Taking Archaeology out of Heritage
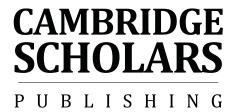
Taking Archaeology out of Heritage

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHD	Authorized Heritage Discourse
AKI	Archaeological Knowledge Inventory
ALGAO	Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers UK
ASB	Accounting Standards Board
BBO	Bodemarchief in Behoud en Ontwikkeling
CAC	Central Archaeological Council, Greece
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CCGG	Cawood Castle Garth Group
CIDOC	ICOM's International Committee for Documentation
CP	Conservation Plan
CRM	Cultural Resource Management
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government, United Kingdom
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport, United Kingdom
DIVA	Documentaire Informatievoorziening en Archief
GEM	Group for Education in Museums
GOY and H	Government Office of Yorkshire and the Humber, United Kingdom
HEEP	Historic Environment Enabling Programme
HER	Historic Environment Record
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund, United Kingdom
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
HSC	Historic Seascape Characterization
ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IfA	Institute for Archaeologists, United Kingdom
IHBC	Institute for Historic Building Conservation, United Kingdom
LDCS	Learning Direct Classification System
LHI	Local Heritage Initiative
MAP2	Management of Archaeological Projects
MoRPHE	Management of Research Projects in the Historic Environment

NCM	National Contact Monument
NMR	National Monuments Record
NVM	Nederlandse Museum Vereniging
PoP	Power of Place
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency UK
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise
RACM	Rijksdienst voor Archeologie Cultuurlandschap en Monumenten
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RCAHMW	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England
SMR	Scheduled Monuments Record
SNA	Stichting Nederlandse Archeologie
STOP	Stop Taking our Past
TAG	Theoretical Archaeology Group
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
YAF	York Archaeological Forum

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION:
HERITAGE AND ARCHAEOLOGY

LAURAJANE SMITH AND EMMA WATERTON

The impetus behind this volume emerged from a session organized at the Theoretical Archaeological Group (TAG) Conference hosted by the University of York in 2007. The aims of the session, and subsequently this volume, were to examine the conflation of heritage with archaeology and ask whether archaeology could usefully contribute to critical understandings of heritage. Any critical understanding of heritage, we suggested, must consider heritage both in terms of what it *is* and the cultural, social and political work it *does* in contemporary societies. Our rationale for proposing such a session arose from the observation that archaeology has, on the whole, tended to dominate the development of public policies and practices applicable to what is often referred to as "heritage", but what some might also call "the historic environment" or "cultural resources", amongst other terms. As a consequence, archaeologists have been very successful in protecting what they perceive to be their database—a success that owes much to the development and maintenance of a suite of heritage management practices that work to legitimize their privileged access to, and control of, that database. However, is archaeological data actually heritage? Moreover, does archaeological knowledge offer a meaningful reflection of "the historic environment", in terms of the uses, values and associations it carries for the various and different communities or publics that engage with that environment/heritage?

In examining the historically complicated relationship between archaeological knowledge and heritage, and the bearing this has on how heritage is understood and managed in the present, this volume aims to explore a range of issues, including:

I. the current theoretical limitations of archaeology knowledge about heritage;

II. the reasons for these limitations;
III. the ways in which archaeological theory and practice work to exclude or include other forms of knowledge and experiences centred on heritage; and,
IV. theorizations of heritage that aim to extend our understanding of heritage beyond the purely "archaeological".

At the crux of these issues lies the pricklier question of whether or not archaeology and heritage are the same thing. Our contention is that they are not, although they are often argued to be; the debates that arose around this question during the TAG session proved to be something of a catalyst and are explored in more depth here. Some of the contributors to this volume, notably Kenny and Newman, have argued that they are, indeed, the same. In response, we contend that this conflation tends to maintain the legitimacy of archaeological knowledge and values, affording them a position from which to identify and define what is or is not "heritage", thus ensuring archaeological employment in the heritage sector. So much is gained by archaeology in this relationship that it becomes difficult for the collective discipline to mull over and accept the many different notions and definitions of heritage that sit outside of archaeological frameworks. We thereby suggested to the contributors of this volume that a useful theoretical exercise would be to "take archaeology out" of definitions of heritage so as to see not only what is left, but to consider what possibilities might be revealed if a concern for materiality was deemphasized.

