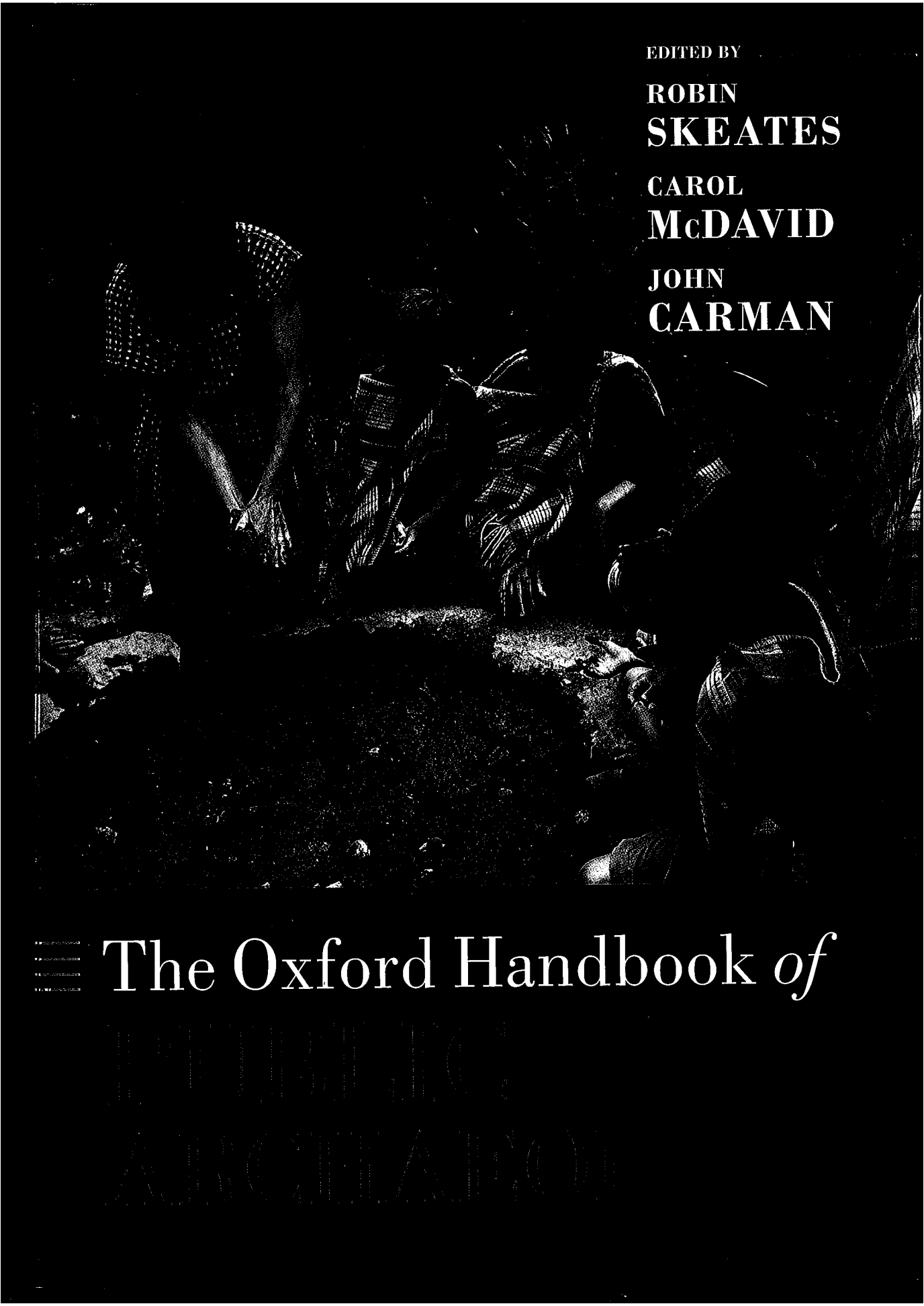




EDITED BY

ROBIN
SKEATES

CAROL
McDAVID

JOHN
CARMAN

 The Oxford Handbook of

AFRICAN
ARCHITECTURE

The Oxford Handbook of PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY

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Contributors

Mick Aston, Kevin M. Bartoy, Marcia Bezerra, William E. Boyd, Jamie C. Brandon, Neil Brodie, John Carman, Dilip Chakrabarti, Robert C. Chidester, Tim Darvill, James M. Davidson, M. Elaine Franklin, Pedro Paolo Funari, David A. Gadsby, Mary-Catherine E. Garden, Roberta Gilchrist, Jane Grenville, Anders Gustafsson, Patrice L. Jeppson, Håkan Karlsson, Alice Beck Kehoe, Morag M. Kersel, Rachael Kiddey, Kristian Kristiansen, Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, Brett D. Lashua, Barbara J. Little, Carol McDavid, Fred McGhee, Jeanne Moe, Tim Murray, Michael Shakir Nassaney, Anthony Pace, Tim Phillips, Adrian Praetzelis, Margaret Purser, John Schofield, Robin Skeates, Laurajane Smith, Hilary Allester Soderland, Hedley Swain, Suzie Thomas, Stephen Trow, Emma Waterton, and Joe Watkins.

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

www.oup.com

ISBN 978-0-19-923782-1



9 780199 237821

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

PUBLIC
ARCHAEOLOGY

Edited by

ROBIN SKEATES, CAROL McDAVID,

and

JOHN CARMAN

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
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Published in the United States by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

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First published 2012

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Data available

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
MPG Books Group, Bodmin and King's Lynn

ISBN 978-0-19-923782-1

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

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INTRODUCTION

QUESTIONING ARCHAEOLOGY'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

ROBIN SKEATES, JOHN CARMAN,
CAROL MCDAVID

MORE THAN A HANDBOOK

This volume reappraises the place of archaeology in the contemporary world by providing a series of essays that critically engage with old and new debates in the field of public archaeology. It does so by evaluating the range of research strategies and methods used in archaeological heritage studies, by identifying and contributing to key debates in this dynamic field, by critically exploring the history of archaeological resource management, and by questioning the fundamental principles and practices through which the archaeological past is understood and used today. In doing so, it enters into the overlapping domains of: 'public', 'community', or 'engaged' archaeology; heritage, or cultural resource management; and heritage and museum studies; as well as a wide range of related fields within the social sciences. In recent years, this subject area has seen a proliferation of published texts aimed primarily at the academic market, particularly in the UK and USA—including some written or edited by ourselves (see e.g. for the last decade alone: Skeates 2000; Carman 2002; Howard 2003; Merriman 2004; Smith 2004; Carman 2005; Mathers et al. 2005; Hunter and Ralston 2006; Smith 2006; Colwell-Chantonaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Fairclough et al. 2008; Naffé et al. 2008; Rubertone 2008; Smith and Waterton 2009; Sørensen and Carman 2009; Benton 2010; Harrison 2010; Messenger and Smith 2010; Smith et al. 2010; West 2010). This literature—conveniently if provocatively characterized by Carman (2002: 1–4) as either 'commentary', 'practice', or 'research'—has successfully described the diversity of archaeological resources, stakeholders, principles, and practices involved in public archaeology and the range of approaches taken to it. But what this volume does is somewhat different. In line with the ethos of the *Oxford Handbooks in*

Archaeology series, our volume comprises an extensive collection of commissioned essays, both from experienced practitioners and from established and 'younger' scholars, which critically engage with old and new debates in the field of public archaeology, to push thinking forward in interesting new directions that will provide a foundation for future work. Many of the chapters are consequently characterized by a questioning attitude, as opposed to narrative representations of the current state of play in public archaeology, in order to stimulate discussion about past, present, and future understandings of archaeology and its relationship to contemporary society. Some of our authors also adopt a self-critical attitude, not only by describing their own work, but also by clarifying the diverse principles and terminologies upon which their ideas and practices are based, and the intellectual and social contexts from which they are derived, in order to encourage debate and understanding concerning the impact of their work. Many (but by no means all) of our contributors are Anglo-American in nationality or residence, reflecting the dominance of anglophone discourse in this field. However, we believe that the relevance of our volume is global, particularly in terms of the ideas explored in general and through a number of case studies from around the world. More specifically, we envisage that our volume will be read by three sets of audiences with somewhat different requirements: first, as a key text for the many students engaged in archaeological heritage and museum studies; second, as a source of debate and point of reference for the growing number of academics working in the field of public archaeology; and third, as a stimulating resource for professional archaeologists working in the public and private sectors of cultural resource management.

