The impact of intangible heritage on architectural and building conservation practices in the UK: a socio-material outlook

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The impact of intangible heritage on architectural and building conservation practices in the UK: a socio-material outlook

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Abstract

Critical interpretations of heritage over recent decades have stimulated a focus on intangible heritage – the understanding of which remains inconclusive within a UK built heritage context. This is problematic when considering architectural conservationists and the broader built heritage profession are increasingly required to consider intangible heritage and understand how it correlates with alterations to built heritage assets. Situated within a postmodern conceptualisation of heritage as increasingly dynamic, social and intangible, this study confronts the paradox of safeguarding immaterial manifestations of culture within an interdisciplinary context that prioritises scientific materialism, material authenticity, and visual aesthetics. Underpinned by a Practice Theory ontology and driven by a multi-methodological qualitative design, sixteen built heritage professionals were firstly interviewed to understand how intangible heritage is conceptualised within built heritage practice and what barriers may restrict its integration within formalised procedures. Following this, a series of three pilot case studies (Long Street Methodist Church and Sunday School; the Hill House and Box; and the Coventry Cathedral site) explored opportunities for accommodating intangible heritage within the built heritage paradigm. Lastly, a final case study (Bletchley Park) focused specifically on the dynamic between intangible heritage and physical alterations to built heritage assets. Findings suggest built heritage practice should be reconceptualised as a storytelling activity, which may encourage professionals to see themselves as narrators of intangible heritage, as well as custodians of physical heritage. Five supporting socio-material strategies (memorialisation; simulation; translation; innovation; and commemoration) are offered as alternative ways of framing standardised conservation methods, by prioritising the safeguarding of stories over the conservation of materials. The study suggests that the conservation of socio-material practices, rather than physical materials alone, can overcome traditional binary views of tangible/intangible, by encouraging cross-stakeholder participatory practices. The significance of this study is especially relevant to the development of built heritage practice, evolving as it must to both influence and accommodate ever-changing conceptions of what heritage is and how it is understood by relevant stakeholders.

Author declaration

Research from this thesis has been published and presented as follows:

Peer-reviewed publications (see *Appendix 1. Peer reviewed publications*):

Djabarouti, J. (2022) [forthcoming chapter]. 'Negotiating the spirit of place: towards a performative authenticity of historic buildings.' Emerald Publishing.

Djabarouti, J. (2021). Practice barriers towards intangible heritage within the UK built heritage sector. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. *https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2021.1958363*

Djabarouti, J. (2021). Imitation and Intangibility: Postmodern Perspectives on Restoration and Authenticity at the Hill House Box Scotland. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. *https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2021.1883716*

Djabarouti, J. (2020). ''The lively development of tradition': Edgar Wood, restoration and intangible heritage'. In Amoêda, R., Lira, S., and Pinheiro, C. (eds) *Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Heritage and Sustainable Development (HERITAGE 2020).* 8-10 July 2020, Coimbra, Portugal. Green Lines Institute, pp. 73-79. ISBN 978-989-8734-45-7.

Djabarouti, J. (2020). Listed buildings as socio-material hybrids: assessing tangible and intangible heritage using social network analysis. *Journal of Heritage Management* 5 (2): 169-190. *https://doi.org/ 10.1177/2455929620967812*

Djabarouti, J. (2020). Stories of feelings and things: intangible heritage from within the built heritage paradigm in the UK. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 27 (4): 391-406. *https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2020.1798271*

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The total thesis word count is 78,548 excluding the abstract, ancillary front materials, bibliography, appendices, and footnotes.

No quotation from this thesis and no original information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement and/ or appropriate credit.

'…I have found that it is not wise to lay
down dogmatic rules, for when they
are made one is apt to be confronted
with a case where they do not work.'
– A. R. Powys, 1877

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List of abbreviations

AABC	Architects Accredited in Building Conservation
ACHS	Association of Critical Heritage Studies
AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
ANT	Actor Network Theory
BPT	Bletchley Park Trust
GC&CS	Government Code and Cypher School
HERoNI	Historic Environment Record of Northern Ireland
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
ICH	Intangible cultural heritage / Intangible heritage
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IHBC	Institute of Historic Building Conservation
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NI	Northern Ireland
NLHF	National Lottery Heritage Fund
NPPF	National Planning Policy Framework
NTS	National Trust for Scotland
PPG15	Planning Policy Guidance 15
PPS5	Planning Policy Statement 5
PT	Practice Theory
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
SNA	Social Network Analysis
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
STEM	Science, technology, engineering and mathematics
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WWII	World war two / the Second World War

INTRODUCTION

> *Heritage is not a passive process of simply preserving things from the past that remain, but an active process of assembling a series of objects, places and practices that we choose to hold up as a mirror to the present, associate with a particular set of values that we wish to take with us into the future.*
>
> *(Harrison, 2013:4)*

1 – Introduction to the research project

1.1 Research context

Heritage is becoming increasingly understood as an intangible concept in academia, policy, and practice (Smith, 2006:3; Smith and Akagawa, 2009b:6; Vecco, 2010:323; Pétursdóttir, 2013:31; Pocock et al., 2015:964; Su, 2018:919). This is best reflected within the discourse of critical heritage studies and critical heritage theory, which are primarily concerned with questioning existing heritage norms through critique, interdisciplinary thinking, a widening of methodological approaches, and dialogue between experts and non-experts (see Association of Critical Heritage Studies, 2012)[1]. Winter (2013:533) has highlighted how critical heritage studies has a propensity for criticising existing modes of professional practice and the broader organisations that structure it. Consequently, standard approaches towards built heritage assessment and management are increasingly criticised for their position within an overarching classification system that renders built heritage (particularly historic and listed buildings) as immutable containers of objective value and authenticity (Jones and Yarrow, 2013:6; Walter, 2014b:635; Su, 2018:920).

Building conservation practices have long emphasised the documentary value and material authenticity of buildings (Jones and Yarrow, 2013:6; Walter, 2014b:636; Jokilehto, 2018:29). This makes building conservation an easy poster child for the '…epistemological bias towards scientific materialism…' within the broader conservation sector (Winter, 2013:533). Intimately tied to the practice of building conservation is the practice of architecture (Orbaşli, 2017:158), which in the second half of the 20th century, enthusiastically embraced building conservation within its professional remit in response to a weakened societal confidence in Modernism (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:59; Diez, 2012:274). Architecture as a discipline has long been governed by '…visual perception, [aesthetic] harmony, and proportion' (Pallasmaa, 2012a:29), with a theoretical paper trail demonstrating how '…architects focused on qualities of solidity, permanence, and heaviness' (Smith, 2012:107). Contemporary architectural practice therefore maintains a point of departure that relies on the application of concepts to built form – such as physical stability and honesty in materials (Hill, 2006:2,74; Smith, 2012:71; Orbaşli, 2017:158); as well as permanence and continuity (Smith and Waterton, 2009:290; Jones, 2017:23). This powerful combination of building conservation's focus on scientific materialism and architecture's emphasis on visual aesthetics has led to the conception of historic building authenticity as original, measurable, and tangible (Jones, 2009:136; Rickly and Vidon, 2018:3; Gao and Jones, 2020:2). As a result, the process of built heritage management is typically led by the material site and the values extracted directly from it (Pocock et al., 2015:962). Within the scope of this research, this is further framed by the understanding of this phenomena specifically within a UK context, which has its own characteristic approaches and understandings towards heritage which – as will be explored in later chapters – favours a particular way of conceptualising, defining, and valuing heritage.

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[1] To achieve this, the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) manifesto proposes the following actions are required: opening up to a wider range of intellectual traditions; drawing on social sciences for academic theoretical and technological approaches; exploring methods that confront established conventions; amalgamating heritage, museum, memory, public history, community, tourism, planning and development studies; developing multidisciplinary networks and collaborative projects; democratising heritage; formally acknowledging non-Western heritage; increasing debate between experts and non-experts; forming global heritage networks to develop critical heritage studies (see Association of Critical Heritage Studies, 2012).

Whilst some formalised conservation documents highlight the socio-cultural qualities of heritage (explored in *Chapter 5 – Immateriality and change in policy and guidance*), practical and methodological guidance is ultimately magnetised towards material problems of authenticity as the principal point of departure. This is evidenced within the structuring of the ICOMOS *Guidelines for Education and Training in the Conservation of Monuments, Ensembles and Sites* (ICOMOS, 1993), a document which explicitly underpins the criteria for prominent building conservation training routes in the UK (for example, see IHBC, 2008; RIBA, 2014; AABC, 2019), and is itself a self-defined product of the *International charter for the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites* (hereafter the Venice Charter) (ICOMOS, 1964) (see ICOMOS, 1993:1). This is a significant link, because the Venice Charter was the first international conservation charter to employ the term 'authenticity' as a universal characteristic that the international heritage community could use to quantify the value of historic building fabric (Silverman and Fairchild Ruggles, 2007:4; Silverman, 2015:73). Thus, built heritage practice in the UK has a direct lineage to a very specific version of authenticity that the Venice Charter promotes – one that is concerned with original materials (Silverman, 2015:73); aesthetics (Pendlebury, 2015:431); universality (Silverman and Fairchild Ruggles, 2007:4; Waterton, 2010:39); and an inherently scientific approach towards heritage significance management (Waterton, 2010:42; Pendlebury, 2015:431) (*Figure 1*).

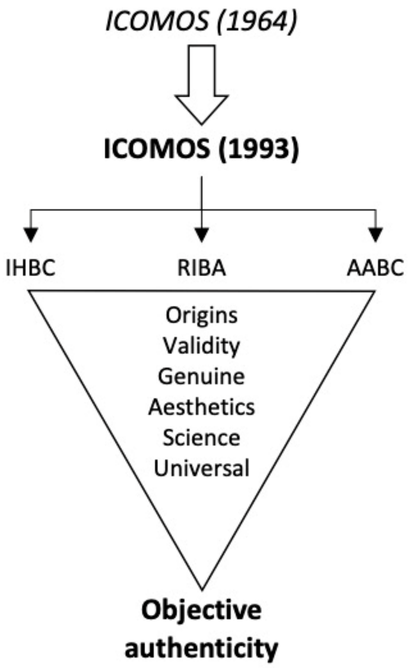

Figure 1 - Towards an objective authenticity of architectural conservation in the UK

Source: author original image

Literature that focuses exclusively on the definition (and problem) of authenticity defines this as 'objective authenticity' (see Cohen, 2007:76; Chhabra, 2012:499; Rickly-Boyd, 2012:272; Su, 2018:933). Cohen (2007:76) relates objective authenticity to 'origins' and 'genuineness', and Chhabra (2012:499) associates it with '…genuine, actual, [and] real…'. For historic and listed buildings in the UK, this results in authenticity (both in definition and in practice) being primarily conceptualised as a measurable and objective *value* that is defined through documentary evidence of materials (Labadi, 2010:79; Lenzerini, 2011:113; Jones and Yarrow, 2013:6; Walter, 2014b:636; Jokilehto, 2018:29; Gao and Jones, 2020:2). Where this approach falls short is in relation to immaterial qualities of value that are intimately tied to both subjective and communal matters of concern. The resulting focus on archetypal built heritage sites viewed through an art-historical lens undermines interpretations and attributes of physical heritage that represent fringe activities, under-represented communities, as well as generally excluding those heritage practices that do not rely solely on anchoring by brick or stone. For example, consider the more recent controversy concerning the Cecil Rhodes statue crafted into the high street façade of Oriel College, Oxford (*Figure 2*). The focus on inherent, architectural merit serves to distinguish the building (Rhodes statue included) as special – a Grade II* designated heritage asset. Yet the contemporary public feeling on Rhodes has changed to one of antipathy, which has rendered the conservation and architectural merit of this built heritage asset as contested and out of step within present-day discourse.

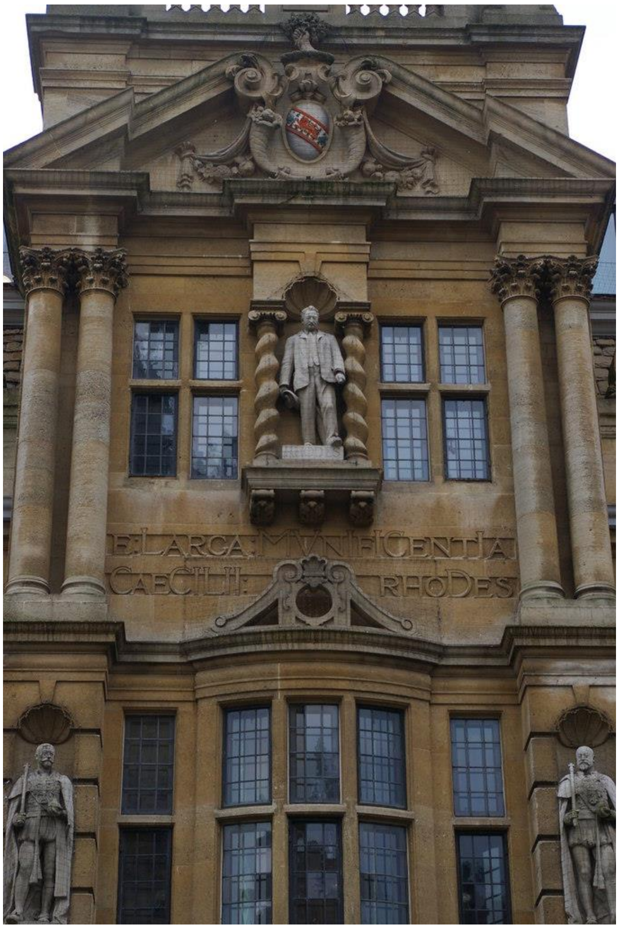

Figure 2 – Cecil Rhodes statue as part of the ashlar Oriel College façade, Oxford

Photo: Christopher Hilton (CC-BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/5481003

Despite the ingrained materialist perspectives of built heritage practice in the UK, contemporary understandings of heritage are now seeking to challenge the notion of value being inherent within material sites, by instead redefining it as a construct of contemporary society and its context (Glendinning, 2013:424; Jones and Yarrow, 2013:6). As Smith and Akagawa state:

> *…any item or place of tangible heritage can only be recognised and understood as heritage through the values people and organisations like UNESCO give it – it [built heritage] possesses no inherent value that 'makes' it heritage.*
>
> (Smith and Akagawa, 2009b:7)

This conceptual relocation of value away from material sites and towards people and culture is evidence of a broader, more people-focused approach towards the identification, narration and measurement of built heritage value (Glendinning, 2013:431; Jokilehto, 2018:2), and works in direct correlation with the reconceptualization of heritage as an *intangible* construct (Smith, 2006:3; Smith and Akagawa, 2009b:6; Smith and Waterton, 2009:291; Douglas-Jones et al., 2016:824). From the unique perspective of this cultural shift (see Littler, 2014), heritage is *created* and sustained through action and practice, rather than being *acquired* through a pre-determined collection of inherently significant things (Smith and Akagawa, 2009b:7; Harrison, 2010:243). The literature concerned with this shift in understanding asserts that material heritage sites, such as buildings, have no inherent value or meaning without input and engagement from communities of interest (Blake, 2009:45; Lenzerini, 2011:111; ICOMOS, 2013:8; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:69). This results in heritage being retheorised as both a social construct (McClelland et al., 2013:589) and a social practice (Smith, 2006:4).

This emphasis on contemporary society and culture is formally captured under the term 'intangible cultural heritage' (hereafter ICH), which refers to immaterial and dynamic conceptions of heritage (UNESCO, 2003; Smith and Waterton, 2009:293; Lenzerini, 2011:118; Jokilehto, 2018:2). Su (2018:922) offers a relevant and balanced description of ICH:

> *ICH can be understood as a set of values and identities dynamically generated through ICH practitioners' cultural practices with their inherited traditional knowledge, skills, society (e.g. other people and community) and the natural environment (e.g. tangible heritage and place) within a particular cultural context.*

This explanation of ICH hints at the terminologically fluid nature of its definition, with ICH often utilised as a term/ concept that can refer to a wide variety of practices (such as rituals, events or living heritage), the existential qualities of place (such as perceptual or experiential encounters – often captured under the heading of genius loci/ spirit of place), or the continuity and/ or creation of individual and social identities (rooted in present-day value judgements of memory and history, and thus subject to contestation). Hence it has been important for this contribution to go beyond the formalised UNESCO definition of ICH. The overarching thesis focus can therefore be more broadly defined as an interest in the **more-than-physical qualities** of physical heritage sites, which is a far-reaching and somewhat elusive interpretation of built heritage that remains largely understudied and outside standard perceptions of building conservation and built heritage management in the UK. Accordingly, the notion of heritage as an immaterial and dynamic cultural practice – or, *intangible* – is generally characterised in the UK as '… "irrelevant", "difficult" and [therefore] incomprehensible…' (Smith and Waterton, 2009:297). Due to this, its position is often subsidiary to issues that relate to the physical fabric of sites (Pendlebury, 2013:715; Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016:474; Jones, 2017:24). This is somewhat understandable, as it not only challenges traditional educational and training objectives (Wain, 2014:54), but also contradicts relevant legislation which promotes heritage as a series of constrained categories exclusively devised for material sites (DeSilvey, 2017:81). Ephemeral notions of heritage therefore remain largely out of step with prevailing professional views (Smith, 2006:2), as well as being typically outside the formal scope of built heritage practice. Consequently, as these views emerge from deeply rooted concepts within UK conservation training and methods, they are actively (though not necessarily knowingly) disengaging and misaligning professional practice from contemporary heritage dialogues. It is no surprise then that Orbaşli (2017:157) believes '…established conservation principles and the tools that support them are woefully ill-equipped to respond to rapidly shifting attitudes…'. For example, consider the

As this research will demonstrate, there is a rising influence of a more intangible perspective of heritage within the UK built heritage sector. This emergence implies a need for those who work with historic and listed buildings to both understand and situate themselves within contemporary dialogues concerning the foregrounding of ICH and associated concepts. Certainly, this raises some fundamental questions: how do those who are tasked with assessing the significance of physical heritage define, perceive and understand intangible heritage? How do they accommodate a conception of intangible heritage within their role? Indeed, if they believe they do consider intangible heritage, what exactly is it from their standpoint, and how do they relate it to the physical fabric of historic and listed buildings? Can a *sector-specific* definition, model, or set of strategies be generated that consolidates their understanding(s) in relation to broader understandings of intangible heritage? It is issues such as these which underpin the final research question, aims and objectives (outlined within *Section 1.4 Aims and objectives* in *Table 1*), alongside the selection of case studies that explore intangible heritage from a distinctly UK context.

1.2 Theoretical framework

During the design of this research project, it was apparent that an ontological approach was required that could accommodate the paradox of investigating intangible phenomena within a material-focused paradigm. The need to acknowledge and account for this paradox is relevant to both heritage and building conservation – with the former being '…enmeshed in, and constituted by, complex, entangled and contradictory processes' (Winter, 2013:536); and the latter being '…the interplay between a range of people and things enjoined in a complex nexus of action' (Jones and Yarrow, 2013:17). To bring the two together – the conservation and management of built heritage becomes '…a complex process involving not only physical fabric, but also cultural, aesthetic, spiritual, social and economic values' (Douglas-Jones et al., 2016:824). What these descriptions of heritage, building conservation and built heritage management have in common is their acknowledgement of a much broader field of inquiry, which foregrounds themes concerning people and societies; the more-than-physical qualities of buildings; and the various relationships, negotiations, and practices that structure and influence them across space and time. Responding to these contemporary definitions, a Practice Theory ontology has been chosen as an approach that can support an epistemological broadening of UK conceptions of heritage, which decentres materialism and works towards the conception of buildings as socio-material hybrids (*Figure 3*).

Practice theory (hereafter PT) is the theory of practice. It is a social theory – or more specifically a cultural theory (Reckwitz, 2002:245) – which repositions the notion of society as within practices, rather than in subjective personal interests (minds) or objective social roles (interactions)[2] (Reckwitz, 2002:246; Shove et al., 2007:12). Reckwitz (2002:249) describes a 'practice' as:

> *…a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge.*

Similarly, Schatzki (2001:12) describes the ontological standpoint of PT as '…a field of embodied, materially interwoven practices centrally organized around shared practical understandings'. Of particular interest is how the focus on practices brings attention to the 'everyday' and the 'life-world' of society (Reckwitz, 2002:244) – an example of this being its utilisation by human geographers as a way to study 'mundane practices' (see Maus, 2015:215).

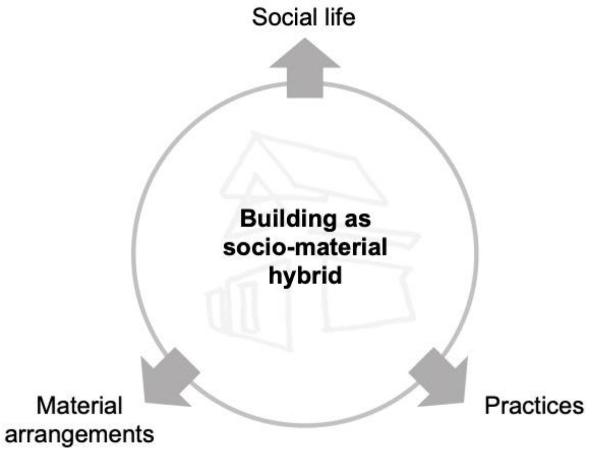

Figure 3 - The building as a hybrid of social and material concepts

Source: author original image (after Schatzki (2010) and Tait and While (2009))

PT is deeply embedded within the 'cultural turn' in social theory, as '…a socially shared way of ascribing meaning to the world' (Reckwitz, 2002:246). When viewing society through a PT lens, the depth of inquiry stops short of other cultural theories, as rather than penetrating through to relational, symbolic or psychological concerns, it is instead anchored by a praxeological outlook (*Figure 4*). From the perspective of cultural theory, the behaviours and norms of a society therefore become understood as '…routinely made and re-made in practice – using tools, discourse and our bodies' (Nicolini, 2017:20). Notwithstanding this, a focus on practices does not eliminate the role of people, or individuals, from a PT inquiry; rather, it reconceptualises people (individuals) as specific carriers of specific practices (Reckwitz, 2002:250; Nicolini, 2017:21), as well as active participants in both their performances and in their ability to transmit these performances across time (Reckwitz, 2002:250).

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[2] The roots of PT can be traced back to the social theories of Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens and Michel de Certeau, amongst others (Reckwitz, 2002:243; Denis et al., 2007:196; Huizing and Cavanagh, 2011). All share a concern with the '…practical accomplishments of skilled social actors in the production of social life' (Denis et al., 2007:196).

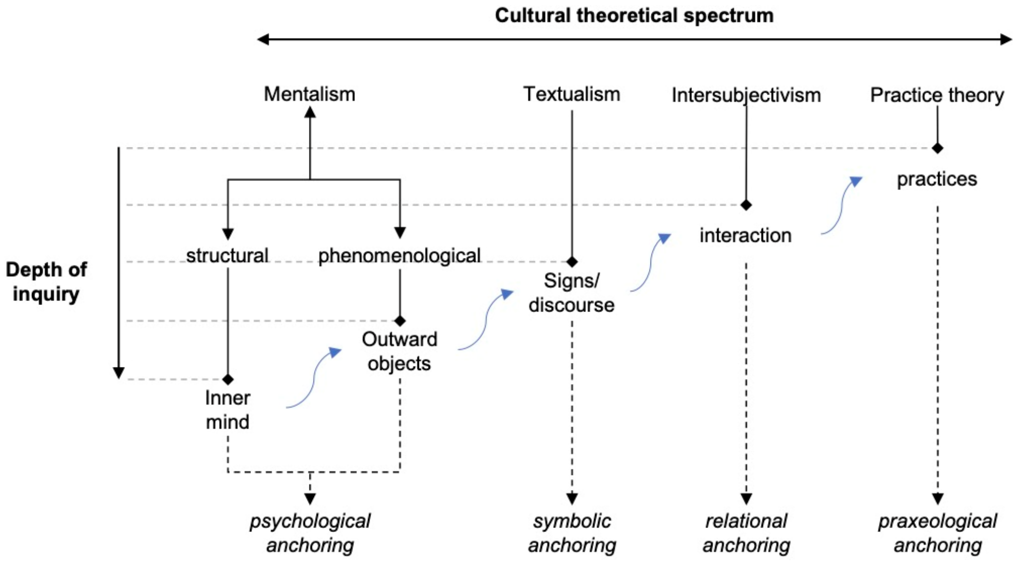
Cultural theoretical spectrum
Mentalism
Textualism
Intersubjectivism
Practice theory
Depth of inquiry
structural
phenomenological
practices
interaction
Signs/ discourse
Outward objects
Inner mind
psychological anchoring
symbolic anchoring
relational anchoring
praxeological anchoring

Figure 4 - Practice theory within the spectrum of cultural theory

Source: author original image (after Reckwitz (2002))

What Reckwitz' and Schatzki's descriptions of PT have in common is the assertion that physical things are embroiled within social life and are just as crucial to its understanding as a person, an emotion, an event, or a skill. So, a significant aspect of PT is the acknowledgement of material things – or non-human entities – as an inherent part of society. As this research project has a primary concern with built heritage (specifically historic and listed buildings), it is the work of Schatzki (2010) and his *sites of the social* that is relied upon as not only an ontological locus that can accept and work with both tangible and intangible heritage phenomena, but also as a way to explain their interrelation and significance through the practices that entangle them together. Schatzki (2010) accomplishes this way of seeing the world by understanding social phenomena as '…nexuses of human practices and material arrangements', and by defining sites of the social as a composite of 'material arrangements' and 'practices' (*Figure 5*).

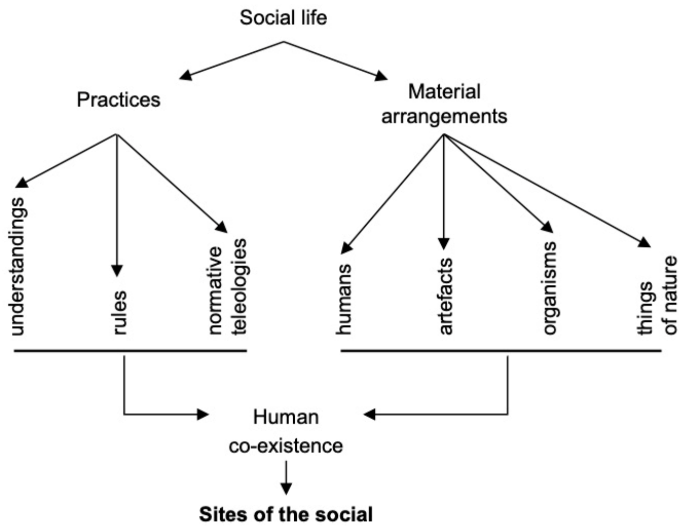

Figure 5 - Schatzki's structure of Practice Theory

Source: author original image (after Schatzki (2010))

There are already examples of PT applied to immaterial manifestations of culture, such as to explore everyday life in folklore studies (Bronner, 2012), and to study walking as an intangible social practice (Häggström, 2019). It has also been employed as a way to connect intangible concepts with the material environment, such as to mediate between emotions and urban ruins (Göbel, 2015:21); to understand the production of cultural heritage (Schäfer, 2017); and to understand the relationship between memory and landscape (Maus, 2015). However, there are no such studies that utilise PT to assess or understand the inter-domain heritage of historic and listed buildings. The reason for this could be in part due to the relative novelty of PT as an established approach in comparison to other more established social theories that utilise assemblage/ network thinking.

Despite the strengths of PT as a theoretical basis for the study, two concerns emerged when attempting to consolidate the conservation/ adaptation of buildings within an ontology that is concerned with practices. Firstly, the metric of inquiry for PT is primarily rooted in activities, communities, and everyday behaviour (Huizing and Cavanagh, 2011), whereas for building conservation 'the building' is the unit of inquiry (Tait and While, 2009:722). Secondly, whilst PT captures an overall ontological approach that can assist in the understanding of buildings, it does not confirm *how* the building is to be interpreted, beyond it being a material 'thing' embedded within social practices. The work of Tait and

While (2009) and their research concerning the ontology of historic buildings is useful in this regard. Their research describes historic buildings as collections of 'things' – 'brute physical objects' that can decay, be removed, and be replaced – which encourages the understanding of a building as a '…changing collection of elements' across space and time (Tait and While, 2009:724). Whilst they use Actor Network Theory (hereafter ANT) to frame this understanding, their perspective also embeds itself well within a PT ontology (see Djabarouti, 2020a:173), as it encourages the spatio-temporal understanding of historic buildings as material and social hybrids, rather than static, solid objects (see Tait and While, 2009:721). Accordingly, as PT concerns itself with practices, performances, and activities, so then it can concern itself with time, space and temporality (Schatzki, 2002:5, 2010:130). Naturally, this chimes a chord with building conservation practice, which at its core is concerned with arresting decay (Feilden, 2003:3), and by implication, playing with the passage of time.

ANT is perhaps the most popular of comparable theoretical models, having already established firm footings within the theoretical fields of architecture (see Fallan, 2008; Latour and Yaneva, 2008; Guggenheim, 2009; Yaneva, 2009; Strebel, 2011); heritage studies (see Krauss, 2008; Harrison, 2015b; Hill, 2018b, 2018a) and building conservation (see Tait and While, 2009; Jones and Yarrow, 2013; Yarrow, 2019). With such a well-founded theoretical basis in relevant fields, the obvious question is provoked: why has ANT not been utilised within this research project? The key difference between ANT and PT is that, broadly speaking, ANT is generally considered *symmetrical* (Schäfer, 2017:39), meaning it considers human and non-human 'actants' equally and therefore distances itself from notions of hierarchy (Bajde, 2013:237; Edensor, 2013:449)[3]. The outcome of this is a reduced ability to accommodate hierarchically constructed themes, which results in a comparatively flat, passive lens that may struggle to adequately explain change (Hamilakis, 2017:176). By contrast, PT is *asymmetrical*, in that things must be brought into a practice by human actors (through physical handling or their use). This asymmetry is an important quality of PT for this research project, as it facilitates the identification and interpretation of social dynamics resulting from relevant themes such as power or conflict (Feldman and

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[3] This is contra. Schatzki (2002:187) who more pedantically highlights how the nature of ANT as a social science immediately predetermines an asymmetrical focus on society.

Orlikowski, 2011:1243; Nicolini, 2017:20). Certainly, from a critical heritage perspective, hierarchy is a key motivator for contemporary research themes – with problems of power, ethics, conflict, authority, contestation, and change, all being key themes within contemporary heritage studies (Fredheim, 2018:619). A brief scan of the contents pages of popular texts within critical heritage studies will confirm this (for example, refer to Graham et al., 2000; Littler and Naidoo, 2005; Smith, 2006; Fairclough et al., 2008; Graham and Howard, 2008; Smith and Akagawa, 2009a; Harrison, 2013; Waterton and Watson, 2015).

How then, might PT contribute towards an understanding of intangible heritage within built heritage practice in both a novel and useful way? There are in fact several reasons why PT is an appropriate ontology for investigating the intangible heritage of historic and listed buildings. Beginning more generally, PT is a cultural theory and so can be applied to a culture (Reckwitz, 2002; Nicolini, 2017:20). It can therefore support a meaningful connection between the material world (buildings) and practices (cultural heritage practices) (Schatzki, 2010). Secondly, and more specifically, its framework and understanding of the world is very much aligned with the aims and characteristics of ICH, which focuses on 'the **practices**. . . that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage' (UNESCO, 2003:2 bold added). For example, PT's epistemological emphasis on practice accentuates the need for cultural continuity (transmission) to ensure this knowledge does not disappear (Huizing and Cavanagh, 2011); it gravitates towards facilitating the transmission of performances across time (Reckwitz, 2002:250); and its line of inquiry is concerned with communities, activities and the ritualistic patterns of everyday life (Reckwitz, 2002:250; Huizing and Cavanagh, 2011). Thirdly, it accepts the role of material 'things' as part of practices – just as ICH acknowledges '…the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces…' that constitute its recognition and performance (UNESCO, 2003:2). Accordingly, PT focuses on how objects and spaces are associated with practices (Schatzki, 2010:129; Schäfer, 2017:36), as well as supporting a local or contextualised 'material dimension' of social phenomena (Schatzki, 2010:141; also Schäfer, 2017:36). Lastly, as already highlighted but worth reiterating, its ability to accommodate hierarchy supports inquiries that can overcome dominant binary views (culture/ material; tangible/ intangible) which impact the conceptualisation and understanding of heritage (Schäfer, 2017:36).

1.3 Research position

The position of this research project is at the interface between building conservation practice, critical heritage studies and architecture. From the perspective of this study, these disciplines intersect within the overarching professional remit of built heritage practice and are interpreted through a PT lens (*Figure 6*).

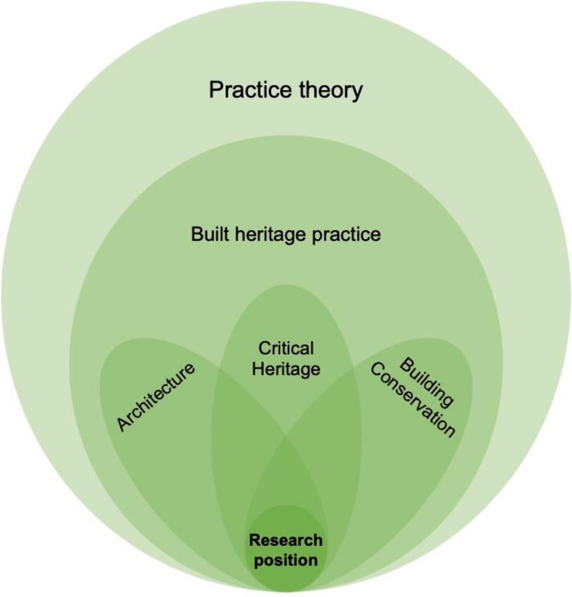

Figure 6 - Research project overview

Ontology, practice, disciplines
Source: author original image

To address the commonalities across these disciplines and confront the complexities that their union creates, a transdisciplinary approach (hereafter TD approach) has been utilised within the research project. For research to be transdisciplinary (as opposed to inter- or multi-disciplinary), both Lawrence (2010:127) and Wickson (2006:1048) offer the following three research characteristics, which have also been applicable in shaping the position and focus of this research:

1. Confront complex heterogenous problems by transcending academic disciplinary structure(s) (Wickson et al., 2006:1048; Lawrence, 2010:127)
2. Fuse disciplines and knowledges across research and practice via an ‘evolving methodology’ (Wickson et al., 2006:1050; Lawrence, 2010:127)

3. Target ‘real-world’ problems from a context-specific perspective (Wickson et al., 2006:1049; Lawrence, 2010:127)

Beginning with the first characteristic – transcending academia – a key issue for this study has been the ability to conceptualise intangible heritage phenomena from *within* the material-focused UK built heritage paradigm. This research quandary is representative of a very real-world problem for built heritage practitioners, which forms several questions that support the aims and objectives of the study: is it possible to integrate the safeguarding of intangible heritage within the conservation/ adaptation processes of the built heritage sector in the UK? What is the dynamic between a conservation/ adaptation process imposed on physical heritage and its associated intangible heritage? And vice versa, how might an intangible outlook towards buildings impact the conservation/ adaptation decisions that are made? To limit these questions to a specific discipline (such as architecture, building conservation, or heritage) would be reductive and would limit the ability for the research project to parallel the problem as manifest in practice (i.e. the *real world*) (Wickson et al., 2006:1048).

With regards to the second characteristic – utilising an evolving methodology – Wickson et al. (2006:1049) state ‘….there can be no single prescribed methodology for TD research’. Methodological considerations are discussed in greater detail within *Chapter 2 – A multi-methodological approach*; however, it is worth highlighting at this stage that the multi-method[4] approach employed in this study is structured to work in an evolving manner, with the research designed to employ specific methods at specific stages in order to influence and develop forthcoming methods (Wickson et al., 2006:1051).

For the last characteristic – targeting ‘real-world’ problems – Wickson et al. (2006:1051) refer to a transdisciplinary concept of collaboration that is concerned with ‘…collaborative knowledge generation between researchers and stakeholders’, as well as the inclusion of ‘…experiences of those people affected by the research…’. This research project engages with various built heritage professionals and utilises their combined interdisciplinary knowledges and views to help define and develop the final *conceptual* and *methodological* proposals (given in *Chapter 10 – Overall discussion and conclusions*). This is reflective of conservation practice in general, which is explicitly acknowledged as an interdisciplinary collaborative practice in conservation training literature (ICOMOS, 1993:1; IHBC, 2008:9; RIBA, 2014:4). To summarise, as the nature of heritage as a cultural practice remains largely absent from UK-based built heritage approaches, a transdisciplinary approach is mindful of problems in practice and encourages the research to both reflect upon and impact 'real-world' issues in relation to the conceptualisation of intangible heritage. This helps to address the deep-rooted preoccupations and preconceptions that the built heritage sector in the UK has in relation to the objective and immutable nature of material heritage sites.

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[4] This research project employs multiple qualitative methods, rather than a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods; hence ‘**multi**-methodological’ approach, rather than ‘**mixed**-methodological’ approach.

1.4 Aims and objectives

Whilst this research project raises many queries, all can be captured within a single research question: *in what way does the safeguarding of intangible heritage impact architectural and building conservation practices in the UK?* From this, a series of four research aims (each with two objectives) have been designed to investigate this question both incrementally and from various perspectives (*Table 1*). An outline of how and where each aim has been met within the thesis is given in *Section 10.5 Reflections on the aims and objectives of the research project*. A research 'road map' that positions the research question, aims, and objectives within the methodological framework of the study is also given in *Figure 7*, which further visualises the incremental nature of the study by correlating the research aims and objectives with the methods employed (for the methodological approach, refer to *Chapter 2 – A multi-methodological approach*).

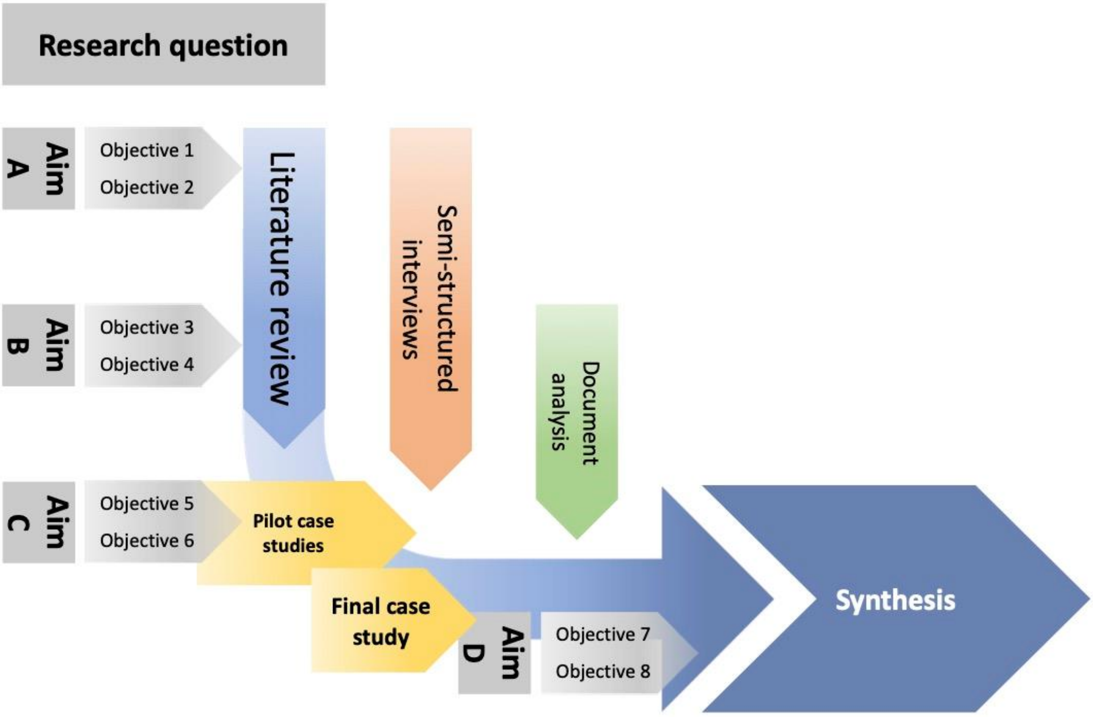
Research question
Aim A
Objective 1
Objective 2
Aim B
Objective 3
Objective 4
Aim C
Objective 5
Objective 6
Literature review
Semi-structured interviews
Document analysis
Pilot case studies
Final case study
Aim D
Objective 7
Objective 8
Synthesis

Figure 7 - Research 'road map'. An overview of the aims, objectives, and methods

Source: author original image

Table 1 - Research question, aims and objectives

Source: author original table

Research Question

In what way does the safeguarding of intangible heritage impact architectural and building conservation practices in the UK?

Research Aim A

Form a conclusion about the nature of intangible heritage from within the built heritage sector, with a particular focus on historic and listed buildings

> ***Research Objective 1***
>
> *Formulate a definition and description of intangible heritage from within the built heritage paradigm, including its relationship to tangible heritage*
>
> ***Research Objective 2***
>
> *Understand the practice barriers in place that limit practitioners from integrating intangible heritage within their daily practices*

Research Aim B

Understand the impact of intangible heritage on built heritage practice, policy and guidance in relation to the conservation and/ or adaptation of historic and listed buildings

> ***Research Objective 3***
>
> *Assess how much consideration built heritage policy gives to intangible heritage and how this relates to practitioner experiences*
>
> ***Research Objective 4***
>
> *Evaluate the impact and development of intangible heritage in relevant legislation, policy and guidance*

Research Aim C

Explore the relationship between the intangible heritage of historic and listed buildings and the various degrees of intervention utilised to secure their conservation and/ or adaptation

> ***Research Objective 5***
>
> *Challenge established professional conservation approaches in order to understand the relationship between the conservation of buildings and the safeguarding of intangible heritage*
>
> ***Research Objective 6***
>
> *Conduct a final case study analysis that explores the relationship between specific conservation/ adaptation approaches and intangible heritage safeguarding*

Research Aim D

Produce conservation and adaptation strategies that offer practical guidelines to assist built heritage professionals in safeguarding the intangible heritage of historic and listed buildings

> ***Research Objective 7***
>
> *Formulate a conceptual model for the built heritage sector in relation to the safeguarding of intangible heritage when working with historic or listed buildings*
>
> ***Research Objective 8***
>
> *Consolidate the literature, primary research, and case study findings into methods and/ or strategies that are applicable to the physical fabric of historic and listed buildings*

1.5 Contribution to knowledge

This research addresses the complex and immaterial nature of intangible heritage from the perspective of built heritage practice within the UK. It confronts the implicit and emergent evidence of a steady dismantling of traditional tenets in building conservation practice, which is driven by a more intangible conception of heritage. Whilst the research is positioned broadly at the interface between tangible and intangible heritage domains, it goes beyond an inquiry into domain relationships (a topic which has already been covered in detail by the literature). Instead, it seeks to offer a new conceptual model and methodological strategies that built heritage practitioners can utilise within their practice to reframe how they conceptualise heritage. These concepts and methods are designed to enhance the identification and safeguarding of intangible heritage when physically conserving and adapting listed buildings, and therefore work towards filling the void in practitioner literature in relation to how decisions concerning physical heritage impacts any intangible heritage associated with it.

