in the Netherlands*. Amersfoort: The National Service for Archaeological Heritage in the Netherlands. pp. 355–375.

van Beek, R., Vervloet, J.A.J. and Keunen, L.J. (2010) "A biography of the cultural landscape in the eastern Netherlands: theory and practice of acquisition and propagation of knowledge, in: Bloemers, T./H. Kars/A. van der Valk/M. Wijnen (eds.)," *In* Bloemers, T., Kars, H., van der Valk, A., et al. (eds.) *The Cultural Landscape & Heritage Paradox. Protection and Development of the Dutch*

Archaeological-Historical Landscape and its European Dimension. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. pp. 131–148.

Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. (1991) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Penguin.

Bewley, R. and Maeer, G. (2014) Heritage and Economy: Perspectives from Recent Heritage Lottery Fund Research. *Public Archaeology*, 13 (1–3): 240–249.
doi:10.1179/1465518714Z.00000000063.

Bhaskar, R. (1998) *The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences*. Critical Realism Series. London: Routledge.

Bherer, L., Dufour, P. and Montambeault, F. (2016) The participatory democracy turn: an introduction. *Journal of Civil Society*, 12 (3): 225–230.
doi:10.1080/17448689.2016.1216383.

Binney, M. and Hanna, M. (1978) *Preservation pays. Tourism and the economic benefits of conserving historic buildings*. London: SAVE Britain's Heritage.

Bloomberg (2017) *London Mithraeum Bloomberg SPACE to Bring Roman Temple of Mithras to Life in New Cultural Experience for the Capital*. Available at:
<https://www.bloomberg.com/company/announcements/london-mithraeum-bloomberg-space-bring-roman-temple-mithras-life-new-cultural-experience-capital/>
(Accessed: 6 February 2019).

Boldrini, N. (1998) *Sustainability and archaeological heritage management*. Unpublished Masters Thesis. University of Sheffield.

Bonacchi, C., Pett, D., Bevan, A., et al. (2015) Experiments in Crowd-funding Community Archaeology. *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, 2 (3): 184–198. doi:10.1179/2051819615Z.00000000041.

Boulding, K.E. (1956) General Systems Theory - The Skeleton of Science. *Management Science*, 2 (3): 197–208. doi:10.1287/mnsc.17.11.661.

Boulding, K.E. (1966) “The Economics of the Coming Spaceship Earth.” In Jarrett, H. (ed.) *Environmental Quality in a Growing Economy*. Baltimore: Resources for the Future. pp. 3–14.

Bourdieu, P. (2013) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Routledge Classics. Nice, R. (ed.). London: Taylor & Francis.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J.C. (1977) *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Sage studies in social and educational change. New York: Sage Publications.

Brennan, T. and Tomback, D. (2013) *Heritage Works: The use of historic buildings in regeneration, a toolkit of good practice*. 2nd editio. London: English Heritage.

Bressey, C. (2009) Cultural archaeology and historical geographies of the black presence in rural England. *Journal of rural studies*, 25 (4): 386–395.

Brown, D.H. (2007) *Archaeological Archives: A guide to best practice in creation, compilation, transfer and curation*. Reading: Institute of Field Archaeologists.

Buchanan, I. (2010) *A Dictionary of Critical Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bullen, P.A. (2007) Adaptive reuse and sustainability of commercial buildings.

Facilities, 25 (1/2): 20–31. doi:10.1108/02632770710716911.

Burr, V. (1995) *An introduction to social constructionism*. London: Routledge.

Burr, V. (2015) *Social Constructionism*. Hove: Routledge.

Burtenshaw, P. (2013) *The Economic Capital of Archaeology: Measurement and Management (volume 1)*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University College London.

Burtenshaw, P. (2014) Mind the Gap: Cultural and Economic Values in Archaeology. *Public Archaeology*, 13 (1–3): 48–58. doi:10.1179/1465518714Z.00000000053.

Butler, G. (1980) Editorial. *Historic Environment*, 1 (1): 1.

Byrne, D. (1991) Western hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management. *History and Anthropology*, 5: 269–276. doi:10.1080/02757206.1991.9960815.

Cambridge Dictionary (2019) *policy*. Available at:

<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/policy> (Accessed: 3 February 2019).

Cameron, S. (2003) Gentrification, Housing Redifferentiation and Urban Regeneration: “Going for Growth” in Newcastle upon Tyne. *Urban Studies*, 40 (12): 2367–2382. doi:10.1080/0042098032000136110.

Carman, J. (1995) “The importance of things: archaeology and the law.” In Carman, J., Cooper, M.A., Firth, A., et al. (eds.) *Managing archaeology*. London: Routledge. pp. 19–32.

Carman, J. (1996) *Valuing Ancient Things: Archaeology and Law*. Leicester:

Leicester University Press.

Carman, J. (2002) *Archaeology and Heritage: An Introduction*. London: Continuum.

Carman, J. (2004) "Putting remains back into history: creating a sustainable historic environment." In Nixon, T.J.P. (ed.) *Preserving archaeological remains in situ? Proceedings of the 2nd conference, 12-14 September 2001*. Museum of London. Archaeology Service. pp. 254–260.

Carman, J. (2005a) *Against Cultural Property: Archaeology, Heritage and Ownership*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co Ltd.

Carman, J. (2005b) "Good citizens and sound economics: The trajectory of archaeology in Britain from "heritage" to "resource."" In Mathers, C.D.T. and Mathers, L.B. (eds.) *Heritage of Value, Archaeology of Renown*. Florida: University Press of Florida. pp. 43–57.

Carman, J. (2006) "Digging the dirt: excavation as a social practice." In Edgeworth, M. (ed.) *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice: Cultural Encounters, Material Transformations*. pp. 95-02.

Carman, J. (2009) "Where the Value Lies: the importance of materiality to the immaterial aspects of heritage." In Smith, L. and Waterton, E. (eds.) *Taking Archaeology Out of Heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press. pp. 192–208.

Carman, J. (2015) *Archaeological Resource Management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carman, J. (2016a) "Coming Full Circle: Public Archaeology as a Liberal Social

Programme.” In Koerner, S. and Russell, I. (eds.) *Unquiet Pasts: Risk Society, Lived Cultural Heritage, Re-designing Reflexivity*. London: Routledge - Taylor & Francis Group. pp. 151–160.

Carman, J. (2016b) Educating for Sustainability in Archaeology. *Archaeologies*, 12 (2): 133–152. doi:10.1007/s11759-016-9295-1.

Carman, J. and Carman, P. (2006) *Bloody Meadows: Investigating Landscapes of Battle*. Stroud: Sutton Pub.