This was not a purely abstract exercise. Indeed, it was one we believed to be particularly important given the quantity and nature of the challenges currently confronting material-based definitions of heritage favoured by archaeologists. This is witnessed, for example, by the adoption of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2003 by UNESCO as a response to non-Western lobbing against the World Heritage Convention (and it's associated World Heritage List), which was seen as unrepresentative of the concept of "heritage" (Munjeri 2004; Aikawa-Faure 2009; Skounti 2009). To combat these criticisms, UNESCO adopted the notion of "intangible cultural heritage", a concept that is starting to influence Western heritage debates and practices. Material-based notions of heritage have also been challenged by increasing public assertions of community ideas of history and heritage. Explicit agitation has come from Indigenous communities (see for instance Langford 1983; Falch and Skandfer 2004; chapters in Smith and Wobst 2005; Beach 2007), who have not only questioned the legitimacy of archaeological knowledge in studying and controlling their past and heritage, but also the rights of archaeologists to assume that they could in the first place. Implicit, but no

less powerful, challenges have also emerged from community groups in Europe, who assert their own sense of heritage, along with the links to community identity and well-being they draw from it, which simply extend or disregard archaeological definitions (see for instance Dicks 2000; Graham et al. 2000; Jones 2004; Riley and Harvey 2005; McClanahan 2007; Waterton 2008; Smith and Waterton 2009). As these challenges combine with the growing recognition of the dissonant and contested nature of heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Graham et al. 2000), comfortable and unproblematised archaeological definitions are no longer tenable or useful.

Our challenge to "take archaeology out of heritage" was met with a range of papers. To supplement these papers, which predominantly draw from academics or practitioners working within the heritage sector, we sought out community representatives and activists, asking them a series of questions that revolved around their own thoughts and experiences in working with archaeologists in collaborative archaeology and/or heritage projects. The views of four people are contained within three interviews interspersed between the more formally structured chapters.

For a topic so broad in scope, background and experience, structuring the contributions to this volume was no easy task. As such, the ten papers included here have been loosely grouped by theme and divided into three parts. Part I collects together those papers attempting to re-negotiate the meaning of heritage, Part II is themed around the limits of archaeology and Part III presents arguments for a continued and deliberate conflation of archaeology with heritage. The volume begins with our own chapter (Chapter Two), which sets out the arguments underpinning our call for "taking archaeology out of heritage", whilst also offering some new ways of examining and considering heritage. The position we take is no different to that alluded to in this Introduction, and argues that archaeological definitions of heritage are limited and highly self-referential. Through the course of the chapter, we build a case for greater engagement by archaeologists with the extensive and interdisciplinary literature that now exists under the rubric of "heritage studies". Unless archaeologists connect with this literature—and with what communities and other groups are doing with their heritage—they will be left behind, *or left out of*, the theoretical and policy developments that are happening within the heritage sector. These arguments are continued and developed in the chapters offered by Steve Watson (Chapter Three) and Kalliopi Fouseki (Chapter Four), who explore the possibilities and realities of heritage outside of archaeological definitions. Watson investigates the varied ways in which heritage and archaeology are visually negotiated and

expressed, skilfully illustrating his argument that the two necessarily have
different modalities and objectives with reference to Yearving Bell, an
Iron Age fort in Northumberland, and the emerging tourism industry on
the island of Rhodes. Adding to the Greek focus, Fouseki explores the
concrete conflation of heritage and archaeology in Greek public policy,
identifying the consequences this has had both for the discipline and for
expressions of national identity.