Specific strands of the research project have already received attention through peer-reviewed publications and presentations at academic conferences (refer to the *Author declaration* section for further details). To date, the publications and presentations have been well-received within the realms of critical heritage studies and heritage tourism. The research has also received positive feedback from within architectural education, with the primary researcher delivering various workshops and talks at the Manchester School of Architecture, through his teaching role as an Associate Lecturer. Overall, whilst the research has been consciously framed to contribute knowledge to all disciplines that engage with historic and listed buildings, it is especially relevant to architectural conservationists, who must oftentimes undertake the dual role of conserving the old alongside designing new interventions. This research facilitates a fresh perspective for both duties, which are frequently entwined to the point of equivalency.

1.6 Thesis structure

In addition to this introductory chapter which focuses on the research context, purpose, and approach, the main body of the thesis is divided into a further 9 chapters. **Chapter 2** explains the multi-methodological interpretivist framework of the study and how it engages with the research phenomena through the application of specific methods. Placing this chapter up front allows for transparency with regards to *how* the research was designed and administered, before venturing into the specifics of *what* was undertaken and uncovered. Following the introductory and methodological chapters is the literature review, which begins with **Chapter 3**. This chapter offers a critical interpretation of building conservation practice and its antiquarian foundations. It suggests that recent shifts in heritage understanding leads to unavoidable conceptual issues for built heritage practitioners, who would benefit from an explicit UK approach towards ICH to assist them in considering its safeguarding in relation to historic and listed buildings. **Chapter 4** offers a detailed review of ICH from the perspective of the UK and its constituent countries. It suggests that whilst barriers towards ICH in the UK are created by both an underlying UK identity issue and lack of ratification of the UNESCO (2003) convention, the UK is nonetheless in a relevant position to contribute towards the development of a more nuanced understanding of intangible heritage in relation to physical sites. **Chapter 5** explores changes in UK policy and guidance from the perspective of two key developments: a shift in focus from buildings to people, and a shift from limiting change to accepting change. A comparison is made between national and international documents, which demonstrates that whilst the UK does not match international progress on the conceptualisation of intangible heritage and its safeguarding, there is nonetheless evidence of it following a similar trajectory. This is explored further within **Chapter 6**, which offers a deconstruction of ‘communal value’ in relation to its constituent qualities: social value, collective memory, symbolic value, and spiritual value. This chapter demonstrates that whilst this value may be one of the closest representations of intangible heritage within UK built heritage guidance, it lacks sufficient detail and makes little use of existing research related to intangible heritage.

Chapter 7 is the first of three empirical chapters. It focuses on the results from a series of 16 semi-structured interviews with built heritage professionals, which attempt to clarify how intangible heritage is conceptualised from within the built heritage paradigm in the UK. It highlights how built heritage practitioners have their own understanding of what intangible heritage means for them and their practice, which is generally centred around a mixture of quantifiable building fabric and abstract human epiphenomena. It further highlights the perceived practice barriers at play which restrict the integration of intangible heritage within built heritage practices, including a lack of education, guidance, methods, and general support for practitioners. Following on from this, **Chapter 8** delivers a series of three pilot case study results which explore ontological, theoretical, and interpretative approaches in relation to the safeguarding of intangible heritage at built heritage sites. These approaches are applied to three listed buildings respectively: Long Street Methodist Church and Sunday School, Greater Manchester, England (Grade II*); the Hill House and Box, Helensburgh, Scotland (Grade A); and Coventry Cathedral, Coventry, England (Grade I). After the results for each pilot study, a final reflective summary section outlines a series of themes across all three pilot studies, which in combination with the literature review, assist in refining the approach towards the final case study. In particular, the results are considered as representative of *participatory*, *affective*, and *spiritual* practices which work towards both the *transmission* and *creation* of intangible heritage for each pilot project. These reflections help shape the approach to **Chapter 9**, which is the final empirical chapter and case study. It provides a detailed analysis of the Bletchley Park huts, Milton Keynes, England (Grade II listed buildings). Using concepts developed from the previous **two** empirical chapters (interviews and case studies), it makes a direct connection between the conservation/ adaptation of physical sites and the safeguarding of intangible heritage.

Finally, **chapter 10** is an overarching discussion and conclusion for the research in its totality. A broader discussion firstly addresses the real-world complexities and barriers that the research has uncovered, by offering three overarching guidelines: 1) advancing intangible heritage in conservation concepts and methods; 2) supporting practitioner dissemination of intangible heritage; and 3) practitioner participation in intangible heritage practices. With a research focus on Guideline 1, it then outlines the scope of both a *conceptual* and *methodological* advancement for built heritage practice. A proposed conceptual model is firstly offered, which suggests built heritage practice should be reconceptualised as a storytelling activity. Following this, a series of five *socio-material strategies* are proposed which illuminate the relationship between the conservation/ adaptation of listed buildings and the stories that they sustain. Together, they work towards the understanding of historic and listed buildings as *socio-material hybrids*. The chapter ends with a project conclusion, limitations, and proposals for future research.

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METHODOLOGY

Missing from the orthodox methodology is a settled view of how character can endure through the processes of change that inevitably attend historic buildings that are still ‘living’. As a result, the methodology remains focused on the fragility of physical fabric and on the minimization, not only of harm, but also of change.

(Walter, 2020:179)

2 – A multi-methodological approach

This research project sits within an interpretivist paradigm, which can better accommodate the subjective (postmodern) developments that are apparent in heritage and conservation theory, by prioritising understanding over explaining (Bryman, 2012:28); and meaning above truth (Savin-Baden and Niekerk, 2010:28). Key characteristics of the research project assist in refining the methodological design (an overview of which is given in *Figure 8*). These are: the pluralistic and subjective tendencies of a postmodern heritage outlook (Graham et al., 2000:75; Labadi, 2010:78); the analytical focus on relationships between social structures and 'things' (Mische, 2011:80; Serrat, 2017); the conceptualisation of heritage as recreated practices (UNESCO, 2003:2); as well as the use of an asymmetrical ontology (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011:1242). Expanding on the latter, as there is no definitive PT method, various empirical methods can be used in order to best study the particular practices and social phenomena in question (Jonas et al., 2017:xix).

Basing the methodological design on this point of departure, firstly, a multi-method approach was considered advantageous, both in terms of its ability to acknowledge and analyse complexity in society (Cohen et al., 2007:141), as well as its recognisable benefits in relation to the triangulation of data (and therefore a higher probability of enhanced validity) (Cohen et al., 2007:141; Clifford et al., 2010:106). Further, Groat and Wang (2013:442) highlight how a 'combined strategy' such as this can offer recognition of a 'diversity of paradigms', which may lend itself to the exploration of the typically opposing tangible/ intangible heritage binary. Thus, in adopting a qualitative multi-method design, multiple perspectives and paradigms can be acknowledged, whilst still maintaining adequate rigor in the research process. More specifically, this can create (at least in theory) more parity between subjective human qualities (such as stories, memories, emotions, nostalgia), and objective material data (such as buildings, architectural drawings, photographs), as well as other objects, artefacts and 'things' related to buildings. Secondly, a qualitative stance was deemed a logical starting point, as not only does it foster a focus on social interactions within a particular 'social world' (Bryman, 2012:380); but also offers harmony with a postmodern outlook (Bryman, 2012:383). Indeed, Duxbury et al (2016:1) emphasise the importance of qualitative methods in making intangible heritage 'visible'.

Alongside the literature review process (which has continually developed and evolved across the duration of the research project), the final methodological design utilises three primary methods: 1) semi-structured interviews; 2) document analysis; and 3) case studies (three pilot case studies which build towards one final case study). The overall relational structure of these methods is illustrated in *Figure 8*.

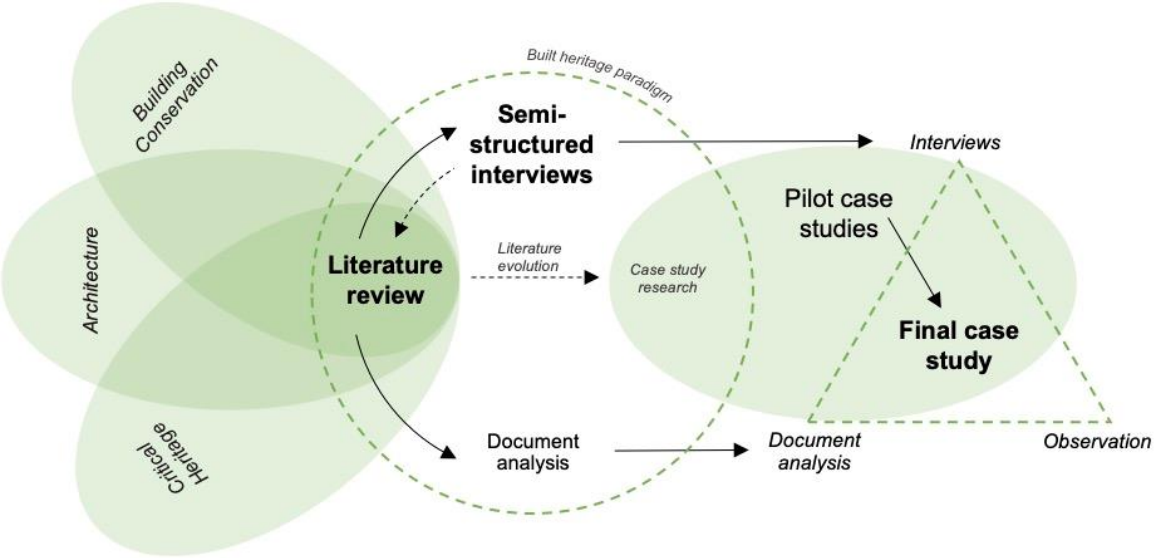
Building Conservation
Architecture
Critical Heritage
Built heritage paradigm
Semi-structured interviews
Literature review
Literature evolution
Document analysis
Case study research
Interviews
Pilot case studies
Final case study
Document analysis
Observation

Figure 8 - Research project methodological overview

Source: author original image (inspired by Groat and Wang (2002:48))

In terms of methodological chronology, again, this is broadly represented within *Figure 8* if read from left to right, though in reality there was much overlap between methods across various stages of the design project. For example, pilot studies were being explored in tandem with final interviews; pilot studies were still being analysed once the final case study had been selected; and document analysis overlapped with both the literature review and the analysis of the interviews data. The following sections cover the specific design and purpose of each method that has been employed within the study.

2.1 Interviews design and method

2.1.1 Overview

A series of 16 one-hour semi-structured interviews were conducted with various built heritage professionals primarily from the North of England in 2019. An interview method was chosen because it provides an opportunity '…to collect and rigorously examine narrative accounts of social worlds' (Miller and Glassner, 2004:137). For this study, the 'social world' was the built heritage sector and the 'narrative accounts' were a construct of the built heritage professional's experiences of the research topic in professional practice. The utilisation of this method early on within the research process allowed for a better understanding of the contextual constraints that built heritage practice imposes on the understanding of intangible heritage in relation to historic and listed buildings. The interviews were structured around three thematic topics that were informed by research Aims A and B (see *Table 1*). These topics were: 1) understanding intangible heritage (definition, identification, status and meaning); 2) intangible heritage in policy; and 3) intangible heritage and community engagement. The results for the interviews are within *Chapter 7 – Semi-structured interviews*. The findings were later subjected to double blind peer review and published across two journal articles (see Djabarouti, 2020b, 2021b). Copies of these publications can be found within *Appendix 1. Peer reviewed publications*. The interview materials are located within *Appendix 2. Interview materials*.

2.1.2 Sample selection and validity

The built heritage sector is already widely noted as a complex melting pot, which is comprised of various professionals, perceptions and processes (Orbaşli, 2008:7; Jones, 2009:11; Mısırlısoy and Gan Günç, 2016:92; Gulotta and Toniolo, 2019:797; Stone, 2019a:273; Djabarouti and O'Flaherty, 2020). Collectively, built heritage professionals have an influential role in considering what heritage values are deemed worthy of protection (de la Torre, 2013:163). To reflect this professional diversity, gatekeepers[5] of UK-based interdisciplinary built environment firms were contacted in 2019, seeking out interviewees from various professional backgrounds, who held a minimum of 5 years' experience working on built heritage projects in the UK. It was anticipated that the data obtained would depict a more realistic interdisciplinary representation of the views from within the built heritage paradigm – avoiding the restricted views from a specific profession. Despite the initial interdisciplinary intentions, the final sample breakdown consisted of 50% architects due to participant recruitment constraints (access to participants and time restrictions) (*Table 2*). However, as no discernible difference between cohorts (architect and non-architect) was noted when applying a cross-tabulation to the results, the data from all interviewees was used within the final analysis[6].

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[5] The term 'gatekeeper' refers to individuals who are intermediaries between the primary researcher and potential research participants.

Table 2 - Interviewee roles across the sample

Source: author original table

Heritage role	**Number of interviewees**
Accredited conservation architect (AABC, IHBC, RIBA, or multiple)	6
Architect (working on heritage schemes, not conservation accredited)	2
Historic building surveyor	2
Planner (with built heritage specialism)	1
Heritage consultant	1
Archaeologist (with built heritage specialism)	1
Architectural technician (working on heritage schemes)	1
Heritage and building conservation academic	1
Governmental heritage role	1
Total participants	*16*

2.1.3 Data collection technique

The first interview conducted was treated as a pilot interview, in order to ensure the questions were understandable (Bryman, 2012:263). However, as no issues emerged in relation to this, it was included within the results[7]. The interviewing process utilised a 'theoretical sampling' approach and was ended once the data reached a natural 'theoretical saturation' point (Glaser and Strauss, 2000:61; Bryman, 2012:420). Guest et al (2005:74) state 12 interviews is normally sufficient to reach saturation. Whilst the researcher noted this amount when planning the research project, there were a number of factors that indicated the research may require a greater number of interviews to reach saturation, such as: the complexity of the topic for the sample; the semi-structured nature of the interviews (Guest et al., 2005:75); and the increased heterogeneity of the sample (i.e. background, profession, expertise) (Guest et al., 2005:76). With regards to the latter consideration, whilst all interviewees were connected by the common theme of built heritage, many held completely different educational and professional credentials, so it was anticipated that they would perceive and engage with historic and listed buildings in different ways. The researcher found that saturation was reached at 13 interviews; however, a further 3 interviews were conducted to thoroughly test this.

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[6] Some of the sample held multiple roles within the heritage industry (such as architect and heritage consultant; heritage academic and historic building surveyor). In these instances, participants were asked to state their primary professional role.

[7] For information in relation to the ethical procedures of the study, please refer to the approved ethical submission: MMU EthOs Reference Number: 2945; which contains the Project Protocol document and approved research materials.

2.1.4 Data analysis

The interviewer obtained consent from each interviewee to record the interview. The interviews were later transcribed and loaded into qualitative data analysis software[8] which enabled a detailed process of 'thematic synthesis' (*Figure 9*).

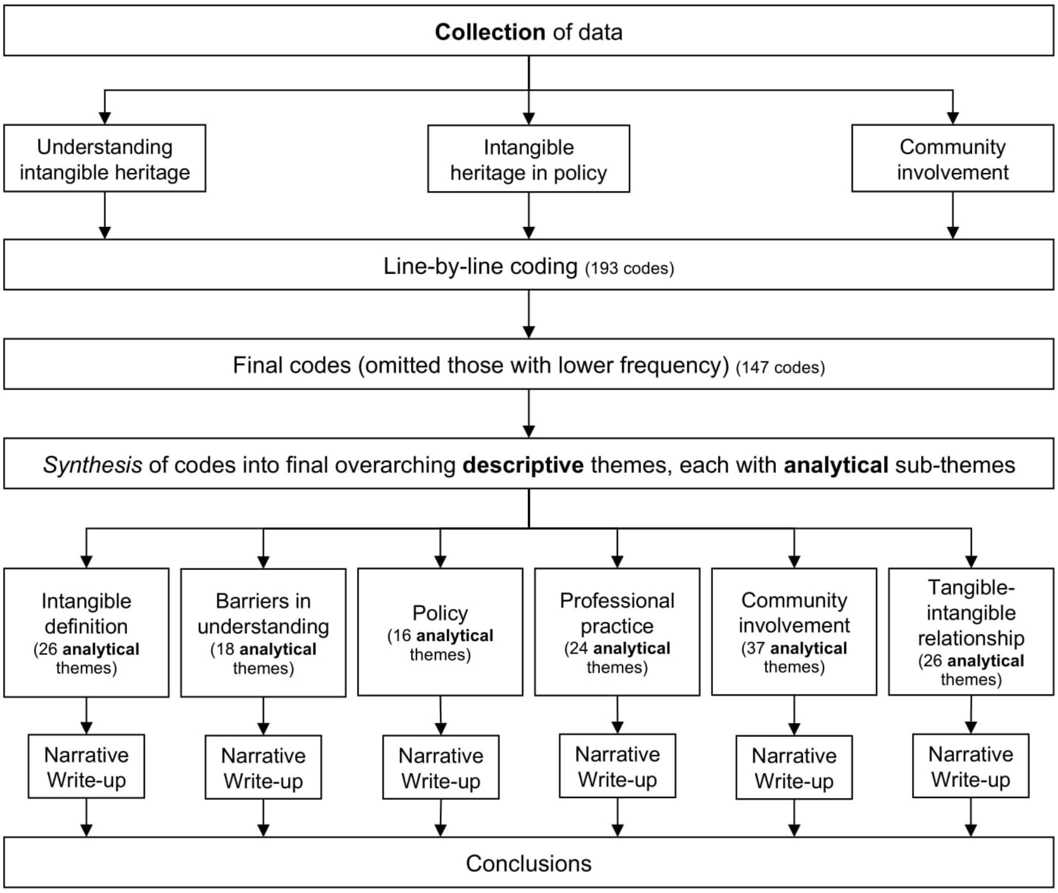
Collection of data
Understanding intangible heritage
Intangible heritage in policy
Community involvement
Line-by-line coding (193 codes)
Final codes (omitted those with lower frequency) (147 codes)
Synthesis of codes into final overarching **descriptive** themes, each with **analytical** sub-themes
Intangible definition (26 **analytical** themes)
Barriers in understanding (18 **analytical** themes)
Policy (16 **analytical** themes)
Professional practice (24 **analytical** themes)
Community involvement (37 **analytical** themes)
Tangible-intangible relationship (26 **analytical** themes)
Narrative Write-up
Narrative Write-up
Narrative Write-up
Narrative Write-up
Narrative Write-up
Narrative Write-up
Conclusions

Figure 9 - Structure of interviews data analysis

Source: author original image

The three stage process of thematic synthesis outlined by Thomas and Harden (2008:4) was followed, which is: 1) line-by-line coding of the data; 2) development of descriptive themes; and 3) the construction of analytical themes. After the initial coding of the data,

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[8] Qualitative data analysis (QDA) software is for both qualitative and mixed methods research. The software aids in the analysis and organisation of unstructured transcripts, supporting the ability to find insights within the data.

193 codes were identified. These were refined to 147 codes based on omitting those with a lower frequency count, which is one of the primary methods to develop themes (Ryan and Bernard, 2003:2). The codes were then synthesised into 6 key descriptive themes, which facilitated the development of the final analytical themes. Due to the interconnected and complex nature of the descriptive themes and the respondents common use of narrative when describing situations or examples, the 'cutting and sorting' technique (Ryan and Bernard, 2003:94) was used for the final narrative ordering of the analytical themes, which better assists in the coding of data from complex and/ or long interviews. Refer to *Appendix 3. Example interviews analysis* for examples of the data analysis.

2.2 Document analysis approach

2.2.1 Overview

The study utilised a document analysis method which focused on national and international heritage guidance, policy, and legislation. Document analysis is '…a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents…' (Bowen, 2009:27). It is a complimentary method that can support interview-based projects (Yanow, 2019:411), with its use strengthening the multi-methodological nature of the research project by contributing towards a deeper understanding of the research context (Owen, 2014:8). Certainly, documents are a core factor of daily life in terms of how they can both enable and restrict societies in various ways (Rapley, 2018:107)[9]. By using this qualitative method, the various documents analysed are interpreted as '…"social facts", which are produced, shared, and used in socially organised ways' (Bowen, 2009:27). Accordingly, the research goes beyond individual analysis of policy and guidance by analysing the data holistically to uncover meaningful trends through comparative analysis and triangulation (Bowen, 2009:28). This is reflected primarily within *Chapter 5 – Immateriality and change in policy and guidance*, which comparatively analyses and situates both national and international policy and guidance in relation to one another. It situates these documents in relation to two key shifts that are highlighted within the literature: 1) a shift from buildings to people (or from materiality to immateriality); and 2) a shift from limiting change to encouraging change.

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[9] Wolff (2004:284) believes the prominence of documents reflects '…the secular trend towards the legalization and organization of all areas of life…'. This is especially the case for policy and related guidance documents, which have the capacity to reflect current and future strategies, as well as changes occurring in society (Rapley, 2018:15).

2.2.2 Document matrix mapping

To supplement the analysis of these documents, their position in relation to the research criteria and each other is further analysed and visualised using a multi-criteria prioritisation matrix approach within *Section 5.2 Policy patterns and trends* (also see *Figure 10*).

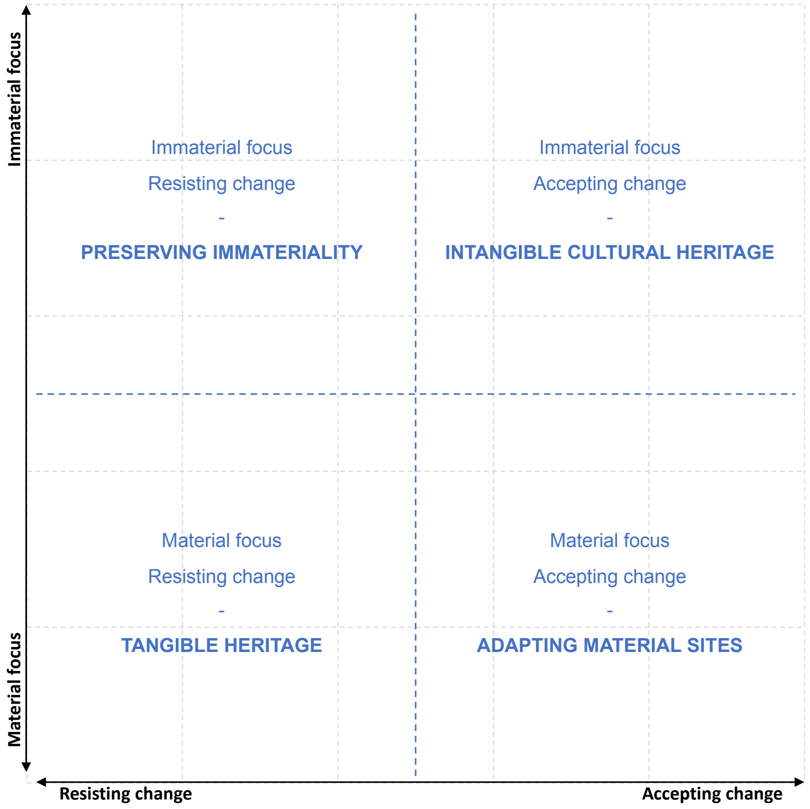
Immaterial focus
Immaterial focus
Resisting change
-
PRESERVING IMMATERIALITY
Immaterial focus
Accepting change
-
INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE
Material focus
Resisting change
-
TANGIBLE HERITAGE
Material focus
Accepting change
-
ADAPTING MATERIAL SITES
Material focus
Resisting change
Accepting change

Figure 10 - Base prioritisation matrix used in Section 5.2 Policy patterns and trends

Source: author original image

This visual matrix approach draws primarily on the work of Maus (2015) who used a similar visual method to position and relate theoretical approaches towards memory in relation to the criteria of materiality and society (see Maus, 2015:216). It also draws on the methodological work of Kneebone et al. (2017) who utilised a similar visual matrix approach to map behaviours and perceptions of environmental issues. Overall, this approach assists in visualising the priorities of formal heritage documents in relation to one another, as well as illustrating differences between national and international documents.

2.3 Case studies design and method

2.3.1 Overview

From an architectural outlook, a case study is '…an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon or setting' (Groat and Wang, 2013:418). The design of this study focuses more on phenomena (i.e. intangible heritage) than setting (e.g. a particular architectural style or place). This has allowed for more flexibility with regards to case study selection, with the imperative being to understand the relationship between intangible heritage and the conservation/ adaptation of listed buildings. The emphasis is therefore not so much on a contextually derived model (although context itself is *highly* valued within the analytical process). Instead, the emphasis is on generating an overarching understanding that is relevant to built heritage professionals (particularly architectural conservationists) who work with historic and listed buildings. Various explorations were conducted across three pilot case studies, which provided autonomy to help select and prepare for the final case study (as per Lucas, 2016:116), as well as offer a safe space for practicing and testing research instruments in order to establish their suitability (as per Yin, 2011:37; Bryman, 2012:92). The case studies within this project utilise a mixture of primary and secondary research (including site visits, qualitative interviews, architectural information, and various documents) as a means to triangulate data concerning the intentions, processes, perceptions, and contextual factors at play (Woodside, 2010:1). The case study therefore sits as a multi-method approach in its own right, whilst being simultaneously embedded within the overarching multi-methodological design of the research project in its entirety (*Figure 8*).

2.3.2 Case study selection

The pilot case studies have been essential in preparing for the final case study (as per Yin, 2009). A total of three pilot studies were chosen during the first and second year of the research project, although there were numerous other potential case study buildings and sites that were explored but subsequently disregarded due to a lack of suitability. Final pilot case study selection occurred towards the end of the initial literature review, document analysis and primary research interviews – the combination of which greatly assisted in developing case study selection criteria. The criteria that was initially established for the selection of case studies was influenced by Research Aim C (see *Table 1*), which is concerned with understanding the relationship between the intangible heritage of listed buildings and the various degrees of intervention (conservation approaches) used during their conservation/ adaptation. Based on the progress of the research project at this stage, it was hypothesised that a reciprocal causal relationship occurred between tangible and intangible heritage, so a diversity in conservation approaches was pursued across pilot studies to test this. Other essential pilot study criteria established was: 1) the building should be 'listed' so that any conservation work is situated within the political and legislative constraints of the built heritage sector; 2) the building should demonstrate either a fairly radical conservation approach or conversely be a clear exemplar of a common strategy; and 3) the building should demonstrate a form of social engagement that goes beyond its utilitarian function, or possibly even beyond the boundaries of its physical site[10].

The pilot studies were principally exploratory in nature, with the order in which they were undertaken being significant, in that the preceding pilot undoubtedly influenced approaches taken towards the next. The pilot studies were used not only to explore and test ideas, but also to begin to understand what the potential characteristics of a successful *final* case study for this project would be. The final case study – the Bletchley Park huts – was subsequently chosen and used to not only gather additional research data, but to implement the ideas and concepts derived from: the consolidated pilot case study findings; the ongoing and evolving literature review; the document analysis; and the earlier empirical research (semi-structured interviews).

2.3.3 Case study approaches

The relationship between the chosen pilot study building and mode of inquiry was primarily based on initial desktop and site research. This helped to determine at a rapid pace whether a building met the basic selection criteria and had enough relevant phenomena to engage with from the critical perspectives revealed by the literature review process. *Chapter 1 – Introduction to the research project* has already explained the critical focus of the research project in response to dominant attitudes within building conservation and architecture – particularly those that maintain a focus on scientific materialism and visual aesthetics. Consequently, part of the purpose of the pilot studies was to embrace these critical perspectives by challenging and testing the limits of prevailing concepts currently utilised within the built heritage paradigm. This responds to Research Objective 5 (*Table 1*) which refers to challenging established professional approaches within built heritage practice. Three broad areas of investigation were established as necessary points of departure across the three pilot studies: 1) ontological and analytical explorations; 2) theoretical and philosophical explorations; and 3) interpretative explorations. Thus, the pilot case study research itself maintains both an 'exploratory' and 'theory-building' slant (Gerring, 2007:41). These modes of inquiry are outlined in *Table 3* in relation to the chosen case study buildings, the various conservation approaches utilised at the sites, and the critical research perspectives employed.

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[10] The case study selection criteria initially included the need for the building to have some form of social group associated with it (e.g. a *Friends of* group), which the interviewer was intending to design into the methodological approach (e.g. focus groups). However, the Covid-19 global pandemic occurred during the fieldwork year of the research project, which required responsive changes to the methodological design. This included the removal of the focus group method. This is reflected within the updated EthOS ethical approval.

Despite case study selection being informed by the conservation/ adaptation approaches employed at the sites, they can nonetheless be split into two thematic groupings. Firstly, Long Street Methodist Church and Sunday School, along with the Hill House, are proto-modernist structures that sit in between the legacy of the arts and crafts movement and the rise of the Modernist architectural movement. As such, their architects achieved a balance between the veneration of the past and its re-creation through innovation – a key theme within intangible heritage. They also represent a typology of built heritage where their value lies within the original design concept, rather than the accumulation of patina and accretions across time, and so serve to challenge the prevailing guidance underpinned by the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964). Secondly, Coventry Cathedral and the Bletchley Park huts represent the legacy of the Second World War (hereafter WWII), having been either built for or directly impacted by it. The relevance of WWII in relation to intangible heritage is covered within *Section 9.2 Second World War context*, in relation to the rise of social memory, remembering practices and the 'memoryscape'. These sites demonstrate how an emphasis on memory can result in the veneration of architecturally humble and ordinary building typologies, as well as more extreme forms of engagement with the physical fabric of heritage sites.

Table 3 - Chosen case study projects

Source: author original table

Chosen building	Conservation Approaches	Mode of inquiry	Critical approach
Long Street Methodist Church and Sunday School, England *Grade II**	Restoration Adaptation	Ontological	Challenges the centrality of the physical building within the built heritage assessment processes
		Analytical	Tests an alternative analytical approach that supports parity across tangible and intangible phenomena, including the elucidation of practices that entangles these phenomena
The Hill House, Scotland *Category A*	Restoration Encapsulation	Theoretical	Explores the relevance of the postmodern theory of hyperreality in relation to the restoration of built heritage
		Philosophical	Deconstructs the prevailing relationship between restoration and authenticity in relation to the physicality of built heritage
Coventry Cathedral and ruins, England *Grade I*	Consolidation Rebuilding	Interpretative	Tests the applicability of interpreting listed buildings as ‘constantly recreated’ by frontier societies (as per intangible heritage) using the linguistic analogy of ‘translation’
Bletchley Park huts *Grade II*			
Hut 3	*Preservation* *Consolidation*	----------------- *Amalgamation of above* -----------------	
Hut 11	*Consolidation* *Restoration*		
Huts 3 & 6	*Restoration*		
Hut 8	*Restoration*		
Huts 1, 4 & 11A	*Restoration* *Adaptation*		
Hut 12	*Replication*		
Huts 14, 14A, 2 & NAAFI	*Demolition*		

2.3.4 Expanding the case study rationale

During research for case study projects, it was unknown at the time whether a chosen case study would remain as a pilot study or develop into the final case study. This was very much reliant upon how the study developed, as well as how it shaped the overarching approaches towards case study selection. The approach towards each pilot study was initially concerned with developing parity across tangible and intangible case study phenomena, as well as attempting to understand how a realigned focus might be achieved to concentrate more on the various practices that sustain and give meaning to built heritage assets – rather than just their physical fabric and material qualities. *Section 1.1 Research context* within the introductory chapter has already outlined disciplinary biases towards scientific materialism and visual aesthetics, and the conveniences brought to the built heritage sector when focussing on these biases is given in *Section 3.2.3 Positivist principles*. The role of the pilot studies has therefore been to challenge these dominant perspectives that define how we perceive, assess and conserve listed buildings. This has been structured primarily by Research Objectives 5 and 6 within Research Aim C (*Table 1*), which hypothesises that some form of dynamic exists between the various degrees of intervention imposed on a listed building (i.e. preservation, conservation, restoration, etc.) and the intangible heritage associated with it. Due to this, the type of conservation process employed at a case study site becomes part of the analysis itself.

Due to limitations on thesis word count, it was not possible to provide an extensive account of *all* undertakings for each pilot case study. Instead, what is offered within Chapter 8 is essentially an account of the key results and lessons learned from each pilot study (as per Yin, 2009). For additional detail concerning the activities and results of each pilot study, please refer to Djabarouti (2020a, 2020c, 2021a). These publications are also contained within *Appendix 1. Peer reviewed publications*. An overview of each pilot study and the rationale for each methodological approach employed is offered in the following three sections. For the detailed pilot case study results, please refer to *Chapter 8 – Pilot case studies*.

2.3.5 Ontological and analytical explorations: Long Street Methodist Church

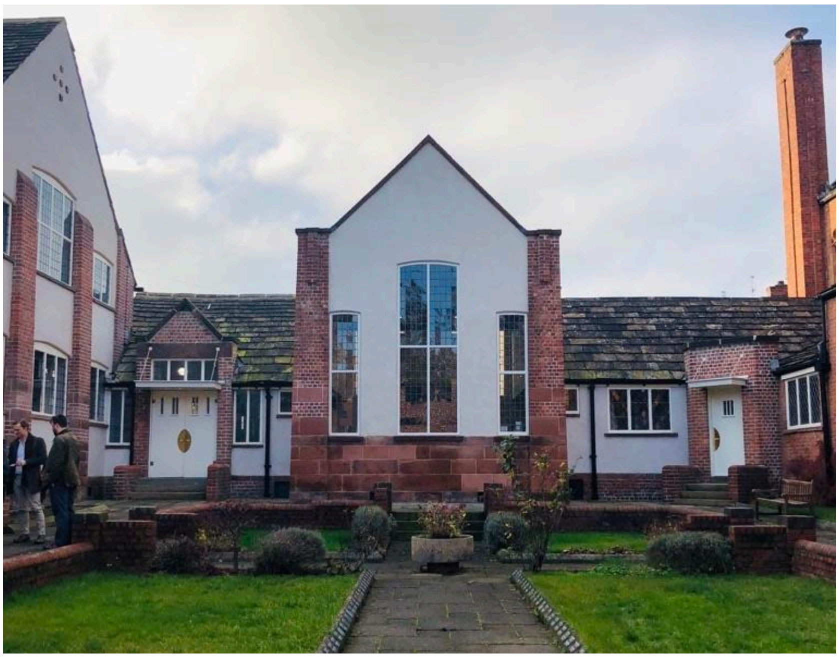

Figure 11 - Long Street Methodist Church and Sunday School (Grade II* listed)

Source: author original image

The first pilot study – Long Street Methodist Church and Sunday School (hereafter Long Street) – was a building that the researcher had initially visited as part of a heritage tour with the Institute of Historic Building Conservation (IHBC) (*Figure 11*). The building was designed by notable architect Edgar Wood[11] in 1899 (*Figure 12*) and in 1969 it was listed Grade II*. It is described as a unique and forward-thinking chapel design of interconnected buildings, which encloses a courtyard garden (Morris, 2012:142; Historic England, 2014). For most of the 20th century, Wood remained a fairly obscure architect (Morris, 2012:130). Despite being locally celebrated, an extended phase of low valuation for the architect and his oeuvre resulted in Long Street being added to the Historic England *Heritage at Risk Register* and assigned 'Category A – immediate risk of further rapid deterioration or loss of fabric; no solution agreed' (see Historic England, 2014). It is this threat of decay (and ultimately destruction) that subsequently spurred the acquisition of a Heritage Lottery Fund (hereafter HLF) grant by Rochdale Council, with funds being channelled into the building in 2017 to facilitate its restoration.

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[11] Edgar Wood, architect, artist, craftsman (1860-1935).

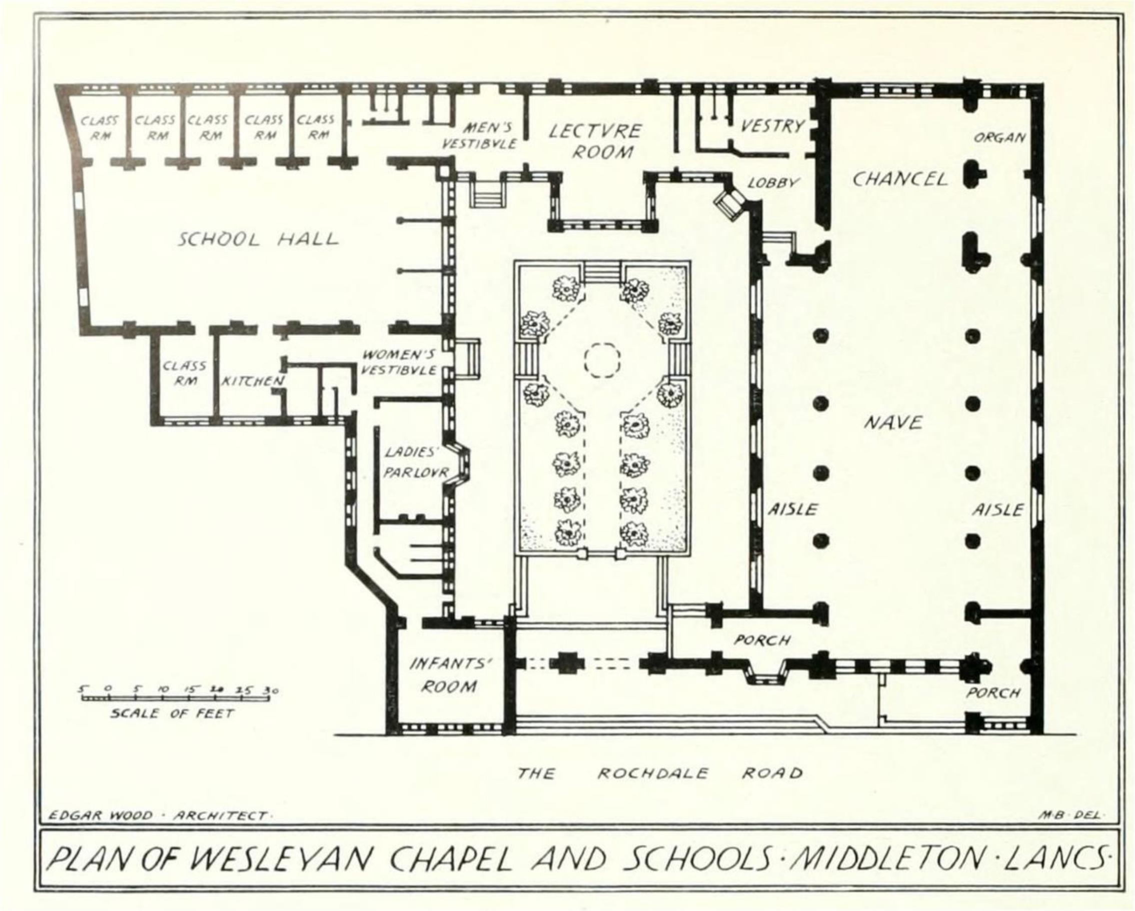
CLASS RM
CLASS RM
CLASS RM
CLASS RM
CLASS RM
MEN'S VESTIBVLE
LECTVRE ROOM
VESTRY
LOBBY
ORGAN
CHANCEL
SCHOOL HALL
CLASS RM
KITCHEN
WOMEN'S VESTIBVLE
LADIES' PARLOVR
NAVE
AISLE
AISLE
PORCH
PORCH
INFANTS' ROOM
5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30
SCALE OF FEET
THE ROCHDALE ROAD
EDGAR WOOD · ARCHITECT ·
M·B· DEL·
PLAN OF WESLEYAN CHAPEL AND SCHOOLS · MIDDLETON · LANCS ·

Figure 12 - Original Long Street floor plan (not to scale)

Source: Long Street Conservation Management Plan Part 1, contained within listed building consent reference 16_01312 on Rochdale Council Planning Portal (public access)

The fascination and appreciation of Wood over the past decade is unrivalled in intensity. Fuelled by both funding and passion in equal measure, the recent Edgar Wood Renaissance includes: the lottery funded ‘Edgar Wood & Middleton Townscape Heritage Initiative’; the formation of the ‘Edgar Wood Society’; the release of an Edgar Wood documentary film (‘Edgar Wood: A Painted Veil’[12]); the creation and installation of commemorative Edgar Wood ‘green plaques’; an Edgar Wood ‘Heritage Trail’; various ‘heritage open day’ tours of Wood-designed buildings; and various commissioned reports and research that builds on the significance of Wood and his oeuvre (see Morris (2008, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2018), advancing earlier research by Archer (1963, 1968, 1975)). Lastly, and of particular importance to this study, there was also the restoration of several Edgar Wood buildings – one of these being Long Street.

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[12] Created by the Heritage Film Group/ Anthony Dolan.