Carman, J., Carnegie, G.D. and Wolnizer, P.W. (1999) Is archaeological valuation an accounting matter? *Antiquity*, 73 (279): 143–148. doi:10.1017/S0003598X00087937.

Carson, R. (1962) *Silent Spring*. A Mariner Book. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Carver, M. (1996) On archaeological value. *Antiquity*, 70 (April): 45–56.

Cassar, M. (2006) *Sustainability and the Historic Environment*.

Cassar, M. (2009) Sustainable Heritage: Challenges and Strategies for the Twenty-First Century. *Apt Bulletin: Journal of Preservation Technology*, 40 (1): 3–11.

Chadwick, A. (1997) Archaeology at the Edge Of Chaos: Further Towards Reflexive Excavation Methodologies. *Assemblage*, (3). Available online at: <https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/assemblage/html/3/3chad.html>

Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (2016) Archaeologist Shortage. *CIfA Diggers' Forum*.

Cheema, Y., Hasan, A., Khan, M.A., et al. (1994) *The Conservation of the*

Monuments at the Surkh Bukhari-Bibi-Jawandi Site. Pakistan: The Conservation and Rehabilitation Centre.

Chippindale, C. (1983) The making of the first Ancient Monuments Act, 1882, and its administration under General Pitt-Rivers. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 136: 1–55.

Clampet-Lundquist, S. (2010) “Everyone Had Your Back”: Social Ties, Perceived Safety, and Public Housing Relocation. *City & Community*, 9 (1): 87–108.
doi:10.1111/j.1540-6040.2009.01304.x.

Clark, J., Darlington, J. and Fairclough, G. (2004) *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation*. London: English Heritage & Lancashire County Council.

Clark, K. (1993) “Archaeology and Sustainable Development.” *In Rescuing the Historic Environment: Archaeology, the Green Movement and Conservation Strategy for the British Landscape*. Hertford: RESCUE: The British Archaeological Trust. pp. 87–90.

Clark, K. (2008) “Only Connect - Sustainable Development and Cultural Heritage.” *In* Fairclough, G., Harrison, R. and Schofield, J. (eds.) *The Heritage Reader*. London: Routledge. pp. 82–98.

Cleere, H., Audouze, F., Renfrew, C., et al. (1984) *Approaches to the archaeological heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cligman, J. (2001) *The Townscape Heritage Initiative: Renewing the heart of our historic towns and cities*. Available at:

<http://www.buildingconservation.com/articles/thi/thi.htm> (Accessed: 6 February

2019).

Cobb, P., Moss, E., Olson, B.R., et al. (2015) Excavation is Destruction Digitization: Advances in Archaeological Practice. *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 40 (3): 325–346. doi:10.1179/2042458215Y.0000000004.

Commons, H. of, Culture, M. and S. and Committee (2008) *Draft Heritage Protection Bill*.

Cooke, P. (2003) *The containment of heritage: setting limits to the growth of heritage in Ireland*. Dublin: The Policy Institute at Trinity College Dublin.

Cooper-Reade, H. (2015) “Commercial archaeology: looking backwards, looking forwards or just going around in circle.” *In Rescue Archaeology: Foundations for the future*. Hereford: RESCUE: The British Archaeological Trust. pp. 34–44.

Cooper, A. and Green, C. (2016) Embracing the Complexities of ‘Big Data’ in Archaeology: the Case of the English Landscape and Identities Project. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 23 (1): 271–304. doi:10.1007/s10816-015-9240-4.

Cooper, M.A. (2008) This is not a Monument: Rhetorical Destruction and the Social Context of Cultural Resource Management. *Public Archaeology*, 7 (1): 17–30. doi:10.1179/175355308X305997.

COST (2011) *Investigating Cultural Sustainability*. Available at: http://www.cost.eu/COST_Actions/isch/IS1007 (Accessed: 18 February 2018).

Costanza, R. (1989) What is ecological economics? *Ecological Economics*, 1 (1): 1–

7. doi:10.1016/0921-8009(89)90020-7.

Council of Europe (2000) *European Landscape Convention*. European Treaty Series-No. 176. Florence: Council of Europe.

Countryside Commission, English Heritage and English Nature (1993) *Conservation issues in strategic plans*. Cheltenham: Countryside Commission.

Cumberpatch, C. (2001) "Power of Place" critique and response. *Assemblage*, (6).

Available online at:

https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/assemblage/html/6/Cumberpatch_Power_web.html (Accessed: 06 February 2019).

Daly, E. (1992) Allocation, distribution, and scale: towards an economics that is efficient, just ,and sustainable. *Ecological Economics*, 6: 185–193.

Darvill, T. (1987) *Ancient monuments in the countryside: an archaeological management review*. London: English Heritage.

Darvill, T. (2005) "Sorted for Ease and Whiz'? Approaching Value and Importance in Archaeological Resource Management." *In* Mathers, C., Darvill, T. and Little, B. (eds.) *Heritage of Value, Archaeology of Renown: Reshaping Archaeological Assessment and Significance*. Gainesville, USA: University Press of Florida. pp. 21–42.

Darvill, T. and Miles, D. (2000) *The Monuments at Risk Survey*. Available at: <https://csweb.bournemouth.ac.uk/mars/> (Accessed: 5 February 2019).

Darwin, C. (1871) *The descent of man: and selection in relation to sex*. London: J.

Murray.

Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) (2001) *The Historic Environment: A Force for Our Future*. London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport.

DCMS (2007) *Heritage protection for the 21st century*. CM7057. Department for Culture, Media and Sport.

DCMS (2010) *The Government's Statement on the Historic Environment for England 2010*. London: HM Government.

Delanty, G. (2003) Citizenship as a learning process: disciplinary citizenship versus cultural citizenship. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 22 (6): 597–605. doi:10.1080/0260137032000138158.

Denker, A. (2017) Rebuilding Palmyra virtually: recreation of its former glory in digital space. *Virtual Archaeology Review*, 8 (17): 20–30. doi:10.4995/var.2017.5963.

Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) (1990) *Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and planning*. London.

DCLG (2010) *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment*.

DCLG (2012) *National Planning Policy Framework*. London.

Department of the Environment (1980) *Circular 22/80, Development Control - Policy and Practice*. London: HMSO.

Department of the Environment (1984) *Circular 22/84, Memorandum on structure*

and local plans. London: HMSO.

Department of the Environment (1988a) *General policy and principles*. PPG1. London: HMSO.

Department of the Environment (1988b) *Our common future: a perspective by the United Kingdom on the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development*. London: HMSO.

Department of the Environment (1992a) *Planning Policy Guidance 12: development plans and regional planning guidance*. London: HMSO.