The chapters in Part II explore both the limitations and possibilities of
archaeology and its relationship with heritage. Ross Wilson (Chapter Five)
explores the interrelationship of archaeology, collective memory and
public consumption in relation to the Great War and its memorialisation in
the United Kingdom. In Chapter Six, Keith Emerick maps the boundaries
of both archaeology and heritage as they play out in community projects,
using as an example the experiences of the Cawood Castle Garth Group in
Cawood, North Yorkshire. For his part, Don Henson (Chapter Seven)
interrogates the idea of archaeology, asking, in particular, what
archaeology has become as a subject of enquiry. In doing so, he illustrates
the ways in which concepts of "the past", archaeology and "heritage" have
become intertwined. In the final paper of this section, Marjolijn Kok
(Chapter Eight) outlines what appears to be a standard community
archaeological endeavour in the Netherlands, but reveals the difficulties
and tensions that arose when archaeologists assumed their sense of
heritage was universal. In this case, archaeologists were placed in a
difficult political position through their assumptions about the agendas,
expectations and understandings of the values of the past held by all
parties in the project. Consequently, Kok advocates the advisability of
open and critical dialogue. What collectively emerges from the chapters in
Part II is a sense that archaeology *does* have an ongoing and important
relationship with aspects of heritage, but this is limited by two issues. The
first is that although archaeological sites, artefacts and even knowledge
may be heritage, not *all* heritage is archaeological, nor is it subject to
archaeological frameworks. Second, archaeology's relationship with
heritage inevitably thrusts archaeological knowledge into play with a
range of complex social and cultural issues—whether that is the memories
of the Great War and their cultural consequences, the aspirations of
community groups in Cawood, or the agendas of social integration versus
social diversity in the Netherlands.

The chapters in Part III are united by their response to our deliberately
provocative challenge, which is underpinned by their belief in the
legitimacy and necessity of archaeological involvement in heritage. "Take
archaeology out of heritage? Why would archaeology want to leave?" asks

Martin Newman (Chapter Nine, page 83), who makes a passionate and considered plea for maintaining archaeological input into heritage management practices and policies. He notes how much archaeology has gained as a consequences of its ability to align itself with heritage—a point we cannot dispute!—and while we would acknowledge that archaeology has indeed gained, it has done so at the cost of recognizing the legitimacy of other perceptions of heritage. Consequently, this has, we argue, stifled intellectual growth within the discipline (see also Smith 2004). John Carman (Chapter Ten) develops a measured argument about the utility of archaeological notions of materiality. While acknowledging other forms of heritage, he notes that most Western concepts of heritage *are* places, sites and artefacts and as such, an understanding of their materiality is vital. The final paper (Chapter Eleven), by Jonathan Kenny, draws upon practitioner experience of an archaeologist working closely with a range of community groups around Yorkshire and outlines various models of archaeological work with communities that, he suggests, illustrate the interrelationship of archaeology and heritage. Collectively, these papers provide a strong thread of dissonance that reacts against our general call for papers, demonstrating the complexity of the issues at hand and challenging us to continue pushing for both a definition and practice that "takes archaeology out of heritage".

It would be disingenuous of us to pretend that we, as editors, are editorially neutral about the papers presented in Part III. The arguments we set out in Chapter Two must indicate that we are fundamentally and irrevocably in disagreement with them, and some more than others. Indeed, we would suggest that the papers by Kenny and Newman in particular actually illustrate some of the points we make in Chapter Two—but then, we would say that! While the exercise of "taking archaeology out of heritage" has produced some interesting and provocative debates, what has proved ultimately revelatory are the interviews presented throughout the volume. Those interviewed report useful and constructive engagements with archaeologists, supporting some of the contentions and assumptions made by Kenny. It needs to be noted, however, that those positive engagements occur in association with community *archaeological* projects. When asked about heritage, those interviewed revealed that heritage and archaeology were not the same—that heritage was much more than simply "archaeology". For some, such as Janet Hobson at Poppleton, this was a simple observation of fact. For Alison Drake at Castleford, however, this observation was more problematic, leading as it did to a range of tensions for the Castleford community. What emerges from these interviews is that we can celebrate the successes of community archaeology, but we cannot

assume that such projects are *necessarily* about, or to do with, "heritage". The arguments and experiences presented in this volume suggest that while concepts and definitions of heritage and archaeology may in certain contexts overlap, they are not inherently the same. This is not meant to threaten archaeological authority or the relevance of archaeology to public debates about the meaning of the past; rather, it is an observation that a re-theorization of the relationship between the two is required. One of us made a similar plea for re-theorizing heritage practice and its relationship to archaeology more than a decade ago (Smith 1994). Since then, Heritage Studies has become a recognizable and interdisciplinary field of inquiry in its own right. In that time, quite how far the debate on heritage in archaeology has advanced remains open to deliberation.