Whilst these contemporary activities and practices draw on the history of Wood and his buildings, they are very much tailored for consumption in the present. They counteract Wood's relative obscurity by generating a series of narratives that result in a digestible and relevant story and legacy for contemporary society. Particularly in the post-industrial context of Long Street's restoration, Wood's architecture is therefore not only utilised both as a means to reinforce and fix particular historic meanings in place (as per Abdelmonem and Selim, 2012:172), but also as a means to *develop* narratives/ stories that tap into the socio-economic potential of Middleton as the ancestral home of Wood (Timothy, 2018:179). Thus, aside from being used as a physical locus of Wood's legacy (Morris, 2012:158), Long Street is also now deeply entwined within these numerous contemporary events and practices that have both supported and shadowed its physical restoration. This has offered a rich context for the first pilot study to consider the relationship between the conservation approach employed; the building; the communal considerations (activities, events and memories); how these factors might be analysed; and the broader ontological approach that this varied phenomena may exist within. In considering an approach that could work within the overarching PT ontology (already outlined in *Section 1.2 Theoretical framework*), the applicability of Social Network Analysis (hereafter SNA) was tested at Long Street as an analytical (or assessment) method. The rationale behind the relevance and application of SNA is given in upcoming *Section 2.3.8.2 Stage 2: data analysis (social network analysis)*. However, to summarise, by focussing on practices and relationships, SNA was a complimentary analytical method that helped assess how the tangible and intangible heritage at the site was entangled, and what role the restoration approach played in this. For the results of this pilot case study, please refer to *Section 8.2 Results: Long Street Methodist Church*. Also refer to Djabarouti (2020a, 2020c) for additional detail on the study, which are located within *Appendix 1. Peer reviewed publications*.

2.3.6 Theoretical and philosophical explorations: the Hill House and Box

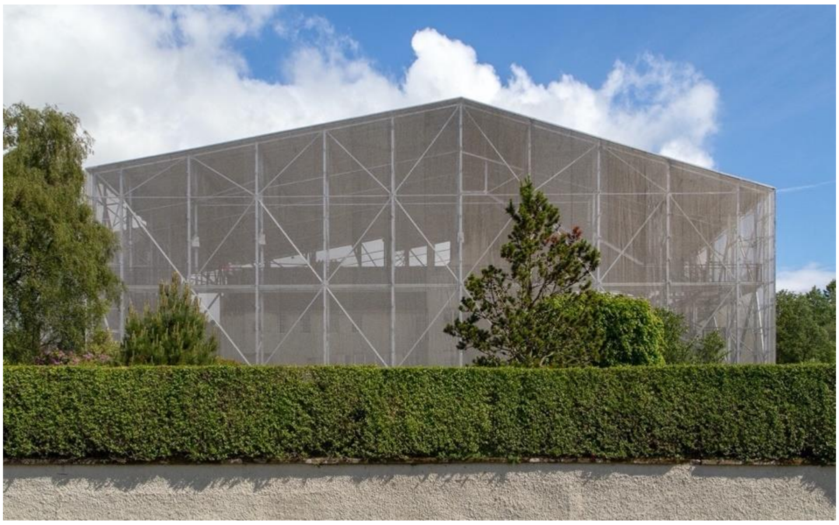

Figure 13 - The Hill House encapsulated by the Box (Category A listed)

Photo: Tom Parnell (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/itmpa/48672523318/in/album-72157710676927421/

The second pilot study – the Hill House and Box – offers a unique conservation approach and has gained international attention as both an architectural and conservation project. The Category A listed building is located near the coast of Helensburgh, Scotland, and is now owned by the National Trust for Scotland (hereafter NTS) (*Figure 13*). It was originally designed by notable architect Charles Rennie Mackintosh[13] and built between 1902-04, in what is now considered to be a 'proto-modernist'[14] style (*Figure 14*). At the turn of the century, Mackintosh was experimenting at the frontiers of architectural design, with the Hill House noted as an important project that helped define the forthcoming Modernist style (Wright, 2012:86). Two aspects of the design were critical in this respect: the use of (then) contemporary materials (namely Portland cement render); and the novel architectural design methods employed (most notably the removal of hoods, sills, and copings from the façade designs). However, these ideas were executed prior to the construction industry acquiring an accurate understanding of their impact on the ongoing condition of buildings. Consequently, these bold and innovative design decisions led to the building suffering constant water ingress over many years which has resulted in exponential decay of the original building fabric (Douglas-Jones et al., 2016). After many failed attempts to repair the building, a semi-permanent architectural structure called the ‘Hill House Box’ (hereafter ‘the Box’) was installed in 2019, which completely encloses and protects the building in a stainless-steel chain-mail mesh structure.

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[13] Charles Rennie Mackintosh, architect (1868-1928).
[14] A building that is now generally accepted to be a precursor to the architectural style of 'Modernism'.

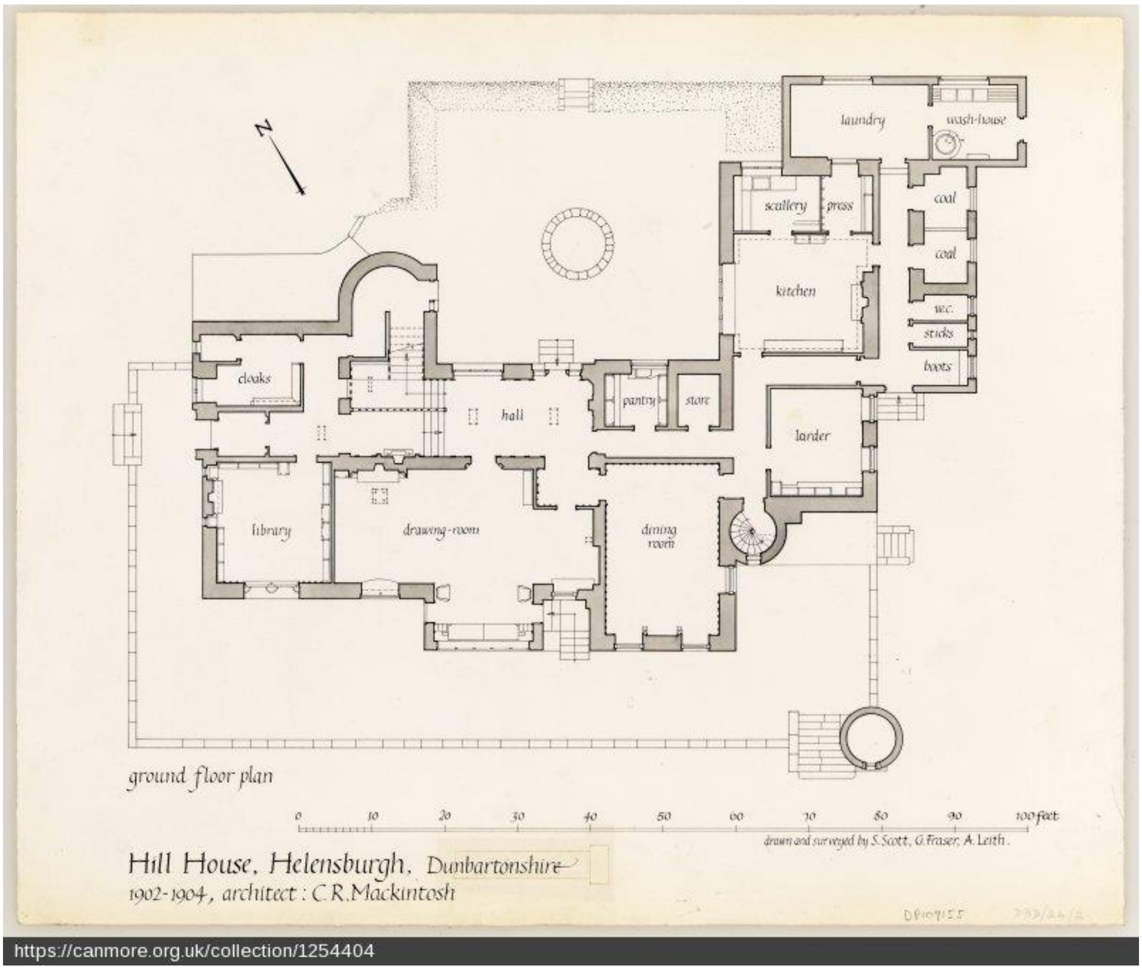
N
laundry
wash-house
coal
coal
w.c.
sticks
boots
scullery
press
kitchen
pantry
store
larder
cloaks
hall
library
drawing-room
dining room
ground floor plan
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 feet
drawn and surveyed by S. Scott, G. Fraser, A. Leith.
Hill House, Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire
1902-1904, architect: C.R.Mackintosh
DP109155
https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1254404

Figure 14 - Hill House floor plan (not to scale)

Image DP 109155 on the Canmore National Record of the Historic Environment
Source: http://canmore.org.uk/collection/1254404

What is particularly interesting about this project, and why it was considered a relevant pilot study in relation to challenging theoretical and philosophical perspectives, is the significance of the building as an important precursor to the Modernist architectural style. This created issues regarding the adherence of Ruskinian principles relating to material authenticity, which principally relates to the notion of ‘patina’ (see Scott, 2016:11; Gao and Jones, 2020:9) (a concept that is explored further within *Chapter 3 – From buildings to* *people*). By contrast, the position on authenticity within the heritage statement instead recommended its restoration back to a unity of style. This position can also find support from Historic England (2008:45), who do state that '[r]etaining the authenticity of a place is not always achieved by retaining as much of the existing fabric as is technically possible'. This is generally representative of the conservation issues that surround the wave of Modernist buildings now paradoxically defined as 'heritage' – which is a label that primarily relates to their unblemished original design concept (Orbaşli, 2017:162). Consequently, conservation approaches are employed to *restore* the original design concept, rather than preserve a sense of material authenticity though patina and ageing.

Using this contention of material authenticity as the point of departure, this pilot study draws on Jean Baudrillard's (1994) [1981] theory of 'hyperreality' and its existing application within both built heritage (Lewi, 2008; Labadi, 2010; Steiner, 2010; Lovell, 2018; Cocola-Gant, 2019) and architecture (Proto, 2006, 2020). This theory is used as a way to make space for the following two developments which are more supportive of a more intangible outlook: 1) the conception of authenticity as a negotiated, emergent and fluid societal act; and 2) the legitimisation of imitation/ restoration as a valid activity. The results of this pilot study are within *Section 8.3 Results: the Hill House and Box*. Also refer to Djabarouti (2021a) for additional detail on the study, a copy of which is located within *Appendix 1. Peer reviewed publications*.

2.3.7 Interpretative explorations: Coventry Cathedral and ruins

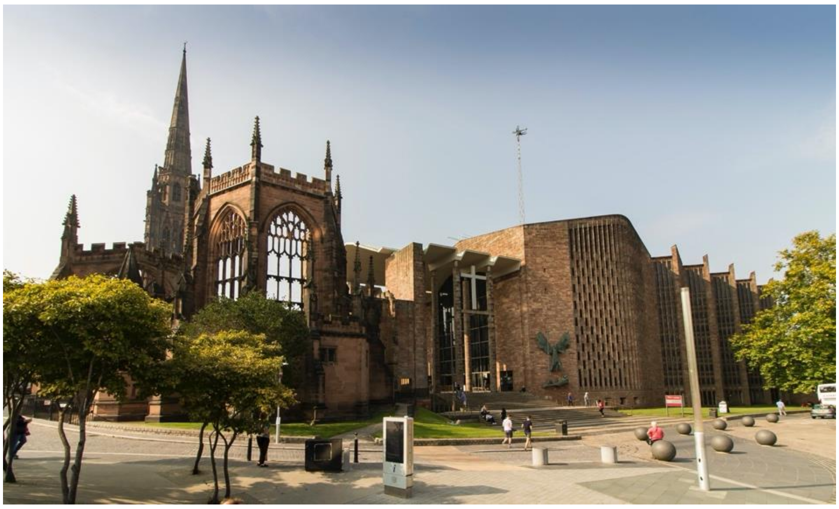

Figure 15 - Coventry Cathedral and ruins (Grade 1 listed)

Photo: Jenny Hannan (CC BY 2.0)
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/jpguffogg/29788664491

The final pilot study – the Cathedral Church of St. Michael – or 'Coventry Cathedral' as it is more commonly referred to – is a Grade 1 listed post-war building located in the heart of Coventry, England (*Figure 15*). Its location is considered a site of three cathedrals[15], which together represent a history spanning nearly 1000 years. The earlier two cathedrals continue to have a physical presence at the site to varying degrees, and both are also Grade 1 listed[16]. The ruined structure of the second cathedral maintains particular prominence, due to its integration within the design of the third (current) cathedral (*Figure 16*). From the perspective of the research project, as a site of three multi-layered buildings it was considered fertile ground to explore the interpretative complexities that can arise when attempting to define physical heritage as both intangible (Harrison, 2013:86) and processual (Harvey, 2001; Skounti, 2009:75). A focus was placed on advancing the perception of 'change' within the historic built environment to be more in line with the notion of 'constant re-creation' that is promoted within the 2003 Convention, which states that the interpretation of intangible heritage would need to prioritise how it is '…constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history' (UNESCO, 2003:2). In applying this perspective to physical heritage sites, changes to historic buildings would also be interpreted as a collection of re-creations by frontier societies – akin to how UNESCO portray ICH.

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[15] The original Benedictine Priory of St. Mary (consecrated 1102); the 14th century 'old St. Michaels' church (consecrated 1918); and 'new St. Michaels', designed by Sir Basil Spence (consecrated 1962).

[16] All three cathedrals are designated separately, and Historic England maintain separate entries for them ('cathedral of St. Michael', 'ruined cathedral of St. Michael', and 'remains of the West front, nave and aisles of Coventry Priory').

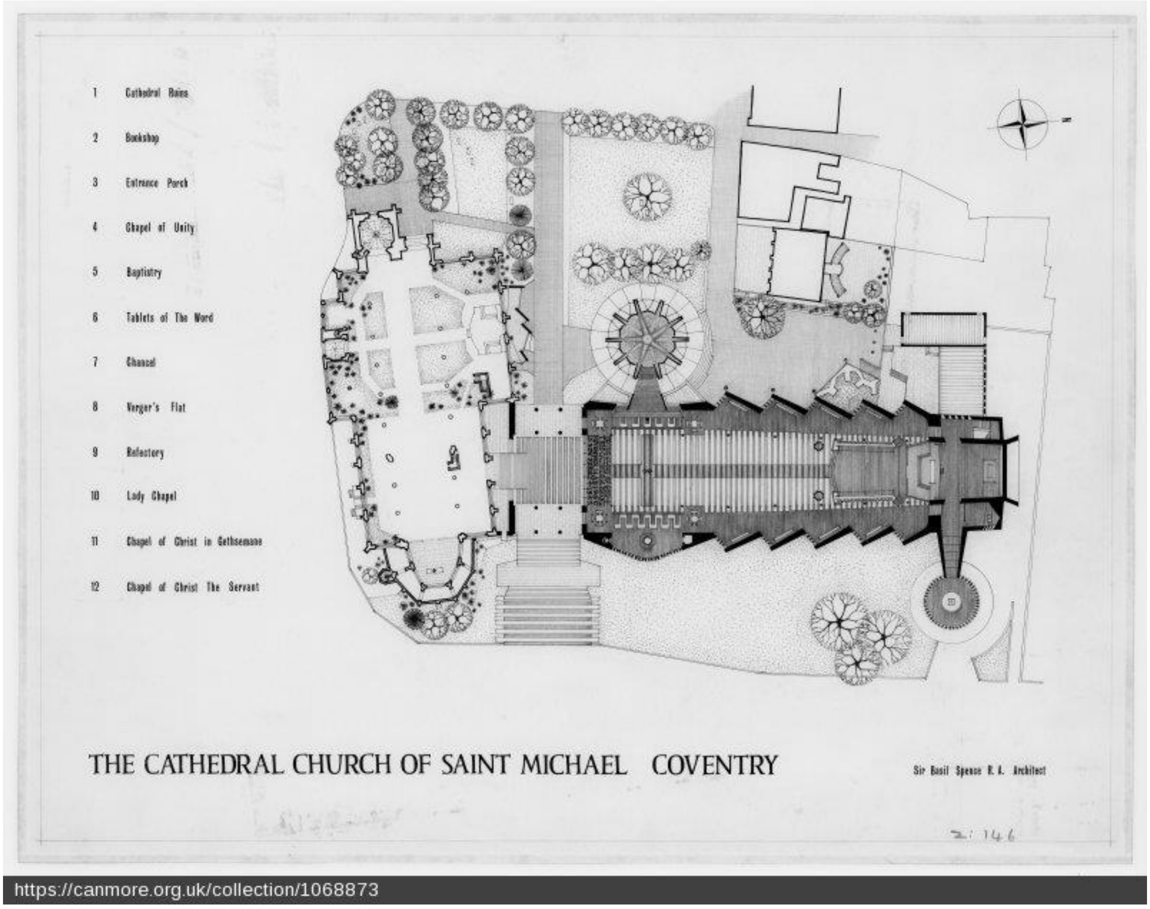
1 Cathedral Ruins
2 Bookshop
3 Entrance Porch
4 Chapel of Unity
5 Baptistry
6 Tablets of The Word
7 Chancel
8 Verger's Flat
9 Refectory
10 Lady Chapel
11 Chapel of Christ in Gethsemane
12 Chapel of Christ The Servant
THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SAINT MICHAEL COVENTRY
Sir Basil Spence R.A. Architect
https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1068873

Figure 16 - Coventry Cathedral floor plan (not to scale)

Image DP 025227 on the Canmore National Record of the Historic Environment
Source: http://canmore.org.uk/collection/1068873

By maintaining a focus on the interpretative complexities that can arise from the notion of constant re-creation, this pilot study firstly expands on the history of linguistic analogies for architectural interpretation (e.g. 'reading' a building) by exploring the appropriateness of 'translation' as a more relevant analogy. In particular, it looks at how translation can illuminate constantly recreated traditions which go beyond the physicality of buildings and their associated facts, to support instead a multiplicity of meanings that promotes cultural diversity (as per ICOMOS, 1994:46; Borden and Dunster, 1995:1). This is based on work by scholars who promote a 'translation' analogy as an interpretative approach which can support evolution, contemporary change and cultural values (see Whyte, 2006; Scott, 2008; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019; Stone, 2019b). These are qualities that align with the notion of intangible heritage as a constantly evolving and recreated practice in response to its ever-changing cultural context (Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:11; Lenzerini, 2011:101).

To give the pilot study a more definitive interpretative scope, Coventry’s strong historical association with craft is utilised as a thematic vehicle to explore the notion of translation across all three cathedrals. This decision was supported by the complimentary concept of craft ‘revivals’, which Peach (2013:161) describes as the ongoing process of reinvention that craft exhibits as both a reaction to, and representation of, socio-economic change. Accordingly, this pilot makes use of the commonalities between: the concept of craft ‘revival’; the concept of ‘translation’; and the constantly recreated nature of ICH. The term *craft* is therefore used more comprehensively within this pilot study to represent not only the subjective practice of making, but also the broader social practices that medieval merchant and artisan craft guilds in Coventry were a part of (Swanson, 1988:29,32; Walters, 2013:151). The social- and skill- based craft heritage of the site is studied as a series of translations, which have not only influenced ongoing physical changes to the site; but stimulated new uses and practices from this craft lineage which have amalgamated with the site’s dominant heritage narrative concerning WWII. A particular focus is placed on craft guilds, craft skills and mystery plays. Please refer to *Section 8.4 Results: Coventry Cathedral and ruins* for the results of this pilot study.

2.3.8 A consolidated methodological approach: the Bletchley Park huts

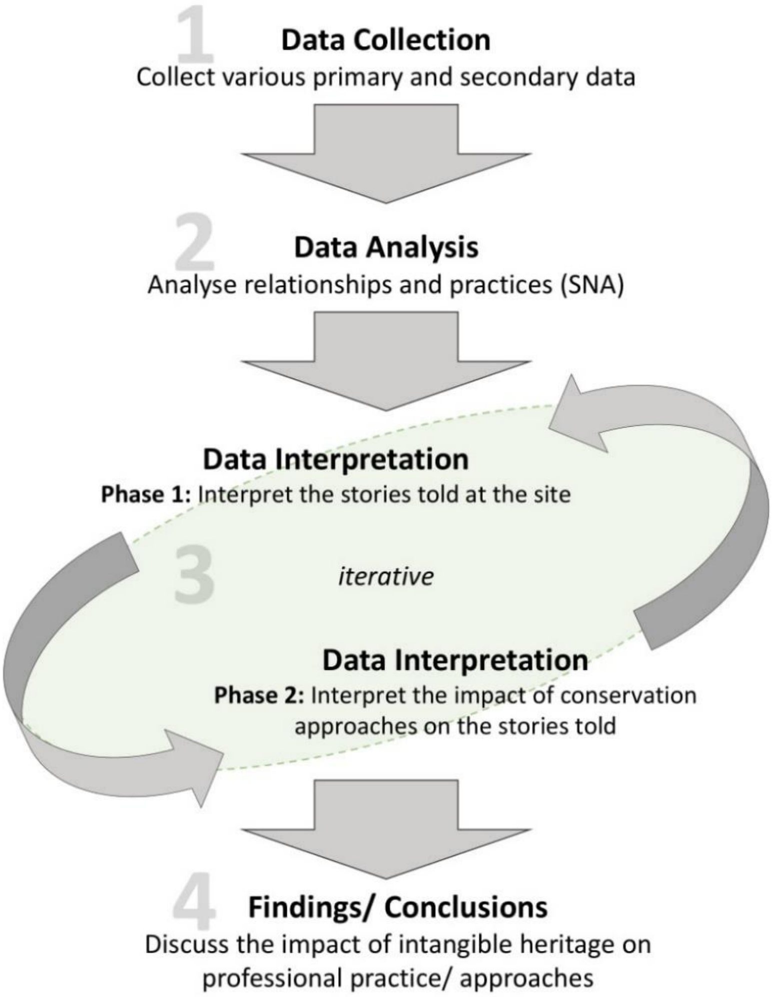
1
Data Collection
Collect various primary and secondary data
2
Data Analysis
Analyse relationships and practices (SNA)
Data Interpretation
Phase 1: Interpret the stories told at the site
3
iterative
Data Interpretation
Phase 2: Interpret the impact of conservation approaches on the stories told
4
Findings/ Conclusions
Discuss the impact of intangible heritage on professional practice/ approaches

Figure 17 - Consolidated methodological approach for the final case study

Amalgamated approach informed by preceding empirical research activities
Source: author original image

Lastly, the approach towards the final case study – the Bletchley Park huts – is primarily an amalgam of the results from the three pilot case studies and semi-structured interviews. This has required acknowledging both the positive and negative attributes of each independent study, as well considering how they relate or may be structured into a more coherent approach. An overview of the consolidated methodological approach is given in *Figure 17*, which outlines the various methodological stages undertaken within the final case study. The results are in *Section 9 – Bletchley Park huts*.

2.3.8.1 Stage 1: data collection

The first stage – ‘data collection’ – builds on the ontological explorations within the Long Street pilot, by collecting a variety of data that represents the huts – not just in terms of their physicality – but also their intangible qualities and the various social practices associated with them. The type of intangible data collected was informed by the results from the semi-structured interviews (refer to *Section 7 – Semi-structured interviews*), which includes: stories, history, events, memories, use, discord, craft, and emotion (also see *Figure 92*).

2.3.8.2 Stage 2: data analysis (social network analysis)

Stage 2 – ‘data analysis’ – utilised the SNA approach which was tested within the Long Street pilot study. This was chosen as not only was it a manageable and accessible analytical method, but it also serves to better illuminate the relationships between tangible and intangible heritage and the practices that bind them together. This is especially the case in comparison to the prevailing assessment method for historic buildings in England, which is reliant upon the identification of ‘values’ (Walter, 2014b:634). This approach generally results in the segregation of values that relate to ‘tangible heritage’ and those more commonly associated with ‘intangible heritage’ (Pendlebury, 2013:715; Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016:474; Jones, 2017:24). It therefore became clear early in the study that the standard method of assessing historic and listed buildings would not be entirely suitable for the case study analysis, and that an alternative approach would be required to account for *how* tangible and intangible qualities are entangled. In contrast to the prevailing values-based methodology in building conservation practice, SNA is an interdisciplinary approach that places an emphasis on relationships *between* things, allowing social concepts to be defined and theories developed from the analysis of these relationships (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994) (*Figure 18*). It removes emphasis from individuals, and places focus instead on the interweaving of social relationships and interactions (Scott, 1988:109; Freeman, 2004:1).

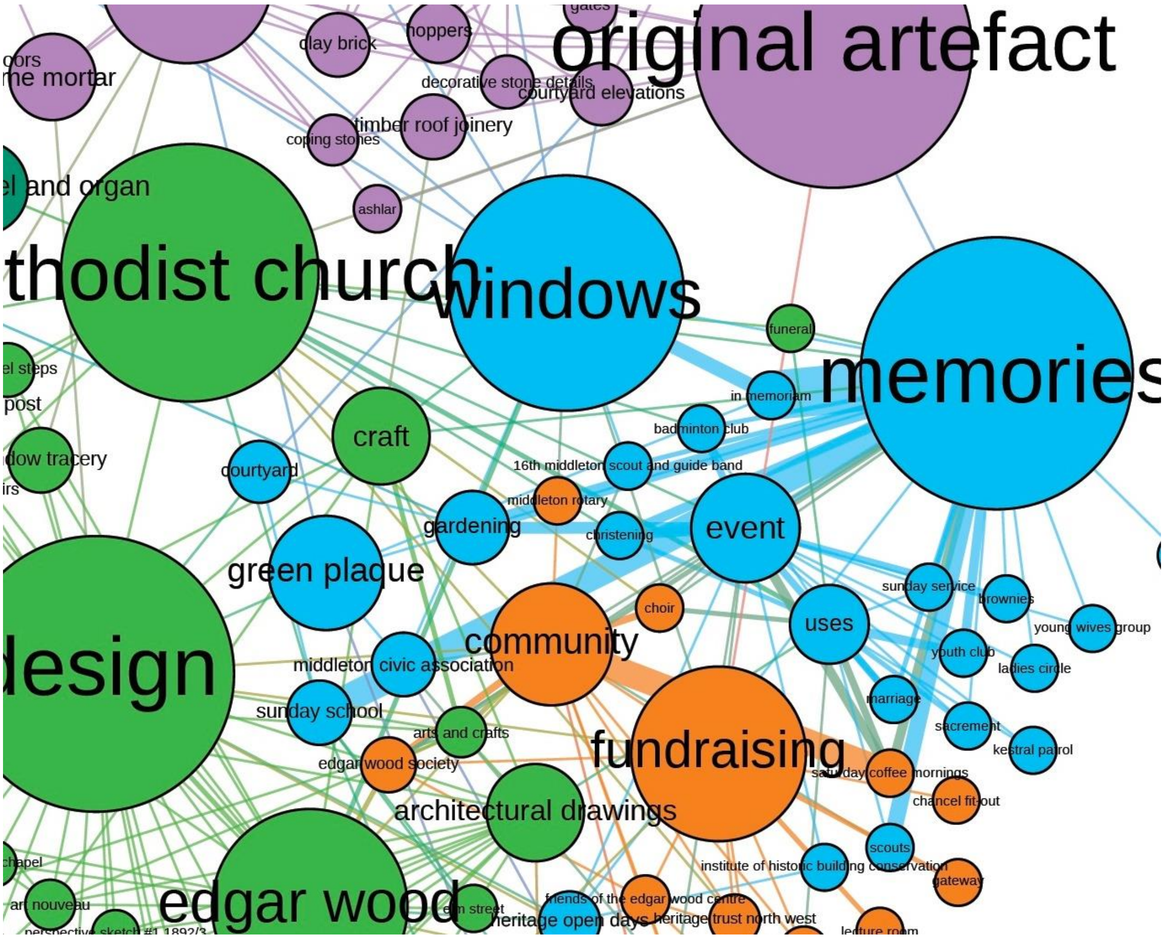
gates
original artefact
oors
me mortar
clay brick
hoppers
decorative stone details
courtyard elevations
timber roof joinery
coping stones
el and organ
ashlar
thodist church
windows
funeral
memories
el steps
post
in memoriam
badminton club
craft
dow tracery
courtyard
irs
16th middleton scout and guide band
middleton rotary
gardening
christening
event
green plaque
choir
sunday service
brownies
young wives group
uses
design
community
middleton civic association
youth club
ladies circle
marriage
sunday school
sacrement
arts and crafts
fundraising
kestral patrol
edgar wood society
saturday coffee mornings
chancel fit-out
architectural drawings
scouts
chapel
institute of historic building conservation
gateway
art nouveau
edgar wood
elm street
friends of the edgar wood centre
heritage open days
heritage trust north west
perspective sketch #1 1892/3
lecture room

Figure 18 - Extract from Long Street SNA analysis of heritage relationships and practices

Source: author original image, taken from the first pilot study (see Djabarouti, 2020a)

Rather than simply a tool for processing data, SNA is better utilised as a theory for interpreting social structures (Mische, 2011:80). Hence, for interdisciplinary use of SNA, it is advantageous to employ discipline-specific perspectives that can conceptually accommodate the emphasis on relationships and knowledge flows (Serrat, 2017). This aligns well with a case study method, which facilitates the investigation of complex and dynamic intersections that are grounded in a real-world context (Groat and Wang, 2013:421). For Mische (2011:80), SNA offers an opportunity to engage in 'relational thinking' by focussing on '…the dynamics of social interactions in different kinds of social settings'. More specifically, Mische (2011) describes four ways in which culture and social networks are interlinked: networks as cultural conduits; networks and culture as omnidirectional influencers; cultural forms as pre-existing conceptual networks; and networks as cultural interactions. The similarities between how intangible heritage is defined and how Mische describes the culture-network relationship is clear. For example, it is noted how SNA can offer '…a more dynamic, processual account of the culture-network link'. This suggests SNA may be able to conceptually accommodate the changing nature of cultural heritage and better address the inherent dualities between immaterial manifestations of culture and historic/ listed buildings.

There have already been various attempts to utilise network analysis within heritage studies more generally. These include: the analysis of heritage to improve its digital application and consumption (see Capodieci et al., 2019); the use of SNA to enhance management processes of cultural heritage from a cultural tourism perspective (see Moretti et al., 2016); to enhance cultural heritage experiences by analysing user perceptions/ personalities (see Antoniou, 2017); as well as to both enhance and explore visitor interactions with heritage collections that are both physical (see Cuomo et al., 2015) and digital (see Hampson et al., 2012). Others have concentrated more specifically on the relationship between SNA and intangible heritage, by using it to analyse the global actors and institutional networks concerned with intangible heritage (see Severo and Venturini, 2016), as well as to understand how intangible heritage is transmitted through specific community relationships (see Oh, 2019). Despite this varied use of SNA within heritage studies (ranging from a tool to enhance a methodology to a more integrated conceptual approach), there have been no studies that attempt to explore its potential application towards the assessment of historic and listed buildings. This is surprising when considering the frontiers of critical heritage studies are engaging in related research themes concerning flat ontologies and the problematisation of heritage domains (Harrison, 2015a; Hill, 2018b); as well as the role of digitisation in relation to the interpretation of heritage and its participatory function (Rahaman and Tan, 2011; Taylor and Gibson, 2017).

At its very basic, SNA consists of two elements – 'nodes' and 'edges'. Nodes can represent people, places, things, feelings – so can be both tangible and intangible, and edges are the defined connections (or relationships) between nodes (*Table 4*). The nodes inputted into the network can therefore capture a wide range of tangible and intangible heritage.

Table 4 - Example translation of key concepts between heritage and social networks

Source: extract from Long Street pilot study analysis (also see Djabarouti, 2020a)

Heritage	SNA Element
Tangible elements	
Building elements (conserved, restored, additive, demolished)	Node
Peripheral elements (objects, furniture, plans, media)	Node
Intangible elements	
Activities, events, uses, skills, practices	Node
Societies, parties, institutions	Node
Memories	Node
Design, knowledge, history	Node
Interactions, relationships, conflicts, exchanges	
Professional relationships/ negotiations	Edge
Community relationships/ negotiations	Edge
Heritage interactions	Edge
Tangible and intangible heritage relationships	Edge

Table 5 - Example of node input data variety

Source: extract from Long Street pilot study analysis (also see Djabarouti, 2020a)

ID	Label	Keyword	Location
27	Missing roof slates	Building component	External
36	Coping stones	Building component	External
41	Gates	Building component	External
60	Kitchen service door	Building component	External
61	External steps	Building component	Landscaping
62	Memories	Intangible association	Immaterial
63	Middleton Civic Association	Intangible artefact	Immaterial
112	Fundraising	Intangible association	Immaterial
119	Contract drawings 1894/5	Peripheral artefact	Architectural drawings
132	Window tracery	Building component	External

For example, within the Long Street pilot study where this analytical approach was first tested, it captured phenomena ranging from missing original roof slates, to local memories of the building; and from original architectural drawings to recent fundraising activities (*Table 5*). Similarly, a wide variety of edges were also inputted into the network. For example, if a local member of the community had a particular memory of an event at a particular location, a 'memories' node was linked to the relevant community, event and room nodes; or if a particular heritage organisation had a relationship with another organisation, these nodes were also connected. Once all nodes and edges are inputted and the data is processed by network analysis and visualisation software, the output is a complex network of interrelations between tangible and intangible heritage, which creates the ability to further analyse the practices that sustain these inter-domain entanglements. The SNA model for the Bletchley Park huts is located in *Section 9.5 Hut analysis* (*Figure 71*) and in more detail within *Appendix 5. Final case study example data and analysis*.

2.3.8.3 Stage 3: data interpretation

Stage 3 – 'data interpretation' – relates to two phases of interpretation: 1) interpreting the stories told within each hut, and 2) interpreting how these stories relate to the specific conservation approaches employed for each hut. These phases of interpretation were inherently iterative, in that their increasing clarification helped to further evaluate and situate one another within the broader practices that occur in relation to each hut (*Figure 19*). Due to this, in reality this approach was far from the linear portrayal of *Figure 17*, with a number of passes through the data required in order to work towards a robust discussion. *Phase 1* interpreted the analysis of the huts through the lens of the theoretical model derived from the semi-structured interview results in *Section 7 – Semi-structured interviews* (for an overview of this model, refer to *Figure 92*). More specifically, it attempted to better understand the stories told at the site and what tangible and intangible qualities these stories entangled. Inspired by the theoretical explorations within the Hill House pilot study, *Phase 2* then looked at the relationship between the *restoration* of the past (the huts) with the *ritualisation* of the present (the contemporary practices and uses that the huts facilitate), in order to understand how the conservation/ adaptation approaches employed at each hut helps to define this relationship.

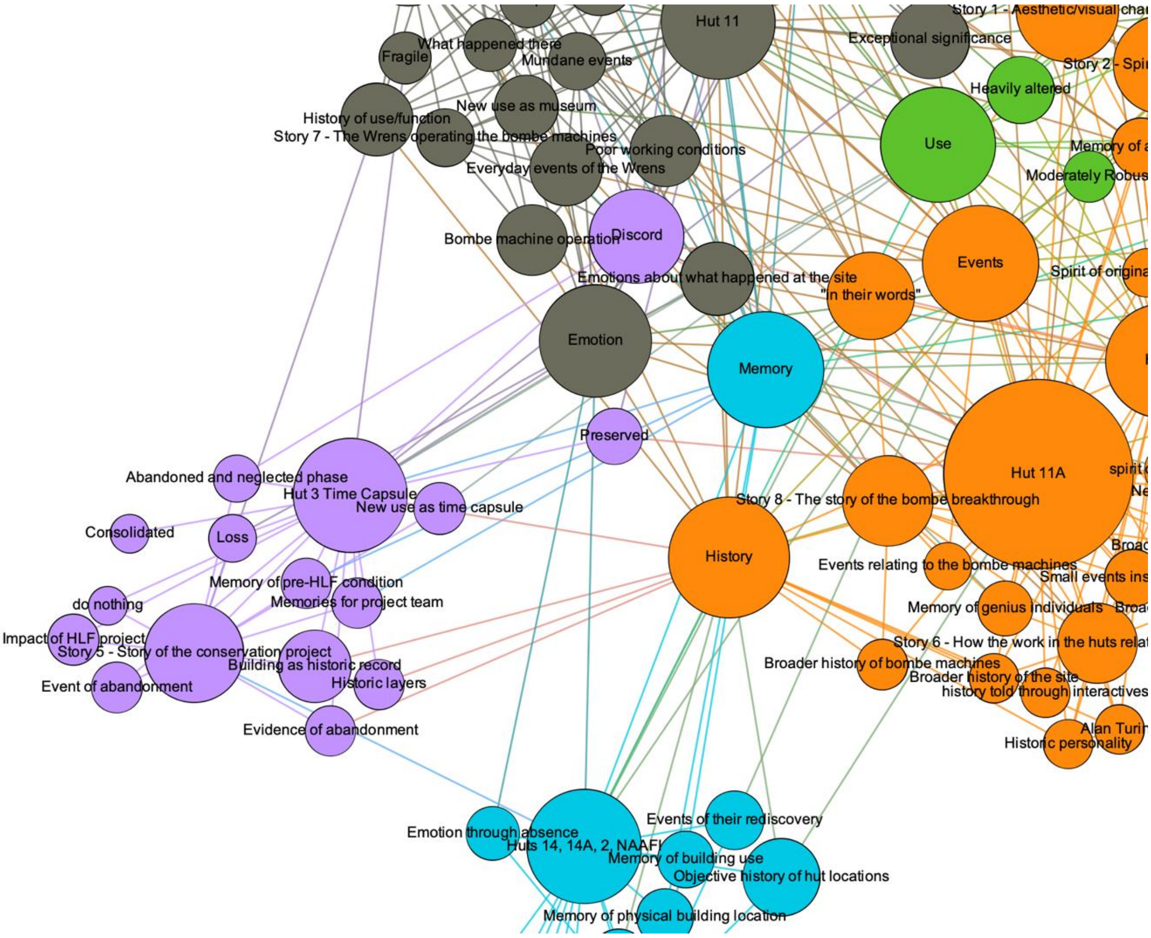
Hut 11
Story 1 - Aesthetic/visual cha
Exceptional significance
What happened there
Fragile
Mundane events
Story 2 - Spi
Heavily altered
New use as museum
History of use/function
Story 7 - The Wrens operating the bombe machines
Poor working conditions
Everyday events of the Wrens
Use
Memory of a
Moderately Robus
Bombe machine operation
Discord
Emotions about what happened at the site
"In their words"
Events
Spirit of origina
Emotion
Memory
Preserved
Abandoned and neglected phase
Hut 3 Time Capsule
New use as time capsule
Hut 11A
spirit
Ne
Story 8 - The story of the bombe breakthrough
Consolidated
Loss
History
Broad
Events relating to the bombe machines
Small events ins
Memory of pre-HLF condition
Memories for project team
Memory of genius individuals
Broa
do nothing
Impact of HLF project
Story 5 - Story of the conservation project
Story 6 - How the work in the huts relat
Building as historic record
Broader history of bombe machines
Broader history of the site
Event of abandonment
Historic layers
history told through interactives
Evidence of abandonment
Alan Turin
Historic personality
Emotion through absence
Events of their rediscovery
Huts 14, 14A, 2, NAAFI
Memory of building use
Objective history of hut locations
Memory of physical building location

Figure 19 - Extract of SNA analysis from the Bletchley Park huts

Illustrating how the analysis generates groupings of highly connected nodes (by colour)
Source: author original image

The degree to which these approaches incorporated ideas of ‘re-creation’ and ‘translation’ as explored within the final pilot case study – Coventry Cathedral – was also applied within this phase of the analysis. However, on reflection, this final pilot study was perhaps the least effective in contributing towards the final case study approach in terms of stimulating a specific mode of analysis. This was likely due to the fact that it was the last pilot study undertaken, which meant it already incorporated ideas from the previous two pilot studies. Nevertheless, whilst its novelty may have been somewhat limited, its focus on ‘translation’ was still an influential concept that ultimately found its way into the final discussion (i.e. the ‘translation’ strategy within *Section 10.4 Methodological destabilisation: five socio-material strategies*).

2.4 Chapter summary

This chapter has introduced the interpretivist methodological stance taken within the research project to understand in what way the safeguarding of intangible heritage impacts architectural and building conservation practices in the UK. By outlining the overarching multi-method approach and the constituent methods that it is comprised of, the chapter has aimed to demonstrate how it can not only consolidate personal dialogues, documents and material ‘things’ within its scope, but also facilitate adequate rigor through triangulation. Beginning with a triangulation between literature review, semi-structured interviews (built heritage professionals) and document analysis (built heritage policy and guidance), the contextual point of departure for the research project is established – **what can be classified as the ‘built heritage paradigm’**. This assists in addressing Research Aims A and B. Overall, whilst the methodological approach is both targeted and structured, an uncertainty over how intangible heritage would be conceptualised within the built heritage paradigm has resulted in a flexible and reflective approach towards the pilot case studies. Various ontological, analytical, theoretical, philosophical and interpretative perspectives are tested and explored to inform the approach taken for the final case study. It serves to address Research Aims C and D more directly, through its focus on the relationship between intangible heritage safeguarding and the various conservation methods employed.

LITERATURE REVIEW

> *...true architecture makes us aware of the entire history of building and it restructures our reading of the continuum of time. The perspective that is often disregarded today is that architecture structures our understanding of the past just as much as it suggests images of [the] future.*
>
> *(Pallasmaa, 2012b:17)*

3 – From buildings to people

3.1 Chapter introduction

This opening literature review chapter offers an outline of the historical preoccupation with physical heritage in the UK, by charting the development of key concepts from antiquarian studies, through to moveable art objects, and finally to historic buildings. It considers the prevailing approaches employed at physical heritage sites in relation to this historical development, as well as its comparatively recent classification as part of the 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith, 2006). Counterarguments that support the conceptual shift of heritage from a physical resource to a human process are outlined, especially with regards to how this may change perspectives on conventional conservation methods and broader concepts related to authenticity, value and heritage designation. The conceptual confusion created by this shift is of particular importance and is outlined from the perspective of the contemporary built heritage practitioner.

3.2 A historical preoccupation with physical sites

3.2.1 Antiquity and anxiety

The foundations of the building conservation movement are built upon 17th and 18th century antiquarian studies that focused on the conservation of art objects and concepts relating to 'aesthetics', 'history' and 'truth'[17] (Delafons, 1997:9; Muñoz Viñas, 2002:27; Jokilehto, 2018:28). These ideas have their roots in preceding Italian Renaissance activities and discoveries (Jokilehto, 2018:35). From Petrarch's[18] poetic use of nostalgia to inspire an interest in antiquity – his 'lament for Rome' (Jokilehto, 2018:35) – to Alberti's[19] practical *De re aedificatoria* – a composition inspired in part by the physical damage and decay of ancient ruins (Evers, 2006) – there is historical evidence of a clear spectrum of inquiry that explores not just *how* society should conserve buildings, but *why* it should be done. The impact of this duality between things and meanings is echoed by Samuel (2012:25) [1994], who describes conservation as '…one of the major aesthetic and social movements of our time'.