Department of the Environment (1992b) *Planning Policy Guidance 1: General Policy and Principles*. London: HMSO.

Department of the Environment (1999) *A better quality of life: A strategy for sustainable development for the United Kingdom*. London: HMSO.

Department of the Environment and Department of National Heritage (1994) *Planning Policy Guidance 15: Planning and the Historic Environment*. London: HMSO.

DeSilvey, C. (2017) *Curated Decay: Heritage beyond Saving*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Devall, B. (1980) The deep ecology movement. *Natational Resources Journal*, 20: 299.

DigVentures (2018) *Our Story*. Available at: <https://digventures.com/about-us/> (Accessed: 7 December 2018).

Van Dijk, T.A. (1998) *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. SAGE Publications.

DoE (1999) *Planning Policy Guidance 12: Development plans.*, p. 56.

Drury McPherson Partnership (2016) *Drury McPherson Partnership - People*.

Available at: <http://www.dmpartnership.com/people.html> (Accessed: 12 January 2019).

Dryzek, J.S. (2013) *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dryzek, J.S., Hunold, C., Schlosberg, D., et al. (2002) Environmental transformation of the state: The USA, Norway, Germany and the UK. *Political Studies*, 50 (4): 659–682. doi:10.1111/1467-9248.00001.

DTLGR (2001) *Planning: Delivering a Fundamental Change*.

Duxbury, N., Kangas, A. and De Beukelaer, C. (2017) Cultural policies for sustainable development: four strategic paths. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 23 (2): 214–230. doi:10.1080/10286632.2017.1280789.

Edwards, A.R. (2005) *The Sustainability Revolution: Portrait of a Paradigm Shift*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.

Elefante, C. (2012) The Greenest Building Is... One That Is Already Built. *Forum Journal*, 27 (1): 62–72.

Emerick, K. (2003) *From Frozen Monuments to Fluid Landscape: The Conservation and Presentation of Ancient Monuments from 1882 to the Present*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of York.

Emerick, K. (2014) *Conserving and Managing Ancient Monuments: Heritage, Democracy, and Inclusion*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

English Heritage (1997) *Sustaining the historic environment: new perspectives on the future*. London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (1999) *The Heritage Dividend: Measuring the Results of English Heritage Regeneration 1994-1999*. London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2000) *Power of Place: The future of the historic environment*. London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2008a) *Conservation principles: policies and guidance for the sustainable management of the historic environment*. London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2008b) *Enabling Development and the Conservation of Significant Places*. London: English Heritage.

English Heritage (2008c) *Heritage at Risk Register 2008*. London: English Heritage.

English Nature (1992) *Strategic Planning and Sustainable Development*. Peterborough: English Nature.

Etnier, M. a. (2007) Defining and identifying sustainable harvests of resources: Archaeological examples of pinniped harvests in the eastern North Pacific. *Journal for Nature Conservation*, 15 (3): 196–207. doi:10.1016/j.jnc.2007.04.003.

European Association of Archaeologists (2018) “Abstract Book Volume 2.” *In EAA 2018, Barcelona, 5-8 September, Reflecting Futures*. Barcelona, 2018. pp. 1097–1101.

Fairclough, G. (2008) "Sustaining the historic environment: new perspectives on the future." *In* Fairclough, G., Heritage, E. and Fairclough, G. (eds.) *The Heritage Reader*. London: Routledge. pp. 323–321.

Fairclough, N. (1995) *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. Language in social life series. Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2010) *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2013) *Language and Power*. Language In Social Life. London: Taylor & Francis.

Fischer, F. and Black, M. (1995) *Greening environmental policy: The politics of a sustainable future*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Flatman, J. and Perring, D. (2013) Forum The National Planning Policy Framework and Archaeology: A Discussion. *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*, 22 (March): 4–10. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/pia.390>.

Fleming, A.K. (2014) Archaeology and Economic Development: Commitment and Support from the World Bank Group. *Public Archaeology*, 13 (1–3): 135–150. doi:10.1179/1465518714Z.00000000061.

Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M., Burchell, G., Gordon, C., et al. (1991) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. and Sheridan, A. (2002) *Archaeology of Knowledge*. Translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith. London: Routledge.

Fowler, P. (1992) *The past in contemporary society: Then, Now*. London: Routledge.

Fredheim, L.H. (2016) "Sustaining Places in Action: Facilitating Community Involvement in Heritage Stewardship by Co-Creation." *In* Collins, T., Kindermann, G., Newman, C., et al. (eds.) *Landscape Values: place and praxis. Conference, Galway, 29th June –2nd July, 2016*. Galway: Centre for Landscape Studies, NUI Galway. pp. 115–121.

Fredheim, L.H. (2017) Endangerment-driven heritage volunteering: democratisation or 'Changeless Change'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7258: 1–15.
doi:10.1080/13527258.2017.1399285.

Future Parks (2019) *About us*. Available at: <http://www.futureparks.org/about-us>
(Accessed: 6 February 2019).

Gearey, B.R., Fletcher, W. and Fyfe, R. (2014) Managing, Valuing, and Protecting Heritage Resources in the Twenty-First Century: Peatland Archaeology, the Ecosystem Services Framework, and the Kyoto Protocol. *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 16 (3): 236–244.

Goldsmith, E. (1972) *A Blueprint for Survival*. A Penguin special. London: Penguin.

Gómez-Baggethun, E., de Groot, R., Lomas, P.L., et al. (2010) The history of ecosystem services in economic theory and practice: From early notions to markets and payment schemes. *Ecological Economics*, 69 (6): 1209–1218.
doi:10.1016/j.ecolecon.2009.11.007.

Gosden, C. (2012) "Postcolonial archaeology." In Hodder, I. (ed.) *Archaeological theory today*. Cambridge: Polity. pp. 251–266.

Gould, P.G. (2014) A Tale of Two Villages: Institutional Structure and Sustainable Community Organizations. *Public Archaeology*, 13 (1–3): 164–177.
doi:10.1179/1465518714Z.000000000066.

Graham, B., Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. (2016) *A geography of heritage: power, culture, and economy*. Ashworth, G.J. (Gregory J. and Tunbridge, J.E. (eds.)). London, England.

Graves-Brown, P. (1997) S/He who pays the piper... Archaeology and the Polluter Pays Principle. *Assemblage*, (2). Available online at:
<https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/assemblage/html/2/2gb2.html>
(Accessed: 6 February 2019).

Greenlines Institute (2019) *REHAB - International Conference On Preservation, Maintenance And Rehabilitation Of Historic Buildings And Structures*. Available at:
<http://greenlines-institute.org/en/rehab-international-conference-on-preservation-maintenance-and-rehabilitation-of-historic-buildings-and-structures> (Accessed: 2 February 2019).