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PART I:

NEGOTIATING HERITAGE

CHAPTER TWO

THERE IS NO SUCH *THING* AS HERITAGE

EMMA WATERTON AND LAURAJANE SMITH

Introduction

Archaeology in the UK, and indeed in many Western countries, has had a long association with heritage and its management. Historically, it was archaeologists who lobbied for legislation and public policy to protect sites and places of heritage, and who now work in heritage agencies, museums and amenity societies protecting what they define and understand as "heritage". This chapter explores the degree to which this historical association between the two concepts—"archaeology" and "heritage"—has confined and constrained the nature and meaning of heritage, particularly in policy and practice. Is, for example, the idea of heritage as established by archaeologists and now enshrined in heritage public policy and management processes sufficiently developed to be inclusive of non-archaeological views of heritage? Does it adequately encompass developing trends in heritage studies about the multivocality and dissonant nature of heritage? Can it be inclusive of the multilayered nature of community senses of heritage and place? Moreover, can it accommodate intangible heritage, non-Western ideas of heritage, or *any* conceptualization of heritage that stands outside of the dominantly understood notion of heritage as sites, monuments and buildings? More importantly, we also question whether archaeology has the intellectual and theoretical capacity to (re)develop its definitions and responses to engage adequately and productively with competing notions of heritage.

In asking these questions, our overarching aim is not to summarily dismiss the practices and philosophies of archaeology. What we do want to suggest is that archaeology, *as a discipline*, can no longer assume to hold all the answers when it comes to issues of heritage. Indeed, as heritage continues to come under sustained critique over issues of identity, memory and sense of place, and is increasingly challenged by a range of Western and non-Western interest groups, the more traditional assumptions regarding

"monumental", "tangible", "great" and "authentic" heritage ceases to make sense. This growing number of scholars and interested parties engaged in a renegotiation of heritage draw from a diversification of informal, as well as formal, networks operating within the field, which collectively question European and Anglophone assumptions about heritage and attempt to de-privilege expert knowledge. As a consequence, a broader understanding of heritage has emerged, taking account of the relationships, experiences, uses and interplays between social and cultural encounters with "heritage", be they tangible or intangible. More recently, claims for multiculturalism, diversity and cultural tolerance—occurring at both national and international levels—are also intersecting with debates about the nature and meaning of heritage. What this interest has sponsored is an idea of "heritage" that is hotly contest, drawing responses from sociologists, anthropologists, cultural geographers, cultural studies, tourism studies, public analysts and museologists, *in addition* to the more traditional disciplines of archaeology, art history and architecture.

Despite the growing visibility of debates centred on the nature, meaning and uses of heritage, the ability of archaeology to engage with such debates appears stultified. In this chapter, we suggest that this inability to "move with the times", so to speak, is a symptom of more insidious, systemic issues, borne out of the discipline's own historical engagement with the legitimization of heritage as a concept and unit of management. As Smith (1994, 2004) has argued elsewhere, archaeology owes too much to a certain understanding of the nature of not only archaeology, but also "heritage", to allow any movement in its definition. To this end, archaeologists have been highly successful in protecting their database. This success, however, has been achieved through the development and maintenance of a range of heritage management practices, legal statutes and policy documents that work to legitimize their privileged access to, and control of, the database. Any serious shift in the definition of heritage, particularly any shift that lends legitimacy to non-archaeological values and cultural meanings, jeopardizes the authority of archaeological access to its database. What we hope to draw attention to in this chapter, then, are the legal and institutional positions of archaeology that ensure that archaeology is heritage and heritage is archaeology, in a public policy sense at least. This, of course, does not mean to say that archaeological knowledge is all-powerful and does not lose out frequently to more powerful—say, economic—values and land management concerns. However, it is nonetheless archaeological concepts of heritage that underlie the policy process, and it is the embedding of this conceptualization within

public policy that helps to solidify archaeological responses to competing notions of heritage.

To explore this argument, the chapter is structured around three parts. In the first part of this chapter, we explore the distinct formulation of heritage that underlies public policy and management practices in England, a concept that both archaeologists and architects helped to construct, and continue to maintain. It is a concept that has become so successful within the public policy process that it has obtained the status of a "commonsense" definition, or appears as the *natural* way of thinking about heritage. This naturalized understanding of heritage equates to what Smith (2006) has referred to previously as the authorized heritage discourse (henceforth AHD). We will then present a re-theorization of heritage, based on an understanding of heritage as a cultural process, or, as David Harvey (2001) suggests, a verb rather than a noun. From this re-theorization, we suggest that there is no such *thing* as heritage. Rather, it exists as a range of competing discourses that have significant and powerful cultural and political consequences and uses. In the final section, we will document the re-occurrence of the AHD in a range of policy contexts, and illustrate the ways in which archaeological knowledge is implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) drawn upon to close down broader understandings of what heritage might mean for different interest groups. Of particular interest here are the strategies deployed to facilitate and maintain archaeological expertise over heritage through the conflation of heritage and archaeology.