There are many ways in which our volume could have been structured, for all of the chapters overlap in one way or another. We have chosen to divide it into four parts where the complementarities seem strongest, which should at least help you decide where you want to start reading.

The first part of this volume is on histories of public archaeology. Here, our contributors examine critically both the ways in which public archaeology has developed in different parts of the world and the consequences of those histories on our understandings of the past today. A general chapter on the unintended origins of current archaeological heritage management (Carman) is followed by others which explore the enduring significance of the 1916 'National Park Organic Act' (Soderland); the sometimes turbulent history of relations between archaeologists and metal-detector users in England and Wales (Thomas); the changing significance of the senses in representations of prehistoric Malta (Skeates); and the development of public archaeology in colonial and post-colonial Latin America (Funari and Bezerra) and India (Chakrabarti).

The second part is about researching public archaeology. The chapters here deal with the methods and strategies used in the field of public archaeology research, which, as recently argued by Sørensen and Carman (2009), are rarely—if ever—explicitly discussed. They range from archaeological historiography (Murray), to critical discourse analysis (Smith and Waterton), the application of the concepts of 'cognitive ownership' (Boyd) and 'heritagescape' (Garden), to participatory action research (McGhee), and the quantitative and qualitative methods used to uncover the antiquities market (Brodie), including multi-sited ethnography (Kersel). Other chapters in this volume adopt yet more approaches.

Part III is concerned with managing public archaeological resources. It examines some of the principles, policies, and practices involved in the heritage management of archaeological landscapes, sites, and collections, and some of their social implications. Individual chapters discuss: the relevance of the ideals of sustainability to the stewardship of archaeological sites (Pace), how the public can participate in the management of the historic environment (Schofield, Kiddey, and Lashua), the failures and successes of cultural resources management in California (Praetzellis), the place of archaeology in the debate over future land use in England (Trow and Grenville), and the formation, management, and use of archaeological fieldwork archives (Swain).

The fourth part is on working at archaeology with the public. It reveals some of the variety of ideals, practices, and issues affecting archaeology and its publics in contemporary societies. The first set of chapters underline the status of archaeologists as public servants: through an exploration of the complex and developing profession of archaeology (Darvill); a detailing of the myriad public benefits of archaeology (Little); and an assessment of the value of 'community service learning' to archaeological practice and pedagogy (Nassaney). The second set of chapters deals with the public interpretation and presentation of archaeology, seen through: a career spent publicizing archaeology in the UK (Aston); an analysis of archaeological communities and languages in Europe (Kristiansen); a critique of the public presentation of rock art at the Swedish World Heritage Site of Tanum (Gustafsson and Karlsson); a review of a participatory GIS-based research project undertaken in Levuka, the former colonial capital of Fiji (Purser); and a discussion of the socio-political context of historical archaeology research in the USA, with particular reference to participatory archaeology projects undertaken in working communities in Baltimore, Maryland (Gadsby and Chidester). The third set of chapters focuses on public learning and education in the USA, including: the gendered development of public archaeology in the USA (Kehoe); the application of constructivist learning theory in museum settings such as the Hermitage, home to the seventh President of the USA (Bartoy); the identification of key themes to be used in archaeology education to create an archaeologically literate public (Franklin and Moe); and a discussion of the implications for public archaeology education of the 'culture wars' between 'traditionalists' and 'secular progressives' over the shaping of American society (Jeppson). The final set of chapters concerns working at archaeology with particular publics, ranging from African-American descendant communities (Davidson and Brandon, and La Roche), to Native American groups (Watkins), to disabled persons (Phillips and Gilchrist).

QUESTIONS AND DEBATES

Thinking about these chapters in more detail, in this second part to our Introduction, we outline some of the wide range of questions and debates raised by our contributors in relation to archaeology's place in the world. We consciously do not offer firm answers here, since we hope that you will make your own judgements having encountered some

of the variety of opinions offered in the following chapters, and because the debates that we are engaged in are all ongoing.

One of the starting points for this volume is the recognition that 'public archaeology', as a term, concept, and practice, requires critical evaluation. This raises the questions, then, of what is meant by 'the public' and 'the public good' in relation to archaeological practice and heritage (and for previous discussions of this see e.g. Carman 2002: 96–112; Merriman 2004: 1–2). Certainly archaeologists and law-makers have different perspectives on this, and, as Soderland highlights, their conceptions have also changed over time. Likewise, a number of our authors question the definition and scope of public archaeology, and express different opinions as to its parameters in theory and in practice. Franklin and Moe, for example, ask whether 'public archaeology' should be equated with 'cultural resource management' or with 'public education' and, so, if 'public archaeology' should refer to archaeology *with* the public, *for* the public, *of* the public, or to archaeology of public resources. These are questions addressed as early as the late 1960s in the first substantive text on the topic (McGimsey 1972). Such questions lead to more concerning the acceptance and status of public archaeology, both within the archaeological profession as a whole (as reflected, for example, in archaeology ethics statements), and in the eyes of different kinds of archaeologists. Put more bluntly, why—as recognized by Catherine Hills and Julian Richards (2006)—have public archaeology programmes and practitioners been undervalued, dismissed, or derided, particularly by university-based archaeology teachers and researchers? Partly in response, public archaeologists point out that all archaeologists need to be able to respond persuasively to questions concerning the benefits of archaeological practice and knowledge to the public, particularly at a time in which public funding of archaeology is under threat. But public archaeologists could also raise their game when contributing to academic debates, particularly by critically evaluating their own qualitative and quantitative research methods, used, for example, to reconstruct the history of archaeology, or to uncover the antiquities trade, or to study 'heritagescapes', or when engaging in collaborative research with communities (although on this see Sørensen and Carman 2009).

Visions of future archaeologies are implied here, but in looking forward many of our authors also question the origins and development of archaeology and of public archaeology in different parts of the world. Far from neutral questions surround, for example: the historical circumstances in which networks of archaeologists and programmes of archaeological research were established with the help of private and state sponsorship; or in which ancient monuments and collections of other archaeological remains came to be investigated, represented, preserved, and managed as (often national) 'heritage' (Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Atkinson et al. 1996; Hunter 1996. Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Jones 1997; and often at the expense of local communities and their histories (Layton 1989a, 1989b; Carmichael et al. 1994; Davidson et al. 1995; Swidler et al. 1997); or in which professionalized contract archaeology has come to comprise the majority of archaeological research and employment (King 2005; Everill 2009). In whose interest these developments have been is clearly a matter of debate.