Greider, T. and Garkovich, L. (1994) Landscapes: The social construction of nature and the environment. *Rural sociology*, 59 (1): 1–24.

Grenville, J. (1993) "Curation Overview." In Hunter, J. and Ralston, I. (eds.) *Resource Management in the UK: An Introduction*. Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd. pp. 123–133.

Guttmann-Bond, E. (2010) Sustainability out of the past: how archaeology can save the planet. *World Archaeology*, 42 (3): 355–366.

doi:10.1080/00438243.2010.497377.

Habermas, J. (1984) *The theory of communicative action: Volume 1: Reason and Rationalization of Society*. Translated by Thomas McCarthy. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Habermas, J. (1987) *The Theory of Communicative Action: Volume 2: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Translated by Thomas McCarthy. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Habermas, J. (2015) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge: Polity Press. Available online at:
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=EJP3CQAAQBAJ&lpg>

Hajer, M.A. (1995) *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hall, S. (2005) “Whose Heritage? Un-settling “The Heritage”, Re-imagining the Post-Nation.” In Littler, J. and Naidoo, R. (eds.) *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of “race.”* London: Psychology Press. pp. 23–35.

Hamilakis, Y. (2003) Iraq, stewardship and ‘the record’: an ethical crisis for archaeology. *Public Archaeology*, 3 (2): 104–111.

Harrison, R. (2013a) Forgetting to remember, remembering to forget: late modern heritage practices, sustainability and the ‘crisis’ of accumulation of the past.

International Journal of Heritage Studies, 19 (6): 579–595.

doi:10.1080/13527258.2012.678371.

Harrison, R. (2013b) *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. Heritage studies. London: Routledge.

Hawkes, J. (2001) *The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability: Culture's essential role in public planning*. Victoria, Australia: Cultural Development Network Victoria.

Hawkes, J. (2013) *High culture: My response to attending the UNESCO conference in Hangzhou, China entitled 'Culture: Key to Sustainable Development' 14-17/5/13*. Available at: <https://www.fourthpillar.biz/2013/05/high-culture-hangzhou-congress-on-culture-development/> (Accessed: 20 July 2018).

Hayashi, N., Boccardi, G. and Al Hassan, N. (2015) "Culture in the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda: Why Culture is Key to Sustainable Development." In *Culture in the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda: Why is Culture Key to Sustainable Development?* Paris: UNESCO. pp. 1–10.

Heidegger, M. (1977) *The Question Concerning Technology, and Other Essays*. Harper Perennial Modern Thought. New York: Harper Collins.

Hesmondhalgh, D. and Pratt, A. (2005) Cultural industries and cultural policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11 (1): 1–13.

doi:10.1080/10286630500067598.

Hewison, R. (1987) *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline*. London: Methuen.

Hewison, R. (2009) The heritage obsession: the battle for England's past. *Cultural Trends*, 18 (1): 105–107. doi:10.1080/09548960802651443.

Hinton, P. (2013) The National Planning Policy Framework and Archaeology: A Response – How did the Profession come to this? *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*, 22: 13–18.

Historic England (2016) *Urgent Need for More Trained Archaeologists Follows Surge in Infrastructure Projects*. Available at: <https://historicengland.org.uk/whats-new/news/increased-demand-for-archaeologists/> (Accessed: 6 February 2019).

Historic England (2017) *Conservation Principles: for the sustainable management of the historic environment. Consultation Draft 10th November 2017*. Available at: <https://content.historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/guidance/conservation-principles-consultation-draft.pdf> (Accessed: 3 February 2019).

Historic England (2018a) *Places Strategy (final version)*. Available at: <https://historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/planning/he-places-strategy-2018/> (Accessed: 20 January 2019).

Historic England (2018b) *The War Memorials Listing Project*. Available at: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/apply-for-listing/listing-priorities/war-memorials-listing-project/> (Accessed: 31 December 2018).

Historic England (2019a) *Heritage Counts*. Available at: <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/heritage-counts/> (Accessed: 3 February 2019).

Historic England (2019b) *Historic Environment Records (HERs)*. Available at:

<https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/technical-advice/information-management/hers/>
(Accessed: 27 January 2019).

Historic England (2019c) *Pride of Place: England's LGBTQ Heritage*. Available at:
<https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/lgbtq-heritage-project/>
(Accessed: 1 January 2019).

HM Government (1990a) *This Common Inheritance: A summary of the White Paper on the Environment*. London.

HM Government (1990b) *This Common Inheritance: Britain's Environmental Strategy*. London.

HM Government (1994) *Sustainable development: the UK strategy* Department of the Environment (ed.).

HM Stationery Office (1990) *Environmental Protection Act*.

Högberg, A., Holtorf, C., May, S., et al. (2017) No future in archaeological heritage management? *World Archaeology*, 49 (5): 639–647.
doi:10.1080/00438243.2017.1406398.

Holtorf, C. (2007a) *Archaeology is a brand*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Holtorf, C. (2007b) What does not move any hearts--why should it be saved? The Denkmalpflegediskussion in Germany. *International journal of cultural property*, 14 (1): 33–55. doi:10.1017/S0940739107070038.

Holtorf, C. (2008a) "Is the past a non-renewable resource?" In Fairclough, G., Harrison, R., Jameson, J.H., et al. (eds.) *The Heritage Reader*. New York:

Routledge. pp. 125–133.

Holtorf, C. (2008b) Zoos as Heritage: An Archaeological Perspective. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 14 (1): 3–9. doi:10.1080/13527250701711994.

Holtorf, C. (2010) Meta-stories of archaeology. *World Archaeology*, 42 (3): 381–393. doi:10.2307/20799434.

Holtorf, C. (2013) On Pastness: A Reconsideration of Materiality in Archaeological Object Authenticity. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 86 (2): 427–443. doi:10.2307/41857332.

Holtorf, C. and Schadla-Hall, T. (1999) Age as Artefact: On Archaeological Authenticity. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 2 (2): 229–247. doi:10.1177/146195719900200205.

Horkheimer, M. (1972) *Critical Theory: Selected Essays*. Critical Theory Series. New York: Continuum.

House of Lords, Templeman, Lord, Griffiths, Lord, et al. (1992) *141 South Lakeland District Council Appellants v Secretary of State for the Environment and Another Respondents.*, pp. 1–8.

Howard, A.J. (2012) Managing global heritage in the face of future climate change: the importance of understanding geological and geomorphological processes and hazards. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, (May 2012): 1–27. doi:10.1080/13527258.2012.681680.