The Authorized Heritage Discourse

While the authorized heritage discourse developed in Western Europe in the nineteenth century, many of its core characteristics were solidified, or directly flowed out of, agitations by archaeologists and architects for the protection of material culture deemed to be of innate and inheritable value in the 1960s and 1970s. This could not be just *any* innate value, however, as it was required to represent distinct aspects of a country's national identity, and champion, in the case of England, a sense of Englishness, for example, to the rest of the world. In addition to a focus on nationally representative material culture, the AHD also places acute attention upon the "aesthetically pleasing", or artistic, picturesque or beautiful, notions that are themselves linked with concepts of "honesty" and "authenticity". As such, the AHD has come to define heritage as positive examples of *stuff* from the past in the form of material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations must care for and protect so that they

may be passed to nebulous future generations. This collective sense of a nation's past is secured and revered for both its educational qualities, and its ability to forge a sense of common identity. Here, the idea of inheritance is stressed, thereby ensuring that current generations are disengaged from an active use of heritage. The idea that the value of material culture is innate, rather than associate, is securely embedded in this discourse, which consequently defines heritage is as fragile, finite and non-renewable. It is thus placed, as this discourse asserts, rightly within the care of those experts best positioned to stand in as stewards for the past, and understand and communicate that value of heritage to the nation— principally, archaeologists, architects and historians. Although Smith (2006) has developed this characterization of the AHD elsewhere, it is worth considering how this discourse emerged in more detail here. First, however, we need to expand a little on what we mean by the term "discourse" and why Smith's characterization is a useful framework for our discussion.

Discourse is, as Richardson (2007, 237; see also Bloor and Bloor 2007) points out, an endlessly debated concept. In this chapter, however, we adopt a particular usage of the term, drawing from a critical discourse analytic perspective that sees discourse as "language in use" (Fairclough 2001, 2003; Richardson 2007). Not only, then, is discourse a particular way of speaking, thinking or writing about an issue, it also *does* things. Thus, at the same time that discourses represent elements of social life and the world around us in a number of different, and often competing, ways, they also (re)create, constitute and condition these different ways of seeing social life and the world. A useful way of understanding the term "discourse" in the context of this chapter is to think about ideas of regulation, as discussed by van Leeuwen (2008). Here, the AHD forms part of a wider social practice that has been specifically developed to regulate the management of heritage, often with reference to strict laws and prescriptive procedures. However, the AHD is itself implicitly regulatory as a consequence of its near naturalization. What we mean here is that the AHD has assumed the face of "commonsense", and thereby has become an effective mechanism of social regulation, or a socially regulated way of doing things (Leeuwen 2008, 6). It does this by virtue of the fact that it is difficult to approach heritage in ways that sit outside the parameters of the AHD, and have those alternative approaches *legitimized*. In short, the social practices of heritage management are regulated not only by the formal legislative texts we recognize as Acts or documents of public policy, but also by a discursive pressure to conform to what appears to be normalcy.

With this understanding of discourse in mind, we now turn to a consideration of the AHD's historical development in an attempt to denaturalize, or reveal, its regulatory processes. One of the guiding principles of the AHD derives from John Ruskin's and William Morris's notion of "conserve as found", which was originally developed for architectural and landscape conservation practices. As Cosgrove (2003, 121) points out, this conservation ethic encapsulates the belief that "the material remains of the past possessed an integrity that demanded their protection as sacred relics, to be revered but not violated by any modern intervention". Clearly articulated within this ethic, then, are notions of inherent value and inheritance. Moreover, such a degree of importance was placed on the materiality of Western culture and its expressions of romantic nationalism, and so much was simply "understood" by the aesthetics of such objects and landscapes, that the material has since come to stand in for the social and cultural values it symbolizes. Subsequently within the AHD, heritage *is* the monument, archaeological site or other material thing or place, rather than cultural values or meanings. Ultimately, these assumptions about the innate value of heritage and its materiality work to reinforce the idea that heritage represents all that is good and important about the past that has contributed to the development of the cultural character of the present.