This brings us to the multifaceted politics of the past, an issue raised especially by Gathercole and Lowenthal (1990) and more recently by Hamilakis and Duke (2007) among others. One might start by asking archaeologists to consider their own political viewpoints, both personal and shared (although archaeologists may not be the best judges here); for although archaeology as a scientific discipline may aspire to be impartial, in practice it does not exist outside of contemporary political concerns and power relations. Some of our contributors ask how politically conservative or liberal archaeologists and heritage managers are, while Kristiansen enquires why archaeology has become increasingly fragmented into national, regional, and local archaeological communities (and see Kristiansen 2001; Kobyliński 2001: 44–6). The status of archaeological interpretation is also open to question: as Murray puts it, how do archaeologists justify their claims to knowledge? Then there is the issue of how archaeologists should engage with the (often competing) interests of different political, social, ethnic, and religious groups and regimes, some of whom promote interpretations of the past that are at odds with those proposed by archaeologists. For example, Chakrabarti considers whether contemporary studies of ancient DNA should be abandoned, since their results might fuel ethnic conflicts, whereas some of our other contributors wonder whether archaeologists should not try harder to interest and influence politicians, for the good of archaeology. There are no easy answers, for there are so many (often contradictory) factors to consider. For example, while thinking about the constraints that authoritarian regimes have placed upon archaeological interpretation, archaeologists might also question whether democratic political regimes have always led to a flourishing of archaeology (and for some examples see Ucko 1995). And in attempting to right the wrongs of the past, is it not ironic that (outsider) archaeologists and heritage managers, having been implicated in the historic appropriation of culturally significant material and in the marginalization of closely associated communities throughout the world, should now feel responsible to help reinterpret, publicize, and enhance the value of native archaeology? Gadsby and Chidester ask, is it not the ethical duty of archaeologists to promote social justice, and to offer solutions to the problems of class, labour, and inequality in the contemporary global economy (e.g. McGuire and Paynter 1991; Little 2006; Saitta 2007)? But we can still question the extent to which dominant archaeologists and organizations continue to export their scientific techniques, interpretations, languages, and heritage values to other archaeologists, cultural resource managers, and Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world. Watkins is, therefore, justified in asking, first, what the use of archaeology is to Indigenous groups, and second, what form the methodological and theoretical characteristics of Indigenous archaeology should take (see e.g. Smith 2004).

One might expect national and international laws to provide a useful set of rules of conduct in relation to such potentially conflictual archaeological situations, but laws can be questioned and are broken. So, it is worth following Soderland's example to ask not only what laws and regulations apply to archaeology in different parts of the world, but also what interests and compromises have contributed to the legislative process, how effective legislation has been in safeguarding archaeological remains or mandating

archaeological heritage management, and in what circumstances laws have become outdated and unenforceable. Beyond this, it is possible to ask how laws 'work' on archaeological material and what the consequences are for archaeology when it is placed in the legal realm (Carman 1996). We can also explore how actively engaged archaeologists are with the legislative process and with working through the implications of new laws, relating, for example, to public education, or to the social inclusion of disabled persons. Looting, corruption, and the (illicit) trade in antiquities are of particular concern to archaeologists, who have increasingly sought to understand what impact the trade has had on the archaeological resource, why various stakeholders (including some archaeologists) become involved in this trade, what diverse meanings and values are ascribed to illegally excavated objects at various stages in the trade, what the changing size and shape of the market is, and how effective programmes to counter the illicit trade have been. Inevitably, legislation creates grey areas, populated by questions such as whether archaeologists should 'buy back' artefacts from looters, or what might be regarded as responsible metal-detector use by members of the public (see e.g. Renfrew 2000; Brodie et al. 2000, 2001, 2006; Brodie and Tubb 2002).

What to do with the dynamic heritage of the past in the present lies at the heart of most political, legal, and social debate relating to public archaeology, and is a question considered by many of the contributors to this volume. A complex starting point is to understand what is meant by terms such as 'heritage'—both 'tangible' and 'intangible' (see e.g. Smith and Akagawa 2009; Lira and Amoêda 2010), 'community' (Smith and Waterton 2009), and 'landscape' (see e.g. Johnson 2007; Hicks et al. 2007; Lozny 2008), particularly in different countries and cultures. One useful way of approaching this issue is to explore what Garden (2006, 2009) defines as 'heritagescapes', in order to gauge to what extent historic sites and landscapes are connected to (or marginalized from) their surroundings, and to understand how individuals, and especially Indigenous or local people, value and identify with those places and spaces, even if they do not 'own' them as property. It also leads us to ask whose heritage is put on the map by heritage managers, what role the public, and community groups in particular, might play in designating places as official heritage sites, and what the consequences of such designation are. This might prompt archaeologists to question the values that they, and the diverse public (ranging from Indigenous groups to visiting tourists to metal-detector users), assign to archaeological resources, including sites in the landscape and excavation archives in museums (issues that are also discussed in Smith et al. 2010). In practice, a fundamental question concerns precisely by whom, and how, heritage should be managed on behalf of the public, including future generations. Should archaeological remains be withdrawn from the public domain and managed by state-funded heritage 'experts' with a background in archaeology, or also controlled and interpreted by members of local communities (Smith 2004, 2006; Carman 2005)? And to what extent should threatened and fragile archaeological resources be mitigated by developer-funded archaeologists, developed then consumed by visitors as sensually stimulating heritage, preserved according to the ideals of conservation and sustainability, or left to decay and treasure hunting?

This helps put into context questions regarding the nature and status of the archaeological profession, including its public dimensions, particularly in different parts of the world (see e.g. for the UK, Aitchison 1999; Aitchison and Edwards 2003, 2008; Everill 2009). Questions that arise are: how attractive is archaeology as a career, and to what social groups? how well trained are archaeology students in applied, public archaeology? what is the age, gender, and disability profile of the archaeology workforce in general, and of archaeologists working, for example, in public education? how distinct are archaeologists employed in contract archaeology compared to those engaged in academic research, and what are the public aspects of their work? what is the scale of contract archaeology, and how can it be improved in practice: both for the good of archaeology and for the public? Overarching these questions is the issue of the principles by which the archaeological profession should be regulated.

A concern with the public lies at the heart of this volume: including questions relating to public perceptions of, and participation in, archaeology. Archaeologists still need to learn more about what members of the public know, do not know, and want to know about archaeology (Holtorf 2005, 2007), and how misconceptions are perpetuated about archaeological practice (as treasure hunting, for example) and research (as the study of dinosaurs, for example: see e.g. Schadla-Hall 2004; Kehoe 2008). As Kehoe asks, how well served is the public by the most easily accessed information about archaeology available on Google? Many people become interested in archaeology, but to what extent archaeologists actually want, or can be expected to have, public engagement in their work is a matter of debate. And, even for those archaeologists who do wish to create more inclusive programmes, there remains the problem of precisely how to make them succeed as genuinely participatory, collaborative, and equitable ventures that make a difference to more than just a select group of people (Marshall 2002). Going one step further, should we expect archaeologists to contribute to activist histories aimed at social change, justice, and empowerment (see e.g. Saitta 2007; Little and Shackel 2007)?

A significant proportion of our contributors are involved with public education in archaeology, and their essays expose some of the tensions inherent in the objectives of public archaeology. It is more complicated than simply asking what archaeologists want children and adults to know about archaeology, for, as Jeppson highlights, there are politically competing kinds of history that can be told through archaeology, ranging from the heritage of Western civilization and nation states to the broader study of humanity, and from science-based processual archaeology and preservation-focused cultural resource management to more relativistic post-processual and Indigenous perspectives. Bartoy's call for archaeology education programmes to follow the constructivist theory of learning and to provide more active learning situations raises the question of how effective existing archaeology education programmes are, particularly in terms of producing a better-informed, more archaeologically literate, public. The same question also applies to archaeological publications (of all kinds), which are a well-established, but heavily conventionalized, medium through which archaeologists seek to disseminate their knowledge to audiences (see e.g. Hills and Richards 2006). Here, the questions of when, what, how, where, and for whom, to publish remain a dilemma for

archaeologists, particularly when their audiences have no specialist knowledge of archaeology. Furthermore, as Kristiansen reminds us, archaeologists, and especially native English speakers, should not take the language of archaeology for granted.