Howard, S. (2013) Understanding the Concept of Sustainability as Applied to

Archaeological Heritage. *Rosetta*, 14: 1–19.

ICOMOS (1931) *The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments*.

ICOMOS (1964) *The Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*.

Ingold, T. (1993) The Temporality of the Landscape. *World Archaeology*, 25 (2): 152–174. doi:10.1080/00438243.1993.9980235.

IUCN, UNEP and WWF (1980) *World Conservation Strategy: Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development*. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN, UNEP, WWF.

IUCN, UNEP and WWF (1991) *Caring for the Earth: A Strategy for Sustainable Living*. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN, UNEP, WWF.
doi:10.1080/00139157.1994.9929182.

Jenkins, P. (2005) "Place identity, participation and planning." In Hague, C. and Jenkins, P. (eds.) *Place identity, participation and planning*. London: Routledge.

Johnson, M. (1999) *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jones, R.H. and Norris, S. (2005) *Discourse in Action: Introducing Mediated Discourse Analysis*. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis.

Jones, S. (2010) Negotiating authentic objects and authentic selves: beyond the deconstruction of authenticity. *Journal of Material Culture*, 15 (2): 181–203.

Kajikawa, Y., Ohno, J., Takeda, Y., et al. (2007) Creating an academic landscape of

sustainability science: an analysis of the citation network. *Sustainability Science*, 2 (2): 221–231. doi:10.1007/s11625-007-0027-8.

Kelly, G. (2003) *The Psychology of Personal Constructs: Volume Two: Clinical Diagnosis and Psychotherapy*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Kiddey, R. (2014) *Homeless Heritage: collaborative social archaeology as therapeutic practice*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of York.

Kiddey, R. and Schofield, J. (2011) Embrace the Margins: Adventures in Archaeology and Homelessness. *Public Archaeology*, 10 (1): 4–22.
doi:10.1179/175355311X12991501673140.

Kidner, D.W. (2000) Fabricating nature: A critique of the social construction of nature. *Environmental Ethics*, 22 (4): 339–357.

Klamer, A. and Zuidhof, P.W. (1999) “The Values of Cultural Heritage: Merging Economic and Cultural Appraisals.” In Mason, R. (ed.) *Economics and Heritage Conservation: A Meeting Organised by the Getty Conservation Institute. December 1998*. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute. pp. 23–61.

Krupat, A. (2011) Chief Seattle’s Speech Revisited. *American Indian Quarterly*, 35 (2): 192–214.

Land Use Consultants, CAG Consultants and English Heritage (1996) *Sustainability and the historic environment: technical report*. London.

Law, M. and Morgan, C. (2014) *The Archaeology of Digital Abandonment : Online Sustainability and Archaeological Sites.*, 6 (1): 1–9.

Leeuw, S. Van Der (2002) Placing Archaeology at the Center of Socio-Natural Studies. *American Antiquity*, 67 (4): 597–605.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2007) Legitimation in discourse and communication. *Discourse & Communication*, 1 (1): 91–112. doi:10.1177/1750481307071986.

Leonard, M. (1997) *Britain TM: Renewing our identity*. London: DEMOS.

Leopold, A. (2002) “The Land Ethic.” In Light, A. and Rolston, H. (eds.) *Environmental Ethics: An Anthology*. Blackwell Philosophy Anthologies. Wiley.

Lewis, S.L. and Maslin, M.A. (2015) Defining the Anthropocene. *Nature*, 519: 171.

Linn, J.F. (2014) Comment: Concepts in Archaeology and Economic Development. *Public Archaeology*, 13 (1–3): 85–90. doi:10.1179/1465518714Z.00000000056.

Lipe, W.D. (1984) “Value and Meaning in Cultural Resources.” In Cleere, H. (ed.) *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1–11.

Lister, R. (1998) From equality to social inclusion: New Labour and the welfare state. *Critical Social Policy*, 18 (2): 215–225.

Low, S. (2003) “Social sustainability: people, history and values.” In Teutonico, J.M. and Matero, F. (eds.). *Managing Change: Sustainable Approaches to the Conservation of the Built Environment*. 2003. The Getty Conservation Institute. pp. 47–64.

Lucas, G. (2012) *Understanding the Archaeological Record*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lumley, S. and Armstrong, P. (2004) Some of the nineteenth century origins of the sustainability concept. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 6 (3): 367–378. doi:10.1023/B:ENVI.0000029901.02470.a7.

Lyotard, J.F. (1984) *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Theory and history of literature. Manchester: University of Manchester Press.

Macinnes, L. and Wickham-Jones, C.R. (1992) “Time-depth in the countryside: archaeology and the environment.” In Macinnes, L. and Wickham-Jones, C.R. (eds.) *All Natural Things: Archaeology and the Green Debate*. Oxford: Oxbow Books. pp. 1–13.

Major, J. (2019) *Mr Major’s Speech to Conservative Group for Europe – 22 April 1993*. Available at: <http://www.johnmajorarchive.org.uk/1990-1997/mr-majors-speech-to-conservative-group-for-europe-22-april-1993/> (Accessed: 10 January 2019).

Malthus, T.R. (1798) *An Essay on the Principle of Population, as it affects the Future Improvement of Society with remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers*. London: J. Johnson.

Marshall, A. (1890) *Principles of Economics*. London: Macmillan.

Marshall, Y. (2002) What is community archaeology? *World Archaeology*, 34 (2): 211–219. doi:10.1080/00438240220000070.

May, S. (2009) “Then Tyger Fierce took life away: The contemporary material culture of Tigers.” In Holtorf, C. and Piccini, A. (eds.) *Contemporary Archaeologies: Excavating Now*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang. pp. 65–80.

May, S. (2014) *Debate and Dissent in UK Heritage*. Available at:
<https://heritagefortransformation.wordpress.com/2014/12/17/debate-and-dissent-in-uk-heritage/> (Accessed: 20 January 2019).

Mcnamee, S. (2004) "Relational Bridges Between Constructionism and Constructivism." *In Studies in Meaning 2: Bridging the personal and the social*. pp. 1–19.

Meadows, D., Meadows, D., Randers, J., et al. (1972) *The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of mankind*. Washington, DC: Universal Press.

Merriman, N. (2004) *Public Archaeology*. London: Routledge.

Merriman, N. (2008) Museum collections and sustainability. *Cultural Trends*, 17 (1): 3–21. doi:10.1080/09548960801920278.

Merriman, N. and Swain, H. (1999) Archaeological Archives: Serving the Public Interest? *European Journal of Archaeology*, 2 (2): 249–267.
doi:10.1177/146195719900200206.

Meskell, L. and Preucel, R.W. (2007) "Knowledges." *In Companion to Social Archaeology*. Social Archaeology. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp. 3–22.