An important characteristic of this discourse is the assumptions it makes about "identity". Here, heritage is about the construction of a range of identities and, more specifically, *national* identity. This, however, is an assumption that is rarely scrutinized within the management process, and as a consequence, little work has been done that offers a clear sense of *how* identity is actually constructed by, or from, heritage sites or places. This lack of understanding helps to facilitate the acceptance of established and legitimized cultural and social values, and thus identity, which becomes an immutable given somehow inherently embedded within heritage/archaeological monuments, sites and buildings.

As our earlier introduction to discourse suggests, the AHD constructs not only a particular definition of heritage, it also provides the parameters within which authorized discussions about heritage can take place. As such, the AHD also becomes a sort of social mentality, deployed to understand and deal with certain social problems centred on claims to identity. Tangled up with this social mentality is the idea of expertise, which has allowed particular forms of knowledge to create and maintain those parameters for thinking about heritage, which simultaneously work to exclude other forms of knowledge, skill and experience. The particular forms of knowledge identified within the AHD are those associated with

archaeology, architecture and art history, as it is these disciplines that are presumed to hold the intellectual and cultural tools necessary for acting as stewards or caretakers of the nation's heritage.

The AHD, however, is not monolithic. The above characterization is open to variation and contestation—to some degree. However, it is also very "real" in the sense that an authorized understanding of heritage exists and has consequences. One of the most important consequences of this mentality is that it excludes those understandings of heritage that sit outside of, or are oppositional to, it. As such, it tends to exclude understandings of heritage that are felt and promoted by a) non-expert interest groups and stakeholders; b) Non-Western interest groups and stakeholders; and c) those who find meaning and value in non-middle- and upper-class cultural symbols and experiences. This is because the AHD is very much influenced by elite values and experiences, which derive from both the cultural sense of importance afforded to this class in England, and the ability of these classes to *be heard* within the management and public policy processes. This adherence to the cultural symbols of the elite may also be understood in terms of "hegemony", through which subordinate classes and interest groups acquiesce to the dominance of the ruling classes' institutions and values (Richardson 2007, 35). Despite claims to represent a "common" or "universal" heritage, then, the naturalization of the AHD in no way interrupts the implicit dominance of a distinct and exclusive set of cultural values and symbols.

A central reason for this is that the AHD continually validates those forms of knowledge and values that contributed to it—in particular archaeological and architectural knowledge and understanding. The AHD is itself part of the heritage process of value and meaning creation, arbitration and negotiation—it is a mentality or gaze that continually legitimizes and de-legitimizes a range of cultural and social values. However, where does this observation leave us with understanding and defining the idea of heritage? If heritage is more than just historic monuments, archaeological sites and landscapes, what is it?

A Re-theorization of Heritage

Heritage is a subjective and political negotiation of identity, place and memory. Smith (2006) offers a re-theorization of heritage that we adopt here, which stresses the idea that heritage is a cultural process or a performance (Smith in press) that is concerned with the regulation, mediation and negotiation of cultural and historical values and narratives. Heritage becomes not so much the thing or place identified by the AHD as

"heritage", but instead the values and meanings that are constructed at and around them—heritage is what is *done* and not what is conserved, preserved or managed. Heritage becomes an act of communication (Dicks 2000) and a process of emotional and cultural engagement (Byrne 2009; Bendix 2009) that is about the assertion and mediation of historical narratives and collective memories, and the cultural and social values that underpin these. Indeed, within this definition, the AHD and the management and conservation practices it frames, are themselves part of the process of heritage. In this definition, all heritage is intangible, as it is redefined as a cultural process in which the values and cultural and social meanings that help us make sense of the present are identified and negotiated. These negotiations may occur around the decisions we make to preserve, or not, certain physical places or objects and the way these are then managed and interpreted. They also occur in the way visitors engage or disengage with them. However, what is important is that heritage is *not* the archaeological site or historic monument, but is the cultural tools that societies use to remember and, in that process of remembering, construct meanings that have relevance and utility to the present. These places are given value by the act of naming them heritage and by the processes of heritage negotiations and re/creations that may occur at them. Some of these acts of meaning creation may be archaeological—the archaeological excavation, for example, is a performance of meaning and heritage creation—but it is important to understand this is only one act among many of meaning construction, albeit an authorized one. The act of naming something "heritage" gives the place or artefact so named an authority to represent, stand in for and thus give solidity to amorphous social and cultural values that we associate with "identity", "belonging" or "sense of place". The heritage place then becomes a space—both physically and conceptually—around which particular social problems, debates or issues are (re)negotiated.