Having explored our book, then, we hope that you will have not only discovered what we know about public archaeology, but also questioned and debated our knowledge and opinions. In this way we might all contribute to redefining archaeology's place in the world.

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PART I

HISTORIES OF PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The most accessible general histories of archaeology are (in order of publication): Schnapp (1996), Trigger (2006), and Murray (2007c). Murray and Evans (2008a) is a reader that provides a general introduction to many of the issues related to writing histories of archaeology. The most comprehensive source of information about the history of archaeology is the five-volume *Encyclopedia of Archaeology* (Murray 1999c, 2001b), but Bahn's *Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology* (1999) is a very useful, and visually exciting, general introduction. The *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* is the only journal specifically devoted to this field (see <http://www.archaeologybulletin.org/>), although other archaeological journals, such as *Antiquity*, regularly publish contributions to the field. These also, occasionally, find their way into journals related to the history of cognate disciplines, or indeed of science generally.

CHAPTER 8

CONSTRAINED BY
COMMONSENSE
THE AUTHORIZED
HERITAGE DISCOURSE IN
CONTEMPORARY DEBATES

LAURAJANE SMITH
EMMA WATERTON

Laurajane Smith is Australian Research Council Future Fellow in the School of Archaeology and Anthropology at the Australian National University, Canberra, and Emma Waterton is Lecturer in Social Science at the University of Western Sydney, Australia. Both have developed a strong interest in the way 'heritage' is related to notions of community, driven especially by Laurajane's background as an archaeologist working with Aboriginal Peoples in her native Australia. Out of her encounters both in Australia and the UK—especially with working-class groups in northern England—she has developed the notion of the 'authorized heritage discourse' (AHD) that dominates heritage management practices, driven by Western notions of what a 'heritage' consists of. Instead, Smith and Waterton argue here that 'heritage' may be better thought of as a set of processes that relate to issues of identity formation and 'community'. Although drawn particularly from the British experience (as discussed here), the concept of the AHD has potentially global significance: the imperative is to understand the nature of the AHD in particular contexts. This chapter, in particular, stands as a challenge to the idea of what constitutes 'heritage', as presented by Carman (Chapter 1), Soderland (Chapter 2), and others in this volume.

There is no simple way of defining or understanding 'heritage'. While a cursory glance at the debates currently surrounding the public policy process in England may suggest

otherwise, heritage, in reality, is a complex concept underwritten by a range of different—and often contradictory—values, arguments, and connotations. This chapter explores the ways in which this multiplicity of meaning is overshadowed, so much so that a particular idea about ‘heritage’ has come to represent the dominant and legitimized way of thinking, writing, and talking about heritage management practices. We argue that this dominant way of seeing heritage—which Smith (2006) defines as the ‘authorized heritage discourse’ (AHD)—has become so comfortable and commonplace within heritage management practices that wider debate over heritage is significantly constrained. Indeed, so pervasive is this air of inevitability that any new debates are ultimately unlikely to lead to changes in heritage management and planning practices. Although the chapter is illustrated with English policy and management debates, the general issues of the way authorizing notions and discourses of heritage operate have a wider application, both in other national contexts and in international heritage agencies.

Smith (2006: 13) has asserted that ‘there is no such thing as heritage’, but rather a discursive construction of it that does cultural and political ‘work’. This is not to say that heritage can be reduced simply to language, but rather to argue, first, that heritage may be defined and understood in any number of ways, although there is a dominant and state-sanctioned way of defining heritage that has become embedded, for a range of historical and political reasons, in public policy and practice. Secondly, that the way heritage is constructed and defined in public policy and management practices has a range of conceptual and material consequences. The AHD is a particular construction or way of seeing heritage that has gained dominance in public policy, archaeological narratives, and management practices, and it is this discourse that frames, constrains, or (de-)legitimizes debates about the meaning, nature, and value of ‘heritage’.

DISCOURSE AND HERITAGE

While the aim of this chapter is to provide an illustrative account of the AHD in recent debates, we first need to explain not only how we see ‘discourse’, but also how we think it can be used to study heritage management practices and policy debates. The term ‘discourse’ is employed broadly by a number of disciplines to answer a range of different research questions. In these contexts, however, it does not always mean the same thing. For us, discourse is ‘... a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning’ (Fairclough 1992: 64), or, to put it more simply, something that makes the world meaningful (Locke 2004: 7). This understanding of ‘discourse’ emerges out of a specific approach for analysing discourse called *critical discourse analysis* (CDA). As a *critical* approach to language, CDA aims to move between fine-grained analyses of texts and wider, probing social analyses, in an attempt to illustrate both the obvious and non-obvious ways in which language mediates social relationships and relations of power (Fairclough 2001: 229; see also Fairclough

2003; Locke 2004; van Leeuwen 2008). Drawing from the perspective offered by critical discourse analysis, we see this as opening up two areas for analysis: (1) the various—and particular—ways in which communication between people is achieved, as well as (2) the more abstract workings of language as an irreducible element of all social life (Fairclough 2003: 214–15). That these two areas can provide material for fruitful analysis is based on the assumption that what goes on *textually*, or within any act of communication, can tell us something about what is going on *socially*. Discourse, from this perspective, thus implies far more than words alone and allows for the analysis of ways of acting, representing, and being, as well. Allowing ‘discourse’ to stretch beyond its discrete linguistic features in this way enables analysts to make links with the wider social contexts and practices from which discourses draw (and give) meaning.

Perhaps the best way to explain our account of ‘discourse’ is to think about the types of questions a discourse-analytical approach to heritage would employ. These would operate around vigorous assessments of how language figures practically in our constructions and understandings of heritage, along with *how* a discourse is being used and *why*. We have done this in previous work by: (a) focusing upon the ways in which we act, speak, and write about heritage; (b) unpicking the *work* those discursive utterances and actions do within the management framework; and (c) considering how the effects of that work are mitigated—socially, politically, and culturally (Waterton et al. 2006). Through these analyses, we have suggested that the AHD constructs a way of thinking about heritage that privileges the cultural symbols of a particular social group (the white, middle, and upper classes), and limits the rights to identify and champion heritage to specific groups of expertise (archaeologists, architects, and art historians).

What is particularly significant about this ‘way of seeing’ heritage is the degree to which it has been naturalized, and is subsequently—and seductively—presented as ‘common sense’ or the accepted way of doing things. Thus, while we acknowledge that individual practitioners within the heritage sector may position themselves in opposition to the AHD, the actions, policies, and practices of the heritage sector *at large* suggest that it remains a discourse that is still being ‘internalized’ (see Fairclough 2000; Locke 2004). Our aim in this chapter is to revisit this process of internalization and consider the ways in which it constrains oppositional responses and, in effect, shuts down any attempt to retheorize and rethink the concept of ‘heritage’ and what it might mean for British society today. This silencing of debates around what heritage means is particularly visible within the context of the *Heritage Protection Review*, initiated in 2003 and still being undertaken at the time of writing, which we document below.