Ministry of Housing Communities, L.G. (2018) *Revised National Planning Policy Framework*.

Minnis, P.E. (1999) The Long View from Archaeology. *New Mexico Journal of Science*, 39 (Nov): 23–41.

Mizoguchi, K. (2016) "Doing Archaeology in the Risk Environment: A Theoretical Sketch, Some Observations and Propositions." *In Unquiet Pasts: Risk Society, Lived Cultural Heritage, Re-designing Reflexivity*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. pp. 123–128.

Mol, A.P.J. and Buttel, F.H. (2002) "The Environmental State Under Pressure: An Introduction." *In* Mol, A.P.J. and Buttel, F.H. (eds.) *The Environmental State Under Pressure*. Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd. pp. 1–11.

Mol, A.P.J. and Spaargaren, G. (2000) Ecological Modernisation Theory in Debate: A Review. *Environmental Politics*, 9 (1): 17–49. doi:10.1080/09644010008414511.

Morgan, J. and Macdonald, S. (2018) De-growing museum collections for new heritage futures. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, pp. 1–15.
doi:10.1080/13527258.2018.1530289.

Muir, J. (1901) *Our National Parks*. New York: Houghton, Mifflin.

Murphy, K. (2012) The social pillar of sustainable development: a literature review and framework for policy analysis. *Sustainability: Science, Practice, & Policy*, 8 (1): 15–29.

Murray, T. (2011) Archaeologists and Indigenous People: A Maturing Relationship? *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 40 (1): 363–378. doi:10.1146/annurev-anthro-081309-145729.

Murtha, T. (2017) "Rethinking urban density: archaeology, low density urbanism and sustainability." *In* Dixon, J., Verdiani, G. and Cornel, P. (eds.) *and contemporary planning: 'issues of scale' proceedings*. London: Museum of London. pp. 92–100.

Myerson, G. and Rydin, Y. (1996) *The Language of Environment: A new rhetoric*. London: UCL Press.

National Trusts Organisations (INTO) (2018) *The National Trust Movement*. Available at: <https://intoorg.org/5366> (Accessed: 18 July 2018).

Natural England (2014) *Countryside Quality Counts*. Available at: <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140712063806/http://www.naturalengland.org.uk/ourwork/landscape/englands/character/cqc/default.aspx> (Accessed: 5 February 2019).

Nevell, M. (2011) Living in the Industrial City: Housing Quality, Land Ownership and the Archaeological Evidence from Industrial Manchester, 1740–1850. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 15 (4): 594–606. doi:10.1007/s10761-011-0159-5.

O'Neill, J. (2003) "The Varieties of Intrinsic Value." In Light, A. and Rolston, H.I. (eds.) *Environmental Ethics: An Anthology*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell. pp. 131–142.

Odum, E. and Odum, H. (2005) *Fundamentals of ecology*. 5th ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson Brooks/Cole.

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (1997) *Planning Policy Guidance 1: General policy and principles*. HMSO.

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2003) *Sustainable communities: building for the future*.

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004a) *Community Involvement in Planning: The Government's Objectives*. London.

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004b) *The Social Exclusion Unit*.

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2005a) *Diversity and Equality in Planning: A good practice guide*. London.

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2005b) *Planning Policy Statement 1: Delivering Sustainable Development*. London.

Orwell, G. (2018) *The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius*. Penguin Modern Classics. London: Penguin Books Limited.

Ottaway, P. (2010) *Assessment of Archaeological Collecting: A Project Report*. York.

Pace, A. (2012) "From Heritage to Stewardship: defining the sustainable care of archaeological places." In Skeates, R., Carman, J. and McDavid, C. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. pp. 285–305.

Palazzo, A.L. and Pugliano, A. (2015) "The burden of history: living heritage and everyday life in Rome." In Auclair, E. and Fairclough, G. (eds.) *Theory and Practice in Heritage and Sustainability*. London: Routledge. pp. 72–86.
doi:10.4324/9781315771618-13.

Pearce, D. (2002) An Intellectual History of Environmental Economics. *Annual review of energy and the environment*, 27: 57–81.
doi:10.1146/annurev.energy.27.122001.083429.

Pearce, D. and Atkinson, G. (1998) *The concept of sustainable development: an evaluation of its usefulness in ten years after Brundtland*. CSERGE PA 98-02.

doi:10.1007/BF03353896.

Pearce, D., Barbier, E.B., Markandya, A., et al. (1989) *Blueprint for a Green Economy*. London: Earthscan.

Pendlebury, J. (2000) Conservation, Conservatives and Consensus: The Success of Conservation under the Thatcher and Major Governments, 1979–1997. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 1 (1): 31–52. doi:10.1080/14649350050135185.

Pendlebury, J. (2008) *Conservation in the Age of Consensus*. London: Routledge.

Pendlebury, J. (2013) Conservation values, the authorised heritage discourse and the conservation-planning assemblage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19 (7): 709–727. doi:10.1080/13527258.2012.700282.

Perrin, K. (2002) *Archaeological archives: documentation, access and deposition: a way forward*.

Pinchot, G. (n.d.) *Conservation means the wise use of the Earth and its resources: a report from the American Forest Institute*. Washington, D.C.: American Forest Institute. (At head of title: Forests, U.S.A.).

Powell, J.M. (1980) *Approaches to resource management*. Malvern, Australia: Sorret Publishing.

Purvis, B., Mao, Y. and Robinson, D. (2018) Three pillars of sustainability: in search of conceptual origins. *Sustainability Science*. doi:10.1007/s11625-018-0627-5.

Pyburn, K.A. (2014) Preservation as ‘Disaster Capitalism’: The Downside of Site Rescue and the Complexity of Community Engagement. *Public Archaeology*, 13 (1–

3): 226–239. doi:10.1179/1465518714Z.00000000070.

Raab, L.M. and Klinger, T.C. (1977) *Society for American Archaeology A Critical Appraisal of " Significance " in Contract Archaeology.*, 42 (4): 629–634.

Randers, J. (2010) The Real Message of The Limits to Growth. *GAIA - Ecological Perspectives for Science and Society*, 21 (2): 102–105.

Redfern, N. (2019) A chef, a rat and a critic: a personal look at expertise. Paper to be presented at the *Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA) Conference*, 24 to 26 April 2019, Leeds.

Relph, E. (1976) *Place and Placelessness*. Research in planning and design. London: Pion.

Ricardo, D. (1817) *On the principles of political economy and taxation*. Leiden: John Murray.

Richards, J.D. (2002) Digital preservation and access. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (3): 343–366. doi:DOI: 10.1179/eja.2002.5.3.343.