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[17] The latter, 'truth', was formulated based on the search for 'authentic' antiques (as opposed to forgeries).
[18] Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374), Italian Renaissance scholar and humanist.
[19] Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), Italian Renaissance scholar and humanist.

The eventual formalisation of 'antiquarianism' as a branch of study and scholarship in England can be attributed to emerging sensibilities of patriotism (Glendinning, 2013:42), with the destruction of the built environment during the Industrial Revolution spurring the eventual widening of the scope of antiquarian practice to include not just historic objects but also historic buildings (Silverman, 2015:71). This was eventually exacerbated further by the destruction caused by the two world wars of the 20th century, which only served to heighten the sense of fragility and desire for permanence in relation to the historic built environment (Smith, 2011:11). As well as this, it also instigated a surge in international building conservation charters and guidance (Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:4) (the impact of WWII on conservation and heritage is explored in detail within the final case study *Section 9.2 Second World War context*). Thus, specific theoretical and practical aspects of building conservation[20] that are utilised today are products of the 'antiquarian approach' (Mydland and Grahn, 2012:575). By implication, they carry with them residual concepts and ideas that were specifically created and developed to originally address movable objects, conceived as important artworks – especially ideas relating to objectivity, aesthetics and expert authority (Winter, 2013:537). It is from these early activities between people and objects where notions of inherent value and expert knowledge also emerge (Smith, 2006:29), with individuals such as Cesare Brandi[21] helping to refine a conservation approach that focused on celebrating the inherent 'artistic' and 'aesthetic' values of historic buildings[22] (Muñoz Viñas, 2005:6, 68).

The strength of these ideas resulted in them becoming commonplace in art and conservation education during the late 20th century. For example, Janson's (1986:9) [1962] seminal text, *History of Art*, states art '…is meant to be looked at and appreciated for its intrinsic value'. These ideas naturally carried over into their conservation as well. Consider the Preface to Plenderleith's equally influential text *The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art*, which outlines the broad approach:

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[20] E.g. preservation, restoration, replication/ reconstruction.

[21] Cesare Brandi, historian and art critic (1906-1988).

[22] Brandi contributed towards the emergence of 'aesthetic' and 'artistic' values in relation to buildings – their 'visual unity'; as well as arguing for the 'legibility' of the conservation object in relation to accurately discerning the extent of the 'original' and any additive conservation works (Muñoz Viñas, 2002; Hassard, 2006). These principles emerged from the fundamentals of artwork conservation, which was influenced by his work *Teoria del restauro* (*Theory of Restoration*) (1963).

> *…to be able to appreciate and study the objects, it is usually necessary to clean, restore, and repair them, and always necessary to maintain a suitable environment which will ensure their stability whether in storage or on exhibition.*
>
> *(Plenderleith, 1969:vii)*

From this description, it is clear that the object of conservation becomes the centre of the framework, with various peripheral concerns, actions and objectives (such as their conservation, presentation and appreciation) all working together to achieve a stable, refined object, ready for admission into a 'collection' of heritage items (*Figure 20*). Plenderleith's text is noted by Jokilehto (2018:285) as pivotal in the development of the conservation of cultural heritage. Glendinning (2013:399) also notes it as a major source of inspiration for Sir Bernard Feilden[23], who later went on to write his own *magnum opus*, the *Conservation of Historic Buildings* (see Feilden, 2003) [1982] – a text that has remained a standard reference in both the education and practice of building conservation.

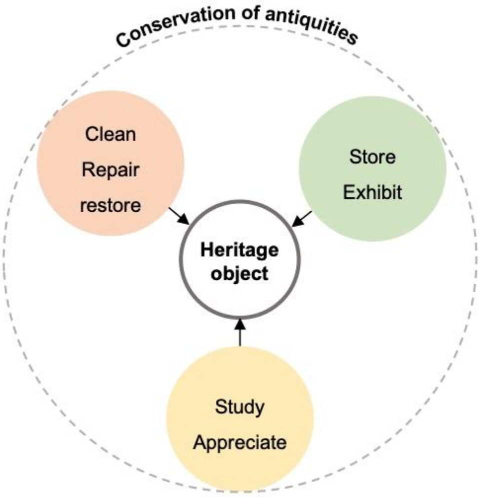

Figure 20 - Three factors governing the conservation of antiquities

Their conservation, their presentation, and their appreciation. After Plenderleith (1969)
Source: author original image

Embedded within these antiquarian roots, albeit more implicitly, are the existential fears and worries about life that ever ageing societies consequently impose upon the historic building stock (Winter, 2013:535; Kobialka, 2014:358–359). The view of historic things as finite and fragile (and thus in need of protection) is therefore critical to the theoretical underpinnings of built heritage conservation, with much speculation concerning the underlying reason(s) *why* we conserve. It may relate to a very human craving to care for something greater than ourselves (Holtorfand and Högberg, 2015:513). It could also relate to the Western understanding of time as linear and unrepeatable (Lowenthal, 2015:352), as it is through the passing of time that the majority of things deteriorate, grow old and ultimately disappear. Winter (2013:535) states an anxiety over heritage typically correlates with ageing societies, which suggests an association with the inherent mortality of human existence. Indeed, both Glendinning (2013:17) and DeSilvey (2017:158) note the predictable yet poetic parallel between the decay of buildings and the vulnerability of humanity. Certainly, if as Riegl (2006:73) [1903] stated, society recognises itself in buildings, then it is more likely that people will impose their own living state on buildings and see them as living things (Scott, 2008:64; Walter, 2014b:644; DeSilvey, 2017:167). From this perspective, it is not unrealistic to draw a parallel between the decay and destruction of listed buildings and the inevitable passing of people.

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[23] Sir Bernard Feilden CBE, conservation architect (1919-2008).

Undeniably, historic buildings are often personified in order to give them individual 'agency', 'character', and 'social lives' (Jones, 2009:140; Yarrow, 2018:332, 2019:14; Walter, 2020:30). This is especially prominent in architecture and building conservation literature, which promotes *the life* of a building as fundamental towards the understanding of its value and significance. For example, key texts speak of building's lives (Harris, 1999); living buildings (Insall, 2008); the lives of buildings (Hollis, 2009); the voices of buildings (Littlefield and Lewis, 2007); how buildings can learn (Brand, 1995); how buildings must die (Cairns and Jacobs, 2014); and so on. The notion of the building as a living thing, or social entity, is thus framed by the belief that heritage practitioners can perceive *a life*, *a character* and *a temperament* from old buildings. By inference, this also implies that it is also possible to address anything about the building that is life*less*, or 'out of character' (Yarrow, 2018:341, 2019:14). Yarrow (2018:332) relates 'character' to '…a complex of interlinked concepts, including "authenticity", "integrity" and "honesty"'. These very human qualities are often attributed to historic buildings either through their materials, such as the '"honesty" of brick' (Sennett, 2008:136); or form, like the personification of classical column orders (Graves, 1982:12; Groat and Wang, 2013:400). The use of anthropomorphism specifically within building conservation practice is a widespread and commonplace approach that goes some way towards justifying an objective conceptualisation of authenticity. Its lineage in terms of the *modern* conservation movement can be traced back to the writings of John Ruskin[24], who believed that by personifying buildings, we could use them to represent *ourselves* (Sennett, 2008:138; Yarrow, 2018:332) – the '…"good man's house" as a personification of the owner…' (Jokilehto, 2018:215). Part of this process is to impose a certain ethic on to the building – what could be described as a moral social code – which represents the collective virtues and standards of a particular society or culture (Di Betta, 2014:87). In doing so, it therefore becomes possible to attribute objective values to historic buildings by judging them against a set of shared social codes (Sennett, 2008:137; Yarrow, 2019:4). This is why Smith (2006:91) refers to anthropomorphism as a process of 'legitimisation' that the conservation sector uses to support the aforementioned traits of universality and inherent value.

It is this combination of existentialist fear and personification that helps buttress what DeSilvey (2017:166) refers to as an 'anxiety about impermanence'. This has underpinned Western conservation practices to date and manifests professionally through the act of building conservation – a term that is generally associated with the prevention of decay (Feilden, 2003:3). Harbison (1993:111) attributes the decay of buildings to what he calls a 'historical blind spot'. This refers to a moment in time when the social valuation of a building is low, which consequently increases the likelihood of it entering a period of abandonment and decay for an undetermined period of time (Muñoz Viñas, 2002:29; DeSilvey, 2017:91). There are several reasons why decay may occur. It could be because the building is perceived as 'inauthentic' due to a steady accumulation of smaller changes that occur over a long period of time (Brand, 1995:92; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:68). It could also be because its value is strategically diminished to facilitate more profitable development (Edensor, 2005:4; Orbaşli, 2008:9; Jones and Yarrow, 2013:11). Another reason may be that it simply does not function as a useful resource, which Earl (2003:9) states as being the most common reason for conserving historic buildings in the first place. Within the context of a Western building conservation ethos, the aversion to decay and erosion has become of paramount importance (Smith, 2006:286), hence why the majority of heritage legislation, guidance and professional guidelines in the UK are structured to address the inevitability of decay[25]. This subsequently informs a broad spectrum of technical building conservation processes which are explicitly focused on the understanding of decay in order to extend the lifespan of listed buildings as much as possible (Feilden, 2003:22). Accordingly, fundamental to the justification of these practices is the Western understanding of cultural memory being inherent within the genuine, original, unchanged state of the building (DeSilvey, 2006:326; Jokilehto, 2018:420; Boccardi, 2019:7).

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[24] John Ruskin, critic (1819-1900).

3.2.2 Authentic antiques

Preservation (in the non-North American sense of the word)[26] has been the philosophical approach by which this desired protection of the physical fabric of historic buildings has been achieved. Set against the backdrop of a newly industrialised and mechanised country, the building conservation movement gained traction both politically and socially within England through the works of Ruskin, William Morris[27] and the debates between conservation and restoration (Jokilehto, 2018:192). From the works of Ruskin comes the eventual creation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings[28] (hereafter the SPAB) by William Morris and others in 1877 (Forsyth, 2008:2). There is a clear lineage between the works of Ruskin and the SPAB, with both engaging in persuasive anti-restorative rhetoric – arguing instead for historic buildings to be passed on to the next generation in their *existing* state:

> *We have no right whatever to touch them. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us.*
>
> *(Ruskin, 2012) [1849]*

---

[25] For example, the National Planning Policy Framework clarifies that any proposals impacting the historic environment should '…set out a positive strategy for the conservation. . . of the historic environment. . . including heritage assets most at risk through neglect, [and] decay' (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:54).

[26] In North America, the word 'preservation' is used to describe what is called 'conservation' in the UK. Confusingly, the term 'preservation' is also used in the UK to define a particular approach to conservation - one that is primarily concerned with ensuring the historic building remains in its existing unaltered state (Feilden, 2003:9). Undeniably, conservation nomenclature is slippery at best.

[27] William Morris, designer (1834-1896).

[28] The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB). A society underpinned by the writings of John Ruskin.

> *…to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands; if it has become inconvenient for its present use, to raise another building rather than alter or enlarge the old one…*
>
> *(Morris and Webb, 1877) [the SPAB]*

A key aspect of their outlook in relation to conservation was the correlation created between the notion of 'authenticity' and 'patina', or how much one could (or should) have visual access to alteration and ageing (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:59; Scott, 2016:11; Gao and Jones, 2020:9). Similarly, from an architectural perspective in conservation, material repair choice is often informed by the need for it to weather and record the passage of time (Hassard, 2009a:282). It is this Ruskinian obsession with patina and its emphasis on material authenticity which has resulted in the very modern fetishization of heritage buildings as visual representations of the distinction between permanence and regeneration (Hassard, 2009a:271; Hosagrahar, 2012:77). An example of this is the conservation work undertaken at Rochester Cathedral, which unmistakably exemplifies the SPABian aesthetic (*Figure 21*).

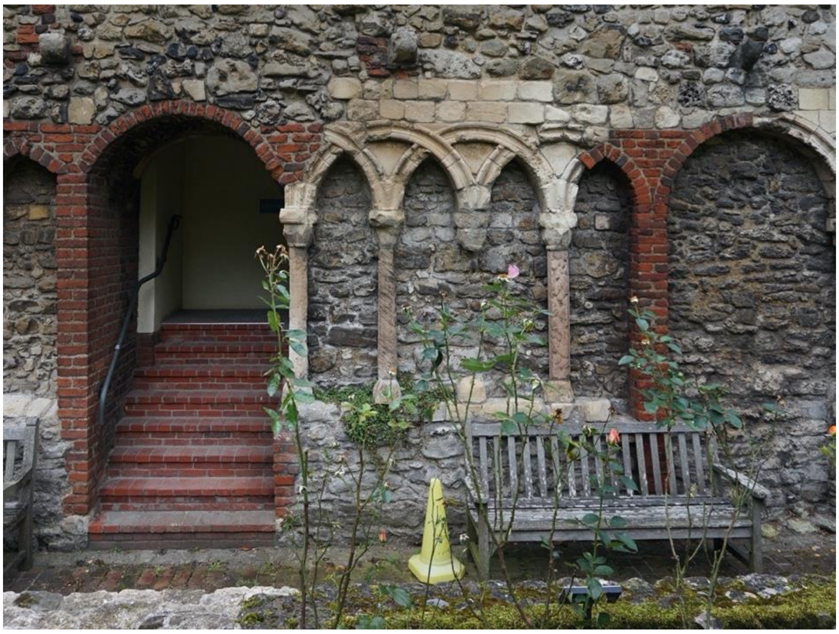

Figure 21 - The SPAB approach towards authenticity at Rochester Cathedral, UK

Source: author original image

At its simplest, what this aesthetic of distinctions represents is the passage of time. This is particularly desirable within a Western context, as old things are perceived as having more inherent value and scientific validity (Smith, 2006:285; Yarrow, 2018:1). As a result, the older the building is and the more it distinguishes between old and new, the more 'authentic' it is perceived to be (Labadi, 2010:70; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:xvii; Walter, 2020:212). This is in stark contrast to the opposing restorative approaches (covered in *Section 3.3.1 Genuine fakes*) which do not necessarily encourage this level of historical legibility between materials and modifications (Stone, 2019b:102). Hence why, within the lineage of the traditional Western preservationist approach, it is generally considered to be a method which damages the authenticity of historic buildings (Glendinning, 2013:117; Stone, 2019a:274). Indeed, Ruskin stated restoration was '…the most total destruction which a building can suffer. . . a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed…' (Ruskin, 2012) [1849].

Devoid of any formalised protective policy and legislation at the time of their formation[29], the approach taken by the SPAB consequently objectified buildings as 'antiques' – valorised for their physical archaeological qualities, yet disconnected from contemporary societal needs and uses (Scott, 2008:54; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:69; Orbaşli, 2017:159). Walter (2014b:644) believes the result of the SPAB's impact on conservation placed a heavy emphasis on the tangible domain of heritage, reducing it '…to a mere object from a hallowed past without creative impact in the present'. Certainly, as the movement was founded on the notion of limiting change (what Tiesdell, Oc and Heath (1996:1) call 'pickling') and grounded within the overarching Ruskinian ideal of 'truth' (Muñoz Viñas, 2002:25), the preservationist approach ultimately generated negative connotations towards change, by endorsing 'minimum intervention' as the only suitable approach if needing to work with an old building (Jones and Yarrow, 2013:11).

3.2.3 Positivist principles

From these origins of the modern conservation movement in the mid-19th century, the value of historic buildings has since been dominated by historic, scientific and aesthetic considerations which place an emphasis on the physical fabric of buildings and emphasise notions of permanence and continuity (Smith and Waterton, 2009:290; Jones, 2017:23). This approach is grounded in the ontology of buildings as the producers and possessors of objective value, meaning the process of conserving historic buildings is led by the material site and the inherent values extracted directly from its physical fabric (Jones and Yarrow, 2013:6; Pocock et al., 2015:962; Boccardi, 2019:7). There are a few reasons why this is very convenient for both built heritage professionals and the legislation within which they operate. Firstly, the physical building fabric gives *values* a tangible, recognisable quality that allows them to be clearly distinguished and categorised (Kearney, 2009:210; Öter, 2013:108). Secondly, it affords a static and stable interpretation of buildings being most valued when in their original form (Tait and While, 2009:734). Lastly, perceiving value as inherent within a building means any assessment of this value will (at least in in theory) yield the same results, regardless of who is assessing it. Jones and Yarrow (2013:6) emphasise the inherent objectivity of this perspective, labelling it a 'positivist approach' to conservation theory. The implications of this approach are clear – heritage is about tangible products that generally hold the same meaning to all (a universal meaning). Byrne (2009:243) notes an inherent 'gravitational pull' within this approach that moves conservation towards a universal global scale, with heritage assets forced to work within nationalistic understandings of significance. This generates a hierarchy of significance which places buildings of local[30] importance at the bottom of the heritage hierarchy; buildings of national importance in the middle; and buildings of universal importance at the top (see Dolff-Bonekämper and Blower, 2012:279). As the universal scale increases, so does the level of interest and protection provided, leaving local heritage receiving less attention and protection by legislation (Mydland and Grahn, 2012). The universal model has been highlighted as not only favouring physical sites but also sites that represent a particular industrialised Western past (Skounti, 2009:79). This hierarchy of protection reflects what Régis Debray has referred to as *l'abus monumental* (the monumental abuse) (Skounti, 2009:79), which is the use of physical heritage as a means to produce national and official forms of memory (Skounti, 2009:79; Kowalski, 2012:309). Yet the race towards the global is not exclusive to the era of the modern conservation movement, with a lineage traceable from antiquarian and French revolutionary concepts[31] (Glendinning, 2013:71).

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[29] The first Act, the Ancient Monuments Act, was only introduced in 1882 – five years after the formation of the SPAB.

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[30] The term 'local' is used as per the definition by Skounti (2009:76) – 'a territory owned as much individually as collectively by a community'.

[31] For example, Glendinning highlights the possession of obelisks from Egypt by Augustus, and post-Revolution France's appropriation of the antiquities of Rome, as being major turning points in heritage perception – paving the way for a more 'nationalistic' and 'universal' ownership of heritage.

As already indicated within introductory *Section 1.1 Research context,* the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964) was instrumental in developing this more globalised, transnational conservation approach. This is clear from its opening sentence regarding its interest in '…the historic monuments of generations of people' and '…the unity of human values' (ICOMOS, 1964:1). Smith (2006:29) labels this Western monumental and positivist approach the 'authorized heritage discourse' (hereafter AHD) which has been further expanded by Smith and Akagawa (2009b):

> *This AHD [authorised heritage discourse] not only defines heritage as material, monumental and nationally significant but also privileges the heritage of elite classes.*
>
> *(Smith and Akagawa, 2009b:7)*

A consequence of illuminating this dominant heritage discourse has been the comparatively recent proposition that instead suggests '…heritage only becomes "heritage" when it is recognisable within a particular set of cultural or social values' (Smith and Akagawa, 2009b:6). This alternative perspective is heavily cited across literature that grapples with ICH, critical heritage studies and the integration of people and communities within heritage processes (ICH is explored in more detail within *Chapter 4 – Intangible cultural heritage and the UK*).

The undercurrent of early preservationist ideals and the resulting AHD that Smith outlines within heritage and conservation has had two primary implications in the UK. The first is the heritage sector focussing almost exclusively on the conservation of material architectural and archaeological sites; and the second is the historical lack of interaction and engagement between listed buildings and communities of interest[32] (Byrne, 2009:243). Whilst the first point is evident, the second point raised by Byrne is more dependent upon the actual conservation approach employed at a particular site. For example, the encasement of Sueno's Stone, a 9th century Class III cross-slab in Scotland, undoubtedly aligns with Byrne's viewpoint (*Figure 22*).

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[32] This echoes Kreps (2009:194) description of traditional museological thinking which focusses more on material culture and objects, rather than on people, their socio-cultural practices and cultural expressions.

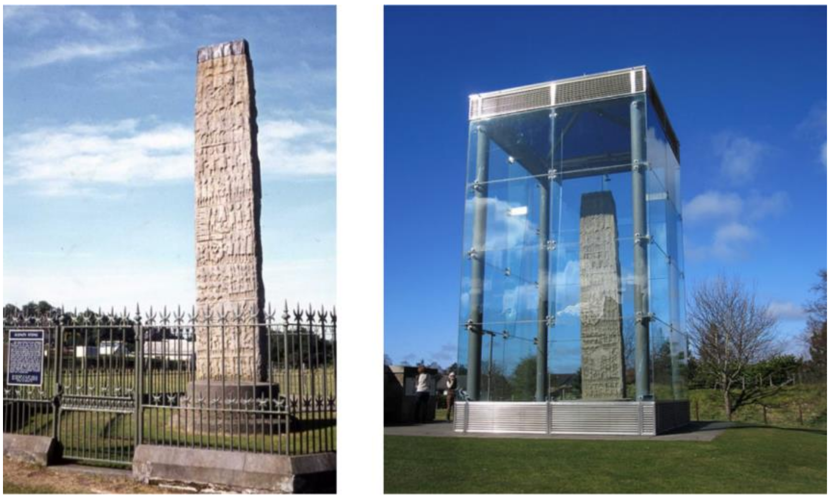

Figure 22 - Sueno’s Stone, Scotland, comparison pre/ post encasement

Left photo: Elliot Simpson (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Suenos_Stone_(geograph_3893688).jpg

Right photo: Nairnbairn (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/nairnbairn/15902133738

Sheltered within a glass and metal housing in the early 1990s to halt decay and vandalism, it is treated like a museum object housed in a glass cabinet – a piece of history untouchable by the public. Though its material integrity as an authentic historical record may be intact, arguably a level of meaning and interpretation has been lost through the implementation of this approach, regardless of how well preserved the stone may be. The degree of historical authenticity that the stone possesses must also be questioned. As a pure historical record, it is accurate up until the point at which it was encased. However, from the point of encasement onwards, it has been significantly impacted by a manmade intervention and an artificial environmental climate. It is perhaps more authentic as a historiographical record, as it serves to embody the attitudes of mid-1990s society in relation to its preservation. By contrast, the extreme approaches taken at the ruins of Old Hamar Cathedral, Norway (*Figure 23*), or the Hill House, Scotland (*Figure 24*), are still both very much concerned with protecting the physicality of heritage, but interestingly also offer new ways and means for society to engage with these heritage assets. As such, it is likely that building conservation methods have a significant role to play in working towards the destabilisation of the AHD.

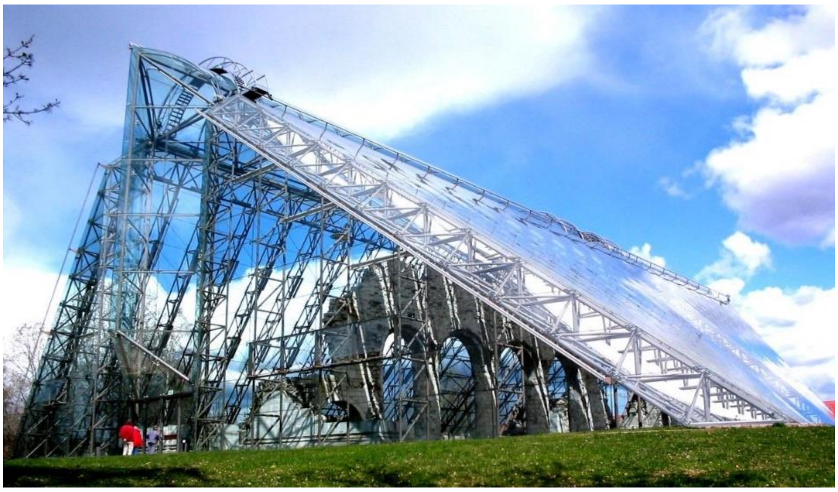

Figure 23 - Old Hamar Cathedral, Norway, complete with protective glass structure

Photo: Torstein Frogner (CC BY-SA 3.0)
Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4e/Domkirkeruinene-Hamar.jpg

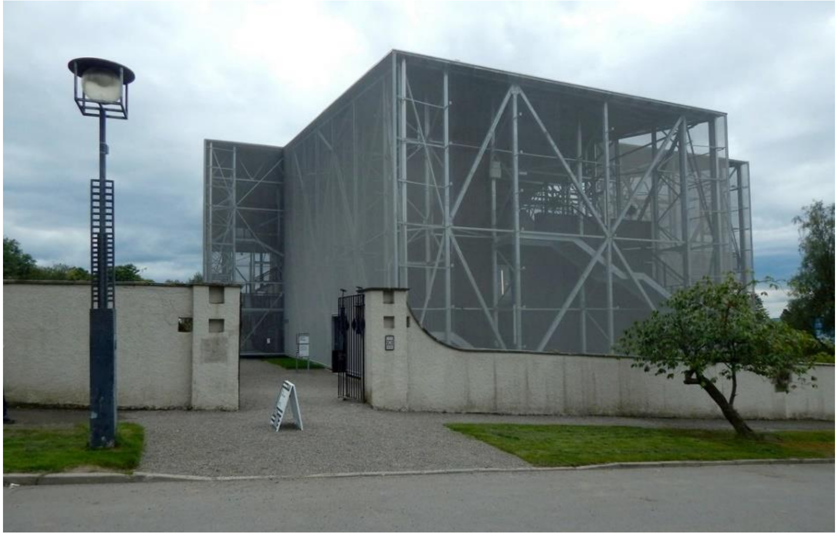

Figure 24 - The Hill House and protective Box, Helensburgh, Scotland

Photo: Lairich Rig (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.geograph.org.uk/more.php?id=6200046

3.3 Evolving perspectives on built heritage

3.3.1 Genuine fakes

Shifting attention to the opposing side of the 19th century conservation debate, restoration is understood as returning a building to a previous state (Muñoz Viñas, 2005:17; Orbaşli, 2008:50). For historic buildings, most commonly the previous state that is selected is the one that is perceived to best represent the original architectural conception of the building, meaning restoration is often associated with a desire for architectural perfection (Earl, 2003:57; Feilden, 2003:9; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:67). Glendinning (2013:78) describes restoration as '…a hypothetical original artistic integrity, an ideal essence, which must be deduced and recovered from the present state'. However, this is not necessarily limited to the building in its totality (or its 'unity'), with Scott (2008:63) highlighting how smaller works of maintenance and making good often require at least a partial return to a previous condition (e.g. a small stone indent)[33] (*Figure 25*).

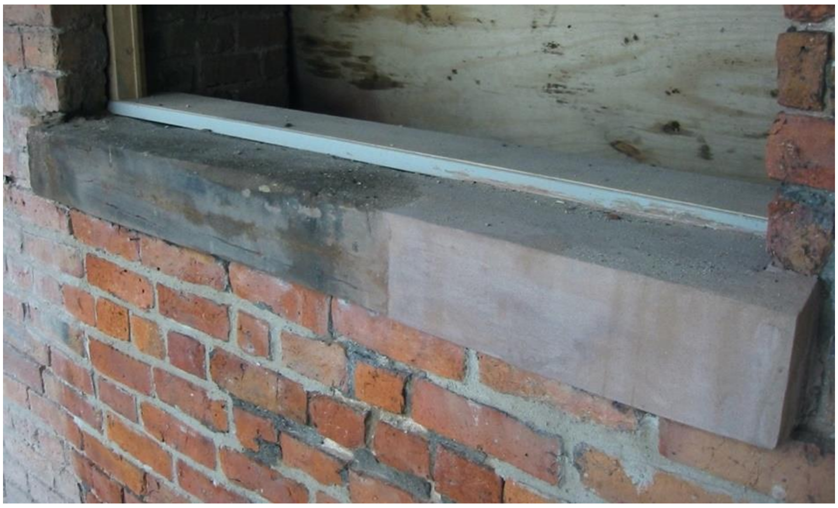

Figure 25 - Isolated sandstone repair at Murrays' Mills, Manchester. A 'restored' sill?

Photo: Jonathan Davis (all rights reserved; permission of use granted)

Hassard (2009b:149–150) posits restoration can be achieved in two principal ways: a 'subtracting from' sense and an 'adding to' sense. For the former – the 'subtracting from' – any subsequent changes to a building across time, whether natural or manmade, are removed or reversed (Jones and Yarrow, 2013:15). This is most notably exemplified by the 19th century habit for 'scraping'[34] historic buildings to remove signs of wear, age and handling, in order to return them to a stylistic unity[35] (Forsyth, 2008:3; Hassard, 2009a:274). For the latter – the 'adding to' – which is often employed in response to damage and decay, this naturally must involve the practice of copying, or imitation – ranging from the copying of minor details, through to more extreme cases of imitation like at the city of Warsaw, Poland[36], or the Frauenkirche in Dresden (*Figure 26*).

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[33] Scott (2008:63) makes the further proposition that much of what is classified as 'conservation' is actually 'continuous restoration'. The slippery nature of conservation nomenclature continues.

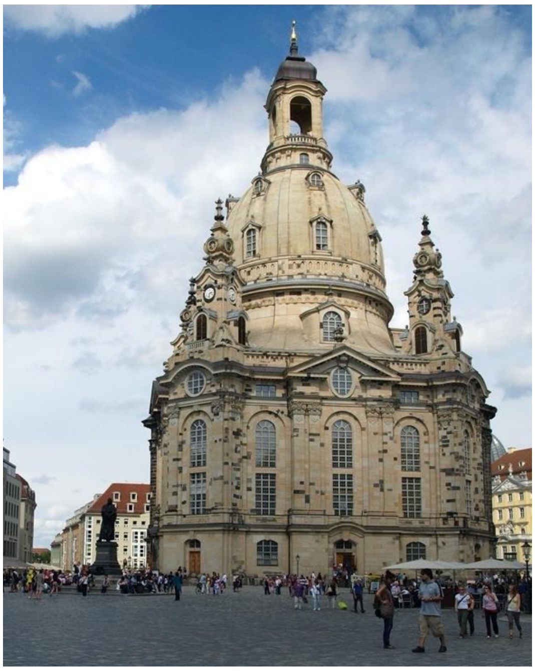

Figure 26 - The large-scale reconstruction of the Frauenkirche in Dresden

Source: Sally Stone (all rights reserved; permission of use granted)

To figures such as Ruskin, the philosophical approach of restoration encouraged a technical method that catastrophically damaged the 'authenticity' of historic buildings through a lack of legibility between original and restored building elements (Glendinning, 2013:117). Yet copying and reproducing things has long been an integral aspect of human learning and development (Benjamin, 1969:2; Lowenthal, 2015:156; Jokilehto, 2018:424). For objects in museum settings, the production of replicas can have both a utilitarian and aesthetic function (Barassi, 2007:2). For historic buildings, copying can further lend itself as a tactic for intervention strategies (Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:31), as well as a means to learn relevant craft skills through 'imitation of procedure' (Sennett, 2008:58). Even Ruskin himself acknowledged that copying has its merits in relation to documentary evidence (see Vaccaro, 1996:310)[37]. The action of copying (or imitation) can also assist in transmitting the cultural values of 'tradition-based creations' to future generations (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004:54). This could be in relation to the re-enactment of skills through the physical act of copying (Hassard, 2009b:156); sustaining values and standards that reflect a particular social identity (Lenzerini, 2011:105); or supporting the reproduction of specific social practices (see Askew, 2010:36). Hassard (2009b:151) further suggests the restoration of buildings should be redefined as a 'dynamic cultural practice', which means the building fabric is altered to facilitate an experience or expression of the past in the present through contemporary practices. Similarly, on the authenticity of historic buildings, Jones and Yarrow (2013:24) describe it as '…a distributed property that emerges through the interaction between people and things'. What these fresh perspectives on restoration and authenticity have in common is how they challenge the notion of the historic building as the source of value – instead redefining it within '…constructs of the present, products of particular cultural contexts and specific regimes of meaning' (Jones and Yarrow, 2013:6). Put simply, the value of physical heritage and therefore its perceived authenticity is a creation of contemporary society (Glendinning, 2013:424) – and consequently becomes an evolving and dynamic concept.

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[34] Hence the 19th century '*Anti*-Scrape Movement'.

[35] This approach removed outer aged surfaces to generate newer smoother surfaces, which not only distorted the features of buildings but also removed all signs of wear, age and handling (Hassard, 2009a:274).

[36] This example could also be classified as 'reconstruction', which is often used interchangeably with restoration (Orbaşli, 2008:50; Stanley-Price, 2009:33). Yet more evidence of slippery conservation nomenclature.

It is relevant to consider these contemporary understandings of restoration in relation to the traditional restoration ideology of the instrumental 19th century architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc[38], who was a key individual in relation to the methodological development of historic building restoration and reconstruction (Cocola-Gant, 2019). The key principles of his 'total restoration' philosophy were described as: retention of valued features; increasing the lifespan of the building; strengthening the building by use of contemporary materials or processes; and keeping the building in active use (Viollet-le-Duc, 1996:316–317) [1854]. Whilst at the other end of the binary debate, preservation has been criticised for disconnecting buildings from contemporary societal needs (see Scott, 2008:54; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:69), what is clear from Viollet-le-Duc's description of restoration is the desire to *engage* with contemporary life through the restoration process. This is both in terms of utilising modern technologies/ materials (Hassard, 2009a:282), as well as seeking to ensure the building is practically useful for contemporary society[39] (Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:10). Perhaps more critical within his philosophy is the idea that a restoration project does *not* necessarily seek a historically accurate original state. Instead, it seeks an idealised 'essence' or 'atmosphere' of authenticity for the benefit of present-day societies (see Lewi, 2008:150; Glendinning, 2013:91). By focussing on an authentic essence, restoration can therefore bypass the binary views of traditional/ modern; real/ fake; authentic/ inauthentic, as it becomes inconsequential as to whether the final restored state is historically accurate or not (see Viollet-le-Duc, 1990:314) [1854]. A famous example of this is his controversial restoration of Notre Dame's Western façade, for which he was heavily criticised at the time for introducing imagined features (see Reiff, 1971:17) (*Figure 27*).

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[37] Ruskin specifically acknowledged the reconstruction of St. Paul's Basilica Outside the Walls as a respectable example (Jokilehto, 2009:130).

[38] A notable proponent of restoration practice (1814-1879) (French), along with George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878) (English).

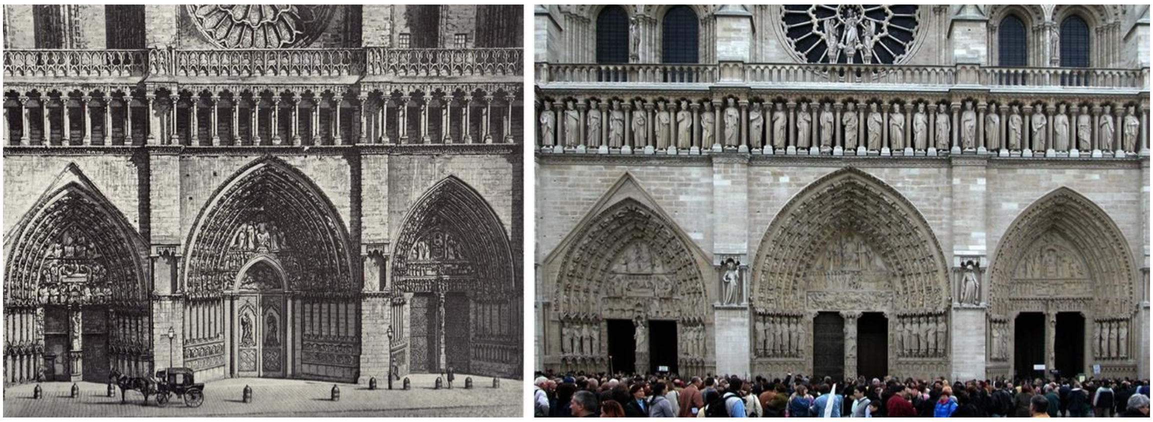

Figure 27 - Notre Dame Western facade portals comparison pre/ post restoration

Left photo: lithograph from before 1860 (public domain, no licence required)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ND_de_Paris_les_portails_avant_restauration.jpg

Right photo: Richard Nilson (all rights reserved; permission of use granted)
Source: https://richardnilsendotcom1.files.wordpress.com/2017/05/ndp-before-and-after.jpg

Certainly, imagination is a key aspect of restoration, with Viollet-le-Duc asking the architect to '…put oneself in the place of the original architect and try to imagine what he would do'

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[39] This was subsequently reflected in the Athens Charter (ICOMOS, 1931) and its preceding 1904 Madrid Conference, both of which advocated for the functional use of historic buildings in contemporary life (Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:1).

(Viollet-le-Duc, 1996:318) [1854]. Idealised restorations such as this can be further framed within Boughey's (2013:30) description of the 'Golden Age', which talks of the restoration of a 'spirit' which can be summoned to help understand both the present and the future. A completed restoration of a building can therefore be considered as either a change to instigate a perceived reversal to said Golden Age (quite commonly the idealised moment of conception); or a change that contributes to the next evolving chapter in the 'ongoing narrative' that a building plays out across time (see Walter, 2014b:647). These opposing sentiments are what Muñoz Viñas (2005:208) describes as the 'tautological argument' of restoration, whereby the true history of the building is at odds with the present-day development of the building, which paradoxically *also* becomes history itself through the passing of time. Herein lies the root of the issue. Does an original, honest and authentic approach towards building conservation relate to the safeguarding of a particular time, place and style; or conversely does it refer to the ability to represent the full scope of its development across time, including contemporary society (Yarrow, 2019:4) (*Figure 28*)?

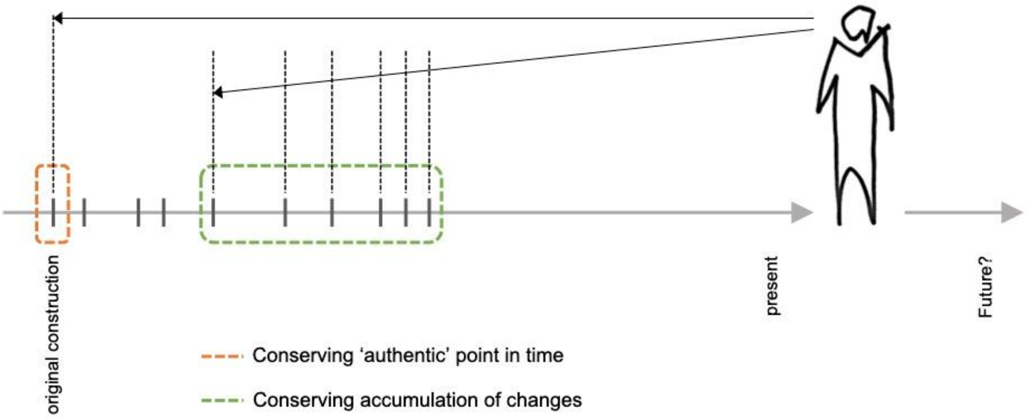
original construction
present
Future?
Conserving 'authentic' point in time
Conserving accumulation of changes

Figure 28 - Conservation as refinement or accumulation?

Should building conservation prioritise the safeguarding of a specific, 'authentic' point in time (orange)?
Or conversely, should it safeguard an accumulation of changes across time (green)?
Source: author original image

Conventionally this dilemma is centred around matters of material 'super-honesty' (the risk that individuals may feel fooled or cheated by the building if the history of its architecture is misinterpreted) (Earl, 2003:108). Hence why Muñoz Viñas (2005:91) refers to traditional conservation theory as a 'truth-enforcement operation'. Yet this becomes significantly less relevant (or less *absolute*) when heritage is instead thought of as a process or production

(Harvey, 2001:320; Skounti, 2009:75). However, whilst viewing heritage in this way encourages evolution and change to be more fundamental to the existence of built heritage, it does not clarify or determine the criteria for change. It is also a far cry from the aforementioned 19th century tenets from which the understanding of heritage in the UK has evolved, resulting in built heritage practice being caught between the foundations of its understanding (preserving the authentic material evidence of buildings) and the direction that contemporary heritage literature is now taking (buildings as representative of changing values) (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004:58).

3.3.2 Hyperreality and negotiation

The contemporary understanding of heritage is perhaps best understood and articulated through the lens of UNESCO's *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, which defines heritage as being '…constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment. . . and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity…' (UNESCO, 2003:2) (ICH is explored in more detail within *Chapter 4 – Intangible cultural heritage and the UK*, and the Convention itself in *Chapter 5 – Immateriality and change in policy and guidance*). When understanding heritage exclusively from the perspective of the 2003 Convention, heritage as a practice shifts focus from buildings to processes by acknowledging it as a product of various economic, political and societal factors (Harvey, 2001:320; Skounti, 2009:75). It is perhaps unsurprising then that Glendinning (2013:424) describes intangible heritage as 'radical', as at its core it disrupts the dominant idea that authenticity only relates to originality (as outlined in *Section 1.1 Research context*).

This re-evaluation of authenticity builds on earlier assertions by the *The Nara Document on Authenticity* (hereafter the Nara Document) (ICOMOS, 1994) that themes of *authenticity* and *truth* are dependent upon both the specific case and culture within which they are situated (Barassi, 2007:4; Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:5; Lenzerini, 2011:113; García-Esparza, 2019:132) (also refer to *Section 5.8 Diversity of heritage* which covers the Nara Document). As Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman (2009) explain:

> *The Nara Document also permitted authenticity to be judged not simply in terms of an original, from which later states were understood to be mere copies (and thus inauthentic), but measured instead by the meaning attributed to an object or monument.*
>
> *(Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:6)*

Despite critique that the Nara Document is ultimately underpinned by traditional criteria in relation to authenticity (see Jones, 2010:186), it nonetheless goes some way towards enforcing the postmodern idea that '…the meaning and value of an object, even if it is "inauthentic", a copy or a replica, will depend on public perception' (Jokilehto, 2009:133). For example, Michael Petzet (quoted in Falser (2008:129)) posits a reconstruction of a monument can *become* authentic simply by transmitting an 'authentic message'. The trajectory of this idea is that a copy (or an imitation) could be just as *authentic* – or perhaps even *more* authentic – than the original from which it was copied, providing the ideological and political setting facilitates its legitimacy (Leresche, 2019:138). This is especially potent within a postmodern heritage paradigm, where distinctions between original/ copy, and representation/ reality, can legitimately break down (Cohen, 2007:77; Steiner, 2010:245), and copies can accumulate their own value across time (Barassi, 2007:3).