THE AUTHORIZED HERITAGE DISCOURSE

Before engaging with a critical analysis of recent heritage debates, we first need to consider what the AHD is and how it came about. Smith (2006) develops her arguments about the AHD at length, and we will summarize those arguments here. In short, the

AHD is a dominant way of thinking about, writing and talking about, and defining heritage. It is *not* the *only* way of thinking and talking about heritage, but it is the most pervasive and persuasive, especially in powerful professions and institutions—indeed it can be said to be constitutive of the practices of heritage. Nor is the AHD unchangeable. It will, and does, change over time, and different countries and cultures have different dominant or authorized ways of defining heritage. Currently, the AHD in England stresses materiality—and monumentality in particular—and is exercised by material authenticity, time depth, and aesthetics. It is based on assumptions of inherent value, whereby the value of a place or item of heritage is somehow perceived to be embedded within the object itself. This sense of value is tied to the idea of 'authenticity' and age, such that the 'authentic' and 'the old' are defined as innately valuable and meaningful. The corollary to this is that the relatively 'recent' or 'inauthentic' are not considered as meaningful or valuable, and therefore are less likely to be 'heritage'. The AHD also stresses national or so-called 'universal' values of heritage, emphasizing an idea of collective human values that often works to obscure the elite European and Western origins of the idea of 'heritage', as well as downplaying the 'local' and other diverse expressions of human historical and social experiences. Moreover, it explicitly directs attention towards the grand and the 'good', accenting the positives and triumphalism of national, and sometimes imperial, narratives of identity and belonging. The AHD also identifies and privileges expertise over other forms of knowledge and skill, and in particular identifies the disciplinary authority of archaeology, architecture, and art history as those in a position to act as stewards and caretakers of the nation's heritage.

The beginnings of the AHD can be traced back to nineteenth-century conservation debates about the authenticity of fabric and the 'moral' duty of the present to conserve architectural design values led by, amongst others, Ruskin (1849) and Morris (1877) in the UK, and Viollet-le-Duc ([1868] 1990) in France. Ruskin and Morris in particular advocated the 'moral' worth of conservation over restoration, sponsoring the development of a firmly defined—and influential—'conservation ethic'. This ethic stressed the need to 'conserve as found', and emphasized the pastoral role of experts to educate the public about the value and meaning of the past. It grew out of the rise of liberalism, and a desire to guide and educate populations into becoming good citizens (Carman 1993; Bennett 1995). During this timeframe, certain forms of expertise were mobilized to facilitate the governance of populations and to help them strengthen a sense of their adherence to emergent national identities (Smith 2004: 81). Within this process, the concept of 'heritage'—and certain ways of understanding heritage—became one means of fortifying and regulating national identity. A consensus understanding of history was reinforced and symbolized by material objects, places, and buildings, and the inheritance of this 'wealth' and its 'responsibilities' became a particular social problem and aspiration. The assumed innate value of fabric also underwrote the sense of wealth and responsibility that material heritage symbolized. Artistic and aesthetic values, alongside authenticity and age, became entrenched in understandings of heritage, for, as Ruskin stated, 'the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor in its gold. Its glory is in its Age...' (1849: 186). A key factor here is the sense of both permanence and monumentality that emerges from this debate,

as both reinforced the temporal legitimacy and physicality of national identity and cultural expression.

The social changes experienced during the nineteenth century, following the industrial revolution and the rise of nationalism, underwrote the utility and significance of heritage debates. While Harvey (2001) argues that a sense of heritage is an integral part of human experiences, and is thus not a recent phenomenon, it is from the latter nineteenth century that it takes on organized and formal forms in much of western Europe (see also Diaz-Andreu 2007). The sense of urgency to conserve and preserve the past that emerged at this time can perhaps best be understood as a response to widespread social concerns that modernity had in some way 'lost' its links to the past (Walsh 1992; Byrne 2009). The emphasis on the materiality and monumentality of the past itself also helps to provide a sense of security by providing physical, touchable, and knowable representations of the past and its intangible cultural and social values. Monuments commemorate and symbolize those values and meanings that are important to the present, and which the present ultimately hopes to see continue into the future (Choay 2001).

Ruskin's idea of 'conserve as found' was both predicated on, and reinforced, the idea of the innate value of fabric. A sense of 'duty' to be 'honest' to the original cultural meaning of fabric during conservation was stressed by Ruskin (1849) and Viollet-le-Duc ([1868] 1990). This concern over the duty and responsibilities of conservation privileged the position of experts who dealt with material culture, particularly architects, archaeologists, and museum professionals, as stewards of the past. This sense of stewardship, underwritten by the claims of experts to objectivity and professionalism, works to privilege expert access to material culture, because of the moral worth of expertise to speak for and act as stewards for the universal human values of heritage. A further consequence of this, however, is that 'experts' are assumed to have the only valid knowledge and skills to deal with heritage and the past more generally (Zimmerman 2000: 72). This perspective was reinforced by the liberal sense of duty to educate the public about the value of past material culture and the values of conservation. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), established in 1877, identifies that one of its key continuing functions is to educate society about correct conservation principals and the value of ancient buildings (Smith 2006: 19).

Significantly, a certain sense of history and inheritance is embedded in the English AHD that derives from the social and historical experiences of a particular population. The sense of monumentality, grandness, aesthetics, and the myth of permanence are a representation of a historical understanding that underpins and is propagated by certain class experiences, in particular the English upper classes (Smith 2006). The influence of elite values and experiences derives both from a cultural sense of the historical importance of this class in England and the rest of Europe, but also in a pragmatic way through their ability to lobby and influence government and expertise, and more directly through the activities of the National Trust. Sir John Lubbock, author of an influential archaeological text, was, for instance, instrumental in the drafting and enactment of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882 (Carman 1993, 1996). The National Trust explicitly mediated the role of cultural elites in this debate throughout the twentieth century.

Founded in 1895, the Trust's initial aim was to preserve rural landscapes for the use and cultural and physical health and well-being of urban populations (Crouch 1963: 18). However, by the end of the 1930s, and following a number of active campaigns, the Trust had become indelibly linked to the conservation of elite houses (Cannadine 1995; Mandler 1997; Lowenthal 1998; Harvey 2008). Indeed, the Trust had become a vehicle through which the aesthetic and historical values and experiences of the elite classes came to stand in for national heritage (Deckha 2004; Smith 2006).

While we are defining a particular heritage discourse propagated within England, the broad terms of the English AHD's fascination with materiality, the grand, the aesthetic, and monumental is something shared by most Western countries and has come to underwrite the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention) (Smith 2006: 95–6). The Eurocentric nature of this convention, and its attempts at universalizing a sense of 'heritage' that is particularly 'European', has come under rigorous criticism, which eventually led to the development of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC) in 2003 (see for instance, Byrne 1991; Cleere 2001; Aikawa 2004; Munjeri 2004; Arantes 2007; Labadi 2007; chapters in Smith and Akagawa 2009). Although the ICHC does not really challenge the European/Western AHD embedded in the World Heritage Convention, the tensions surrounding its development are indicative of the extent of the authority and naturalization of the AHD in both national and international arenas (Smith 2006: 106–7). The European AHD, and the English version in particular, were also explicitly transported to places like the USA and Australia, as both countries adopted models similar to the English National Trust (Smith 2006: 24). Moreover, in the USA at least, European values and experiences were explicitly drawn upon in the development of US historic preservation policy and legislation in the 1960s (Rains et al. 1983). As Barthel (1996: 6) observes, there was some synergy in European and US heritage values, as the middle and upper classes were also very active in the development of the preservation movement in the USA and, as in Europe, were concerned to bolster certain social values to underpin national identity and patriotism.