Richards, J.D., Niven, K. and Jeffrey, S. (2013) “Preserving Our Digital Heritage: Information Systems for Data Management and Preservation BT - Visual Heritage in the Digital Age.” *In* Ch'ng, E., Gaffney, V. and Chapman, H. (eds.) *Visual Heritage in the Digital Age*. London: Springer London. pp. 311–326. doi:10.1007/978-1-4471-5535-5_16.

Richardson, L. and Atkin, A. (2017) “Failure is Not Fatal.” *In* *Theoretical Archaeology Group Conference*. 2017. Session at the Theoretical Archaeology Group, 18th – 20th

December 2017, Cardiff.

Rodwell, D. (2003) Sustainability and the Holistic Approach to the Conservation of Historic Cities. *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, 9 (1): 58–73.

doi:10.1080/13556207.2003.10785335.

Russel, D. (2007) The United Kingdom's sustainable development strategies: leading the way or flattering to deceive? *Strategy*, 200 (3): 189–200. doi:10.1002/eet.

Rydin, Y. (2003) *Conflict, Consensus, and Rationality in Environmental Planning : An Institutional Discourse Approach: An Institutional Discourse Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sandmo, A. (2015) The early history of environmental economics. *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy*, 9 (1): 43–63. doi:10.1093/reep/reu018.

Scarborough, V. (2010) The Archaeology of Sustainability: Mesoamerica. *Ancient Mesoamerica*, 20 (2): 197–203. doi:10.1017/S095653610999006X.

Schaich, H., Bieling, C. and Plieninger, T. (2010) Linking ecosystem services with cultural landscape research. *Gaia-Ecological Perspectives for Science and Society*, 19 (4): 269–277.

Schlanger, N. (2008) The global economic crisis—a multiple risk factor for the archaeological heritage? *Heritage at Risk*, pp. 193–195.

Schofield, J., Carman, J. and Belford, P. (2011) *Archaeological Practice in Great Britain: A heritage handbook*. London: Springer.

Schofield, J. and Kiddey, R.R.M. (2015) “Keeping it real: Social sustainability in the

Homeless Heritage project in Bristol and York.” *In Theory and Practice in Heritage and Sustainability*. Routledge Studies in Culture and Sustainable Development. Routledge. pp. 40–53.

Schumacher, E.F. (1973) *Small is beautiful: economics as if people mattered*. New York: Harper & Row.

Scoones, I. (2007) *Development in Practice Sustainability Sustainability*., 4524 (November): 589–596. doi:10.1080/09614520701469609.

Sinamai, A. (2018) Melodies of God: the significance of the soundscape in conserving the Great Zimbabwe landscape. *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, 5 (1): 17–29. doi:10.1080/20518196.2017.1323823.

Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge.

Smith, L. and Waterton, E. (2009) *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. (Heritage, Communities and Archaeology).

Smith, M.E. (2010) Sprawl, Squatters and Sustainable Cities: Can Archaeological Data Shed Light on Modern Urban Issues? *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 20 (02): 229–253. doi:10.1017/S0959774310000259.

Soini, K., Battaglini, E., Birkeland, I., et al. (2015) *Culture in, for and as Sustainable Development*. Dessein, J., Soini, K. and Fairclough, G. (eds.). Jyväskylä, Finland: University of Jyväskylä.

Soini, K. and Birkeland, I. (2014) Exploring the scientific discourse on cultural sustainability. *Geoforum*, 51: 213–223. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2013.12.001.

Sørensen, M.L.S. and Carman, J. (eds.) (2009) *Heritage studies: methods and approaches*. London & New York: Routledge.

Startin, B. (2005) "The Monuments Protection Programme: Protecting what, how and for whom?" In Cooper, M.A., Firth, A., Carman, J., et al. (eds.) *Managing Archaeology*. London: Routledge. pp. 133–141.

Stephens, J. and McCallum, R. (2013) *Retelling Stories, Framing Culture: Traditional Story and Metanarratives in Children's Literature*. New York and London: Taylor & Francis.

Stoddart, S. (2018) FRAGSUS . Fragility and sustainability in prehistoric Malta. *The European Archaeologist*, (41): 20–24.

Strauss, A.L. (1987) *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sustainable Preservation Initiative (2018) *San Jose de Moro*. Available at: <http://www.sustainablepreservation.org/sanjosedemoro> (Accessed: 16 November 2018).

Sutcliffe, T.-J. and Howard, S. (2014) *Debate on the Instrumentalisation of Archaeology*. Available at: <https://archaeologydebate.wordpress.com/> (Accessed: 24 January 2016).

Swain, H. (1998) *A survey of archaeological archives in England*. London: Museums and Galleries Commission.

Swain, H. (2012) "Archive Archaeology." In Skeates, R., McDavid, C. and Carman, J.

(eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
pp. 351–367. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199237821.013.0019.

Tainter, J.A. (1995) Sustainability of Complex Societies. *Futures*, 27 (4): 397–407.

Tainter, J.A. (2006) Archaeology of Overshoot and Collapse. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 3: 9–74. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.35.081705.123136.

Tainter, J.A. (2010) “A Framework for Archaeology and Sustainability.” In Hardesty, D.L. (ed.) *Archaeology*. EOLSS Publications.

Tainter, J.A. (2011) Resources and Cultural Complexity: Implications for Sustainability. *Critical Reviews in Plant Sciences*, 30 (1–2): 24–34.
doi:10.1080/07352689.2011.553539.

Tainter, J.A. and Lucas, G.J. (1983) Epistemology of the Significance Concept. *American Antiquity*, 48 (4): 707–719.

Tengberg, A., Fredholm, S., Eliasson, I., et al. (2012) Cultural ecosystem services provided by landscapes: Assessment of heritage values and identity. *Ecosystem Services*, 2: 14–26. doi:10.1016/j.ecoser.2012.07.006.

The Independent (1993) *What a lot of tosh*. Available at:
<https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/leading-article-what-a-lot-of-tosh-1457335.html> (Accessed: 10 January 2019).

Thomas, J. (1996) *Time, Culture and Identity: An Interpretive Archaeology*. London: Routledge.

Thomas, J. (2004) *Archaeology and modernity*. London & New York.

Throsby, D. (2001) *Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (From Duplicate 1 (Economics and Culture- Throsby, D.)).

Throsby, D. (2011) "Cultural capital." In Trowse, R. (ed.) *A handbook of cultural economics*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. pp. 142–146.
doi:10.1023/A:1007543313370.

Tilley, C. (1994) *A phenomenology of landscape: places, paths, and monuments*. Explorations in anthropology. Oxford: Berg.