Exploring this trajectory even further, Jean Baudrillard's[40] (1994) [1981] theory of hyperreality is highly applicable in relation to the restoration of historic buildings. Though there is no agreement on its exact meaning, it is generally understood to refer to a lack of distinction between what is original and what is copy, which results in an indistinguishable hotchpotch of real and fake (or even imaginary) phenomena[41] (Goulding, 1998:848; Labadi, 2010:79; Steiner, 2010:245; Proto, 2020:69). Connected to this is the concept of 'simulacra', which refers to three levels of copying (or three versions of imitation), which become increasingly hyperreal (Rickly-Boyd, 2012:273; Lovell, 2018:181). These are: first-order simulacrum (imitation), second-order simulacrum (reproduction) and third-order simulacrum (hyperreal) (Steiner, 2010:245; Lovell, 2018:184). There is a body of work that explores the postmodern themes of hyperreality and simulacra in relation to the restoration of architectural heritage (Lewi, 2008; Labadi, 2010; Steiner, 2010; Lovell, 2018; Cocola-Gant, 2019); and within this, further links have been made specifically between the theory of hyperreality and Viollet-le-Duc's 'total restoration' philosophy (see Lewi, 2008; Cocola-Gant, 2019). For Example, Lewi (2008) suggests the closeness of original and copy that is achieved via the practice of restoration defines a restored building as a 'hyperreal simulacrum':

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[40] Jean Baudrillard, cultural theorist/ philosopher (1929-2007).

[41] An early example of this concept in practice are the landscape 'follies' of the 18th century, which were built to entertain and move the viewer by pretending to be something authentic from the past (Sadler, 1999:75; Darlington, 2020:94).

> *Jean Baudrillard defines hyper-reality as this very condition in which the real has been engulfed [by] its very simulation; the two become one and the same, as simulation threatens the detection of the differences between "the true and the false", "the real and the imaginary", "the authentic and the inauthentic". Can it be concluded that this state of contemporary hyper-reality as exemplified in major heritage sites is the direct legacy Violet-le-Duc's conservation ideals? No not directly however the simulacrum becomes all the more palpable when the real and its copy ultimately come too close to each other.*
>
> *(Lewi, 2008:158)*

In relation to the adaptation of architectural heritage, Plevoets and Cleempoel (2019:32) similarly refer to three strategies of intervention called *translatio*, *imitatio*, and *aemulatio* (after Pigman III (1980) and Lowenthal (2015:157) [1985])[42]. Though no direct link to Baudrillard is made, there is a resemblance between the tripartite classifications in terms of a spectrum that demonstrates an increasing blurring of boundaries between original and copy (*Table 6*).

Table 6 - Comparison of three orders of simulacra and built heritage intervention strategies

Source: after Baudrillard (1994) and Plevoets and Cleempoel (2019)

Type	**Description**
First-order (imitation) *Translatio*	A direct copy that is distinguishable as a copy *Imitation with licence (creativity)*
Second-order (reproduction) *Imitatio*	Identical reproduction that is hard to distinguish *Subtle and selective copying, with harmony between orignal and copy*
Third-order (hyperreality) *Aemulatio*	Imitation of reality that blurs original (authentic) and copy (inauthentic) *Improving the original, hard to distinguish between old and new*

Moving across the three levels, from first to third order, the legibility between original and copy weakens and the boundary between fact and fantasy becomes increasingly vague. In one sense, the third-order/ aemulatio is almost *too* authentic – a version of the past that becomes superior to reality through the re-creation of an idealised essence[43] (Cohen,

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[42] Looking further afield, a similar tripartite classification of 'emulation, competition and homage' has also been applied to music studies (see Brown, 1982).

[43] Echoing Boughey's (2013) aforementioned 'golden age'.

2007:78; Falser, 2008:130). In another sense, the copy becomes *more real* than the original, as it not only supersedes it but offers a *new* ‘reality’, rooted in the boundless realms of idealisation and fantasy (Lovell, 2018:183; Cocola-Gant, 2019:124). This is why some scholars state this degree of imitation ‘precedes reality’ (Steiner, 2010:245; Lovell, 2018:184; also Proto, 2020:88); and hence the emergence of the paradoxical terms ‘genuine fake’[44] and ‘authentic reproduction’ (see Cohen, 2007:77). Thus, despite these hyperreal copies having no actual origin or archetype (see Baudrillard, 1994:1), they nonetheless have the ability to manufacture a greater public fascination of built heritage sites, by decreasing reliance on factual representation and offering a more intense emotional experience of ‘essence’ and ‘aura’ (Wells, 2007:5; Jokilehto, 2009:133; Rickly-Boyd, 2012:273; Harrison, 2013:88; Pearce and Mohammadi, 2018:72; Rickly and Vidon, 2018:5). Yet equally, this level of hyperreality can also result in an excessively sanitised condition that can clash rather heavy-handedly with the spirit of place (for example, see Stone’s (2017:307) explanation of the reused C-Mine Cultural Centre, Belgium).

The shift in emphasis from material fact to personal experience that hyperreality characterises is representative of a much broader shift ‘…from the conservation of truth to the conservation of meanings in contemporary conservation. . . [which] is increasingly becoming a **process of negotiation**’ (Orbaşli, 2017:163 bold added)[45]. This is far from compatible with the prevailing conception of authenticity as *objective* (already outlined within *Section 1.1 Research context*). Instead, it echoes one of the most relevant concepts that underpins an *existentialist* interpretation of authenticity, which is the notion that authenticity is a subjective and dynamic quality. An individual cannot be always authentic, nor can there be a static concept of an authentic self that one can gradually aspire towards (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006:302; Su, 2018:923). As Detmer (2008:141) explains from the perspective of French novelist-philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre:

> *…our inescapable freedom carries with it the consequence that we never arrive, can never rest, can never coincide with ourselves. We cannot stop exercising our freedom. So our values must also always be dynamic, never static. . . The value lies in the doing, and not in the arriving at a permanent stopping point.*

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[44] The term ‘genuine fake’ was originally coined by Brown (1996).

[45] Hence why Muñoz Viñas (2005:212) refers to conservation as ‘…a trading zone, and not a laboratory or classroom’.

Authenticity for the existentialists is thus not a static 'value' that can be attributed to the physical fabric of historic buildings; rather, it is the ongoing process of *conveying* values in some way (Su, 2018:924), which would mean historic building authenticity must also evolve in direct correlation with societal change. For individuals, this implies that there exists an imperative to learn more about oneself (and thus become a more authentic individual) through the ongoing experience of life (the 'doing'). For built heritage, Gao and Jones (2020:14) refer to this as the 'experience of authenticity', and describe it as '…the unfolding relations between people and "old things" over time, with particular attention to present and future relations'. For them, the authenticity of self and authenticity of objects are brought together through contemporary negotiations of authenticity (also see Le et al., 2019:260; Gao and Jones, 2020). Hence the term *negotiated authenticity*, which refers to the relationship(s) *between* the material (tangible) and immaterial (intangible) (Jones, 2010:195; Su, 2018:920) (*Figure 29*).

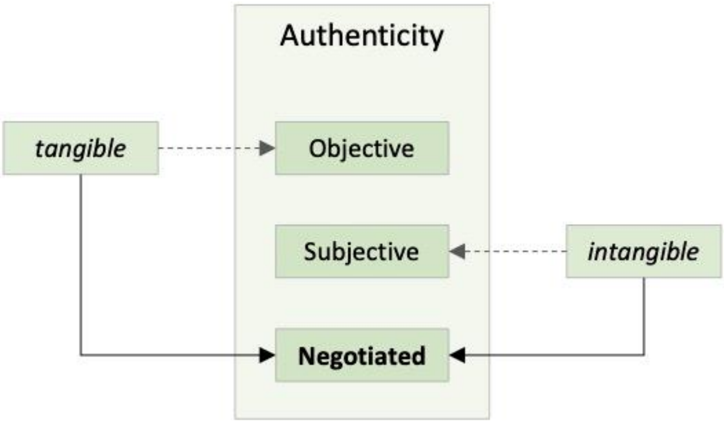

Figure 29 - Negotiated authenticity (transcending the tangible-intangible heritage binary)

Source: author original image

Negotiated authenticity places an enhanced focus on secular societal rituals and performances as methods to actively seek out authenticity (Rickly-Boyd, 2012:272), making it not only a subjective quality of self-making, but also an inherently creative activity involving various people, stakeholders, places and value judgements[46] (Jones, 2010:195; García-Almeida, 2019:411). Accordingly, negotiated authenticity works on the existentialist premise that it is possible to *produce* authenticity in some way – whether that be through our personal ever-changing perceptual and psychological interpretations of the built environment, or through the social interactions and experiences that individuals (re)negotiate in particular places – in conjunction with specific people, objects and buildings.

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[46] The term theoplacity is also used, which is concerned with a dimension of authenticity that seeks compromise between existentialist authenticity (subjective) and objective authenticity (Chhabra, 2012:499; Le et al., 2019:260).

3.3.3 Tradition, originality and change

As has already been highlighted within this chapter, *change* is quite often the main cause of concern when considering conservation and adaptation approaches – whether that be through natural or manmade actions. To address the inescapability of change, conservation in England is now defined as '…the process of managing change' (Historic England, 2008:22), as opposed to previous connotations related to halting or avoiding change altogether (Scott, 2008:54; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:69). As such, conservation is increasingly seen as a method to '…provide new experiential value and create new narratives for individuals and society' (Harney, 2017:151). Feilden (2003:8–12) notes no less than seven degrees of potential change to historic buildings, ranging from preservation through to full reconstruction works[47] (*Figure 30*). Brooker and Stone (2004) build on this by including 'remodelling' (or 'adaptation'), which they describe as follows:

> *Remodelling is the process of wholeheartedly altering a building. The function is the most obvious change, but other alterations may be made to the building itself. . . [and] sometimes two of the methods may be employed in unison.*
>
> *(Brooker and Stone, 2004:11)*

In this sense, adaptation can involve a variety of philosophical and technical methods by which to achieve the desired result, which can subsequently blur distinctions between the various degrees of intervention. As such, it has the capability to distance itself from traditional dogmatic principles. In the same way conservation has its own set of broad typologies (typically anchored to levels of impact on historic fabric), adaptation also has its own series of strategic classifications, namely: 'intervention', 'insertion' and 'installation' (Brooker and Stone, 2004:79)[48].

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[47] 1. Prevention of deterioration (or indirect conservation); 2. Preservation; 3. Consolidation (or direct conservation); 4. Restoration; 5. Rehabilitation; 6. Reproduction; 7. Reconstruction.

[48] Conversely, Scott calls adaptation 'alteration', which he splits into two categories: 'surface' and 'spatial' (see Scott, 2008:92).

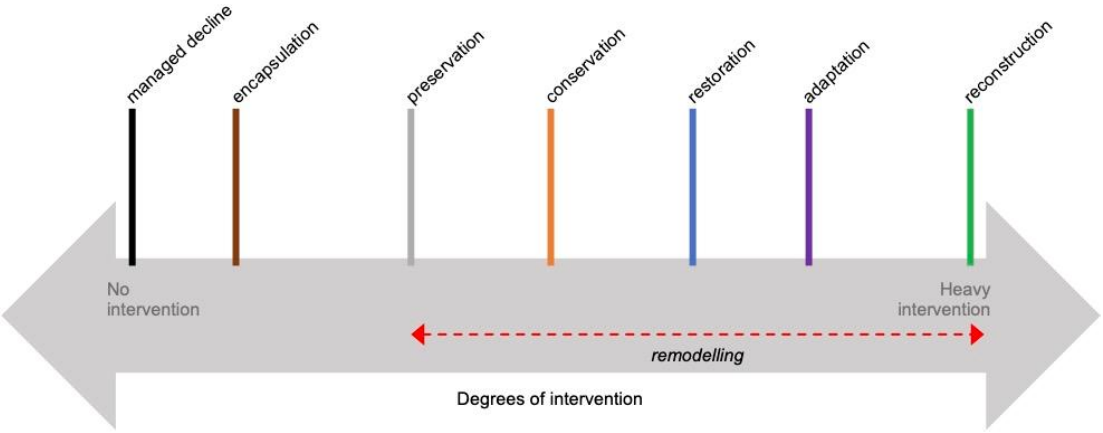

Figure 30 - Various degrees of intervention when working with historic buildings

An amalgam of Feilden (2003); Insall (2008); Brooker and Stone (2018) and DeSilvey (2017)
Source: author original image

Buckley (2019:62) highlights how in general the spectrum of conservation processes has changed very little over the past century, and suggests an intangible outlook (and all it brings in relation to the reconceptualization of heritage as a process) may help in expanding its methodological scope. This has already been implicitly evidenced by DeSilvey (2017:16,188) who has more recently promoted ‘managed decline’ or ‘entropic heritage practice’ as a means of both decentralising the material fabric and celebrating the dynamic and ever-evolving nature of historic buildings. Managed decline challenges the dominant relationship between decay and value, by encouraging ‘…ways of valuing the material past that do not necessarily involve accumulation and preservation’ (DeSilvey, 2017:17)[49]. There are other studies that conceptualise buildings and heritage as dynamic and ever-changing – whether as cultural events (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; DeSilvey, 2017:29); as moving entities (Latour and Yaneva, 2008); as manifestations of evolving communities (Walter, 2020:101); as ever-changing material and social hybrids (Djabarouti, 2020a); or indeed, as containers of intangible heritage (Skounti, 2009:83). Accordingly, these approaches can be seen as indicative of the recent (albeit implicit) shift in Western heritage policy and practices towards a more intangible conception of heritage (see Harrison, 2013:86; Djabarouti, 2020b).

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[49] A ‘managed decline’ approach is theoretically aligned with ‘the cult of the fragment’, or Alois Riegl’s ‘cult of age value’. It entails a particular way of perceiving decay, which turns its negative qualities into positive aesthetic and natural developments in the life of a building (Harbison, 1993:102; Riegl, 2006:73).

To understand material sites – particularly historic and listed buildings – in a more dynamic way like this, their interpretation would need to consider not just the chronological accumulation of any changes, but in what way these changes also maintain a continuity of heritage (tangible or intangible) across time. The application of UNESCO's (2003) description of ICH to the alteration of tangible heritage assets supports an understanding of historic and listed buildings as '…constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history' (UNESCO, 2003:2). From this perspective, changes to historic buildings are better interpreted as a collection of (re)tellings (Hollis, 2009:13) – or 're-creations' – by frontier societies. Certainly, present-day building conservation guidance concedes that change is not only inevitable but can be positively reinterpreted as the representative mark of frontier societies (see Historic England, 2008:22).

Exploring this concept further, the aforementioned notion of intangible heritage being 'constantly recreated' is especially relevant. This refers to the ability for ICH to adapt to societal changes. When applied to physical heritage, this problematises traditional notions of historic buildings maintaining a fixed authenticity (Skounti, 2009:78; Lenzerini, 2011:108). Within Western built heritage and architectural practices, research suggests that this concept of constant re-creation is most compatible with a temporal understanding of tradition, which balances the creation of something new in the present with a deep connection to and respect for the past (for example, see Pallasmaa, 2012b:15; Jencks, 2016; Frost, 2017:263; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:99). This is what UNESCO (2005:2), in quoting Igor Stravinsky, describes as '…a living force that enlivens and nourishes the present'. Of course, it goes without saying that this dynamic conception of tradition is in stark contrast to the rigid traditionalistic views of conservation that are rooted in 19th century ideology (Pallasmaa, 2012b:15; Lowenthal, 2015:92–93). To be explicit, this is a completely different understanding of tradition than that of the 'traditionalists' (Lowenthal, 2015:92–93). This is not a presumption that things should remain as they are, or that progress distances society from its roots. Nor is it a form of 'regressive traditionalism' that is defined by practices of conservatism or nostalgia (Pallasmaa, 2012b:15). Instead, it is the understanding of tradition as a tool to create something new in the present, which is enhanced by a position within a rich continuity of historicity

(Pallasmaa, 2012b:15; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:99). As Jencks (2016) remarks, this conception of tradition allows '…the novel variation to be introduced, in order to keep the past alive and revalued'.

T. S. Eliot's[50] often-cited essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' (1928) is a highly influential and frequently utilised piece of literature within architectural theory (for example, see Venturi, 1977:13; Ballantyne, 2002:33; Pallasmaa, 2012b:18; Frost, 2017:262; Grafe, 2018:49). It communicates a message with regards to tradition that is highly comparable to a more dynamic conception of architectural heritage. More recently, it is also proving to be an equally inspirational source when considering the conservation and adaptation of historic buildings (see Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:99). In his essay, Eliot begins by outlining the scope of tradition as being more than just a historical record of the past:

> *Yet if the only form of tradition, of handing down, consisted in following the ways of the immediate generation before us in a blind or timid adherence to its successes, 'tradition' should be positively discouraged.*
>
> *(Eliot, 1928:48)*

Moving on to what tradition is, he describes a complex concept that is underpinned by a duality – the pastness of the past, and the presence of the past (Eliot, 1928:49) – or 'the timeless and the temporal' (Frost, 2017:263). More broadly speaking, Eliot's conception of tradition defines it as a *temporal* concept. It enables the past to have a presence in the present, whilst simultaneously encouraging a processual and developmental approach towards culture, thus making it also something equally of the future (Frost, 2017:263). Comparably, Giedion (1971:30) describes an active relationship with the past as '…a prerequisite for the appearance of a new and self-confident tradition'. This is similarly how Plevoets and Cleempoel (2019:99) interpret Eliot's essay, explaining how his approach to tradition can '…result in a historical condition operating as a compass for the future'. This is an exceptionally powerful sentiment for those who work with historic and listed buildings, primarily due to the essential fact that old buildings necessarily exhibit tremendous staying power. They often outlive societies, meaning there exists the potential to transmit the traditions of our time – and of the past – into the future (see Abdelmonem and Selim, 2012:163–164). Eliot's 'pastness of the past' and 'presence of the past' can accordingly be updated (or at least appended) to include what Harvey (2008:21) has already described as 'future pasts' and 'past futures' – the prospective memory that links present and future together (memory is explored in detail within *Section 6.4 Curating memory*). Accordingly, to ensure a historic building continues on its trajectory into the future, the most reliable strategy is to ensure it remains in active use (Department of the Environment, 1994:15) – an approach that almost always requires ongoing changes to the building (Historic England, 2008:43).

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[50] T. S. Eliot, poet/ writer (1888-1965).

Although change may not always be positive or acceptable (Walter, 2020:15), buildings are nonetheless subjected to numerous changes to ensure they remain wholly relevant and useful to frontier societies (Hollis, 2009:9; Edensor, 2013:447; Brooker and Stone, 2018:1). These can range from smaller (and oftentimes more surreptitious) 'satisficing' changes (Brand, 1995:164; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:68), through to larger and more significant forces of change (Brand, 1995:5,127; Edensor, 2013:447) [51]. For listed buildings, the notion of change is acceptable because whilst they may be representations of culture, they are also highly useful commodities that have the potential to accommodate the needs of contemporary society (Earl, 2003:9). The act of building conservation is consequently '…one of the few heritage processes by which heritage is deliberately modified and changed, thereby facilitating selected future uses' (Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016:469). Therefore, if as already noted, tradition is a *temporal* concept, then the conservation and adaptation of built heritage is a *spatio*-temporal phenomenon that creates physical connections across time (Brooker and Stone, 2018:1). From this outlook, the old buildings that society bestows listed status over have the capacity to simultaneously represent a variety of times and tenses, creating an overlapping dialogue between past, present and future (Whyte, 2006:170; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:99). In turn, this better integrates with not only the comparatively recent acceptance of change within conservation approaches, but also with the broader ontological shift in heritage from '…fixed, authoritative monuments towards the amorphous territory of intangible heritage' (Glendinning, 2013:418).

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[51] Edensor (2013:447) refers to the forces of '…aesthetics, political ideologies and religious imperatives, technologies and interpretations of history'; whilst Brand (1995:5,127) more concisely sums these forces up as: money, fashion, technology, markets and water.

3.3.4 A broadening of values

The assessment and subsequent conservation/ adaptation methods used on historic and listed buildings both nationally and internationally is reliant upon the identification of 'values' (Labadi, 2013:3; Walter, 2014b:634). Once identified, values are consolidated and organised into a written statement that formally represents the 'significance' of the built heritage asset within the planning system. This approach originates from the Burra Charter (ICOMOS, 2013) [1979], which along with the Nara Document (ICOMOS, 1994), are interestingly cited as blueprints for Historic England's assessment model (see Historic England, 2008:71). Where this current model falls short in relation to this research project, is its inability to overcome the 'nature-culture split' that Hill (2018b) describes as fundamental to the formation of heritage 'domains'. Put simply, the values that are utilised to assess tangible heritage (e.g. aesthetic, artistic, architectural) are segregated from those values that are used to assess intangible heritage (e.g. social, symbolic or spiritual). In practice, this separation means the latter often become subsidiary in relation to the former (Pendlebury, 2013:715; Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016:474; Jones, 2017:24). So, whilst a values-based approach may be more democratic and more open to pluralistic conceptions of heritage (Wells, 2007:10; McClelland et al., 2013:593–594), it is nonetheless conceptually incapable of accommodating a true inter-domain assessment of heritage practices and relationships. This is not so much a criticism, rather an intentional consequence of its design – it is a typologies-based methodology (McClelland et al., 2013:589). Of course, this is also not to say that a values-based methodology is not capable of prioritising people over preservation, with Clark's (2019) collection of people-focused activities demonstrating clear potential in this regard. However, these activities can only thrive when heritage is endorsed as a 'social activity' (Clark, 2019:11), which currently reflects the antithesis of the broader ontological bias that official UK mechanisms impose upon heritage management, assessment and designation.

However, as the concept of heritage becomes increasingly aligned with contemporary society and social processes (Harvey, 2001; Yarrow, 2019:2), Muñoz Viñas (2002:27) proposes a 'contemporary conservation theory' as a substitute for traditional outmoded approaches, whereby an object's meaning, value and use *for people* is prioritised within a flexible and adaptable philosophical approach (Muñoz Viñas, 2005:212). This progresses the sentiment of the Nara Document (ICOMOS, 1994), which was produced over 25 years ago but only comparatively recently making any perceivable impact in UK policy and guidance. The Nara Document is clear regarding its position on *value*, stating that value judgements '…must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong' (ICOMOS, 1994:47). The identification of values is therefore subject to how they are interpreted by individuals/ communities at any given moment in time (Turner and Tomer, 2013:192), which stands as evidence of a more people-focused approach to heritage in terms of identifying, narrating and measuring value (Jokilehto, 2018:2) (*Figure 31*).

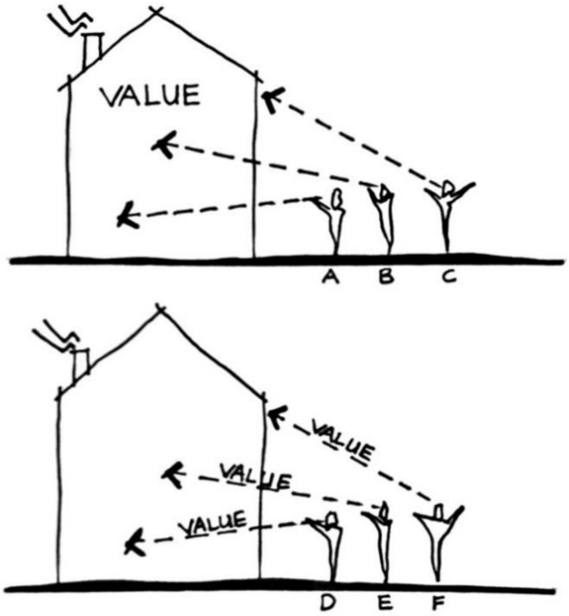

Figure 31 - Re-conceptualisation of value and significance for built heritage

Top: traditional understanding – value is objective and inherent within the listed building
Bottom: postmodern turn – value is multifarious and subjective to the individual
Source: author original image

From this perspective, built heritage does not necessarily need to conform to the aforementioned global measures established by UNESCO; rather, it must represent the idiosyncrasies of the communities and groups that use it to represent and sustain their identity (Tauschek, 2015:292).

Between the broadening of values (Clark and Drury, 2001:114) and widening of heritage definitions (Glendinning, 2013:431), a shift in heritage understanding has been created that represents a major turning point in how society values physical heritage assets. This is more broadly considered to be part of the postmodern turn in heritage studies (Muñoz Viñas, 2002:26; Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:11; Walter, 2014b:637), and has already had a significant impact on traditional conservation theory and practice (Orbaşli, 2017:161). It has gained increasing momentum since the publication of the UNESCO (2003) Convention (explored in *Chapter 4 – Intangible cultural heritage and the UK*), which not only places an emphasis on immaterial manifestations of culture, but is also more broadly representative of the postmodern heritage paradigm (Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:11). In particular, it is characterised by the following shifts in heritage understanding: from static to dynamic interpretations of authenticity (Labadi 2013, 117); from expert to community processes (Blake 2009, 45; Lenzerini 2011, 111); from fixed interpretations to the acknowledgement of 'multiple temporal affiliations' (Dolff-Bonekämper and Blower 2012, 276); from objective to subjective perspectives (Lenzerini 2011, 108); and from global to local interests (Blake 2014, 46).

An implicit impact of the postmodern turn on built heritage practices can also be evidenced, with both the reinterpretation of existing listed buildings and the listing of new buildings demonstrating a contemporary broadening of values. There are many recent listing examples that appear to contradict the traditional Western perspectives on what a listed building is and why it should be listed. Petrol stations, bus shelters, timber huts and bike sheds all now formally represent the tangible heritage domain with their listed representatives[52]. For example, the Bletchley Park Huts in Milton Keynes were listed Grade II in 2005, and each described within their listing description as an '…undistinguished building architecturally' (Historic England, 2005a) (*Figure 32*). Instead of concerns of an architectural or aesthetic nature they are listed for their past uses and atmosphere (Lake and Hutchings, 2009:94). Any attention given to their physical fabric is concerned with their use – a physical tribute to both the people who worked there and the codebreaking work undertaken there (Monckton, 2006:294). Other examples include the Wake Green Road

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[52] Refer to: Esso Station, Birstall, Leicester (Grade II); bus shelter, Osmington, Dorset (Grade II); Hut 11, Bletchley Park, Milton Keynes (Grade II); bike shed, St. Catherine's College, Oxford (Grade I).

Prefabs in Birmingham, listed Grade II in 1998. Whilst originally listed due to their historic associations with WWII and their physical rarity, a more recent conservation management plan prepared for Birmingham City Council in 2019 changed tack by explicitly acknowledging the collective memories of the people who lived in or around them, as well as the '…memories of those who didn't survive the war…' (Robson, 2019:40). As a consequence, it is now becoming more common for prefabs such as these to be celebrated as a testament to the *ordinary*, which gives focus to their intangible merits – qualities often centred on 'communicative memory' – an 'informal generational memory' that is part of everyday processes and rituals (J. Assmann, 2008:117). This scheme in particular has paved the way for further designations of a similar nature (see Blanchet and Zhuravlyova, 2018:84), which goes some way towards increasing the focus on everyday living memory within the heritage assessment process. This is all despite there being no explicit legislative approaches established in the UK to accommodate this (explored in *Chapter 5 – Immateriality and change in policy and guidance*).

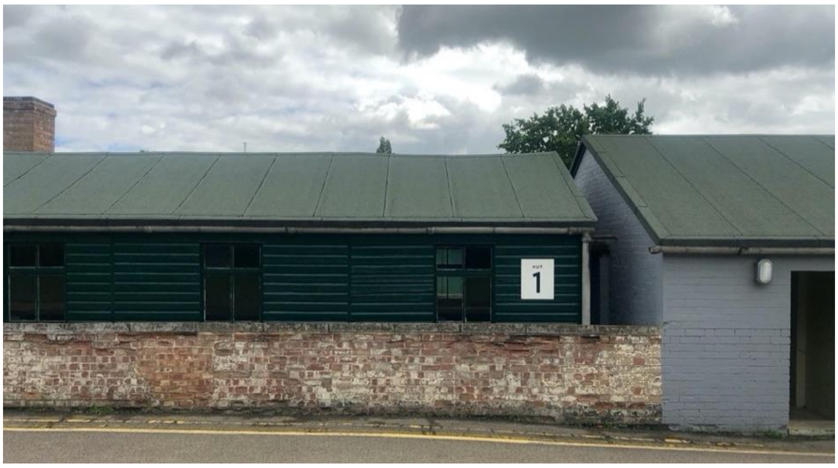

Figure 32 - Bletchley Park hut 1 (Grade II listed)

Source: author original image

Furthermore, it is becoming more recognised in society that the past is being used on a strategic and selective basis for contemporary needs (Ashworth, 2008:7; McDowell, 2008a:37), which by implication means there is a growing consciousness of historic and listed buildings also having unrepresented qualities, stories and histories (i.e. the *unselected* pasts). In turn, this challenges the validity of the listing system and the selective information contained within a building's listing, especially as the approach towards the interpretation of built heritage becomes looser, less dogmatic and more comparable to storytelling in the literature (Hollis, 2009; Walter, 2014b; Pocock et al., 2015; Djabarouti, 2020b). Consequently, specific cultural outlooks which have typically been outside historically mainstream narratives are now being reconsidered through contemporary initiatives, such as Historic England's *Another England* project[53], which aims to champion Black and Asian histories as a fundamental part of 'England's story' (Historic England, 2020a); or their *Pride of Place* project[54], which focusses on England's LGBTQ cultural heritage (both tangible and intangible) (see Historic England, 2016). Initiatives such as these can significantly influence the perception and understanding of built heritage significance. For example, from the perspective of the LGBTQ community, the Grade II* listed Monton Unitarian Church (*Figure 33*) is significant primarily because of it being the location of the first same-sex marriage in Salford, and not necessarily because of its notable architectural qualities or historical associations[55].

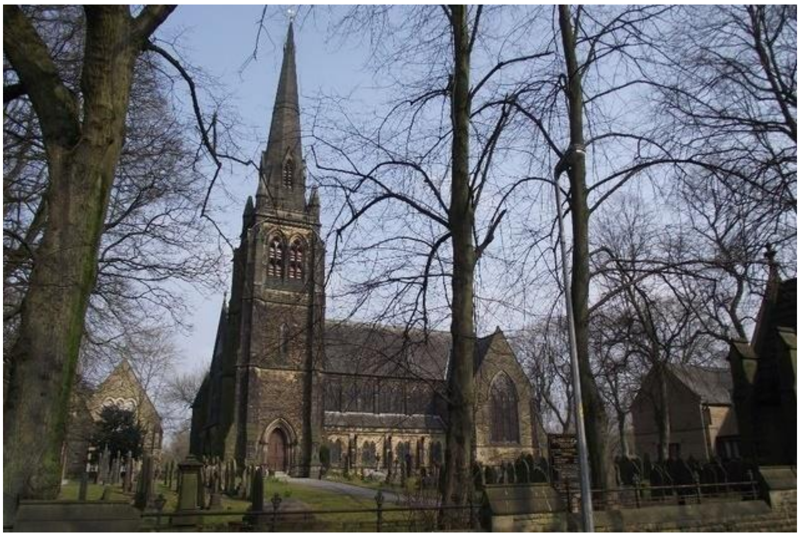

Figure 33 - Monton Unitarian Church, Salford, UK (Grade II* listed)

Photo: Philip Platt (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.geograph.org.uk/p/3403817

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[53] An overview of Historic England's *Another England – Mapping 100 Years of Black and Asian History* project can be viewed at the following link: https://perma.cc/STX9-LXK6 [archived link].

[54] An overview of Historic England's *Pride of Place* project can be viewed at the following archived link: https://perma.cc/HX7X-RD2D [archived link].

[55] The church was designed by famous English architect Thomas Worthington, in his usual French Gothic style, as well as being the local church of John Henry Poynting (famous physicist).

3.4 Postmodern problems

An emphasis on the intangible heritage domain has sought to destabilise the notion of intrinsic material authenticity (Smith, 2006:5–6; Smith and Campbell, 2017:29), which in turn counteracts historically positivist, objective and quasi-scientific approaches towards heritage and conservation (Hassard, 2009a:278; Jones and Yarrow, 2013:6; Walter, 2014b:635). These are key tenets that form part of what Olsen (2010:3) describes as a '…dominant antimaterial conception of culture and society within the human and social sciences'. Whilst this overarching antimaterial approach has encouraged a multiplicity of meanings through subjective and ever-changing perceptions (Dolff-Bonekämper and Blower, 2012:276; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:73; Taylor, 2015:75), for others it has only served to heighten the theoretical detachment between materials and meanings:

> *But where does it lead us to claim that all heritage is intangible, that there are no such things as heritage? . . . where does it leave things, in heritage, to deny them their tangibility or 'thingness'? And where does it leave heritage to ignore things' role, or to assign them innocence, in the discourse and construction of heritage conceptions?*
>
> *(Pétursdóttir, 2013:33)*

Similarly, Skrede and Hølleland (2018:89) believe the rejection of 'thingness' in critical conceptions of heritage ignores the affecting presence that material things can have, as well as serving to reinforce the 'nature-culture split' that is at the root of UNESCO guidance (Witcomb and Buckley, 2013:572; Hill, 2018b). In the UK, the theoretical tension between acknowledging subjective human accounts (intangible) and objective nonhuman material things (tangible) creates a series of complexities for built heritage practice. Firstly, there is the overarching 'conceptual confusion' highlighted by Smith and Campbell (2017:39), which they evidence through professional use of contradictory terminology relating to 'values'[56]. Secondly, the acknowledgment of a multiplicity of subjective viewpoints results in an inability to regulate 'significance' (Labadi, 2013:13). Indeed, Walter (2014b:638) warns this new broadening of heritage could '…devolve into a sort of "heritage X-Factor"' and similarly Glendinning (2013:425) highlights how subjectivity could support '…false recollection or simple fiction'. Even Muñoz Viñas (2005:210) concedes that the contemporary conservation approach creates a confusing context for the mediation of stakeholder views. Thirdly, the broadening of meanings and values of heritage is at odds with the overarching Parliamentary Act, which determines the remit of the built heritage professional to be the physical 'architectural' and 'historic' qualities of physical heritage (HM Government, 1990:1). Lastly, if *how* and *why* things have value is a product of society and thus subject to change across time (Smith and Campbell, 2017:31), then historic and listed buildings – with their slow-moving and resource-heavy transformations – naturally struggle to keep up with constantly shifting value judgements. This is becoming increasingly problematic for buildings, especially now the notion of change is the prerequisite for them to remain relevant to frontier societies (Historic England, 2008:22).

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[56] They assert that 'tangible value' is impossible, as value can never be physical, and 'intangible value' is a tautology, as value is by definition intangible.

Despite the opportunities that change can bring for built heritage assets, there are further practical barriers at play when attempting to change historic and listed buildings. Firstly, and most obviously, physically manipulating a building is an expensive and complicated commitment (Graham et al., 2000:130; Gulotta and Toniolo, 2019:797). Secondly, if the building is listed, political barriers heavily control the level of change that will be permitted. For example, the Burra Charter's guidance declares adaptation will only be tolerated if it involves '…minimal change to significant fabric' (ICOMOS, 2013:7). These restrictions will undoubtedly support the ongoing valorisation of *pre-existing* value judgements from previous societies, rather than allowing for wholesale reinterpretation by contemporary society. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the philosophical and procedural habits of the built heritage profession are simply not currently capable of conceptually accommodating such fluid and dynamic conceptions of buildings, due to the prevailing traditional view of the old building as a 'stable manifestation of culture' (Kenny, 2009:156).

The specific relationship between tangible and intangible heritage is also explicitly noted as a complex issue (Kearney, 2009:220). Many state tangible and intangible heritage are, at their essence, wholeheartedly interlinked (Jokilehto, 2009:126), or inseparable – forming 'two sides of the same coin' (Bouchenaki, 2003:4; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004:60; Byrne, 2009:230; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:67). Kearney (2009:211) describes the relationship through a phenomenological lens, stating 'being' is at once both tangible and intangible and therefore any attempt to distinguish between the two heritage domains may be futile. This correlates with literature that describes the relationship between the two domains as interdependent and reciprocal (Bouchenaki, 2003:5; Munjeri, 2004:17; Jokilehto, 2006:7).

However, Hill (2018b) suggests the distinction between the two domains sustains a theoretical disconnect, rather than contributing towards a parity in consideration and understanding. Other literature gives weight to the tangible domain by describing it as a ‘contact point’ or ‘memory marker’ for intangible heritage (Byrne, 2009:246; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:68); or asserting it can aid in the production of meaning and intangible heritage (Smith, 2009:16; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:73; Pocock et al., 2015:952). Certainly, intangible heritage is often connected to and impacted by the physical things of life (Harrison, 2015b:309; Hill, 2018b). Wells (2017:26) states the regulations that define what heritage is creates both theoretical and practical barriers between the two domains. In the UK, this is primarily achieved through the overarching policy that works towards making heritage material (Smith and Campbell, 2017:39). Taylor (2015:73) takes the relationship between tangible and intangible a step further, by stating a distinction must firstly be made between the values (message) and embodiment (medium) of heritage, with *both* able to be either tangible or intangible. However, as touched upon earlier, Smith and Campbell (2017:27–28) highlight the problematic nature of the terms ‘tangible value’ and ‘intangible value’, noting that their use not only sustains a conceptual disconnect between the two domains, but also consequently results in the positioning of ‘intangible value’ as a subset of ‘tangible value’ – an outcome that is widely documented (Pendlebury, 2013:715; Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016:474; Jones, 2017:24).

3.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how the concept of heritage has historically been centred around physical objects and their rescue from natural and manmade change. It has further noted how, comparatively recently, prevailing ways of perceiving, valuing and practicing heritage in the UK (underpinned by a preservationist ethos and aversion to change) are under increasing critique when placed within a more dynamic and people-focused approach towards heritage. Interestingly, these contemporary ideas of heritage have also had an increasing (yet implicit) impact on approaches towards built heritage – evidenced in the broadening of built heritage values and the evolving listed building stock. However, despite there being clear evidence to support the notion that heritage in the UK is becoming less material-focused, there is no defined UK approach towards safeguarding immaterial manifestations of culture, let alone approaches that assist practitioners in defining and exploring its relevance in the conservation and adaptation of historic and listed buildings. This contribution takes the stance that this lacuna in knowledge (philosophical and practical) is propagating an outmoded and material-centred conception of what heritage is, as well as serving to restrict the *development* of knowledge relating to how the intangible qualities of material heritage sites can be employed to influence decision making when considering conservation methods and adaptation approaches. The next chapter studies in more detail why this lacuna exists, by considering in detail the UK position with regards to ICH, as well as covering any existing approaches taken by its constituent countries to safeguard it.

4 – Intangible cultural heritage and the UK

4.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter focuses more exclusively on the concept of intangible (or immaterial) manifestations of culture from a UK perspective. Certainly, to recognise how the conservation of physical sites can both impact and by influenced by ICH, it is firstly essential to understand the richness and complexities surrounding what ICH is. The chapter considers this firstly from a broader UK perspective, and considers how the imposition of an overarching UK identity may impact its ability to conceptualise ICH. It reviews how the UK's focus on physical sites, coupled with this issue surrounding identity, has resulted in it being only one of three countries that have not ratified the *Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage* (UNESCO 2003) (hereafter the 2003 Convention). Following this, a more specific review of the constituent countries of the UK is offered (England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland), which serves to demonstrate how each constituent country has a specific approach towards heritage that is historically as well as contextually rooted, and is therefore relevant to how they should approach ICH safeguarding.

4.2 Safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage

The contemporary global approach towards heritage is undoubtedly shifting attention from an exclusive focus on tangible heritage to a more immaterial conception of cultural heritage (Glendinning, 2013:418). This allows for the recognition of heritage that is extraneous to the physical fabric of listed buildings, statues, and other physical structures. UNESCO define this form of heritage within Article 2 of the 2003 Convention as:

> *…the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.*
>
> *(UNESCO, 2003:2)*

It continues, stating the various manifestations of ICH can include:

> *(a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage*
> *(b) performing arts*
> *(c) social practices, rituals and festive events*
> *(d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe*
> *(e) traditional craftsmanship*

Five key features of ICH are defined more succinctly by Lenzerini (2011:101) as:

1. Self-identification – communities must define their own ICH, rather than have it prescribed to them on a list.
2. Constant re-creation – ICH is transmitted across generations and thus continually evolving in response to its ever-changing cultural context.
3. Identity – ICH is representative of the cultural distinctiveness and idiosyncrasies of its community.
4. Authenticity – ICH must remain rooted to its community and be aware of external influences that could disrupt this, such as appropriation, tourism, or artificial re-creation.
5. Human rights – due to the representative nature of ICH, it can protect endangered communities or customs, as well as elevate minority cultures/ practices that have been suppressed through universal and/ or nationalistic approaches towards heritage.

As well as offering formalised representation for non-material manifestations of heritage, the convention is also designed to support cultural diversity in the context of globalisation (UNESCO, 2003:1; Bortolotto, 2013:265). The contradiction posed by the introduction of this convention however is that it could also be used to exploit sites that are attempting to maintain their culture (Caust and Vecco, 2017) – particularly if UNESCO's international position is used to uplift local cultures and customs on to a global platform as a means to sustain economic and touristic values (Skounti, 2009:78; Petronela, 2016:731). In this scenario, UNESCO paradoxically becomes a leading actor in the issue that it is attempting to address (Bortolotto, 2013:266; Harrison, 2013:115). UNESCO created two 'lists' alongside the 2003 Convention which capture the manifestations of intangible heritage. These are: 1) the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* (hereafter referred to as the Representative List); and 2) The *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding*. The imposition by the 2003 Convention on signatory countries to create an inventory of ICH was a contested aspect of the convention (Kurin, 2004:71; Bortolotto, 2013:276), with Hafstein (2009:108) emphasising how the selective nature of list-making is an exclusive and hierarchical activity that makes *exclusion* a key component of the heritage process.