The authority of the AHD rests on two interlinked abilities. The first is the extent to which it could be taken up into government policy and heritage legislation. This discourse not only underpinned early nineteenth-century documents such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings manifesto (Morris 1877) and the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, but also continues to underwrite and frame public policy today (Waterton et al. 2006; Waterton 2009, 2010). How, and to what extent, it frames policy is discussed below. However, the second authorizing power rests on the fact that the AHD is entirely self-referential. The ability of certain class values to be melded into the AHD in part rested on the historical significance given to these values by society at large. In turn, this wider social value about the historical and social worth of the elites is itself maintained by the AHD. The ability of the AHD to represent a *comfortable* and reassuring sense of national identity through the monumental, grand, and good is a significant attribute of its authority; it not only speaks to a consensual view of

history—it also *makes* that history physically real and aesthetically pleasing. Thus, its ability to be taken up into policy documents, legislation, and management/conservation practices rests on its utility to present a unifying national narrative that offers an unproblematic and comfortable vision of national identity.

By promoting a particular and authoritative view of the past and national identity, it inevitably excludes a range of other cultural and social experiences and knowledge. Many competing discourses about the nature and meaning of heritage occur both nationally and internationally. On an international scale, the ICHC, the debates surrounding it, and the legitimacy of the idea of intangible heritage represent one such competing discourse, which draws on non-Western ideas of 'heritage'. Nationally, within the UK, different notions of heritage that sit outside of, or react against, the AHD have been documented by Smith (2006), and can be found in debates that contest the legitimacy of current heritage practices against the experiences of ethnic minorities (Hall 1999; Littler and Naidoo 2004; Naidoo 2005; Littler 2008), the experiences of local communities (Jones 2004; Waterton 2005), and the experiences of working-class communities (Mellor and Stephenson 2005; Dodds et al. 2006; Dicks 2008; Robertson 2008), amongst others. This exclusion or marginalization is not trivial, and speaks of the extent to which a nation values or recognizes the diversity of social and cultural experiences and expressions. Failure to recognize, or indeed the *misrecognition* of, populations can have significant and material consequences for the political and historical legitimacy afforded them, which, in turn, will have consequences for the degree to which they may access certain resources and rights (Fraser 2000).

The political and material consequences of the AHD mean that it is inherently dissonant and may be actively challenged. Heritage experts, such as public archaeologists (i.e. archaeologists working in the heritage sector), may often find themselves, as both promoters and beneficiaries of this professional discourse, explicitly challenged. This is because expertise allows the process of valuing and using heritage to be soothed, sanitized, and administered to 'a public' largely removed from the process of management (Waterton 2005: 320; see also Carman 2002; Merriman 2004). A reliance on claims to professional objectivity acts to simultaneously link heritage managers, public archaeologists, conservation officers, architectural historians, and so on, to 'their' data while efficiently bypassing the public itself, who reappear at the end of the process, usually only in terms of the recipients of education and information (Waterton et al. 2006; see also Schofield, Kiddey, and Lashua, Chapter 15 this volume). The exclusionary nature of the AHD has, in the UK at least, experienced tensions with public policy programmes of social inclusion/exclusion, which, in terms of their implementation in the cultural sector, have attempted to expand and develop a more inclusive idea of heritage. This has particular relevance to the development of the Heritage Protection Reform in the UK, which attempted to reconfigure heritage policy, legal frameworks, and management practices. This review, sitting as it did in the context of public policy debates on social inclusion, and in growing academic and practitioner debate about the need to engage with communities of interest (see Croke 2007; Smith and Waterton 2009), presented an opportunity to challenge and modify the AHD.

REFORMING HERITAGE

In the above section, we highlighted the AHD and considered its core characteristics. What we want to turn to now, however, is considering what it is that this discourse actually *does*, and what it means for contemporary heritage practices. Within the heritage sector, one of the primary effects of the AHD is the defining of parameters within which practitioners think through what places, things, and experiences should be considered 'heritage' and, by corollary, what should be conserved and protected. The two key bodies responsible for such tasks in England are: (1) the Department for Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS), which is the government department responsible for identifying and protecting heritage (or what they term 'the historic environment'); and (2) English Heritage, who act as the government's statutory adviser for heritage issues, and function to conserve, broaden public access to, and increase understanding of 'the heritage' (English Heritage n.d.). Added to these is the largest charitable conservation body in Europe, the National Trust, who see themselves as 'the nation's heritage guardian' (National Trust n.d.). If we continue to think along the lines of 'parameters', then examining the types of places these organizations promote should move us some way towards uncovering the degree to which the AHD remains in operation—in England at least. Both English Heritage and the National Trust boast large membership numbers, with the former enjoying somewhere in the region of 630,000 members and the latter over 3.5 million (English Heritage 2008: 58; National Trust 2008a)—but what is it these members are signing up to in terms of heritage?

English Heritage manages over 400 historic properties, the majority of which are under the guardianship of the Secretary of State for Culture, Media, and Sport. A rough count of those sites open to public visitation and advertised in the 2008/9 edition of English Heritage's *Handbook* reveals that about 20 per cent are archaeological sites including Roman sites, standing stones, barrows and chambered tombs, and earthworks. A further 44 per cent can be described as forming part of what is termed the 'built heritage', and include ecclesiastical buildings, stately homes, medieval halls, hunting lodges, palaces, mills, and even one Cold War bunker and three examples of industrial heritage. Only a small percentage in this category is dedicated to non-traditional heritage, with one Cold War bunker, three mills, three industrial sites, and one 'row house' included, as opposed to the 89 ecclesiastical buildings and 26 stately homes. Finally, a further 27 per cent were castles and fortified towers, and 4 per cent were forts—site types English Heritage often refers to or classifies as 'monuments', a term defined in legislation (see the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act, 1979). This breakdown is reminiscent of those figures associated with the National Trust, who state that they manage 'on behalf of the nation' six World Heritage Sites, approximately 1,200 scheduled ancient monuments, 6,000 listed buildings, 149 registered museums, and a total of 8 per cent of the nation's registered parks and gardens (National Trust 2008a: Ev 78). These figures reflect the overarching descriptions of properties

self-identified by both organizations. English Heritage, for example, describe their suite of historic properties as including:

World Heritage Sites, industrial monuments, castles, historic houses, abbeys, forts, stone circles, and a larger part of Hadrian's wall. They range from prehistoric ruins to the lavishly furnished Osbourne House. In age they range from Neolithic burial chambers dating from 3500–2600 BC to twentieth century houses. (English Heritage 2008: 58)

Similarly, the National Trust maintain that they manage:

some of the nation's most iconic and well-known sites—from Sutton Hoo to the great country houses of Hardwick Hall or Kingston Lacy. We also care for many of the more ordinary and everyday elements of our rich and diverse cultural heritage. This includes places like the Back to Backs in central Birmingham, the Workhouse in Southwell, Nottinghamshire, over 1,000 vernacular buildings, three lighthouses and a gold mine. (2008a: Ev 78)

On first reading, these sentiments are wide and inclusive, incorporating both a recent past and the less grand (back-to-back houses, for instance). However, the frequency by which such sites, and sites representative of England's multicultural past, are actually represented is telling. Indeed, the National Trust has only one workhouse, which one official noted was sufficiently representative of this type of history (Adshead 2007), while conversely the Trust also cares for 'over 100 great houses' (National Trust 2008b). While exact figures on the precise number of country houses or stately homes the Trust cares for remain elusive, it may be asked at what point a collection of such great houses becomes 'representative'. The parameters suggested by both English Heritage and the National Trust in their respective lists above are expressive of a high level of commitment to an idea of 'heritage' that is confined to the distant past, in the guise of tangible and monumental remains. 'The heritage', as English Heritage refers to it, thus becomes a list of ancient monuments, sites, and historic and/or ecclesiastical buildings. Strung together in this way, the lists above work to elaborate precisely what is to be considered 'heritage' and, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) argues, such lists are entirely self-referential and tend to recruit and recreate themselves in their own image. Although these lists are inclusive of such things as 'row' houses, back-to-back houses, and workhouses, proportionally these sites are swamped by stately homes, ecclesiastical sites, ancient archaeological sites, and castles. In these lists, a discursive correlation is maintained between lists of discrete properties and sites, or *officially* recognized samples of heritage, and the authorized heritage discourse. This is realized through the grammatical structuring of the statements, or what is referred to as 'the logic of appearances'. What this means is that a correlation is set up between 'the heritage' and the illustrative lists outlined by both English Heritage and the National Trust. This serves to present as unquestioned a heritage 'horizon' narrowly constrained by the dominant discourse. As both English Heritage and the National Trust are also geared towards attracting new members and avenues of funding, the language they employ is inevitably promotional, which itself lends persuasive power to that discourse. This idea of 'heritage' is also marked by the use of the definitive article 'the',

used here to refer not only to a list of historic sites, houses, and monuments, but also to suggest that this is the only practicable range for thinking about heritage.