What this theorization does is open up the conceptual space so that we are less obsessed with the object or site and are able to consider the "work" that heritage as a cultural process does in society. The negotiations that are entered into about how, or if, we should manage and conserve certain places or objects can be seen as occurring within the context of ongoing social and public debate about what it means "to be" a member of a particular collective, and the values that underpin this sense of belonging. Heritage sites and places becomes resources of power, based on their ability to give a sense of "objectivity", solidity or reality to formless values and cultural meanings, which are used to assert and validate claims to social status and social "place" that appeal to historical and other

measures of "time depth". In England, the AHD works to maintain the legitimacy of elite history and the social hierarchies that flow from this, while warding off challenges from subaltern groups who offer a different sense of historical and social experience. Within this process, certain forms of knowledge become privileged in maintaining authorized historical and cultural narratives—archaeological knowledge is one such example. Indeed, so embedded is archaeological knowledge within the authorized cultural processes of heritage, that disciplinary identity has become inextricably linked to the processes of heritage management in the UK. As Lahn (1996) points out, the possession of certain high status artefacts or sites by individual archaeologists becomes representative of their status and identity within the discipline. The ability of archaeologists collectively to possess and control that which others call "heritage" provides the discipline with both a collective identity and a certain degree of power to influence particular cultural and social debates and meanings. Thus, archaeologists often become central players in disputes between communities and other collectives whose sense of heritage stands in opposition to the AHD.

Heritage Policy: An Historical Overview

In the second half of this chapter, we want to document the occurrence of Smith's notion of the AHD, both in historical debates and in those more subtle guises in contemporary current cultural policy. The type of commentary we want to present in this part of the chapter rests on the idea of intertextuality, which suggests that elements of one text will surface, implicitly or explicitly, in elements of other texts. This notion of intertextuality is a core component of critical discourse analysis and is defined by Fairclough (2003, 218) as such:

> The intertextuality of a text is the presence within it of elements of other texts (and therefore potentially other voices than the author's own) which may be related to (dialogued with, assumed, rejected, etc.) in various ways.

At its most basic, then, intertextuality refers to snatches of texts within texts (Fairclough 1992). In conjunction with intertextuality, the analytical category of assumption will also be used to perform important work, as the aim of this chapter is to reveal the background against which archaeology became synonymous with heritage. The term "assumption" is employed here to mean assessing the implicit meanings of a text, or the implicitness regarding what may exist, what can (or cannot) be the case and what is good or desirable (Fairclough 2003, 55). One of the arguments we are

attempting to build in this volume is that the particular idea of heritage that animates policy and management in England *does not appear to dominate, it appears as natural*: it is uncritically accepted as the "commonsense" definition of heritage that underpins management processes in England (see Waterton 2007 for a fuller discussion). This section therefore aims to substantiate this argument and reveal a series of instances within which the practice of archaeology is not only *equated* with heritage, but is granted a position from which to dominate and mediate the heritage management process.

In a sense, this section could begin with Sir John Lubbock's "tireless advocacy" that archaeological remains should be used to underwrite the history and identity of Britain, a position he promoted in the nineteenth century when lobbying for the *Ancient Monuments Protection Act* of 1882 (Murray 1989, 56). Likewise, the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act of 1979* could be seen to be key to the argument we are developing here, as it signalled a renewed interest in the idea of heritage as a discursive topic. However, rather than trace a fine-grained picture of the history of heritage legislation, we want to talk more generally about a series of specific arguments that surfaced in the 1970s and 80s, a period that saw "heritage" quite suddenly become a political issue. It is these decades that are most commonly associated with the emergence of heritage management as a set of principles and the resultant enactment or emendation of legislative codes (Walsh 1992; Graham et al. 2000; Wainwright 2000). As Cleere (1989, 2) notes, the formal materialization of a conservation ethic at this time was no coincidence, nor was it confined to the national level. Indeed, from this point, heritage became, as Samuel (1994, 25) notes, "…one of the major…social movements of our time". This social movement spanned policy, academic and popular discourses, and produced a list of readily identifiable heritage initiatives, both nationally and internationally.