4.3 UK resistance to intangible cultural heritage

Of the forty-two UNESCO European member countries[57], the UK[58] is one of only three countries[59] that have *not* ratified the 2003 Convention[60]. This is further emphasised when illustrated on a map of Europe (*Figure 34*). This means ICH from the UK has no presence on either list, nor are there any formalised UK-wide mechanisms to develop research in this area of heritage (Hassard, 2009b:163). As already highlighted within introductory *Section 1.1 Research context*, this reflects the general sentiment of it being a problematic heritage domain (Smith and Waterton, 2009:297). Consequently, the Representative List includes the performance of the Nongak, Republic of Korea, but does not include the Flamborough Sword Dance, a Yorkshire-based public performance that has been active through inter-generational transmission in the region since the early 1900s (*Figure 35*). It includes the craft of the Noken Bag, a handcraft of the people of Papua, Indonesia, but it does not include the endangered craft of Swill Basket Making (or 'swilling'), a centuries old tradition of the Lake District, Cumbria (*Figure 36*). To emphasise this point, 'swilling' appears on the Heritage Crafts Association's 'Red List of Endangered Crafts', marked as 'critically endangered'[61].

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[57] Figure as of June 2019.
[58] The United Nations recognise the UK as a 'country'.
[59] As of 2019, the two UNESCO European countries that also haven't ratified the convention are the Russian Federation and San Marino.
[60] Figure reflects Kosovo, Vatican City and Liechtenstein as being unrecognised by UNESCO as member states.
[61] Swill Basket Making entry on 'The Red List': https://perma.cc/W27R-D93M [archived link].

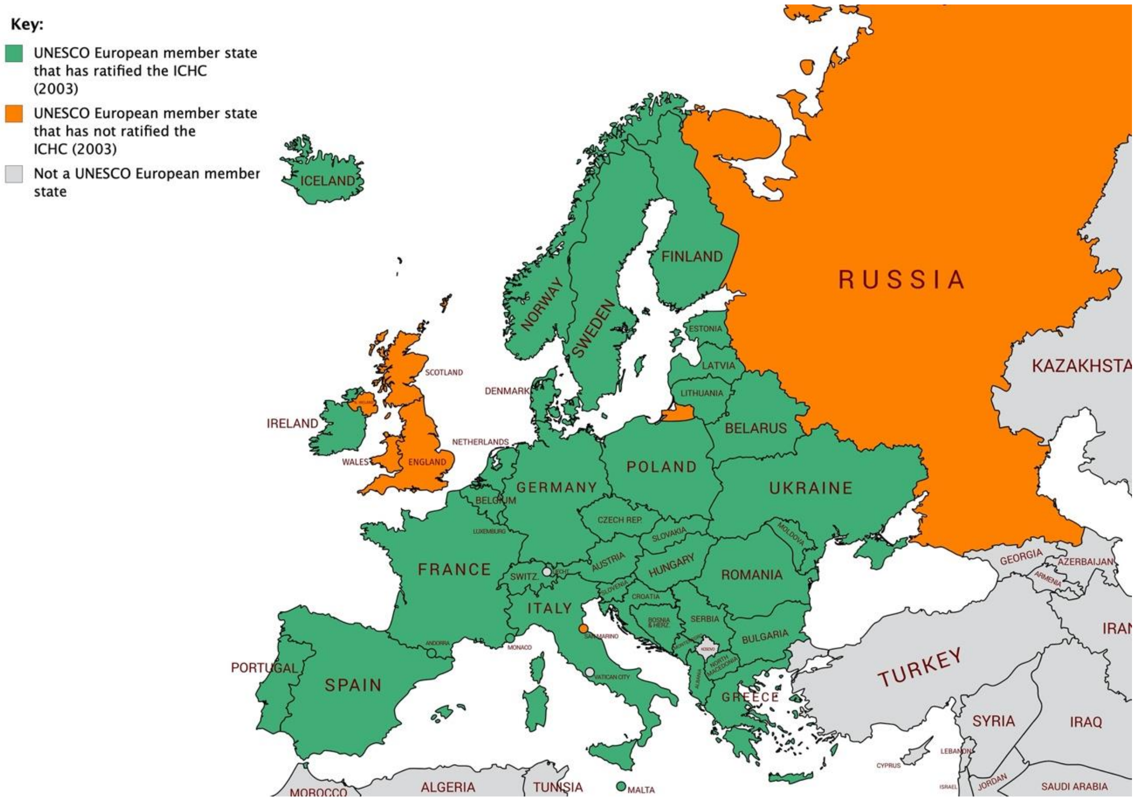
Key:
🟩 UNESCO European member state that has ratified the ICHC (2003)
🟧 UNESCO European member state that has not ratified the ICHC (2003)
⬜ Not a UNESCO European member state
ICELAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
RUSSIA
KAZAKHSTA
ESTONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
BELARUS
SCOTLAND
DENMARK
IRELAND
NETHERLANDS
WALES
ENGLAND
GERMANY
POLAND
UKRAINE
BELGIUM
LUXEMBURG
CZECH REP.
SLOVAKIA
MOLDOVA
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
GEORGIA
AZERBAIJAN
ARMENIA
SLOVENIA
CROATIA
ITALY
BOSNIA & HERZ.
SERBIA
KOSOVO
BULGARIA
IRAN
SAN MARINO
ANDORRA
MONACO
NORTH MACEDONIA
ALBANIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
VATICAN CITY
GREECE
TURKEY
SYRIA
IRAQ
LEBANON
CYPRUS
ISRAEL
JORDAN
SAUDI ARABIA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
MALTA

Figure 34 - European countries that have ratified the 2003 Convention (as of July 2019)

Source: author original image

Despite its good intentions, and regardless of whether the UK has ratified the convention or not, the creation of *The Representative List* consequently creates excluded and unrecognised intangible practices worldwide, with the key implications for the UK being (as inferred from the definition of ICH): it has no ICH in need of urgent safeguarding; it has no intangible heritage that is representative of humanity; and it has no examples of good safeguarding practices of ICH. Echoing this, David Howell, who has researched this issue specifically from a Welsh perspective, asks '…does this lack of ratification indicate that Wales is not home to any examples of intangible cultural heritage?' (Howell, 2013:104). The existence of both the Representative and Safeguarding Lists therefore not only makes the lack of UK representation a contentious topic, but also directly undermines the credibility of the list – being testament to the fact it is not actually *representative* of humanity.

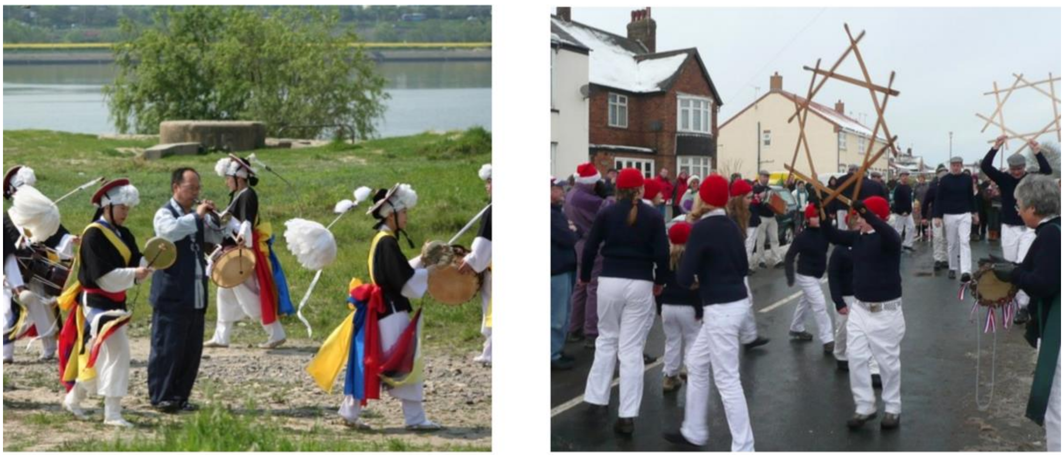

Figure 35 - Nongak performance (left); Flamborough Sword Dance (right)

Left photo: hojusaram (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/ab/Korean_music-Nongak-03.jpg

Right photo: Humphrey Bolton (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2215132

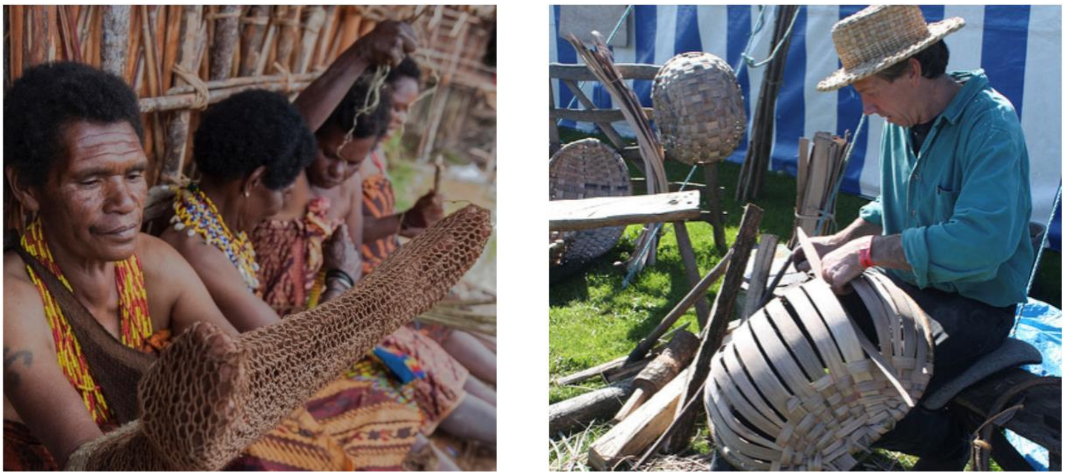

Figure 36 - Craft of the Noken bag (left); Swill Basket making (right)

Left photo: Keenan63 (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/73/Membuat_noken.jpg

Right photo: Kate Burrows (all rights reserved; permission of use granted)

4.4 Intangible cultural heritage in the UK

4.4.1 Identity issues in the UK

A focus on material sites in the UK positions heritage firmly within the confines of the planning system (Glendinning, 2013:285), which creates a legal emphasis on physical heritage. Pendlebury (2013:709) refers to this as the 'conservation-planning assemblage', which is designed to value and make decisions from the perspective of land-use planning (McClelland et al., 2013:583; Buckley, 2019:62). Consequently, it supports an emphasis on physical sites (housing, towns, new development, etc.), which the planning system has been specifically calibrated to control[62] (inclusive of the heritage listing system). Emerging from the antiquarian approach (outlined within *Section 3.2 A historical preoccupation with physical sites*), this assemblage was brought about via pressure from lobbyists for legislation to account for inhabited historic buildings alongside uninhabited monuments and ruins (Delafons, 1997:36); as well as an early 20th century attempt to control the 'character' of areas (a precursor to conservation areas) (Delafons, 1997:38).

The development of specific conservation approaches within this assemblage is characterised by a decentralised model which has its roots in 'voluntarism' (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:59; Glendinning, 2013:286). Whilst this has accommodated a diversity of opinions and influences relating to what constitutes physical heritage, as well as allowing constituent UK countries take slightly different approaches towards the conservation of physical heritage (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:60; Cooper, 2013:88), there is literature which discusses a homogenised identity of 'Britishness' that these regional cultures are subjected to via an overarching UK authorised heritage discourse (see McCrone, 2002; Hall, 2005:23; Jones, 2005; Smith, 2006, 2009). In turn, this has led to an identity issue for constituent countries of the UK, who along with their own integral regional identity, must also reconcile both a British and post-imperialist identity (Smith, 2006:39). There are also the specific variations of identity within UK countries themselves, with Hall (2005:27) for example highlighting how being 'English' can mean different things and therefore produce disagreements over identity.

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[62] E.g. The National Planning Policy Framework '…provides a framework. . . for housing and other development' (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:4) and the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 prescribes '…controls in respect of buildings and areas of special architectural or historic interest' (HM Government, 1990:1).

4.4.2 Intangible cultural heritage in England

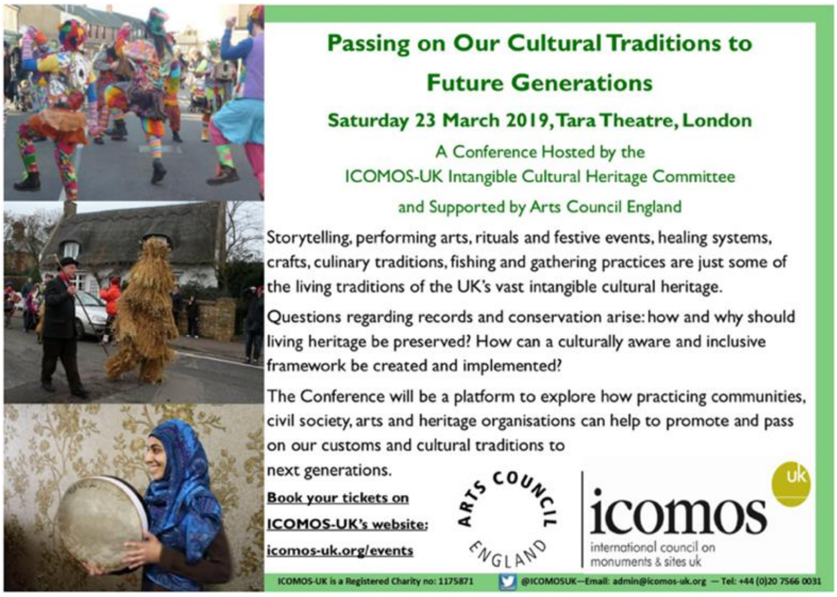
Within this complexity of UK culture, England's approach to heritage very much reflects overarching UK characteristics, with Jones (2005:94) referring to '…an English core lying at the heart of Britishness', and the *modern* conservation movement itself born from the English debates concerning preservation and restoration (Jokilehto, 2018:192). Heritage and conservation in England are therefore very much built upon concerns relating to the material authenticity of historical objects and the significance of antiques (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:59). Whilst guidance from Historic England and laws governing England and Wales do not explicitly acknowledge the intangible heritage domain (Harrison, 2019:95), *Section 3.3.4 A broadening of values* has already highlighted the incremental impact evident within the English listing (designation) system, which is beginning to take some emphasis away from the physical fabric of buildings and place it instead on concepts that relate to social practices and non-material qualities of valorisation (the political framework that influences these shifts is covered in detail within *Chapter 5 – Immateriality and change in policy and guidance*). Despite these implicit changes, Smith (2009:18–20) highlights the following key issues relating to the understanding of intangible heritage in England:

1. An 'urban-rural' tension.
2. The awkward appropriation of 'Englishness' by the far-right narrative.
3. Tensions between English identity and the multicultural nature of the UK.
4. Complexities in defining *what* and *who* is English due to significant demographic variations.

Therefore, even before attempting to broaden any philosophical or methodological approaches towards heritage in England, there is an overarching unresolved *identity* issue which is in need of resolution, as this sits at the core of what ICH is (see UNESCO, 2003:2).

Although there is no formalised inventory of ICH in England, many unofficial examples of ICH and ICH safeguarding practices exist. The 2019 ICOMOS-UK conference *Passing on our*

Cultural Traditions to Future Generations[63] focused heavily on the relationship between ICH and the UK by exploring English examples of ICH practices and safeguarding (*Figure 37*).



Passing on Our Cultural Traditions to Future Generations

Saturday 23 March 2019, Tara Theatre, London

A Conference Hosted by the
ICOMOS-UK Intangible Cultural Heritage Committee
and Supported by Arts Council England

Storytelling, performing arts, rituals and festive events, healing systems, crafts, culinary traditions, fishing and gathering practices are just some of the living traditions of the UK's vast intangible cultural heritage.

Questions regarding records and conservation arise: how and why should living heritage be preserved? How can a culturally aware and inclusive framework be created and implemented?

The Conference will be a platform to explore how practicing communities, civil society, arts and heritage organisations can help to promote and pass on our customs and cultural traditions to next generations.

Book your tickets on ICOMOS-UK's website: icomos-uk.org/events

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ICOMOS-UK is a Registered Charity no: 1175871 @ICOMOSUK—Email: admin@icomos-uk.org — Tel: +44 (0)20 7566 0031

Figure 37 - ICOMOS-UK 'Passing on our Cultural Traditions to Future Generations'

Source: http://www.icomos-uk.org/blog/post/intangible-cultural-heritage-conference---passing-on-our-cultural-traditions-to-future-generations-bookings-now-open

For example, Mairi Lock, World Heritage Site Coordinator for the English Lake District World Heritage Site, discussed how the connection between tangible and intangible heritage influences land management and the approach towards the conservation of the Cumbrian landscape and associated agricultural traditions. Dr. Adam Stout, Visiting Fellow of the Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, discussed the multiplicity of stories associated with Stonehenge and the tangible monument's alignment with the intangible heritage of countercultures (such as festivals, worship, etc.). ICOMOS-UK also discussed their own pilot explorations into the relationship between tangible museological artefacts and local intangible heritage via community-led practices (see Arokiasamy, 2018). The role of museums in recognising and safeguarding ICH is echoed by Smith (2009:14), who also emphasises the important role museums can play in relation to the identification and engagement of relevant communities of heritage. Whilst the conference was organised by the ICOMOS-UK Intangible Cultural Heritage Committee and its primary focus was on the ICH domain, it was clear from the delivered content that *tangible* heritage often plays a vital role in the understanding of intangible heritage within a UK context. However, the current legislative framework does not acknowledge or support the tangible-intangible relationship sufficiently (Kearney, 2009:209), nor is this relationship clearly defined within the literature (as already evidenced in *Section 3.4 Postmodern problems*). This omission and confusion is particularly relevant to England, with it being more philosophically invested in the tangible concept of heritage than its neighbouring UK countries (Smith, 2006:27).

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[63] The researcher attended the conference on Saturday 23rd March 2019 at the Tara Theatre, London. It was held by the ICOMOS-UK Intangible Cultural heritage Committee and supported by the Arts Council England.

4.4.3 Intangible cultural heritage in Wales

The formalised approach towards the conservation of heritage in Wales is the same as in England – a focus on scheduled monuments, listed buildings and conservation areas (conversely, Northern Ireland and Scotland operate under independent devolved laws) (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:60). Cadw[64] is the Welsh governmental body responsible for the identification, promotion and conservation of heritage in Wales (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:61). Their core values are: conserving and protecting the historic environment; supporting relevant professional skills; encouraging the enjoyment of the Welsh historic environment; contributing to the Welsh economy; and partnering with organisations and communities (Cadw, 2019). Interestingly, whilst Cadw does demonstrate an interest in communities within their core values, the Welsh approach is generally less explicit about intangible aspects of cultural heritage than the English approach. For example, Historic England explicitly acknowledge ‘communal value’ and its subsidiary value types such as ‘social value’ (Historic England, 2008:31) (explored in *Chapter 6 – Deconstructing communal value*). Conversely, Cadw touch upon more general themes relating to communities, education and skills (Cadw, 2019), which nonetheless could be conceived as forming the foundations of a more non-material understanding of heritage and the environment. Academic literature on intangible heritage is also lacking from a Welsh perspective (Howell, 2013:105).

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[64] Cadw is the historic environment service for the Welsh Government. The word means ‘to keep’ or ‘to protect’. Refer to https://perma.cc/K5EQ-QYZR [archived link].

Yet just because policy, conservation guidance and academic research is weak in relation to ICH in Wales, this does not mean intangible heritage in Wales does not exist, as Howell (2013) explains:

> *…there is a wealth of historical and contemporary accounts and reports of Welsh cultural traditions which closely mirror international examples already listed, and might promote the argument that the ICH Conservation holds greater relevance to Wales than does the WH [World Heritage] Convention.*
>
> *(Howell, 2013:106)*

Most people who visit Wales will be made instantly aware of a particularly prevalent form of Welsh ICH – the Welsh language. Giglitto (2017:46) suggests the cultural heritage of Wales is based mostly on their language, which serves to support a distinct sense of Welsh identity within the broder British and UK cultural umbrellas. Nonetheless, the overarching legislation and guidance available to heritage professionals in terms of the active safeguarding of ICH is just as lacking in Wales as it is in England (Harrison, 2019:97), with Welsh policy and practice related to heritage also being derived primarily from a focus on tangible, monumental sites.

4.4.4 Intangible cultural heritage in Scotland

In contrast to England and Wales, Scotland is subject to separate laws in relation to heritage and conservation (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:60), resulting in it taking a radically different approach towards ICH. Glendinning (2013:107) states the Scottish approach to heritage '…was shaped by a "small-nation" concept of heritage as a bulwark against external domination'. Certainly, Scotland initially met the late 19th century anti-scrape manifesto of the SPAB with resistance not only due to its English nationalist undertones (Glendinning, 2013:128), but also because priority was placed on the restoration of Scottish castles, in an attempt to reconnect with their history (itself fuelled by both a romantic revival and re-cliticization (Cooper, 2013:95)).

In keeping with this desire to connect with its roots (Glendinning, 2013:107; Harrison, 2019:99), Scotland has somewhat spearheaded the research and development of ICH in the UK, with developments from Edinburgh Napier University under Museums Galleries Scotland generating formalised Scottish guidance for ICH in Scotland (see McCleery et al.

(2008b, 2008a)). This is further embedded within the overall Scottish approach towards heritage, which explicitly describes Scottish heritage as a mixture of physical and non-physical qualities (Scottish Government, 2014:2; also Gao and Jones, 2020:4). The ICH guidance for Scotland also aligns with broader Scottish policies relating to a commitment to diversity and a promotion of race, religious, cultural and ethnic equality, leading to a focus on '…ICH *in* Scotland, rather than Scottish ICH' (McCleery et al., 2008b:11 italics added) – a subtle yet important distinction which supports inclusion and evolution.

With these philosophies as the focus, the methods used by Scotland are devolved, relying on local authorities as the primary means to access ICH sources and communities, with various research methods utilised to supplement this (McCleery et al., 2008b:37). In particular, Scotland has a heavy focus on the use of digital tools, with the official ICH of Scotland being documented on a bespoke, semi-restricted (but fully visible) 'wiki' site (McCleery et al., 2008b:30). Other studies demonstrate the effectiveness of digital methodologies in Scotland for connecting the *Comainn Eachdraidh* (historical societies) of various rural Scottish regions (see Beel et al., 2017). By establishing 'Hebridean Connections' of heritage through digital archives, this method seeks to '…maintain their strong local cultural identity and sense of place' (Beel et al., 2017:463–465). The approach to ICH in Scotland is therefore diverse, varied, inclusive and devolved. It uses a narrative of 'multiple narratives', all bound together through 'intercultural dialogue' (McCleery et al., 2008b:12) as a means to retain a sense of overarching Scottish identity, whilst simultaneously casting a broad ICH net.

4.4.5 Intangible cultural heritage in Northern Ireland

In Northern Ireland (hereafter NI), the conservation and management of the historic environment is managed by the Department for Communities. Under the heading 'historic environment' they are involved in: the tourism of NI heritage; archaeology and monuments; listed buildings; community involvement; and funding/ grants (Department for Communities, 2019). Their formal documentation acknowledges intangible heritage within the concept of 'setting' (see Department for Communities, 2018), though this is in relation to physical heritage assets only. NI have produced the 'Historic Environment Record of Northern Ireland' (hereafter HERoNI), a highly detailed online map that identifies and locates: sites/ monuments; historic buildings; industrial heritage; scheduled zones; gardens; battle sites; defence heritage; and areas of significant archaeological interest. It does not identify/ map any forms of ICH, which in many ways is a missed opportunity, when considering the number of cultural research projects that highlight the potential in mapping cultural intangibles[65] (Longley and Duxbury, 2016).

Harrison (2019:98) notes how the recent dissolution of the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure in NI has created a sense of uncertainty relating to cultural policy and approaches towards cultural heritage, which may also have a contributory effect towards the emphasis on tangible heritage in NI. This is compounded by the country's historical development; in particular its contested and dark heritage relating to the Troubles, which McDowell (2008b:405) states has produced an '…intangible heritage of division and hurt'[66]. A by-product of this conflict is an abundance of tangible heritage that is created to establish territories within segregated communities (McDowell, 2008a:48, 2008b:406). This practice can place an emphasis on visual symbols, physical boundaries and territorial markers within the landscape (McDowell, 2008a:48). For example, Irwin (2016:31) highlights the *Peace Walls* in Belfast as being '…considered essential in protecting cultural identity', which has been determinedly conflicted in NI. Ashworth (2008:242) also emphasises the presence of these physical boundary structures as simultaneously serving political, social and touristic needs, and thus being intimately bound within the heritage construct in NI (in terms of both inward and outward facing heritage). This sense of contestation is also manifest in immaterial ritualistic manifestations, which adds additional complexity towards understanding the representative ICH of NI that should be safeguarded. For example, Brown (2005:50) questions whether the annual march of the *Orange Order* is a ritual worthy of safeguarding, given its contested associations with the legacy of colonialism. Thus, like the UK, there is ultimately an unresolved and ongoing issue relating to identity and sense of culture in NI, which itself may have ironically become a contributor towards the NI identity construct. Any resolution or compromise relating to this contestation of territory will likely impact what aspects of both tangible and intangible heritage are chosen to be safeguarded, as well as to what extent ICH is acknowledged and accepted within overarching policy and guidance.

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[65] An example of this successfully implemented in practice is the 'Know Your Place' project by Bristol City Council, an online mapping tool which contains a mixture of historical and contemporary information, as well as facilitating interactivity through community input. Intangible heritage is captured on the map via an 'oral histories' map layer. Refer to https://perma.cc/8YLA-E4Q4 [archived link].

[66] The two primary forms of cultural identity in NI are the majority Protestant loyalists who predominantly identify as British, and the minority Catholic nationalists who mainly identify as Irish.

4.5 Chapter conclusion

In a UK context, the identification and safeguarding of ICH is extremely complex, no less because the United Nations recognise the UK as a consolidated 'country'. This is problematic when considering one of the primary goals of ICH safeguarding is to both encourage and contribute towards a sense of identity (UNESCO 2011, 5), which clearly has a natural variance across constituent UK countries that should be celebrated, rather than homogenised through the clout of an overarching UK identity. Despite the UK not ratifying the 2003 Convention, this chapter proposes it is more useful to contextualise this lack of engagement with ICH as a missed opportunity, rather than simply an adherence to prevailing (traditional) modes of practice. This serves to direct focus towards how the UK might work towards improving its relationship with ICH, which would in turn create opportunities for that knowledge to be utilised to advance conceptual and methodological approaches towards designated built heritage assets.

Part of this involves a clearer *contextualised* approach towards ICH across England, Wales and Northern Ireland, all of which maintain a clear emphasis on physical heritage sites within policy and guidance. Yet this chapter suggests that through establishing their own approaches towards ICH, this would also enhance their sense of identity as represented through the cultural richness of their tangible heritage sites. This is evident when considering Scotland's approach, which explicitly seeks to gain parity across tangible and intangible qualities of heritage and is bolstered by investment into research which has established a viable approach towards identifying and safeguarding *ICH in Scotland*. Certainly, part of their ethos is to focus on traditions and activities that occur within Scotland, rather than exclusively focusing on only those that maintain an historical lineage to Scotland. Lessons can and should be learned from this approach – not only across UK constituent countries, but also for the UK in its entirety.

Scotland's successes surrounding ICH demonstrates how ICH formalisation can serve as a catalyst to expand understandings, definitions and practices of heritage *in* the UK. Equally, these developments serve to validate how non-ratification of the 2003 Convention should not be used as a scapegoat to ignore the importance of intangible heritage in relevant guidance, policy and practices. Indeed, with the UK’s emphasis on physical sites being bound within its *conservation-planning assemblage*, this research takes the stance that the UK could take a leading role in developing a more nuanced understanding of the relationship *between* tangible and intangible heritage and how this can be represented within practitioner guidance – through a focus on diversity of heritage and community benefits from heritage.

What is also likely to encourage ICH recognition in the UK is UNESCO acknowledging the constituent countries that comprises the UK, rather than recognising it as a single country. This would allow UK countries to decide for themselves whether they wish to ratify the convention or not, based on their own unique understandings of heritage in relation to their own identities and histories. Equally, it would also encourage a broader debate about how UK countries can foster commonalities and share good practice guidance. Formal recognition of ICH in the UK would undoubtedly require significant updates across policy and guidance, which despite the UK resistance to formalised understandings ICH, is already demonstrating a shift in emphasis from buildings to people. This shift across the English and UK political landscape will now be explored in the next chapter, as well as comparatively in relation to broader European and International heritage documents.

5 – Immateriality and change in policy and guidance

5.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter will explore how changes in policy and guidance in the UK and England demonstrate an implicit yet steady shift in focus away from the physical building fabric and towards people and their cultures. It will highlight how formalised documents are becoming increasingly concerned with achieving societal benefits from the efforts of building conservation, as well as benefits to the physical fabric of built heritage. This is reflective of broader advancements seen in European conventions, which highlight the concerns surrounding 'local participation' and 'co-determination' (Mydland and Grahn, 2012:565)[67].

Policy and guidance in relation to heritage has developed considerably over the last three centuries[68]. This chapter will review two overarching thematic shifts that these developments chronologically reveal: 1) the shift from a focus purely on buildings, monuments and their materials, to a broadening of this focus to include people, communities and cultural activities; and 2) the reconceptualization of *change* as inevitable, positive, and *necessary* to prolong the use and significance of built heritage and associated social practices. These shifts are evident not just in UK policy and guidance, but also broader UK governmental guidance and funding stream criteria, as well as the international charters and conventions that influence them. The heritage documents that will be explored in this chapter have been positioned in relation to one another on a multi-criteria matrix, illustrating a visual political heritage landscape in relation to these two shifts (method outlined in *Section 2.2.2 Document matrix mapping*). The structure of the chapter generally follows the linear distribution illustrated on the multi-criteria matrix, starting with those documents that define heritage as material and static (bottom left of *Figure 38*), through to those that define it as immaterial and dynamic (top right of *Figure 38*).

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[67] Mydland and Grahn (2012) make reference to the European Landscape Convention (2004) and the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (the 'Faro Convention') (2011). A concern for the public interest in heritage conservation and its links to cultural identity can also be found within the Granada Convention (Council of Europe, 1985:5).
[68] The earliest policy as part of the document analysis is *The Ancient Monuments Act* (HM Government, 1882). From there, a selection of relevant policy and guidance has been reviewed, up to and including the latest documents within the review from 2019.

5.2 Policy patterns and trends

Beginning with an overview of the broader national and international heritage documents in their entirety, a fairly predictable linear distribution emerges across time when plotted on the matrix (*Figure 38*). Most earlier documents focus on limiting change to physical heritage assets, with a growing increase in awareness and acceptance of change and immaterial heritage occurring across time – although there are some documents that deviate from this chronological trend.

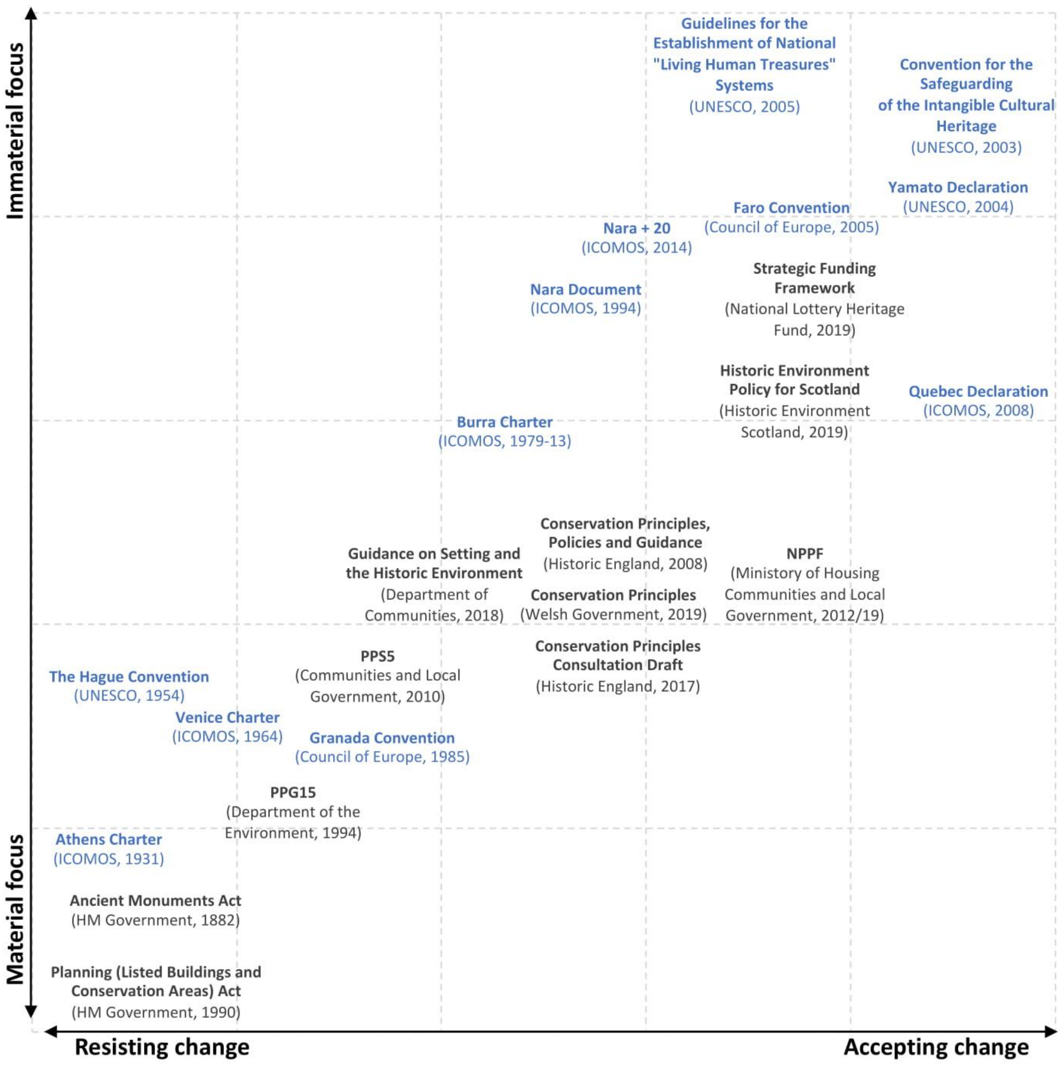

Figure 38 - National (black) and international (blue) political heritage landscape

Source: author original image

What is also evident from the matrix is that whilst both national and international documents demonstrate an overall move towards an immaterial focus and an acceptance of change, international documents tend to explore these concepts more (and in many cases, sooner) than national documents (*Figure 39*).

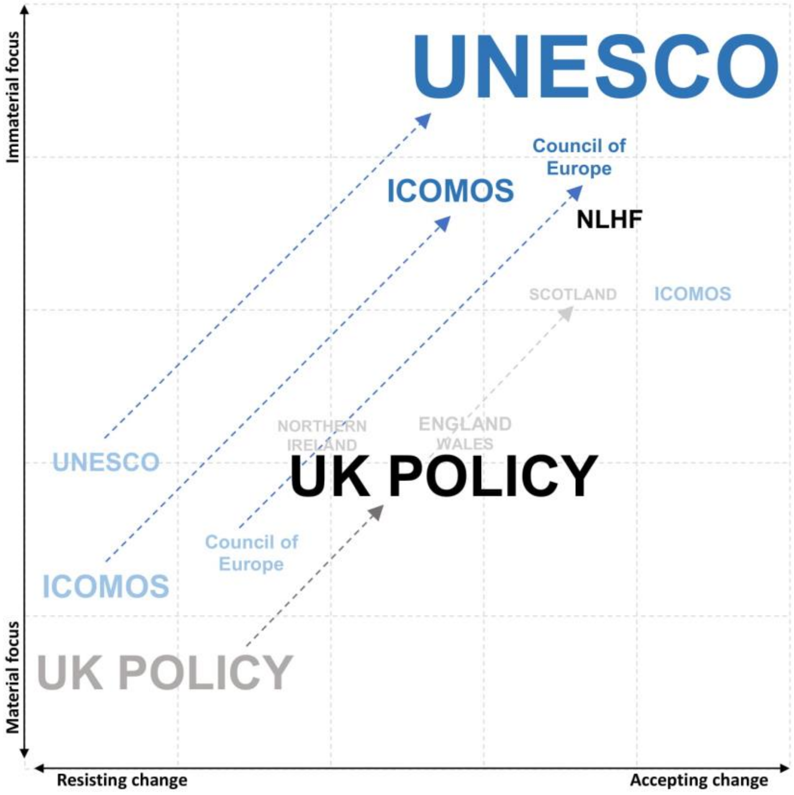
Immaterial focus
Material focus
Resisting change
Accepting change
UNESCO
Council of Europe
ICOMOS
NLHF
SCOTLAND
ICOMOS
NORTHERN IRELAND
ENGLAND WALES
UNESCO
UK POLICY
Council of Europe
ICOMOS
UK POLICY

Figure 39 - Position of key international heritage actors and constituent UK countries

Source: author original image

Whilst the position of UK policy is gravitating more towards the centre of the matrix, its constituent countries explore different approaches, with Scotland generally being more in tune and explicit with intangible heritage than Wales and England (a theme which was also noted in *Chapter 4 – Intangible cultural heritage and the UK*).

5.3 Ancient acts

Beginning at the point in the political landscape that conceptualises heritage as material and static, both the *Ancient Monuments Act* (HM Government, 1882) (hereafter the 1882 Act) and the *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act* (HM Government, 1990) (hereafter the 1990 Act) are similarly situated – despite their 108 year gap. Both are concerned wholly with building maintenance, preservation and repair (HM Government, 1882:1, 1990:32), with neither discussing the benefits of conservation for society. The 1990

Act focusses on both habited and inhabited structures and was a key piece of legislation that consolidated conservation and planning systems (Delafons, 1997:187). The 1882 Act was the first statutory list of protected prehistoric sites (basically mounds and ditches), with significant physical ruins being successively added to the list if *not* inhabited[69] (Delafons, 1997:1; Ashurst and Burns, 2007:83; Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:60). It is interesting to consider exactly what the 1882 Act was attempting to protect, if its focus was on either wholly absent prehistoric sites, or ruins heavily engaged in the process of decay. For example, Edensor (2013:450) states ruined sites such as these can offer an insight that focuses on the '…plenitude of immaterial resonances [that] are entangled with materiality, including "…imagination, emotions, values, meanings"…', rather than the characteristic aesthetic reading of the ruin as a 'picturesque' structure within the natural landscape (Glendinning, 2013:52). Were these sites also being implicitly protected to sustain a material *absence* or more-than-physical quality of the original structure?

Situated closely to the 1882 Act and the 1990 Act within the political landscape is *The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* (hereafter the Athens Charter) (ICOMOS, 1931), which offers general principles relating to the aesthetics, restoration and repair of monuments. Similarly to the 1882 Act, this charter acknowledges rights of the community only in relation to the private ownership of physical property (ICOMOS, 1931). However, a seed was planted with the term '…property of mankind…' (ICOMOS, 1931) in relation to archaeological and artistic sites – which Stubbs and Makaš (2011:28) regard as the beginning of a connection between physical heritage and the rights of 'humanity'. Positioned within the lineage of the Ruskin/ Morris/ Boito[70] philosophies concerning truth and honesty, the Athens Charter ultimately focuses on maintenance, preservation and the protection of historical values, rather than changing uses for contemporary societies.

5.4 Architectural heritage and historic monuments

Continuing along the linear distribution, the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964) maintains a focus on 'historic monuments', and perceives these as physical '…witnesses of their age-old traditions' (ICOMOS, 1964:1). It notes that many historic monuments acquire significance via the passage of time (ICOMOS, 1964:1), which does suggest an acknowledgement that change can be positive – at least in relation to the authenticity of historic monuments. However, in general the charter is heavily prescriptive with regards to restrictions on change, placing a focus instead on maintenance, preservation and restoration (ICOMOS, 1964:2) – very much in the same vein as its predecessor, the Athens Charter (ICOMOS, 1931). The Venice Charter makes a paradoxical argument in Article 5, which outlines how the conservation of buildings should be driven by the desire of '…making use of them for some socially useful purpose' (ICOMOS, 1964:5); yet swiftly supplements this statement with the restriction that this use '…must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building' (ICOMOS, 1964:5). Naturally, the former is likely impossible to achieve without conflicting with the latter.

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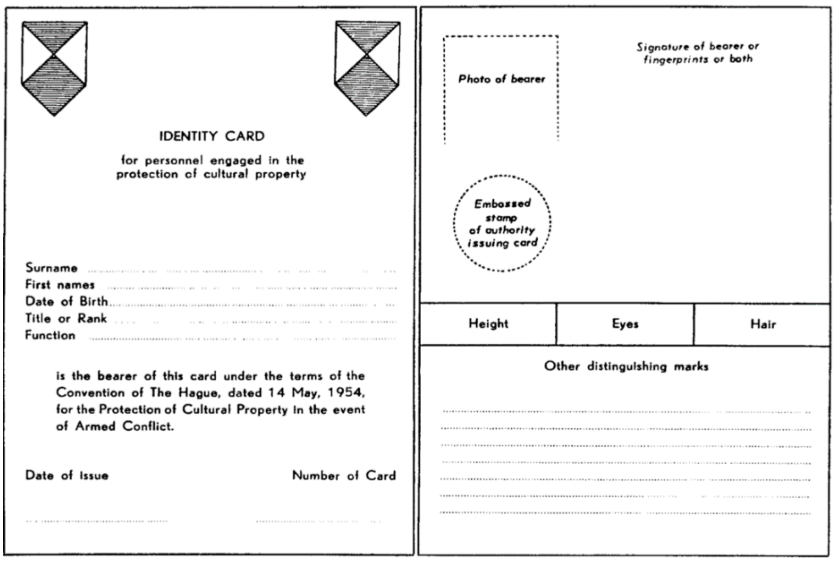
[69] The 1882 Act was not applicable to buildings that were inhabited (and therefore private property) (Delafons, 1997:24; Jokilehto, 2018:189); hence why the only real mention of people and/ or society is in relation to the individuals who owned a scheduled monument (Delafons, 1997:25).

[70] Camillo Boito (1836-1914), Italian architect, whose ideas underpinned the *Prima Carta del Restauro* (*Charter of Restoration*), and subsequently the Athens Charter.