These parameters, which are rehearsed in a range of policy documents, have not altered in any meaningful way over the past three decades. The following two extracts illustrate this, with one spoken in 1979 and the second published in 2007:

Thus from our distant past we have the Iron Age fort at Figsbury, Wiltshire, the famous Broch of Mousa in Shetland; Wideford Hill—that famous cairn—in Orkney, and the Roman theatre at Verulam, and hundreds of other ancient monuments. (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 5 February 1979 vol. 398, col. 463 ('Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill (HL)', Lord Mowbray and Stourton))

One of the key strengths of the historic environment is its depth and diversity—it encompasses everything from an iron-age hill fort to the Severn and Wye bridges. (DCMS 2007: 6)

Although these extracts do not contain exactly the same phraseology, their framing implicitly makes assumptions about what can *exist* within the field of 'heritage'. The knitting together of the concept of 'heritage' (or 'the historic environment') with limited examples works—both semantically and socially—to give a specific meaning to that concept. Consequently, the idea of heritage is repeatedly pared down to sites, monuments, and buildings, or the physical remains of the past:

Heritage can be defined as properties and artefacts of cultural importance handed down from the past. (DCMS n.d.)

...successive governments over time have assumed increasing responsibilities for the protection of heritage, whether in the form of monuments, buildings, landscapes, or historic collections. (Cowell 2008: 131)

This definition of heritage is also often tied up with other core characteristics of the AHD, such as the need for expertise, the devising of national criteria around historic, archaeological, and aesthetic value, and a desire to promote this collective definition of heritage as 'the best of the past' or 'the best in the land' (Bottomley and Hague 1996: x; English Heritage 2000: 4; DCMS 2001: 33; English Heritage n.d.). These characteristics, however, can perhaps most usefully be understood as elaborations of this materialistic rendition of 'heritage'. If heritage is a specific ensemble of material things, then an equally specific collection of knowledge and values is best positioned to extend 'proper' care to it:

The notion of designating and protecting features, sites and buildings according to national criteria of excellence or rarity is perhaps the most important set of measures. (Sinden et al. (NT report) 2004: 2)

English Heritage believes it is essential that statutory criteria of architectural, archaeological and historic importance should continue to be the sole basis of what parts of the historic environment should be added to the new list. (EH 2003: 5)

Surely all of us involved in protecting and explaining the nation's heritage believe the beauty, inspiration and education it provides can be enjoyed by everyone... Crucially,

though, we need to remain confident about the value of the expert in informing and educating people about the significance of the physical remains of the past. (Lamb 2007: 38)

Without providing an overabundance of examples of the kinds of statements that define this discourse, it becomes apparent that it carries an extremely robust, self-assured approach to heritage that is irreversibly tied up with the tangible, the structural, and a grand 'past'. What is significant about these parameters—and this is a point to which we now turn—is the degree to which they have been internalized and thus work to limit the ability of the heritage sector to think outside of them.

For the years since 1999, the heritage sector in England will perhaps best be remembered for its large-scale attempts to modernize and reform. Borrowing heavily from the language of the New Labour government, the sector, driven primarily by the DCMS and English Heritage, began a process in which it sought to reinvent itself as 'fit for purpose' and 'relevant' in the twenty-first century (DCMS 2003; English Heritage 2006). A key motivation was the rhetoric of 'social exclusion' and the knowledge that many areas of society were uninterested in, or disengaged from, the idea of heritage. Indeed, the former years of this review process were animated by the belief that 'one of the greatest challenges facing the sector [was] the perception that "heritage" is elitist and irrelevant to many sections of society' (English Heritage 2003: 2). Several strategies were devised to explore these issues of exclusion, including the Taking Part Survey undertaken by DCMS, the development of the Outreach Department within the structure of English Heritage in 2003, and a series of events seeking to engage new audiences, such as the 'Capturing the Public Value of Heritage' conference in 2006, and the 'Your Place or Mine: Engaging New Audiences' event, also in 2006. (Readers may be interested to note that the Outreach Department at English Heritage was closed in March 2011, most likely because of spending cuts announced in the 2010 Comprehensive Spending Review.) The largest-scale attempt to redress the shortcomings of the heritage sector, however, has come in the form of the Heritage Protection Reform, which culminated in the Draft Heritage Protection Bill in April 2008. This draft bill was subjected to pre-legislative scrutiny by the Select Committee for Culture, Media, and Sport, who published their findings in July 2008. Overall, the review process drew in over 500 responses from key heritage organizations and individuals at the consultation stage, 70 written submissions responding to the Draft Heritage Protection Bill, and 2 oral evidence sessions taken before the Select Committee.

This review process—and resultant draft bill—signals an extensive period of debate for the heritage sector, through which it was hoped that a new meaning of heritage would emerge, along with a revamped process of identification, protection, and management, as the Chairperson of English Heritage, points out:

Today's publication of the draft Heritage Bill is a major step forward towards the way England's heritage is identified, protected and managed. (Lockhart 2008)

Despite these laudable intentions to re-examine the concept of heritage, it is the tenacity of the AHD, however, that emerges most forcefully out of these recent debates. If we look

at a range of extracts emerging out of these debates, this tenacity becomes obvious. For example, the review process, although ostensibly originating around desires to broaden the meaning of, and access to, heritage, became rather more an exercise in re-jigging and re-aligning the various planks of technical management, namely, listing and scheduling:

The Review covers the designation of ancient monuments, listed buildings, registered parks and gardens, registered battlefields, World Heritage Sites and conservation areas and how the land-use planning system protects the historic environment. (DCMS 2003: 6)

Moreover, the rendering of the AHD was allowed to emerge relatively unscathed from the review process, and was utilized as a key framing for signifying the parameters of heritage within the recent Heritage Protection Draft Bill. Despite significant efforts devoted to debating and critiquing the heritage management process, then, little attention was placed upon exploring the ways we *think about, shape, and give meaning* to heritage. Consequently, the elitist nature of the cultural symbols used to constitute and construct our ideas of heritage at the policy level remained unquestioned, where they remain unusable by, and irrelevant to, large sections of the population.