It is important to note that these decades were characterized more generally by expansion, warnings of global shortages, spectacular nuclear accidents, huge growth in both urban and rural development, and thousands of miles of new motorways, all of which provided the urgency for reassessing the state of the natural and cultural worlds (Cleere 1989; Hajer 1996; Wainwright 2000). Operating in conjunction with the environmental rhetoric of "the fragile earth" and the "ecowarrior", the prevailing image of heritage—both politically and popularly—became that of a "fragile, finite and non-renewable resource". Simultaneously, a privileged place for the archaeological profession was discursively and socially mapped, as the:

… rescuers, as the saviours, because they were the one's who stopped development and got in there…they are the environmental crusaders … fighting the good fight (Interviewee, English Heritage, 10th November 2004).

Not only, then, were archaeologists, and to some degree architects and art historians, heavily associated with the lobbying process underpinning the arrival of legislative texts in the 1970s, they were also seen as the collection of people actively responding to development, particularly in the context of what is remembered as rescue, or salvage, archaeology. A natural consequence of this "crisis" was the assumption of universal relevance. The joint discourses of a "threatened" and "universal" heritage thereby combined to offer an apparently consensual view, prompting the need for action:

> The preservation of our heritage for future generations is a duty *that we are all agreed upon* (Lord Mowbray and Stourton, House of Lords, HANSARD, Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill [H.L.], 5th February 1979: 463, emphasis added).

In this extract, we can see assumptions regarding "common ground" being made that make the rest of the debate regarding the enactment of the 1979 Bill *appear* necessary. For example, the necessity to preserve heritage is distinguished by the existential assumption that it *is our duty*. Further, a particular value assumption is being made by virtue of the participial adjective "agreed", which suggests that it is something that is desired by all. As well, this statement reflects wider appeals to consensual heritage, with the legitimizing technique of appealing to conformity—or, what is proposed is legitimate because "everybody says so"—also recognizable (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999, 105). There is no sense of uncertainty surrounding this statement; rather it is simply the case that the preservation of heritage for future generations *is* a duty. In taking the continuation of this statement, the extent of that vision becomes apparent:

> *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 (Lord Mowbray and Stourton, House of Lords, HANSARD, Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill [H.L.], 5th February 1979: 563, emphasis added).

Of particular relevance is the discursive work undertaken by the utterances *our heritage*, *we are all agreed upon* and *thus from our distant past*. The

grammatical and semantic relationships between these statements are elaborative, such that a list of ancient monuments is put forward in order to define *our heritage*. In this timeframe, we see a high level of commitment to an idea of "heritage" confined to the distant past in the guise of tangible and monumental remains. Here, we see the beginnings of the notion that *our heritage* is synonymous with a strictly archaeological sense of the past.

Reviewing Heritage Policy Today

While this initial overview is admittedly brief, we nonetheless want to shift focus and begin to examine how this discourse—the AHD—has been operationalised intertextually in the more recent policy context. In the past eight years, the heritage sector has undertaken two significant reviews of heritage policy, once in 1999–2001, and again in 2002–present. Throughout this period, little has changed in terms of the primacy afforded to the archaeological discipline. Rather, through an implicit re-working of the archaeology/heritage dyad highlighted in earlier sections of the chapter, the position of archaeological practice has been sustained. In addition to assumptions embedded in a range of policy documents, this view is also intertextually reworked in speech acts used in interview:

> I sometimes feel that they think archaeology is the only heritage (Interviewee, English Heritage, 10th November 2005)

> As an evidence-based discipline, it [archaeology] provides the understanding upon which all decisions would have to be taken about change…we would say that if you don't understand what it is that you are managing then you can't possibly make intelligent decisions about how you are going to change it and manage it and make, er, release the public potential, benefit that is in it…so we would say that archaeology has that primacy in the sense that it is the process for understanding that has to underpin conservation (Interviewee, Council for British Archaeology, 8th June 2005).

The primacy of archaeology and archaeological knowledge is also rehearsed in various policy documents, and usually resemblance the following utterance:

> 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 (English Heritage 2003, 5).