The *Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe* (Council of Europe, 1985) (hereafter the Granada Convention) was published 21 years later, and with it came a shift in discourse from *historic monument* to *architectural heritage* – which can be understood as a shift in focus from the monumentality of heritage, to a focus on its architectural merit. Coupled with this, the convention also promoted social interest, socio-cultural activities and the needs of contemporary societies (Council of Europe, 1985:2,5). It also recognised that old buildings may need to be adapted to suit contemporary uses (Council of Europe, 1985:4) – an acknowledgement some 21 years overdue since the Venice Charter's contradictory statement on this matter.

5.5 Cultural property and cultural 'personnel'

Spurred on by the destruction of the built environment during WWII, the *Convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict* (UNESCO, 1954) (hereafter the Hague Convention) was produced to address the threat to cultural heritage caused by war and conflict (UNESCO, 1954:4; Pasikowska-Schnass, 2018:2). The convention is understandably averse to change, which through its specific political lens is negatively associated with destruction and damage. Whilst it still recognises culture as a physical, tangible concept, it does continue the same language of the Athens and Venice Charters relating to '…a cultural heritage of mankind…', which stresses the importance of cultural assets for people and makes the link between personal and global culture (see UNESCO, 1954:8). It lists architectural monuments, groups of buildings, and cultural buildings (i.e. museums, libraries, archives) as being of primary interest in relation to the built environment (UNESCO, 1954:8,10), but is also explicit about its interests in movable cultural property. Overall the convention focuses on the 'preservation' and 'safeguarding' of 'cultural property' (UNESCO, 1954:12) – this being the first appearance of the term 'safeguarding' within an international charter (a term now heavily associated with intangible heritage (see UNESCO, 2003)). In Article 7 it also differentiates between 'cultural property' and 'culture', asking member parties to maintain '…a spirit of respect for the culture and cultural property of all peoples' (UNESCO, 1954:14). The convention is also concerned with the protection of individuals who are assisting in the preservation and safeguarding of cultural property (UNESCO, 1954:20), with both 'cultural property' and 'people' recognised as identifiable entries within Article 17 (UNESCO, 1954:22). Poignantly, these protected 'personnel' were transporters (literal carriers) of cultural property, which the convention made an internationally identifiable role (*Figure 40*). Despite its focus on cultural property, the convention does not offer any further detail concerning how the physical fabric of these assets should be preserved or safeguarded.



IDENTITY CARD

for personnel engaged in the
protection of cultural property

Surname ……………………
First names ……………………
Date of Birth ……………………
Title or Rank ……………………
Function ……………………

is the bearer of this card under the terms of the Convention of The Hague, dated 14 May, 1954, for the Protection of Cultural Property in the event of Armed Conflict.

Date of Issue ……………………
Number of Card ……………………

Photo of bearer

Signature of bearer or fingerprints or both

Embossed stamp of authority issuing card

Height	Eyes	Hair

Other distinguishing marks

Figure 40 - Hague Convention identity card

For 'personnel' involved in the protection of cultural property
Source: the Hague Convention (UNESCO, 1954)

5.6 Planning policy

Planning Policy Guidance 15 (Department of the Environment, 1994) (hereafter PPG15) explicitly championed '…policies for the identification and protection of historic buildings…' (Department of the Environment, 1994:4). Although this document has long been superseded[71], it is a relevant policy document to include within this review, particularly from the point of view of its legacy. The document maintained a heavy emphasis on the physical fabric of buildings, especially from the perspective of defining special interest, and in turn, what can be classified as acceptable change (see Department of the Environment, 1994:6). Some examples of its fabric-centred content include:

> ***C.40*** *As a rule, windows in historic buildings should be repaired, or if beyond repair should be replaced "like for like".*
>
> ***C.20*** *Parapets (solid or balustraded), pediments, parapeted or coped gables and saddlestones, eaves, cornices and moulded cappings are essential terminal features in the articulation of an elevation. If they have to be replaced, it should be in facsimile and in the same materials.*
>
> *(Department of the Environment, 1994)*

The document describes *change* as something that must be *controlled*, reflecting '…the great importance to society of protecting listed buildings from unnecessary demolition and . . . unsuitable and insensitive alteration' (Department of the Environment, 1994:14). The intensity and arguably rigid nature of PPG15 is somewhat understandable if contextualised. The country had just been through a number of decades where many old and significant buildings were either demolished [72] or subjected to poor architectural solutions (Abdelmonem, 2017:9). Yet whilst developed out of a need to protect, the prescriptive nature of PPG15 unavoidably put further barriers up against change (even positive or considered change). Thus, at its root, the spirit of PPG15 was very much aligned with the ethos of the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964), and the preceding Ruskinian/SPABian ideal from which it emerged. Contemporary conservation approaches would certainly now question the validity of this guidance, with building adaptation and change of use often utilised as essential tactics to retain the significance and usefulness of historic buildings

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[71] PPG15 was superseded firstly by PPS5 (Communities and Local Government, 2010), and then subsequently by the NPPF (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019) (originally published in 2012).

[72] The Policy Studies Institute Report 'The Built Heritage' notes the demolition of ninety listed buildings in 1991 alone.

(Mısırlısoy and Gan Günç, 2016:91). Although PPG15 supported highly prescriptive measures over change to listed buildings, it also acknowledged (albeit briefly) that the historic environment cannot be *unchanged* in practice (Department of the Environment, 1994:6).

Following PPG15, *Planning Policy Statement 5* (Communities and Local Government, 2010) (hereafter PPS5) makes a strong move away from the detailed and prescriptive nature of its predecessor, as well as moving away from a sole concern with the physical fabric of buildings and on to '…the quality of life they bring to this and future generations' (Communities and Local Government, 2010:2). With regards to change, it suggests that 'intelligently managed change' can assist in the maintenance of built heritage assets and in-turn facilitate 'sustainable development' (Communities and Local Government, 2010:2). The document is also the first to introduce the notion of weighing benefit against harm[73] (Communities and Local Government, 2010:9). This is a particularly important milestone in policy whereby the perceived intrinsic significance of listed buildings is confronted by (and evaluated against) a new focus on community needs.

Finally, superseding PPS5 was the *National Planning Policy Framework* (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019) (hereafter the NPPF), which was originally introduced in 2012[74]. In *Chapter 16: Conserving and Enhancing the Historic Environment*[75], it continues a trajectory of brevity and people-focused clauses that has been the case following PPG15. All prescriptive guidance relating specifically to the physical fabric of listed buildings was removed, with more generalised policy offered that places emphasis on the management of change and on people/ communities (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019). To put this in perspective, the information concerning the conservation of the historic environment within the NPPF (Chapter 16) is a mere three and a half pages, in comparison to PPG15's circa 100 pages of prescriptive guidance. The document acknowledges that *conservation* means '…[t]he process of managing change to a heritage asset…' (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local

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[73] This is the notion of weighing up the advantages and improvements to communities (benefit) as resulting from the imposed changes to the physical fabric of a listed building (harm).

[74] Since 2012, the NPPF was updated for the first time in July 2018 and then swiftly again in February 2019. The updates do not reflect any major changes with regards to approaches towards the historic environment, thus the critical date of this policy for the purposes of this chapter is 2012.

[75] Chapter 12 in the 2012 version.

Government, 2019:65), and proposes change to be evaluated based on how it impacts 'significance' (be that positive or negative impact) (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:55). This is essentially a continuation of the 'benefit vs harm' method introduced by PPS5. Through its emphasis on sustainable development and the redefinition of listed buildings as non-renewable resources, it contributes to the understanding of building reuse as a less wasteful approach towards the building stock (also see Jubb, 2014:9; Mısırlısoy and Gan Günç, 2016:92; Harney, 2017:151). Four key points are made in relation to listed buildings that support this (see Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:54–55):

1. Conserve them so that they can be enjoyed by current and future generations.
2. Change them to encourage a viable use.
3. Ensure they contribute to wider social benefits.
4. Ensure they have a positive impact on local character and sustainable communities.

The focus on 'viable uses' in particular highlights the desire to make built heritage assets relevant to contemporary societal needs (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:54–55). Emphasis is therefore diverted from bricks and mortar to '…the wider social, cultural, economic and environmental benefits that conservation of the historic environment can bring' (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:54).

Alongside a more people-focused approach to working with listed buildings, the NPPF also builds on the concept of 'significance' in relation to historic and listed buildings. Walter (2014b:634) summarises the current adopted model as having a focus on the identification of 'values', which in their totality comprise the 'significance' of the heritage asset. The concept of 'significance' was originally introduced within PPS5 as a method to assess and summarise the special interest of a listed building. Both PPS5 and the NPPF describe significance as:

> *The value of a heritage asset to this and future generations because of its heritage interest. That/This interest may be archaeological, architectural, artistic or historic.*
>
> *(Communities and Local Government, 2010:14)*
> *(Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:71)*

The later NPPF definition builds on this definition by appending the following:

> *Significance derives not only from a heritage asset's physical presence, but also from its setting. For World Heritage Sites, the cultural value described within each site's Statement of Outstanding Universal Value forms part of its significance.*
>
> *(Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:71)*

Overall, the NPPF builds on the 'architectural' and 'historic' interest of the 1990 Act by adding 'archaeological' and 'artistic' to the list of interests that buildings could demonstrate through a significance assessment. It also introduces non-physical themes of 'setting' and 'cultural value' (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:71) – the former being defined as the location where the heritage is experienced (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:71).

5.7 Cultural significance and value

The documents reviewed within this section are distributed fairly centrally within the political landscape on the document matrix (*Figure 38*), which in principle means they demonstrate a reasonably balanced approach towards change, as well as a more balanced appreciation of both tangible and intangible heritage. Of particular interest are *The Burra charter: the Australia ICOMOS charter for places of cultural significance* (ICOMOS, 1979, 1988, 2013) (hereafter the Burra Charter) and *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance* (Historic England, 2008) (hereafter Conservation Principles). The former brings to England the notion of 'the social' as being just as fundamental in the assessment of cultural significance as aesthetic or historic values (Hassard, 2009b:154), whilst the latter is the implementation of this concept within official guidance (see Historic England, 2008:31). It is principally through the efforts of Kate Clark[76] (amongst others) that the notion of a values- and significance-based codification of UK-based heritage has gained such traction in formalised heritage practices, which has been achieved primarily through an adapted version of the Burra Charter's approach (see Clark, 2014:65). Emphasised within this approach is: the importance of 'significance'; the decentralisation of the heritage professional; the vital role that communities can play in defining heritage; and the 'public value' that can blossom from the protection and management of heritage (Clark, 2014:65–66).

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[76] Heritage academic and policy advisor.

The Burra Charter (originally 1979) has been periodically updated up to its current 2013 version[77], reacting to changes in heritage practice and theory (Australia ICOMOS, 2020). It defines 'cultural significance' as '…aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations' (ICOMOS, 2013:2). There is a clear overlap with Historic England's definition of significance as '…the sum of the cultural and natural heritage values of a place, often set out in a statement' (Historic England, 2008:72) – no less because it openly based it's approach on the Burra Charter (as well as the Nara Document) (Chitty and Smith, 2019:284). Both definitions of significance demonstrate a move towards a more holistic understanding of built heritage sites, with a broad selection of values being noted within each document. Intangible qualities of buildings are considered within both guidance documents (alongside tangible qualities), with much overlap in ideas and thematic connections. Historic England (2008:31) do this under their broader heading of 'communal value', which they break down more specifically into 'commemorative', 'symbolic', 'social' and 'spiritual' values (themes explored in detail within *Chapter 6 – Deconstructing communal value*). Rather than creating specific categories, the Burra Charter instead makes direct reference to intangible heritage throughout the document. Intangible dimensions such as 'meanings', 'memory' and 'symbolism' for places are frequently referenced, stating that a 'place' (which it notes could be an individual building or group of buildings) '…may have tangible and intangible dimensions' (ICOMOS, 2013:2–3). Whilst it makes reference to social practices, it only focuses indirectly on their safeguarding through the conservation of setting and place (ICOMOS, 2013:3). It also refers to the conservation of place being responsible for sustaining the relationship *between* people and a particular place (ICOMOS, 2013:5). Whilst the Burra Charter is clearly a move towards a more inclusive and less 'expert'-focused approach (Clark, 2014:66), as a professional guidance document it must ultimately favour professional expertise, with community engagement offered as a supplementary contribution within its established steps (see ICOMOS, 2013:10). The document is also explicit with regards to its stance on change, clarifying that it takes a 'cautious approach' (ICOMOS, 2013:3).

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[77] Updated versions were published in 1981, 1988 and 1999 (see ICOMOS, 2013).

Historic England’s Conservation Principles ‘…follows the general pattern of the Burra Charter…’ (Emerick, 2014:186), as well as making direct reference to the Nara Document’s interpretation of ‘authenticity’ (see Historic England, 2008:71) (though it is arguable as to whether it actually helps achieve this interpretation in practice). Chitty and Smith (2019:284) describe the document as ‘…a self-conscious choice of internationally framed, socially inclusive and values-centred approaches…’, further highlighting its lack of ‘formal status’ and ‘official weight’ within the broader English planning system. This is coupled with its lack of clear methodology, with Waterton (2010:158) describing it as ‘…a vaguely defined process that moves from the historic environment, to ideas of place, to those of fabric before encountering ideas of value…’. This is despite its self-acknowledgement of the importance and impact that a clear method of assessment can have for people and places (see Historic England, 2008:40). The result is a document that has a very wide focus, capturing values that are concerned with both buildings (e.g. aesthetic value) and society (e.g. communal value). As such, the document is very much open to interpretation and therefore could be used to support various perspectives with regards to built heritage, intangible heritage, community involvement and change. The document is clear from the outset that ‘…change in the historic environment is inevitable…’ (Historic England, 2008:22), making it more focused on the effect of change and how this can be best managed to enhance places and protect values (Historic England, 2008:15).

Both the Burra Charter and Conservation Principles utilise history within their structuring to connect the tangible and intangible qualities of buildings and place. Historic England do this by linking the sub-categories of ‘historical value’ to both tangible and intangible meanings – with ‘illustrative value’ related to ‘aesthetic value’ (tangible) (Historic England, 2008:28) and ‘associative value’ related to ‘communal value’ (intangible) (Historic England, 2008:29) (*Figure 41*). Similarly, ICOMOS use the concepts of ‘history’ and ‘historical and contemporary relationships’ to connect the ‘fabric’ and ‘setting’ of a building (tangible) to the ‘use’ and ‘associations’ of it (intangible) (ICOMOS, 2013:3) (*Figure 42*). Historical records, accounts, archives and interpretation also play a connective role in both documents between tangible and intangible qualities (Historic England, 2008:29; ICOMOS, 2013:9).

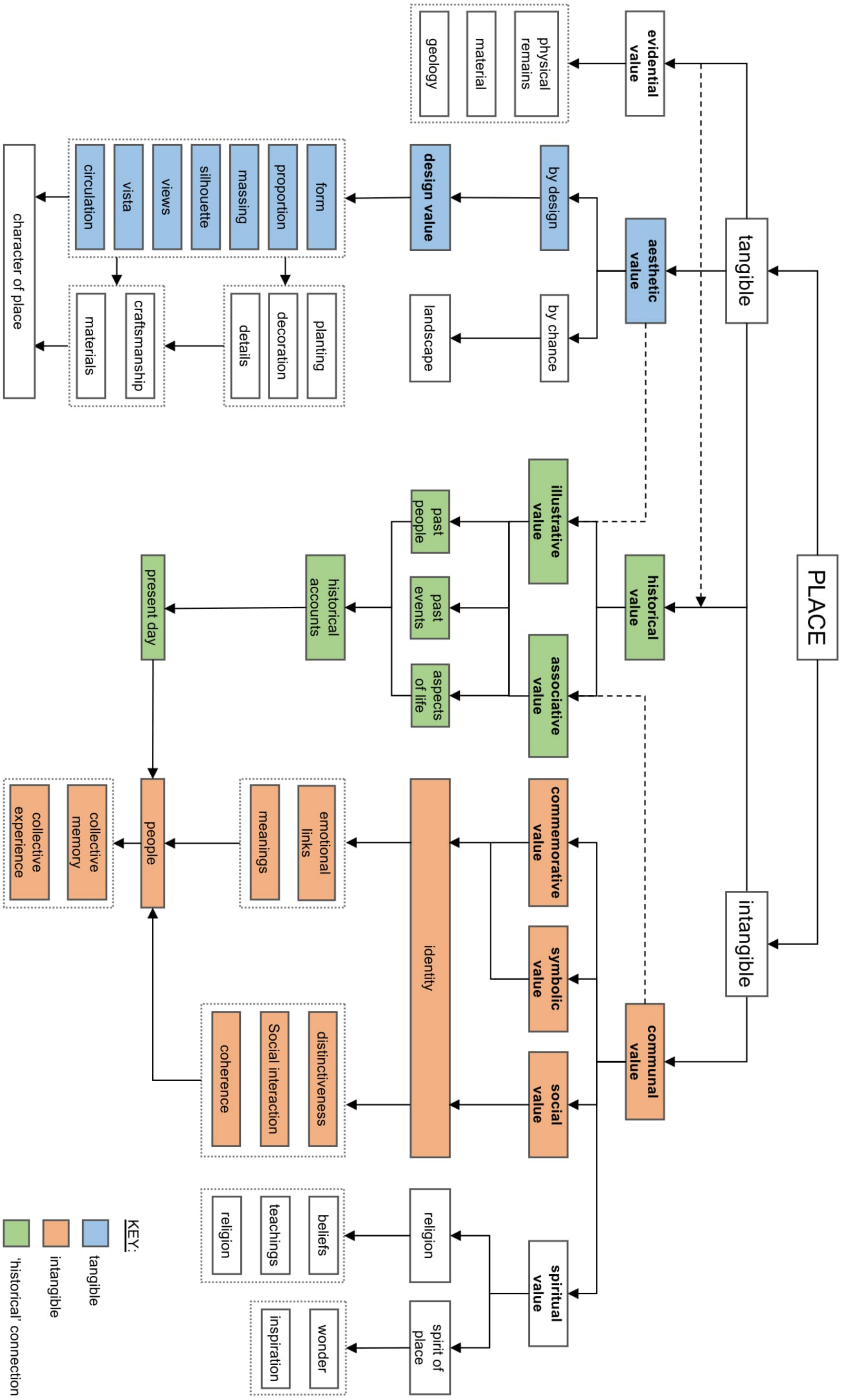
PLACE
tangible
intangible
evidential value
aesthetic value
historical value
communal value
physical remains
material
geology
by design
by chance
design value
landscape
form
proportion
massing
silhouette
views
vista
circulation
planting
decoration
details
craftsmanship
materials
character of place
illustrative value
associative value
past people
past events
aspects of life
historical accounts
present day
commemorative value
symbolic value
social value
spiritual value
identity
emotional links
meanings
people
collective memory
collective experience
distinctiveness
Social interaction
coherence
religion
spirit of place
beliefs
teachings
religion
wonder
inspiration
KEY:
tangible
intangible
'historical' connection

Figure 41 - Diagrammatic interpretation of 'Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance'

Illustrating the 'historical' connection between their tangible and intangible aspects of value
Source: author original image

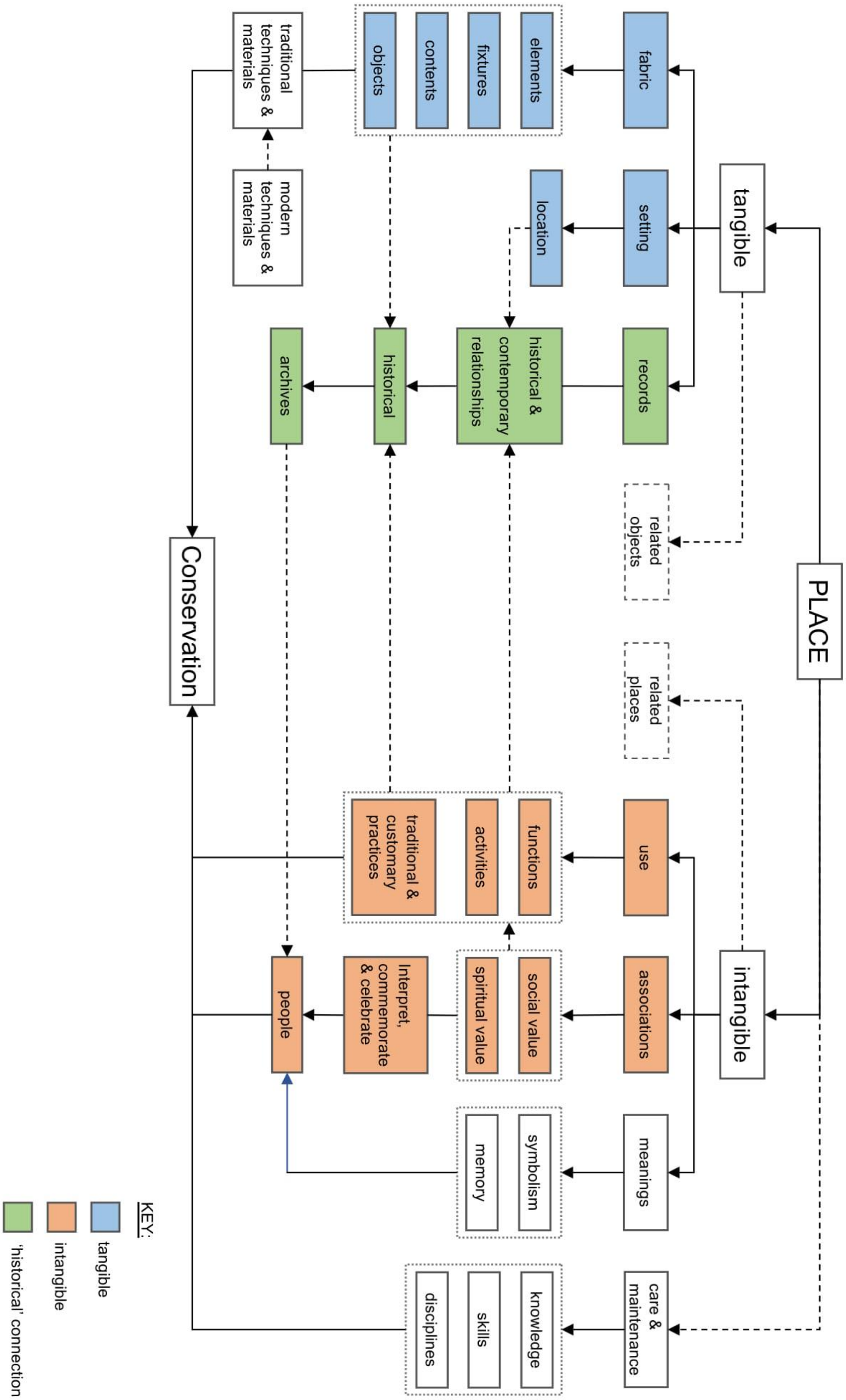
PLACE
tangible
intangible
fabric
elements
fixtures
contents
objects
traditional techniques & materials
modern techniques & materials
setting
location
records
historical & contemporary relationships
historical
archives
related objects
related places
use
functions
activities
traditional & customary practices
associations
social value
spiritual value
Interpret, commemorate & celebrate
people
meanings
symbolism
memory
care & maintenance
knowledge
skills
disciplines
Conservation
KEY:
tangible
intangible
'historical' connection

Figure 42 - Diagrammatic interpretation of the 'Burra Charter'

Illustrating the 'historical' connection between their tangible and intangible aspects of value
Source: author original image

In more recent developments, Historic England’s *Consultation Draft* of an updated Conservation Principles (see Historic England, 2017) removed ‘communal value’ as a category in its own right. Instead, it was shoehorned within ‘historic interest’ (Historic England, 2017:7), with the draft also explicitly declaring that ‘[i]t does not directly address intangible heritage’ (Historic England, 2017:1). Considering this draft was developed to better align with the NPPF and is ultimately still within the lineage of the Burra Charter, it appears to have been unaffected by the re-focus from buildings to communities that the NPPF encourages; nor the ‘community engagement’ slant of the Burra Charter (ICOMOS, 2013:10; Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:54). Two and a half years later, and with much criticism, Historic England are still ‘…deciding how best to take this document forward’ (Historic England, 2020b). Overall, however, the release of this draft gives insight into the direction that Historic England wish to take, which unfortunately appears to be one that suppresses the advances that are evident within both contemporary heritage critique and international guidance (Chitty and Smith, 2019:293; Walter, 2020:22).

Looking more broadly at UK policy, Cadw maintains a particular focus on developing the skills required to look after the historic environment, and similarly to the NPPF, demonstrates a focus on the public enjoyment of it (see Cadw, 2019:3). Cadw acknowledges the inevitability of change and focuses on ‘…offering advice and guidance to owners and occupiers of listed buildings about how best to manage change’ (Cadw, 2019:12). Their *Conservation principles for the sustainable management of the historic environment in Wales* document is explicitly based on Historic England’s Conservation Principles (see Cadw, 2011:5). It therefore maintains a similar void in the guidance relating to intangible heritage associated with buildings. Again, as per Historic England, intangible qualities are most closely represented by ‘communal value’ – the explanation of which is even more fleeting than in Historic England’s guidance (a mere 146 words to grapple with such concepts as collective memory, emotion, and symbolism) (see Cadw, 2011:17). This is despite it being produced three years later, and therefore having the opportunity to advance the guidance produced by Historic England. Although Cadw maintains that their document is ‘…tailored to meet the needs of Wales’ (Cadw, 2011:5), the intangible cultural heritage of Wales lacks representation in terms of how it may relate to or be impacted by the conservation/ adaptation of the Welsh historic environment. This is despite it being a significant aspect of Welsh contemporary culture and identity (Howell, 2013).

Scotland's historic environment strategy *Our Place in Time* (Scottish Government, 2014), and the *Historic Environment Policy for Scotland* (Historic Enviroment Scotland, 2019) are both explicit about the importance of intangible heritage. The former notes that '…[t]he historic environment. . . is a combination of physical things (tangible) and those aspects we cannot see – stories, traditions and concepts (intangible)' (Scottish Government, 2014:2). The latter identifies 'intangible cultural heritage' as a distinct category and essential attribute for historic environment management (Historic Enviroment Scotland, 2019:11). Unlike English and Welsh policy/ guidance, Scottish documents offer a more blended approach, with issues that relate to physical structures and land having no perceivable hierarchy over people-based criteria such as social identity, equality, and welfare; or community participation, empowerment, and diversity (Scottish Government, 2014:2; Historic Enviroment Scotland, 2019:10–11). With regards to change, the Scottish Government are interested in managing and recording change, and similarly to the NPPF, their document frames it as an inevitable characteristic of the historic environment (Scottish Government, 2014:19). They further cite building reuse and refurbishment as catalysts for 'positive change' (Scottish Government, 2014:19). Overall, their approach is concerned with both buildings and people in a similar way to Historic England (2008), but with more explicit reference to the importance of intangible heritage.

In Northern Ireland, it is the *Guidance on setting and the historic environment* (Department for Communities, 2018) which discusses the intangible qualities of the historic environment, referring to 'functional' qualities involving '…tangible or intangible values associated with human activity' (Department for Communities, 2018). 'Function' forms part of the 'setting' of the heritage asset (along with 'visual' and 'physical' qualities), which it states should form the basis of 'significance' assessment (Department for Communities, 2018:10). It also accepts the inevitability of change by adding in a final stage of assessment, which relates to how any change may impact setting (Department for Communities, 2018:10). However, it focuses less on the concept of *managing* change (as per Historic England, 2008:8), and more on the *impact* of change (Department for Communities, 2018:10). Overall, the structuring of historic significance for NI is very similar to that of

England and Wales. Yet whilst it refers to 'values', it is not as explicit regarding the use of a values-based system, and its guidance is inconsistent. For example, their online guidance refers explicitly to 'social value' as a crucial aspect of the historic environment[78], yet their actual guidance document makes no reference to this value typology (Department for Communities, 2018). Furthermore, it is arguably more vague than Welsh guidance in relation to social (communal) value, as it offers only a brief overview of what this value means.

The *National Lottery Heritage Fund Strategic Funding Framework* (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019) (hereafter the NLHF) maintains a heavy focus on communities, believing in a similar manner to the Nara Document (ICOMOS, 1994) and the 2003 Convention (UNESCO, 2003) that local communities should decide what heritage is to be valued and passed on; and therefore advocates community involvement in decision-making processes (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019:4, 27). The document makes reference to '…lasting change for people and communities…' (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019:13), creating a clear relationship between heritage, communities, and the need to support 'positive and lasting change' (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019:05). It also makes explicit references to 'intangible heritage':

> *The National Lottery Heritage Fund is unique in covering the full breadth of natural, cultural and intangible heritage, across the UK.*
>
> *(National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019:10)*

> *Our understanding of the ways in which heritage might be considered at risk is broad. It includes. . . intangible heritage and cultural practices that might be lost.*
>
> *(National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019:16)*

Along with this more explicit recognition of intangible heritage, the NLHF also makes clear reference to a more devolved people-focused approach to the identification and definition of what heritage is. This places a strong emphasis on the 'accessibility' of heritage, by noting the need to respect and acknowledge the diversity of heritage from a variety of beliefs, backgrounds and interests (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019:4). With a devolved focus on diversity and inclusion, local identity, local heritage, and cultural practices (National

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[78] Refer to https://perma.cc/YRZ7-W6C9 [archived link].

Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019:4,10,16,27), the NLHF is more aligned with the sentiments of the 2003 Convention than the policy and guidance that it works alongside. For example, both documents highlight the need to actively involve people and communities in the understanding and designation of heritage, which Lenzerini (2011:111) states is a crucial aspect of ICH safeguarding.

Whilst the NLHF fully acknowledges the existence of intangible heritage and the contributions made towards funding its safeguarding since 1994 (*Figure 43*), it also makes it explicitly clear that there is no statutory agency responsible for intangible heritage in the UK (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019:51). This gives some context to the small amount of funding distributed for intangible heritage in the UK since 1994 (4%), in comparison to historic buildings and monuments (37%) – which is representative of a broader imbalance that is unlikely to change at any point in the near future (Winter, 2013:537).

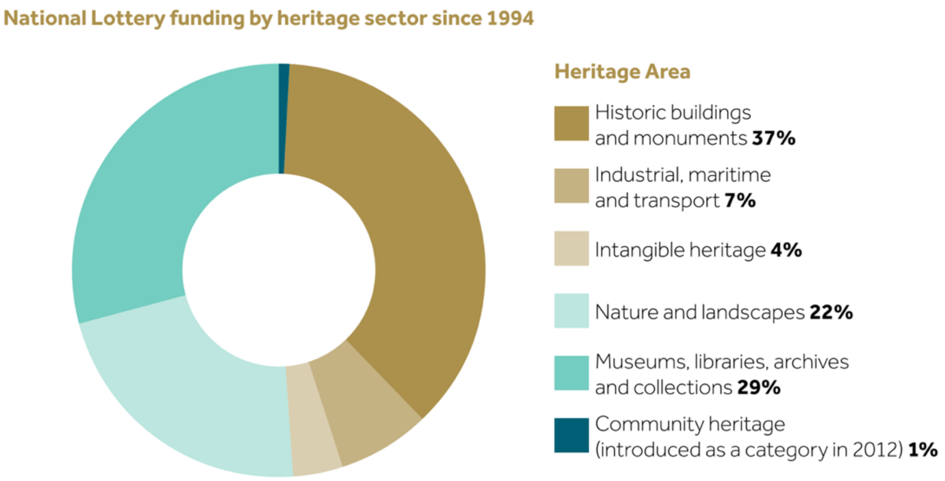

Figure 43 - National Lottery Heritage funding by heritage sector since 1994

Source: National Lottery Heritage Fund (2019:13)

Ultimately, if there is no agency responsible for this category of heritage (governmental or non-governmental) and if it is not within the overarching agendas of legislation or policy, then there is naturally going to be less overall incentive for intangible heritage safeguarding in the UK, regardless of the perceived benefits. Equally, whilst administering a framework that allows people/ communities to decide what their heritage is (self-recognition), this will place responsibility with these social groups to manage and safeguard this heritage moving forward (Hafstein, 2015:6). This requires clarity over whose heritage should be safeguarded and for whose benefit. As Kearney (2009:215) states, '…who constitutes "us" and on what terms and for whose benefit are intangible cultural expressions to be safeguarded'? Without support from policy and legislation on defining these terms, this could be perceived as an uncertain and contested sentiment within the NLHF.

5.8 Diversity of heritage

Moving towards the documents that sit within the more people-focused zone of the political landscape, the Nara Document (ICOMOS, 1994) makes a significant jump from the Burra Charter in relation to a decentralisation of authenticity and a focus on the diversity and subjectivity of heritage (ICOMOS, 1994:46; Jokilehto, 2009:127). It includes both '…tangible and intangible expression…' within its criteria (ICOMOS, 1994:46), and maintains a focus on 'cultural identity', which steers its emphasis towards people and society (where it further makes a distinction between the society that *creates* heritage and the society that *cares* for it (ICOMOS, 1994:46)). The concept of change in relation to heritage is considered from the perspective of maintaining appropriate 'authenticity judgements' (ICOMOS, 1994:47) – especially in relation to diversity, subjectivity, human development and evolution across time (ICOMOS, 1994:47). Building on these principles, *Nara + 20: on heritage practices, cultural values, and the concept of authenticity* (ICOMOS, 2014) (hereafter Nara + 20), attempts to both emphasise and progress the approach of the original Nara document in relation to the concept of authenticity. The document makes significantly more references to community participation and engagement than its predecessor, and highlights the ongoing need for methodologies to assess the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage (ICOMOS, 2014:2). It also includes 'emotion' as part of the considerations of group/ community identity (ICOMOS, 2014:3), which further emphasises the subjective and pluralistic qualities of heritage. As such, Nara + 20 suggests prioritising '…changes over time in perceptions and attitudes, rather than on a single assessment' (ICOMOS, 2014:2).

Published in between these documents was the *Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place* (ICOMOS, 2008) (hereafter the Québec Declaration), which in a similar vein to the Burra Charter, promotes the specific qualities of both tangible and intangible heritage. However, whilst the Burra Charter primarily seeks to organise tangible and intangible dimensions into themes which addresses these dimensions as fairly isolated qualities (i.e. 'fabric', 'symbolism', etc.), the Québec Declaration works towards a more holistic understanding by focussing explicitly on the indivisibility, interaction, and mutual production of tangible and intangible qualities (ICOMOS, 2008:2). The term 'spirit of place' is used as the concept to achieve this, which refers to '…the physical and the spiritual elements that give meaning, value, emotion and mystery to place' (ICOMOS, 2008:2) (*spirit of place* and its relationship to architectural phenomenology and existentialist ideas of identity and authenticity are covered within the upcoming *Section 6.6 Spirit of place*). What is important to note in this section, is how this is the first international document which attempts to explicitly consolidate tangible and intangible heritage within a singular, all-encompassing concept. It is also interesting to note that its focus on gaining parity across heritage domains results in it aligning more so with people-focused approaches and the notion of change, due to spirit of place having '…a plural and dynamic character, capable. . . of changing through time, and of belonging to different groups' (ICOMOS, 2008:2).

5.9 People and practices

The 2003 Convention (UNESCO, 2003) focuses almost exclusively on people and communities. It does this through recognising community practices as heritage (UNESCO, 2003:2), as well as recognising the need for community-led '…production, safeguarding, maintenance and re-creation of the intangible cultural heritage' (UNESCO, 2003:1) (this has already been explored in more detail within *Chapter 4 – Intangible cultural heritage and the UK*). Built heritage and the physical fabric of historic buildings is not mentioned within the convention; however, the definition of intangible heritage does include '…instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces…' which could include buildings of heritage value[79] (see UNESCO, 2003:2). It also makes a passing reference to the 'interdependence' that tangible and intangible heritage have with one another (see UNESCO, 2003:1), which is a theme that is explored in more detail in the *Yamato declaration on Integrated approaches for safeguarding tangible and intangible cultural heritage* (UNESCO, 2004) (hereafter the Yamato Declaration). Building on the momentum of the 2003 Convention (UNESCO, 2003), the Yamato Declaration further emphasises the key aspects of the 2003 Convention, whilst also attempting to elucidate the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage (Jokilehto, 2009:126). Accordingly, this two page document is situated as a bridge between the World Heritage Convention (UNSECO, 1972) and the 2003 Convention (UNESCO, 2003). Unlike the Québec Declaration which attempts to amalgamate the tangible-intangible binary within an overarching conceptual framework, the Yamato Declaration focuses on the relationship *between* tangible and intangible heritage. It does this by increasing focus on the importance of safeguarding intangible heritage; the interests of intangible heritage for present-day communities; and the ongoing agreement and collaboration of heritage safeguarding measures with the relevant communities concerned (UNESCO, 2004:2). Its position with regards to change and immaterial heritage is in line with the 2003 Convention (UNESCO, 2003), though it seeks to advance certain issues arising from the increasing focus on intangible qualities, such as the problematic application of tangible concepts (e.g. 'authenticity') to intangible heritage (UNESCO, 2004:1). The declaration makes no attempt to develop an alternative definition or concept to foster what it describes as two interdependent heritage dimensions (UNESCO, 2004:1). As already highlighted, it was only in 2008 where this was to be attempted with the publication of the Québec Declaration (ICOMOS, 2008).

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[79] A number of scholars have attempted to elucidate the intersection between tangible and intangible heritage domains (for example, see Bouchenaki, 2003:4; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004:60; Byrne, 2009:230; Jokilehto, 2009:126; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:67; Pocock et al., 2015:952; Taylor, 2015:73). This is discussed in more detail within Section 3.4 Postmodern problems.

The *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (Council of Europe, 2005) (hereafter the Faro Convention) emerged in the same year as the *Guidelines for the Establishment of National 'Living Human Treasures' Systems* (UNESCO, 2005). Both place a heavy emphasis on people/ society, with the former focussing on the 'human values' of cultural heritage and the latter calling for the support and safeguarding of the actual individuals who engage in cultural practices – labelling them as literal 'Living Human Treasures' (UNESCO, 2005:2). The latter is therefore openly and exclusively focused on people and society – even more so than the 2003 Convention or the Yamato Convention. On change, whilst it seeks to safeguard and preserve heritage practices, it also acknowledges that these practices must be developed and recreated across time to sustain their transmission (UNESCO, 2005:2). The Faro Convention seeks to emphasise the human rights to cultural heritage, although does this from the perspective of defining and managing heritage (see Council of Europe, 2005:1). Equally, it acknowledges the context of cultural heritage is '…a constantly evolving society' (Council of Europe, 2005:1), as well as insisting on the consideration of cultural values when engaging in change (Council of Europe, 2005:4).

5.10 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has evidenced how concepts relating to and representative of ICH are implicitly developing within policy and guidance across the UK. However, it has also evidenced how this is not extensive and certainly subsidiary to policies that relate specifically to the physical fabric of built heritage assets. Despite the evidence of heritage shifting in this direction, the UK appears to be behind the curve on this transnational issue – a fact that needs addressing within future research to ensure formal UK heritage documentation remains relevant towards the broader discourse on heritage management. Based on the analysis of both UK and international documents within this chapter, there is clearly an urgent need for new UK documentation to be produced that explicitly addresses intangible heritage from a UK perspective, and in a way that is relevant to built heritage practitioners. This is not only to offer support for those who work with physical heritage assets, but also to mark the UK as a relevant contributor to this global shift in heritage understanding – **in a way that is unique and relevant to UK identity**. There is ample precedent that has been explored within this chapter that can be utilised as a blueprint to achieve this – particularly those documents that demonstrate how to achieve formalised approaches towards the diversity of heritage and community benefits from heritage (two key characteristics of contemporary heritage discourse that Chapter 4 highlighted as relevant to intangible cultural heritage in the UK). However, this is not to ignore the existing supporting guidance that is available for built heritage professionals that best characterises an intangible outlook, namely Historic England's concept of 'communal value' (see Historic England, 2008:31). Despite its brevity and subsidiary positioning within broader guidance, the complexity of its thematic structuring will be explored in detail within the next chapter.

6 – Deconstructing communal value

6.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter focuses on the concept of 'communal value' (Historic England, 2008:31). It is one of four primary value typologies that are offered by Historic England as part of the overarching values-based method towards identifying the *significance* of a built heritage asset (the other three being 'evidential', 'historic' and 'aesthetic' values). Communal value is utilised by architectural conservationists and the broader built heritage profession in England as a very specific value that represents the importance of buildings for people and their identity – as opposed to a sole concern with the physicality of the site itself. In theory, a focus on communal value enables complex collective themes relating to society, memory, symbolism, and spiritualism, to be captured within statements of significance. Accordingly, rather than solely basing this literature review on communal value as a whole, this chapter is instead broken down into a series of sections that relate to the constituent qualities that communal value is comprised of (as per Historic England (2008)). These are: social value, social memory, symbolic value, and spiritual value. To refine the scope of the research, the review of spiritual value has been limited to secular practices. The rich, complex, and oftentimes contested nature of ecclesiastical buildings, their project structuring/ funding criteria, and the religious/ transcendent qualities associated therewith, rest outside the scope of this thesis (although religious buildings are still used as examples).

6.2 Understanding 'communal value'

The emergence of the 2003 Convention and its focus on community engagement encourages social groups to take a leading role when considering the safeguarding of their intangible heritage (Blake, 2009:45; Lenzerini, 2011:111). Certainly, it makes community identification, community interaction and community engagement all central components of the heritage construct:

> *…communities, in particular indigenous communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, play an important role in the* ***production**, **safeguarding**, **maintenance*** *and* ***re-creation*** *of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity.*
>
> (UNESCO, 2003:1 bold added)

This sentiment promotes a conception of heritage that is made up of community-centred practices, activities, participations and contributions (ICOMOS, 2013:8; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:69). Whilst this is often focused on the empowerment of indigenous communities and their participation in heritage processes (Marrie, 2009:169), it also has utility within Western communities, societies and their cultural practices – especially in relation to understanding the 'consumption' of heritage things (Delle and Levine, 2011:52). In particular, UNESCO encourage community-based inventories of heritage through workshops and training (Bortolotto, 2013:268).