This naturalization can be glimpsed in the formulation of a heritage register, designed to bring 'all of England's heritage together in one single, publicly accessible register', which will be entitled 'The Heritage Register for England' (Lockhart 2008). Moreover, the register is intended to make clear which aspects of heritage should be earmarked as 'special' and why. In the first instance, this requires the transferral of all those things currently scheduled or listed onto the register, which will be divided into four component parts of 'heritage assets': (1) heritage structures, (2) heritage open spaces, (3) World Heritage Sites, and (4) Maritime Heritage Sites (English Heritage 2008, see also the Heritage Protection Draft Bill). Aside from World Heritage Sites, which will continue to be identified according to the framework set out in the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage, the remaining three components will be included in the register depending upon the extent to which 'special interest' can be ascertained, or the degree to which archaeological, architectural, artistic, and/or historic value is seen to be 'contained' within (English Heritage 2008). These things then become 'registerable'. As defined by the Heritage Protection Draft Bill (2008), which draws on existing legislation (Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act, 1979), registerable heritage structures are limited to:

- (a) a building or other structure;
- (b) an earthwork, field system, or other work;
- (c) a part of a building, or of any other structure, or of anything within paragraph (b);
- (d) a cave or excavation;
- (e) a site comprising the remains of anything within any of paragraphs (a) to (d);
- (f) a site comprising, or comprising the remains of, the whole or part of a vehicle, vessel, or aircraft;
- (g) a site (other than one within paragraph (e) or (f)) comprising any thing or group of things that evidences previous human activity;

- (h) a group of things each of which is within any of the preceding paragraphs, whether or not they are within the same paragraph.

Registerable heritage open spaces are limited to:

- (a) a park or garden;
- (b) a battlefield;
- (c) a part of anything within paragraphs (a) or (b).

This list is not dissimilar to the 'types' of heritage drawn upon within the Taking Part Survey, which revolves around asking questions about participation and attitudes towards the following:

- 1. a city or town with historic character;
- 2. a historic building open to the public (non-religious);
- 3. a historic park, garden, or landscape open to the public;
- 4. a place connected with industrial history (e.g. an old factory, dockyard, or mine) or historic transport system (e.g. old ship or railway);
- 5. a historic place of worship attended as a visitor (not to worship);
- 6. a monument such as a castle, fort, or ruin;
- 7. a site of archaeological interest (e.g. Roman villa, ancient burial site);
- 8. a site connected with sports heritage (e.g. Wimbledon) (not visited for the purpose of watching sport). (Dawe 2007: 16)

As the draft Bill launches itself straight into discussions of the Register and definitions for 'special interest', no space is allowed for developing the concept of heritage itself. What becomes obvious is that the broadening of heritage originally anticipated within the review process, in which '... all aspects of heritage are covered' (Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee 2008), occurs not in a conceptual sense, but in geographical scope, such that heritage is extended beyond the 'national' level to include the regional and local, as well as global. Thus, while heritage is something that is constantly redefined within public and academic debate, little sense of this emerges from the accumulated review documents. Nor in this process of review has the position of expertise really been challenged or contested as, after all: '[T]here are few things more valuable to heritage (or its owners) than a really good conservation officer' (Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee 2008).

Here, once again, the moral worth of expertise (in this instance in the guise of a 'good conservation officer') is re-established. The AHD has not been challenged by the Reform; indeed, it has simply been remade and reasserted. While a little more room for industrial and other non-grand or non-traditional heritage may have been made, the overarching sense of the importance of archaeology and the monumental has not been changed. Although English Heritage notes that one of its corporate objectives is to 'Broaden access to the historic environment and engage with diverse communities' (SHAPE 2008: 85), the lack of challenge to the AHD raises the probability that such engagement will be little more than box ticking. This is because the

conceptual framework of what heritage is and why it is valuable has not been altered and this excludes the conceptual room for incorporating social and cultural experiences that sit outside consensual views of history.

CONCLUSION

The concept of heritage is highly contested, inherently dissonant, and undeniably political (Graham et al. 2000). Conflicts over heritage range from local protests over planning decisions and residential concerns to save nearby amenities, to national and international conflicts about the cultural and historical legitimacy of certain populations. However, within day-to-day management practices, the inherently 'dissonant' and 'political' are rendered neutral by virtue of the work of the AHD. Within this context, heritage becomes an issue of aesthetic judgement, moulded by conservation-led concerns about the authenticity of fabric, while the wider politics and struggles for historical and cultural recognition are obscured by the construction of lists and scheduling decisions. By reducing the process of heritage to a technical issue in this way, the social, political, and cultural effects of heritage are curiously absented from the management process. This obfuscation works not only to mask over the contested terrain of *what heritage is*, but so too the very nature of heritage and *why it is contested* are also omitted from scrutiny and debate.

Away from the parameters of technical management, however, the wider literature surrounding heritage studies has documented the emergence of a range of significant and contested debates. Most prominent among these is the debate over the role of communities in heritage management and museum curation (Crooke 2007; Watson 2007; Smith and Waterton 2009). The idea of intangible heritage is also currently causing scholars and managers to rethink and reassess the conceptualization of heritage that centres their work (Smith and Akagawa 2009), while the idea of heritage as a cultural process of meaning making, or an act of communication, rather than a 'thing' (Dicks 2000; Harvey 2001; Smith 2006), offers new ways of thinking about heritage. As well, the political and cultural role of heritage in debates about the legitimacy of multiculturalism, class, and gender issues, along with the links between heritage and spirituality, are also actively engaged within heritage studies (Littler and Naidoo 2005; Byrne et al. 2006; Graham and Howard 2008). All of these are both fruitful and necessary areas of debate for heritage studies. Notwithstanding the obvious challenges of these debates and their nuances, there is a significant observation that emerges across them all: understanding and managing heritage will never be easy. The question remains, then, why are we so intent on making it *appear* simple and conflict-free?

The limited degree to which these and other debates will have any impact on national/international policy and management practices is a confronting issue. In this chapter, we have attempted to tackle this issue by turning to the concept of 'discourse', particularly for what its analysis may tell us about wider societal arrangements of power. We have suggested that the heritage management process is itself constrained by a particular

discourse—the authorized heritage discourse—and its enshrinement in public policy and management practices. In doing so, we have accepted the theoretical underpinnings of critical discourse analysis, and have attempted to illustrate the ways in which language, text, speech, and other communicative acts both constitute, and are conditioned by, a range of situations, institutions, and social structures. In other words, the ways in which heritage is *communicated* both shapes, and is shaped by, the heritage management process; and the management of heritage, in this instance, itself shapes, and is shaped by, the AHD in what amounts to an enduring and recursive loop. This chapter, then, has sought to illustrate the degree to which the AHD is capable of sustaining itself, thereby almost effortlessly maintaining a range of major ideological effects concerning social class, ethnicity, gender, and other cultural majorities and minorities. We have done so by focusing primarily upon the Heritage Protection Review and resultant Heritage Protection Draft Bill, an expansive process of debate and negotiation within the heritage sector that has systematically closed down any perspectives that threaten to take heritage beyond the remit of the AHD. We observed this through the unsurprising and unimaginative descriptive of heritage intertextually enacted across the policy documents associated with the review.

Overall, this chapter—and the work of Smith (2006) more generally—has made a strong statement about the existence and nature of the AHD. It is important to note that the nature and extent of the AHD in different countries, professions, academic disciplines, and organizations within heritage practise and heritage studies will vary. Further research into the nuances of authorized heritage discourses and their consequences is needed. For instance, ethnographic research within institutions such as English Heritage, the National Trust, and UNESCO, to document and understand the various instantiations of the AHD and how it sustains institutional cultures within which policy-makers work, may well prove enlightening for understanding exactly how policy and practice is framed and constrained. Further, such work may well be revealing of the extent to which policy-makers and heritage practitioners engage in the making and remaking of cultural and social values that are perhaps most meaningful within the specific social and professional experiences of policy-makers themselves. That is, we need to move towards understanding the AHD not only as *one* discourse that dominates over many, but as a discourse that is *itself* an act of heritage making, through which it creates that to which it refers.

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