Torres-Delgado, A. and López Palomeque, F. (2012) The growth and spread of the concept of sustainable tourism: The contribution of institutional initiatives to tourism policy. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 4: 1–10. doi:10.1016/j.tmp.2012.05.001.

Transport & Regional Affairs Committee Environment (1999) *A better quality of life - strategy for sustainable development for the United Kingdom*.

Trelka, M. (2019) "*When the Heritage*": *World Heritage and local communities through the prism of Ironbridge Gorge*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Birmingham.

Trigger, B.G. (2006) *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge University Press.

Tunbridge, J.E. and Ashworth, G.J. (1996) *Dissonant heritage: the management of the past as a resource in conflict*. New York: J. Wiley.

Tweed, C. and Sutherland, M. (2007) Built cultural heritage and sustainable urban development. *Landscape and urban planning*, 83 (1): 62–69.

doi:10.1016/j.landurbplan.2007.05.008.

UNESCO (1972) *Special committee of government experts to prepare a draft convention and a draft recommendation to Member States concerning the protection of monuments, groups of buildings and sites.*

UNESCO (1974) *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.*

UNESCO (1988) *World Decade for Cultural Development 1987-1998. Plan of Action.*

UNESCO (1993) *World Congress on Culture and Development: item 5.5 of provisional agenda.*

UNESCO (2002) *Universal declaration on cultural diversity.* Stenou, K. (ed.). Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

UNESCO (2013a) *Plenary Session: High Level Discussion Segment. Culture in the Post - 2015 Sustainable Development Agenda Why Culture is Key to Sustainable Development Background Note.* Paris.

UNESCO (2013b) *The Hangzhou Declaration: Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies.*

UNESCO (2015) *Re | Shaping Cultural Policies: A Decade Promoting the Diversity of Cultural Expressions for Development.* Paris.

UNESCO (2017) *What is meant by “cultural heritage”?* Available at:

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/unesco-database-of-national-cultural-heritage-laws/frequently-asked->

questions/definition-of-the-cultural-heritage/ (Accessed: 1 December 2018).

UNESCO (2018) *Cultural Landscapes*. Available at:

<https://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/> (Accessed: 18 July 2018).

UNESCO (2019) *UNESCO World Heritage Centre - Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. Available at:

<https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> (Accessed: 10 January 2019).

UNFPA (2018) *The Human Rights-Based Approach*. Available at:

<https://www.unfpa.org/human-rights-based-approach> (Accessed: 28 September 2018).

United Cities and Local Government – Culture Committee (UCLG CC) (2006)

Agenda 21 for culture. Barcelona: United Cities and Local Governments.

UCLG (2018) Agenda 21. Available at: <http://www.agenda21culture.net/2002-2004>

(Accessed: 23 May 2019).

United Nations (1948) *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

United Nations (1966) *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*.

United Nations (1972) *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment*.

United Nations (1992a) *Agenda 21, United Nations Conference on Environment and Development*. New York.

United Nations (1992b) *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*.

doi:10.1017/S037689290003157X.

United Nations (2015) *UN adopts new Global Goals, charting sustainable*

development for people and planet by 2030. Available at:

<https://news.un.org/en/story/2015/09/509732-un-adopts-new-global-goals-charting-sustainable-development-people-and-planet> (Accessed: 2 February 2019).

United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (1992) *United Nations Conference on Environment & Development, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 3 to 14 June 1992: Agenda 21*. doi:10.1007/s11671-008-9208-3.

University of Warwick (2016) *Centre for Cultural Heritage Studies: Research Themes and Projects*. Available at:

http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/theatre_s/cp/research/researchthemes/
(Accessed: 26 June 2016).

Vileniske, I.G. (2008) Influence of Built Heritage on Sustainable Development of Landscape. *Landscape Research*, 33 (4): 425–437.

doi:10.1080/01426390801946491.

Vis, B.N. (2014) *Mapping Socio-Spatial Relations in the Urban Built Environment Through Time: Describing the Socio-Spatial Significance of Inhabiting Urban Form BT - Mapping Spatial Relations, Their Perceptions and Dynamics: The City Today and in the Past*. In: Rau, S. and Schönherr, E. (eds.) Cham: Springer International Publishing. pp. 45–93. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-00993-3_4.

Walsh, D. (1969) *Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Arrangements for the*

Protection of Field Monuments, 1966-1968. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Walsh, K. (1992) *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Postmodern World*. Foundations of the Market Economy Series. London: Routledge.

Waterton, E. (2007) *Rhetoric & Reality: Politics, Policy and the Discourse of Heritage in England*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of York.

Waterton, E. (2010) *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9780230292383.

Waterton, E. and Smith, L. (eds.) (2009) *Taking archaeology out of heritage*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (2015) "Heritage at a Focus of Research: Past, Present and New Directions." In Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 1–17.

World Commission on Environment and Development (1987a) *Our Common Future: The World Commission on Environment and Development*. Oxford.

WCED (1987b) *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future [online version]*. Available at: <http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf> (Accessed: 2 March 2017).

Weale, A. (1992) *The New Politics of Pollution*. Issues in environmental politics. Manchester University Press.

Welch, J.R. and Ferris, N. (2014) "'We Have Met the Enemy and He is Us': Transforming Archaeology through Sustainable Design." In *Transforming*

Archaeology. pp. 91–114.

Winter, T. and Waterton, E. (2013) Critical Heritage Studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19 (6): 529–531. doi:10.1080/13527258.2013.818572.

Winterton, S. (2014) From the Army Medical Centre to Operation Nightingale: My Entry into Archaeology. *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, 1 (3): 245–247. doi:10.1179/2051819614Z.000000000015.

Wodak, R. and Fairclough, N. (1997) “Critical Discourse Analysis.” *In Discourse as Social Interaction*. London: SAGE. pp. 258–284.

Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (2009) “Critical discourse analysis: history, agenda, theory and methodology.” *In Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Introducing Qualitative Methods series. London: SAGE Publications. pp. 1–33.

Wodak, R. and Reisigl, M. (2009) “The discourse-historical approach.” *In Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: SAGE. pp. 87–121.

World Commission on Culture and Development (WCCD) (1995) *Our Creative Diversity: Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development*. Paris: UNESCO.

World Heritage Committee (1972) *Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*.

Yarrow, T. (2006) Sites of knowledge: different ways of knowing an archaeological excavation. *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice: Cultural Encounters, Material Transformations*, pp. 20–33.

Zorzin, N. (2016) "New Managerial Strategies in British Commercial Archaeology." In Resco, P.A. (ed.) *Archaeology and Neoliberalism*. Madrid: Jas Arqueologia Editorial. pp. 297–326. doi:10.1021/es404122y.