Although this understanding of heritage as a social (manufactured) construct is widespread within practice and literature (see Loulanski, 2006:208; McClelland et al., 2013:586; Walter, 2014b:637), it is a particularly challenging sentiment in the UK, where heritage is historically and conventionally recognised primarily as physical sites (Wilks and Kelly, 2008:130) (the reasons for which have already been outlined within *Chapter 3 – From buildings to people*). In conjunction with this, it is also governed by top-down legislation which promotes a particular material interpretation of architectural and historic values (HM Government, 1990)[80]. Nonetheless, as has already been highlighted within *Chapter 4 – Intangible cultural heritage and the UK* and *Chapter 5 – Immateriality and change in policy and guidance*, concepts championed by the 2003 Convention have already begun to implicitly emerge within UK heritage practice, policy, guidance and funding streams. In particular, this highlights how the UK has become more concerned with the contribution of communities to the heritage process (see Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019:55), as well as being dedicated to engagement with communities at a local level within funding stream criteria (see National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019:10). As a consequence, '…the role of the conservation professional is increasingly becoming one of managing the participatory process' (Orbaşli, 2017:166).

Within formal guidance, this is best represented by the concept of 'communal value', which gives recognition to wider, non-professional views of historic buildings that traditionally do not fall within national designation parameters (Jones, 2017:23; Chitty and Smith,

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[80] Refer to Chapter 9 (c.9) of the Act, which relates to '…special controls in respect of buildings and areas of special architectural or historic interest…'.

2019:290). The term was brought within the vocabulary of UK heritage terminology by Historic England (2008), who formally describe it as follows:

> *Communal value derives from the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory.*
>
> *(Historic England, 2008:31)*

The constituent concepts that communal value is comprised of are noted as: collective memory; symbolic value; social value; and spiritual value (Historic England, 2008:31–32). These concepts represent the *meanings* of historic buildings for contemporary society – further implying that communal value is a constantly shifting value judgement (Jones, 2017:32). Further, as 'values' are, at their simplest, a justification for the protection of a building (Clark, 2019:59), this implies that a focus on communal value should prioritise not only protecting the building's contribution to society, but also fostering a continuous *reappraisal* of this contribution, in order to ensure a significance to frontier societies is maintained. This reflects not only the concept of 'evolution' that is expressed within both Nara documents (ICOMOS, 1994:47, 2014:3), but also the sentiment expressed within the Faro Convention concerning the need to not only constantly manage and redefine heritage for ever-evolving societies, but to also actively *involve* society in this process (Council of Europe, 2005:1; see also Schofield, 2016:7). Similarly, Article 15 of the 2003 Convention expects state parties to ensure local individuals, communities and groups are involved in the process of heritage creation, management and transmission (UNESCO, 2003:15), which could encourage a much broader and representative selection of heritage from a variety of less dominant cultural backgrounds (Pocock et al., 2015:965). This further aligns with Historic England's overarching belief that '…**everyone** should have the opportunity to contribute his or her knowledge of the value of places' (Historic England, 2008:20 bold added), which supports the notion that architectural conservation is as much about people as it is buildings (Orbaşli, 2008:6).

6.3 Social value, community identification and engagement

Social value was originally conceived by ICOMOS within the Burra Charter of 1979 (ICOMOS, 1979; de la Torre, 2013:158) and more explicitly defined within the 1988 version as follows:

> *Social value embraces the qualities for which a place has become a focus of spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or minority group.*
>
> *(ICOMOS, 1988:6)*

Jones (2017:21) builds on this description by describing the relevance of social value being specifically for '…contemporary communities, including people's sense of identity, belonging and place, as well as forms of memory and spiritual association'. Based on these definitions, communal and social value are therefore less reliant and less linked to the physical fabric of buildings (Historic England, 2008:32; Jones, 2017:26). Instead, their reliance is on the successful engagement of communities impacted by conservation and their ability to influence the decision making process (Muñoz Viñas, 2002:30). However, Waterton (2010:165) questions how it is possible for social value to influence decision-making if it is ultimately caught within traditional classificatory modes that focus on materiality and objective authenticity. Whilst Jones (2017:23) notes the increasing prevalence of communal value within both national and international heritage documents, its use in relation to values that relate specifically to physical sites is still very much subsidiary and separated (Pendlebury, 2013:715; Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016:474; Jones, 2017:24). This creates new challenges for heritage professionals, who can find the nature of social value difficult to factor in to heritage assessments (de la Torre, 2013:160). Smith and Campbell (2017:27) see this as an unavoidable consequence of expert intervention, which (particularly in the UK) is promoted as essential in understanding the significance (value and meaning) of a heritage asset. Two primary challenges for heritage professionals in relation to factoring social value into heritage assessments are: 1) the identification of relevant communities; and 2) actively engaging these communities within the heritage process.

6.3.1 Community identification

When attempting to identify communities, it is useful to perceive any relevant communities as the 'users of heritage', which Muñoz Viñas (2002:30) descibes as '…any person for whom the object performs any function, be it tangible or intangible'. This is an important definition for two reasons. Firstly, it helps define *who* should be included within the heritage process; and secondly, it acknowledges the impact of both tangible and intangible heritage domains on these users. In practice, this should mean that the significance of a tangible heritage asset (such as a listed building) should hold equal weight in comparison to the significance of an intangible heritage asset (such as a community event or tradition). This would be achieved by engaging specific users related to the heritage (individuals and social groups) to assist in determining what should be safeguarded. Similarly, the Burra Charter (ICOMOS, 2013:5) states relevant people can be identified by understanding who the heritage holds meanings, associations and/ or cultural responsibilities for. However, as is the case with most overarching policy and guidance, there are no specific method(s) proposed to achieve this. The diversity of communities and users for whom particular heritage holds meanings must also be accommodated, as is noted in both the Burra Charter (ICOMOS, 2013:1) and more emphatically within the Nara Document (ICOMOS, 1994:46). This implies effort would ideally be placed on acknowledging and celebrating a *multiplicity* of communities who actively reinterpret, resurrect or reincarnate original ideas of heritage (Turner and Tomer, 2013:185).

An example of the complexity that this creates is evident in the case of the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, which holds multiple meanings across a variety of 'heritage communities' (*Figure 44*). Firstly, the building has become representative of social history and radicalism due to its location on the site of the Peterloo Massacre (Walker, 1925:137). Secondly, the building stands as a well-regarded example of architecture, being described by Pevsner in 1969 as '…perhaps the noblest monument in the Cinquecento style in England' (Hartwell, 2002:93). Thirdly, important cultural events have taken place at the building across the 20th century, such as campaigning related to the British suffrage movement (Historic England, 2019a) and the well-known (and somewhat mythical) concert by the Sex Pistols, which is commonly regarded as the seminal event that changed both the Manchester music scene and the direction of rock music in the West (Albiez, 2005). The building will undoubtedly have even more communal and historical value than the examples above, such as personal value to countless individuals, who may associate specific memories, emotions, events or people with the building, its site, or setting. It is therefore important to consider and liaise with the specific interests of various communities who will be impacted by particular conservation or adaptation decisions, above and beyond broader societal interests (Muñoz Viñas, 2002:30; Lenzerini, 2011:120).

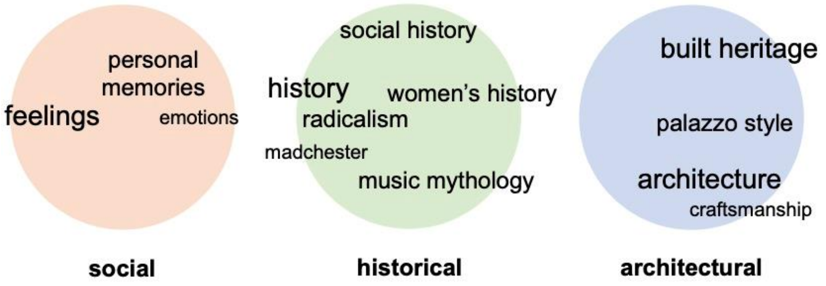

Figure 44 - Diverse values and communities related to the Free Trade Hall, Manchester

Different communities will have different understandings of significance
Source: author original image

Whilst it may be possible to uncover the pluralistic nature of heritage through an officially recognised method (such as a heritage report or study), contemporary conservation literature questions the efficacy of these traditional assessment methods in successfully identifying relevant community groups. In particular, it highlights the bias of official heritage mechanisms towards dominant social discourses and specific physical sites – with both being derived from a quasi-scientific values system (Muñoz Viñas, 2002; Smith and Akagawa, 2009b; Pocock et al., 2015). Furthermore, it is possible that whilst policy and guidance *is* becoming more people-focused (for example, Historic England's (2008:14) statement relating to communities of interest), social value is still undermined by other heritage values that are believed to be more fundamental in the designation of heritage assets (Jones, 2017:28). The Free Trade Hall is a prime example of this, with there being much controversy over its partial demolition and conversion into a hotel in 2004.

6.3.2 Community engagement

Engaging relevant communities is highlighted as particularly difficult in terms of: 1) its practical application within the heritage sector (Aikawa-Faure, 2009:36); 2) its effective use (Seeger, 2009:122); and 3) the need for '…a systematic approach based on appropriate methodology' (Jokilehto, 2018:443). This difficulty is further compounded by the tensions and conflicting views in heritage understanding between local and official authorities (Aikawa-Faure, 2009:28; Mydland and Grahn, 2012), which can often result in the representation of national values rather than local ones (see de la Torre, 2013:163). The literature poses many potential solutions to this tension between community and state (or local and universal) at varying levels of conceptuality and detail. These include:

1. The wholesale rejection of ‘authoritarian conservation’ (Byrne, 2009:249).
2. A full re-appraisal of heritage value assessment and interpretation (Mydland and Grahn, 2012).
3. The promotion of less dominant histories/ narratives (Buckley and Graves, 2016:153).
4. The use of cultural-mapping practices to encourage community governance (Longley and Duxbury, 2016:1).
5. Integrating performance and practice at heritage sites (Jones, 2017:25).
6. Engaging local communities and artists with artefacts and artwork to foster emotional responses (DeSilvey, 2017:170).
7. The formation of ‘heritage communities’ for public action related to specific cultural heritages (Dolff-Bonekämper and Blower, 2012:283; Jokilehto, 2018:447).

Kamel-Ahmed (2015:69) suggests *community* should be re-positioned as the ‘link’ between tangible and intangible heritage, with the aim being to encourage the democratisation of the heritage values system, as well as increase the overall role of people/ communities in the heritage process – key traits that Blake (2009:46) describes as essential to community engagement. Smith’s (2009) study highlights the potential for the English museum to act as a platform for exploring ICH and engaging with various community groups through exhibitions, performance and re-enactments (Smith, 2009:21); whilst Jones (2017:26) suggests qualitative methods such as interviews and ethnographic studies may better capture the dynamic and intangible nature of social value.

An example of one method utilised in practice is at the London Road Fire Station conservation and refurbishment scheme in Manchester. ‘The London Road Recordings’ project ‘…seeks to document the lived experiences and heritage of London Road . . . by recording the memories of people who knew the building best’ (London Road Recordings, 2018). This was achieved by inviting a variety of previous building users back to the vacant building to record their memories of it, as well as have their portraits taken in the part of the building where they used to live (*Figure 45*).

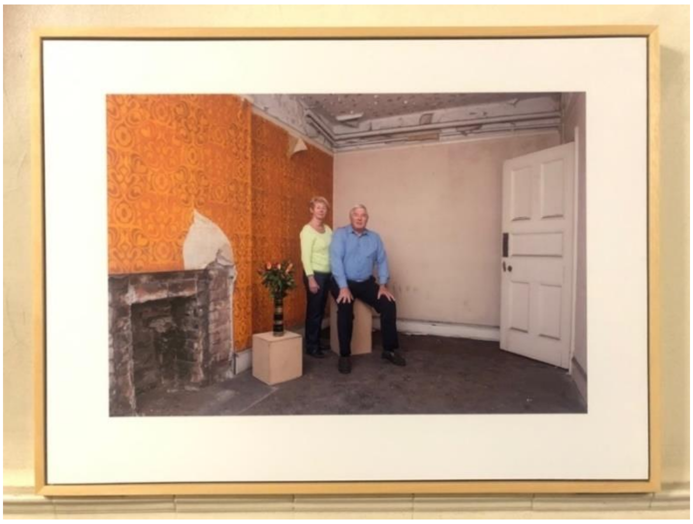

Figure 45 - Tenant portrait at the London Road Recordings exhibition, Manchester

Source: author original photograph taken at the London Road Recordings Exhibition in 2019

Not only does this approach engage a variety of ‘communities’ from across time but also allows their stories and memories to reveal less dominant building narratives, which in turn then have the potential to be taken into consideration within the conservation and refurbishment of the building.

6.4 Curating memory

6.4.1 Social memory

The word ‘memory’ is formally defined as ‘senses relating to the action or process of commemorating, recollecting, or remembering’ (OED Online, 2020). Misztal (2003:9) more broadly describes it as an ‘…active orientation towards the past…’, and explains it involves ‘remembering’. Many typologies of memory have been established in the literature[81], ranging from types that represent personal, individual recollections through to more collective and social forms of remembrance – each reinforcing individual or group identity respectively (J. Assmann, 2008:109). Whilst personal memories relate to an individual’s life story (Misztal, 2003:10), social memory[82] represents the discourses and boundaries that defines the identity of a social group, which is anchored through shared recollections and the relationship of these recollections to history (French, 1995:9; Misztal, 2003:11; A. Assmann, 2008:52). Thus, social memory goes beyond mere recollection, in that it represents a contemporary common memory that meets present needs (French, 1995:9). Consequently, whilst memory has a concern with the past – what Connerton (1989:2) describes as a causal connection with past objects and events – it is equally a creation and representation of the present. It allows people to understand themselves a little better (Misztal, 2003:1); to stay in tune with their ambitions (Smith and Waterton, 2009:293); and to strategically remember (or forget) in line with their present desires (Hamilakis, 2017:174).

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[81] For example, Connerton (1989:22–23) outlines personal, cognitive and habit memory types; Misztral (2003:9–10) refers to procedural, semantic, personal, cognitive, habit and social memory types; and McDowell (2008a:40) discusses official, unofficial, public, local, national, societal, historical, emotional, literal, and exemplary memory types.

Memory also has an association with monuments, with both words sharing an etymological origin in Greek (Jokilehto, 2018:15). Buildings have long been interpreted as memorials, whether that be through the ancient practice of martyria[83] (Stalley, 1999:59); in their ruined state like those encountered on the Grand Tours of the 17-18th century (Weston, 2017:231); or through the literal belief that memories could be transmitted to physical objects (Abdelmonem and Selim, 2012:166). Accordingly, the common desire for societies to remember and commemorate has often been implemented within the design of buildings (Cohen, 2011:294), resulting in social memory being a characteristic feature of buildings (Rossi, 1994:33). This satisfies (at least to some extent) the definition of 'memorial', which is concerned with 'preserving the memory of a person or thing; often applied to an object set up or a festival (or the like) instituted, to commemorate an event or a person' (OED Online, 2020). To paraphrase this definition – the preservation of memory can be achieved either through its association with something material and tangible (like a building) or through its representation by something immaterial and social (like an event). Historic buildings that are understood as monuments or memorials are perhaps best understood as a mixture of these approaches. As generations pass away and societal needs change, qualities of persistence and permanence across time become useful qualities of historic buildings, allowing them to act as a tangible historic record across multiple generations in a way that human memories cannot (Giedion, 1971:30; J. Assmann, 2008:113). Yet historic buildings are equally a construct of contemporary society in terms of their ability to inform and be absorbed within contemporary life patterns, rituals and practices (Abdelmonem and Selim, 2012:163; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:71; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:28). Elaborating on this further, both Harvey (2008:22) and McDowell (2008a:41) refer to the idea of a fabricated or re-enacted memory, where the memory that a historic building represents has outlived those who originally held a personal connection to it. This 'postmemory'[84] is a very deliberate type of memory that contemporary society creates to connect with their ancestry (McDowell, 2008a:41). This is exemplified architecturally by the work of Daniel Libeskind, who attempts to connect the generations who lived *after* the Holocaust to the trauma of its memory through the medium of his 'architecture of trauma' – what Heckner (2008:62) describes as an 'affective transmission' of memory.

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[82] The terms 'social memory' and 'collective memory' are mostly used interchangeably throughout the literature. French (1995:9) does make a brief attempt to distinguish between the two terms – describing the former as placing an emphasis on 'social contexts', and the latter on 'the internalization of group identities'. Either way, the overarching concept is the same, and originates from the work of Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945). For consistency, and as a matter of preference, this thesis primarily uses the term 'social memory'.

[83] A building or structure that exists to honour a martyr, sometimes containing physical relics relating to the martyr.

There is a *performative* parallel between postmemory and Connerton's (1989:23) description of 'habit memory', which is concerned with a societal capacity to reproduce performances of certain commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices (Connerton, 1989:22) – i.e. an emphasis on repeating rather than remembering (Connerton, 1989:25). Thus, Connerton proposes a causal link between commemorative ceremonies, performativity, and habit/ bodily practices, which underpins social memory (Connerton, 1989:5). Similarly, Lowenthal (2015:306) explains habit memory can '…reflect the past not by affirming its pastness but by continuing to perform it in the present'. Or in other words, habit memory allows the past to exist in the present through social performance (Misztal, 2003:10). This not only correlates with the postmodern conception of intangible heritage as an experiential and ritualistic practice (Littler, 2014:95), but also with a further two ideas. Firstly, that of conserving and/ or adapting historic and listed buildings in a way that maintains a continuity of traditions, practices and rituals (Abdelmonem and Selim, 2012; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015); and secondly, the notion of constant re-creation that UNESCO (2003) has defined as central to the concept of intangible heritage.

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[84] The term 'postmemory' was first introduced by academic Marianne Hirsch in the early 1990s. It originally refers to the relationship between trauma and the 'generation after' those who experienced it personally.

Specifically from an architectural perspective, Rossi (1994:24) describes a ritual as an essential quality in not only the understanding of buildings but also the transmission of ideas. He makes a further connection between ritual and myth, stating the purpose of rituals is to preserve myths (Rossi, 1994:24). Similarly, Abdelmonem and Selim (2012:166) describe rituals as processes that preserve memory, which is also the function of physical objects – when we see things, they evoke memories of past actions and uses which give them a recognisable quality (Hvattum, 2017:91). However, quite differently to a piece of artwork or a museum object, a building can actually *create* the rituals and social practices of life (Borden and Dunster, 1995:4); hence why Rossi (1994:24) refers to buildings as 'ritual forms' – physical forms that are both created by and encapsulate rituals. For example, a church is built because of the needs of religious rituals already in place; yet once built, it can also support the *evolution* of ritual habits (Norberg-Schulz, 1966:72). Rituals can therefore not only preserve myths and memories (Rossi, 1994:24; Abdelmonem and Selim, 2012:166), but also buildings. They do this by contributing to their ongoing use and acting as a guiding light to understand how they might need to be conserved or adapted to meet particular societal needs. Certainly, if buildings sustain social practices, then they too inevitably *invoke* myths (Harvey, 1989:217) – especially if it is a building that is classified as 'heritage' (McDowell, 2008a:37). Thus, if social memory is, as Harvey (1989:113) posits, also a mild form of myth, then the relationship between social memory and historic/ listed buildings is not only one that blurs the boundary between history and myth, but also one that ultimately attempts to define a fixed 'cultural memory' in order to maintain social order (J. Assmann, 2008:113).

6.4.2 Communicative and cultural memory

J. Assmann (2008:110) proposes a distinction must first be made within social memory between 'communicative memory' and 'cultural memory'[85]. Whilst both are of a social nature, communicative memory is described as a non-institutional 'informal generational memory' that is part of everyday processes (J. Assmann, 2008:111); whereas cultural memory is described as an objectified memory that is 'stored away in symbolic forms' (J. Assmann, 2008:110). According to Rigney (2008:346), communicative memory (the stories and interactions between people) must always occurs *before* cultural memory (the sites chosen to symbolically represent these memories). The former can be seen to relate to the everyday communications and interactions between people, and the latter to interactions between people and symbolic things (J. Assmann, 2008:111) (*Table 7*). Cultural memory, that is, memory which makes strategic use of narratives and representations, can therefore be embodied through visual imagery, signs, symbols and materiality (A. Assmann, 2008:67) – similar to the 'symbolic aura' of Pierre Nora's *lieu de mémoire* (Nora, 1989:19; A. Assmann, 2008:50).

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[85] The definition between communicative and cultural memory was originally made by both Jan and Aleida Assmann in the 1990s, amidst their development of cultural memory as a concept (*das kulturelles Gedächtnis*).

Table 7 - Distinctions between cultural and communicative memory

Source: from J. Assmann (2008:117)

	Communicative Memory	**Cultural Memory**
Content	History in the frame of autobiographical memory, recent past	Mythical history, events in absolute past ('in illo tempore')
Forms	Informal traditions and genres of everyday communication	High degree of formation, ceremonial communication
Media	Living, embodied memory, communication in vernacular language	Mediated in texts, icons, dances, rituals, and performances of various kinds; 'classical' or otherwise formalized language(s)
Time Structure	80-100 years, a moving horizon of 3-4 interacting generations	Absolute past, mythical primordial time, '3000 years'
Participation Structure	Diffuse	Specialized carriers of memory, hierarchically structured

Indeed, it is through the act of symbolism that material sites can strengthen human relationships with physical places by assisting in the recall of memories (McDowell, 2008a:42). This creates a further memory typology – 'monumental memory' – which is concerned with promoting a stable and strategic narrative that is crystallised within a material site (Müller-Funk, 2003:218; Hofmann et al., 2017:12). Despite the ongoing prevalence of monumental memory in Western society, its position within a postmodern society renders it increasingly in flux and unpredictable across generations (Müller-Funk, 2003:219). Thus, memory in the postmodern heritage paradigm is not necessarily fixed (or stabilised) by its embodiment within a particular monument or building. This idea has its roots traceable to the late 1980s/ early 1990's, where the archetypal heritage manifestation of the *famous, great historical site* was challenged by the concept of sites

'…as common points of reference within memory communities' (Rigney, 2008:345). As Taylor (2013) explains:

> *Here [the 1990s] was the birth of a different value system with attention focused on such issues as cultural landscapes, living history and heritage, intangible values, and community involvement.*
>
> *(Taylor, 2013:51)*

This standpoint does align with contemporary heritage literature that clarifies a distinction between heritage as a dynamic process, and material sites as fixed/ static (see Smith, 2006:65; DeSilvey, 2017:50; Jones, 2017:22). Yet it also undoubtedly becomes conceptually problematic for material sites, which for the most part unavoidably become a snapshot of a particular communities belief system at a specific moment in time (Spennemann, 2006:16).

6.4.3 Memory and history

The emphasis on communal and social elements of intangible heritage clarifies its position not only in relation to memory but also to history. As A. Assmann (2008) remarks regarding the relationship between social memory and history:

> *Collective memory [social memory], as we have shown, depends on transitions from history into memory that involve the framing of historical events in the shape of affectively charged narratives and mobilizing symbols.*
>
> *(A. Assmann, 2008:67)*

This situates social memory somewhere *in-between* memory and history, by asking individuals to firstly agree upon the objective truth of a group's *history*, and then proceed to commit this truth to their personal *memory* (A. Assmann, 2008:52). Nora's (1989) seminal paper is best placed to clarify the complex relationship between memory and history, where he asserts that memory and history are fundamentally opposed (Nora, 1989:8). This is also bolstered by A. Assmann's (2008:61) comparative list of traits for each (*Table 8*).

Table 8 - Comparative traits between memory and history

Source: from A. Assmann (2008:61)

Memory	**History**
Embodied memory	Disembodied memory
Exists in the plural	Exists in the singular
Linked to identity	Disconnected from identity
Connects past, present and future	Disconnects past, present and future
Selective and subjective	Impartial and objective
Creates values	Discovers truth

For Nora (1989:8), memory is the active and present reality of life, whereas history is a problematic reconstruction of the past. This has been echoed more recently by Smith (2006) who describes their differences in relation to the construct of heritage narratives:

> *Memory may be seen as subjective and not always reliable, whereas history is about the accumulation of fact within an authorized narrative.*
>
> *(Smith, 2006:58)*

In the UK, the act of preserving the past through remembrance is traditionally imposed on to material sites through the conservation of architectural heritage (Smith, 2006:18; Wain, 2014:2014). This creates a positive correlation between buildings and memory where '…any loss of physical integrity is seen as a loss of memorial efficacy – an incremental forgetting' (DeSilvey, 2006:326). This correlation is naturally weighted towards the remembering of 'monumental memory', with the remembering of 'habit' and 'social' memories being subsidiary to this. An emphasis on monumental memory is particularly prevalent within the literature, which describes how the conservation of material sites is oftentimes used to support official histories of powerful, national and privileged narratives (see Spennemann, 2006:6; Singh, 2008:134; Labadi, 2013:87; Pocock et al., 2015:967). This is a problem that has been demonstrated by Goulding et al. (2018) in their appraisal of Blists Hill living industrial museum, where they show how '…history becomes the history of that which is physical, material and present' (Goulding et al., 2018:27). Yet memory can also be a process of selection for the heritage industry through strategic remembering and forgetting (Edensor, 2005:126; Rigney, 2008:345), and is explicitly used within the heritage tourism sector as a method to generate sensations of nostalgia and nationalist identity (Park, 2011:523). Whilst the literature predominantly frames this selection (or curation) process in a strategic and exclusive way, it is also a practically useful and arguably unavoidable approach for built heritage practitioners when appraising a built heritage asset. The scenario is neatly explained by Riegl (2006) [1903]:

> *Since it is not possible to take into consideration the vast number of events of which we have direct or indirect evidence. . . one has no choice but to limit attention primarily and exclusively to such evidence that seems to represent especially striking stages in the development of a particular branch of human activity.*
>
> *(Riegl, 2006:70) [1903]*

The approach towards safeguarding tangible heritage, such as the fabric of a historic or listed building, would therefore depend upon how far back in history you wish to recall, and how broad or narrow you wish the focus of that historical recollection to be. As the past in its entirety cannot be fully represented in the present, a strategic process must inevitably ensue which curates, refines, and consequently ignores a significant amount of histories and memories that are available (Riegl, 2006:70; Goulding et al., 2018:26). From this perspective, a building can also be employed by its owners/ stakeholders as a strategic commodity to communicate a particular narrative and/ or represent a particular social group. Historically, this process has privileged a set of virtuous, legitimate facts and traditional interpretations of built heritage assets (Smith, 2006:58; Goulding et al., 2018:31). The physical presence of a building thus has an ideological and political memorial currency, which is intricately sewn into its materiality (McDowell, 2008a:43).

6.5 Buildings and symbolism

Understanding 'meaning' is a fundamental aspect of human awareness (Jencks, 1985:35). Muñoz Viñas (2002:28) quotes the work of Ian Hodder (1994:12) as a useful starting point for understanding the meaning of conservation objects, which is based on three primary categories: utility, history and symbolism. Charles Peirce[86], often noted as the founder of semiotics, consolidated the term 'symbol' within the broader category of 'sign', alongside two other sign typologies: 'icon'[87] and 'index'[88] (Peirce, 2007:178) [1894]. Symbolism, symbolic meaning, or symbolic value, is of particular interest for three primary reasons, aside from its subsidiary structuring within ‘communal value’ (Historic England, 2008). Firstly, like the other two signs, whilst it relies on something tangible to describe something intangible[89] (Barcelona, 2003:3; Littlemore, 2015:4), the specifics of the tangible object itself are of low importance. As Hodder (1994:12) explains, ‘…any object will do as long as it has found a place within the code – the sign is arbitrary’. Secondly, as symbols must be learned, they are therefore often deeply embedded within and upheld by contemporary societal cultures. Lastly, whilst there is undoubtedly a fixation on tangible heritage in the UK, the meaning and importance of built heritage is often specifically described and explored from a symbolic perspective within both UK policy/ guidance and the charters that influence them (for example, see Historic England, 2008:31, 2017:7; Communities and Local Government, 2010:14; ICOMOS, 2013:3).

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[86] Charles Sander Peirce, Semiotician (1839-1914).

[87] An 'icon' conveys meaning through imitation or clear analogy, such as a fresco of a person. An icon is concerned with physical resemblances between source and target domain.

[88] An 'index' conveys meaning through a connection between the source and target domain, such as the textured markings on concrete created by its shuttering. The markings do not physically resemble the formwork (moulds), but represent a causal relationship between source (the concrete) and target (the shuttering).

The understanding of a building as a symbol has existed across various times and cultures and is traceable back to the work of Vitruvius (Jokilehto, 2018:6). Symbolic quality has commonly been attributed to the architectural form of buildings as capable of sustaining a multiplicity of symbolic qualities (Crossley, 1988:117; Wallis, 2009:221), as well as having ‘…the capacity to embrace many different values, meaning, and uses’ (Rossi, 1994:118). For Jencks (1985:34), both aesthetics (content) and function (purpose) – what may be referred to as architectural form – have always been strongly associated with symbolism (codes) (note the parallel with Hodder’s aforementioned triad of meaning). Whyte (2006:164) concurs, stating architecture has always employed symbolism, due to its function as ‘…a self-contained sign system, with its own grammar, syntax, and ways of meaning’ (Whyte, 2006:154). Indeed, there is ample historical evidence of buildings being designed to be symbolic or semantic (Wallis, 2009:224), which serves to evidence the integral role that symbolism has played in defining the scope of architecture in the 20th century (as per Cohen, 2011:11). Consequently, buildings can quite comfortably be described as representative of something other than themselves, whether that be something tangible or intangible (Patterson, 1995:150).

Primitive societies saw no distinction between the ‘source’ and ‘target’ domains (or the ‘signifier’ and ‘signified’), with both the ‘object’ and whatever it symbolised being perceived as the same thing (Crossley, 1988:17). This implies there was no concept of symbolism (at least in the way contemporary society understands it), with the symbolic meaning of objects and buildings being intrinsically interwoven within the events and happenings of daily human life (Norberg-Schulz, 1966:125; Crossley, 1988:17). The eventual emergence of symbolism within the built environment was to connect man to God, whereby the architect (or master builder) employed mathematical and geometric purity in an attempt to best achieve this connection (Stemp, 2010:104). Of particular symbolic importance in this regard was the medieval religious building (Crossley, 1988:116), with its 'symbolic function' often being of significantly greater importance than its 'utilitarian function' (Stalley, 1999:59). Concurrently in medieval society, symbolism was also integrated within general social structures and hierarchies (Leith, 1991:33), meaning nearly all aspects of life were considered in relation to symbolism and symbolic order (Crossley, 1988:121; Stalley, 1999:59). For the architects and builders, this placed additional expectations on building design and construction to be framed within the knowledge and experience of how to apply symbolic intention to built form (Jencks, 1985:12), which was accomplished through construction materials, architectural details, and overall architectural form. For example, the common medieval material of stone was understood as '…symbolic representations of frozen oceans. . . [or] geometrical patterns of the heavens…' (Weston, 2017:226). Similarly, specific architectural details were utilised as a method to communicate a specific iconographic message – such as inscriptions, reliefs and decorative statues (Leith, 1991:4; Whyte, 2006:170). The building as a total composition (scale, style and locus) also offered a symbolic form that communicated a message (Crossley, 1988:117; Leith, 1991:4; Stalley, 1999:59). Wallis (2009) gives various examples of the this, such as the early basilica being a symbol of a city[90] (Wallis, 2009:225); the Gothic cathedral being a symbol of heaven[91] (Wallis, 2009:225); the Christian temple a symbol of community (Wallis, 2009:226); or a house as a symbol of the universe (Wallis, 2009:231). Buildings have also long been used to symbolise more intangible concepts in society, such as the work of Charles Jencks[92] symbolising humanity's position within the cosmos (Jencks, 1985:23), or Pugin's[93] churches representing Christian ethics (Whyte, 2006:155; Stone, 2019a:274). A social performance such as a ritual can also be a type of symbolism (Connerton, 1989:53), which buildings are often a part of (an example of this being a church procession).

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[89] In other words, a physical source domain is used to describe an abstract target domain.

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[90] He describes the basilica as an 'abbreviated replica' of Jerusalem. The building façade symbolises the city gate; the nave symbolises the city street; the arcades symbolise the buildings that create the streetscape, the rood-screen symbolising the triumphal arch, and the sanctuary symbolising the main city building (Wallis, 2009:225).

[91] He describes the Gothic cathedral as a simulacrum of heaven, '…a symbol of supernatural, invisible reality that can be grasped mentally only' (Wallis, 2009:226).

[92] Charles Jencks, architect (1939-2019).

6.5.1 Society and the sign

A building that has an active symbolic capacity must consequently be deeply embedded within cultural norms and practices, as its symbolism implies a culturally specific meaning. This reciprocal relationship between society and sign is what Norberg-Schulz (1966) defined as a 'symbol-system', which prioritises the experience and interpretation of buildings (Whyte, 2006:171). The formal definition of 'symbolic value' by Historic England reflects this, describing it as '…the meaning of a place for those who draw part of their identity from it' (Historic England, 2008:31)[94]. For Norberg-Schulz (1966:38), symbols must be accessible, as their primary purpose is to counteract societal differences and provide stable meanings, thereby enhancing communication between people. He explains this creates a '…common standard which gives meaning to the interaction process' (Norberg-Schulz, 1966:39). For example, the symbolic code of a building with a cross fixed to its façade is universally interpreted as a religious building, which in turn enhances communal interaction. A symbol is therefore meaningless – or at best its meaning under constant deliberation – unless there is a common method (or code) for its interpretation (Muñoz Viñas, 2005:45). Due to the inherent complexity of old buildings, more 'symbol-systems' are required to enhance interpretation and encourage communication within society (Norberg-Schulz, 1966:53). It is this perceived complexity and ambiguity surrounding historic and listed buildings that has led to the protective assemblage of heritage legislation, guiding policy and professional expertise, which results in the signs of built heritage being interpreted by a specific 'expert community' (Zehbe, 2015:194). The symbolic interpretation of a listed building therefore tends to offer a 'shorthand' version of its complex values (McDowell, 2008a:39) – values which in their totality represent a multiplicity of meanings. As already alluded to in relation to memory, not only is this unavoidable (Riegl, 2006:70), but is often representative of specific groups of people who give the signs their meaning within a system (Norberg-Schulz, 1966:58).

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[93] Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, architect (1812-1852).
[94] The origin of the term is commonly associated with Ernst Cassirer, philosopher (1874 – 1945), and his seminal work *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* (1931).

6.5.2 A symbolic decline

Despite the historical track record of the symbolic capacity and use of buildings, there is equally evidence of a long period of symbolic decline in architecture. This reduction of symbolic meaning for buildings has been questioned by many scholars over recent centuries. For example, in the 19th century, Schmarsow[95] protested against the emphasis on aesthetics and architectural form, promoting instead the notion of architecture as '…the embodiment of an impulse or drive' (Hvattum, 2017:90). In the 20th century, Heidegger[96] questioned the aesthetic assessment of architecture, stating instead that its value lies in its relationship with man (see Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:86). The architectural profession itself has also been criticised in the 20th century as being thwarted with 'aesthetic debate' (see Norberg-Schulz, 1966).

The decline of symbolism in architecture can be seen to span some eight hundred years. From the 13th century, a clear distinction between object and sign was made, which led to a consciousness of symbolism in society (Crossley, 1988:117). This new awareness of symbolism (as opposed to its seamless integration within primitive and early medieval societies) led to consciously symbolic buildings that have been continuously utilised in society for various purposes. Examples of this include their use as nationalistic devices during phases of revolt or stylistic development[97] (Jencks, 1985:30), and the control of symbolic architecture's interpretation and meaning by the Catholic Church (Harvey, 2008:22). It also led to the eventual development of aesthetic values (Crossley, 1988:117), which despite their lack of symbolic function, have long dominated the evaluation of architecture (Wallis, 2009:238; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:86). For example, writers such as Hegel[98] described architecture as at once practical and aesthetic (Whyte, 2006:161), with the lack of symbolism ultimately resulting in architecture being measured primarily on the grounds of 'aesthetic appeal' (as per Pevsner, 1990:15). As already highlighted, building function was also once heavily symbolic and connected to the

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[95] August Schmarsow, art historian (1853-1936).
[96] Martin Heidegger, philosopher (1889-1976).
[97] For example, Whyte (2006:160) comments how the neo-gothic style was utilised as a symbol of 'native liberty' in England.
[98] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, philosopher (1770-1831).

‘symbolic function’ of form, with particular forms used for particular symbolic tasks (e.g. the dome utilised as a symbol of heaven) (Norberg-Schulz, 1966:17). However, a continuing disconnect between symbolism and form in the 19th century resulted in the forms once reserved for particular symbolic functions being used for different purposes, leading not only to the elimination of symbolic function but also a devaluation of architectural forms[99] (Norberg-Schulz, 1966:17). In the same century, there was also the broader issue of mechanisation, which individuals such as Ruskin and Carlyle[100] were particularly outspoken about. As Hassard (2006:293) highlights, Carlyle’s *Signs of the times* is especially relevant in this regard, in that it documents a conceptual shift in societal concerns from intangible to tangible:

> *The truth is, men have lost their belief in the Invisible, and believe, and hope, and work only in the Visible; or, to speak it in other words: this is not a Religious age. Only the material, the immediately practical, not the divine and spiritual, is important to us.*
>
> *(Carlyle, 1858) [1829]*

Perhaps the final setback for the symbolism of buildings was in the 20th century with the secularisation of society, which reached its crescendo in the 1960’s[101] and accordingly paved the way for a late 20th century cultural revolution (Brown, 2009:1–2). Any remnant of symbolism in design shifted from representing a connection with God to representing a connection with people and society; or put simply – any symbolic residue moved from representing the spiritual to representing the social[102]. Jencks (1985:17) aptly lifts from T. S. Eliot in describing the architectural reaction of this being a pursuit ‘After Strange Gods’[103] – an attempt to fill the bourgeoning religious societal void. Problematically, if symbolism and complexity are in direct correlation for historic and listed buildings (as previously noted in Section 6.5.1 Society and the sign), then the shift towards a pluralistic, multi-faceted, and oftentimes contested postmodern heritage paradigm actually demands **a greater need for symbolism** to help clearly represent and communicate multiple narratives; alongside enhanced methods for socially symbolic inscription at physical sites, which current guidance does not offer.

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[99] Norberg-Schulz (1966:126) uses the example of the dome which was used in the 19th century as a distinguishing element for banks, as opposed to its original symbolic function which was to represent heaven (Wallis, 2009:224).

[100] Thomas Carlyle, critic (1795-1881), as well as a source of inspiration for Ruskin (see Jokilehto, 2018:209).

[101] The work of Brown (2009:1) points to 1963 as the year where ‘…something very profound ruptured the character of the nation and its people, sending organised Christianity on a down-ward spiral to the margins of social significance’.

[102] For example, Bruno Taut’s 1919 manifesto ‘The City Crown’ states the purpose of the architect is ‘…to steep himself in the soul of the human population. . . by giving – at least as a goal – a material expression to what slumbers in all mankind’ (Altenmüller and Mindrup, 2009:126).

[103] Eliot’s essay, ‘After Strange Gods’, published in 1933.

6.6 Spirit of place

'Spiritual value' makes up only two short clauses within Conservation Principles (c.59, 60) under the heading of 'communal value' (see Historic England, 2008:32). In general, these clauses maintain a religious slant, yet do also offer a more secular viewpoint that is concerned with:

> *…present-day perceptions of the* ***spirit of place*** *. . . [which] includes the sense of inspiration and wonder that can arise from personal contact with places…*
>
> (Historic England, 2008:32 bold added)

Spirit of place[104] is a dynamic, existentialist concept that focuses on the identity (or 'essence') of a place (Shirazi, 2014:43). Clark (2019:150) simply refers to it as the 'special' character of a place that should form the inspiration for any changes. More specifically for architecture, its application seeks to understand how built form can best represent the underlying character of a place (Shirazi, 2014:42; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:87), and aims to achieve this by focussing on both the material (tangible) and immaterial (intangible) qualities of buildings (Norberg-Schulz, 1979:6; Shirazi, 2014:43; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:88). Spirit of place can also be applied more specifically to the *historic* built environment in terms of the contextual relationship *between* people and history, and how this is represented through the layering of changes to the physical building fabric (Shirazi, 2014:3; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:87). Norberg-Schulz (1966, 1979) made a significant contribution towards its use within the subject of architecture[105] (Otero-Pailos, 2012:145; Smith, 2012:362; Kepczynska-Walczak and Walczak, 2013:452), where it is situated under the theoretical umbrella of *architectural phenomenology*. This is an intellectual terrain that Seamon (1993:1) believes can overcome various dichotomies such as '…art and science, seeing and understanding, knowledge and action, and design and building'; hence its potential utility within heritage and conservation studies to overcome the tangible-intangible binary. Norberg-Schulz based his architectural understanding of spirit of place on a Heideggerian understanding of existentialist phenomenology (Seamon, 1993:3; Shirazi, 2014:5). It is the notion of 'dwelling' and the role of *building* to support site- and person-specific dwelling that is of primary concern from this perspective:

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[104] Also referred to as 'genius loci' and 'sense of place' in broader literature.

[105] More broadly speaking, genius loci is said to derive from the work of Alexander Pope in relation to his contextualised approach towards English landscape design (see Kepczynska-Walczak and Walczak, 2013:452).

> *Genius loci is a Roman concept. According to ancient Roman belief every "independent" being has its genius, its guardian spirit. This spirit gives life to people and places, accompanies them from birth to death, and determines their character or essence. . . The genius thus denotes what a thing is, or what it "wants to be", to use a word of Louis Kahn. . . It suffices to point out that ancient man experienced his environment as consisting of definite characters. In particular he recognized that it is of great existential importance to come to terms with the genius of the locality where his life takes place.*
>
> (Norberg-Schulz, 1979:18)

At its simplest, architectural phenomenology asserts that historic buildings are best interpreted through interaction and direct contact *between* people and buildings (Otero-Pailos, 2012:139). Thus, the work of Norberg-Schulz focuses primarily on the perception of architecture, which is split into the present, dynamic qualities of *the phenomenon*, and the lasting, static qualities of *the object* (see Norberg-Schulz, 1966:28). As K. Smith (2012:362 bold added) explains:

> *…the perception of these concrete phenomena, according to Norberg-Schulz, is influenced by cultural and individual activity. In essence, "phenomenology of place" was the relationship* ***between*** *concrete environmental phenomena and intangible human phenomena.*

From these descriptions, it is clear that spirit of place maintains a focus on the intangible and unique qualities of a place that are brought about through both *emotional* (wonder, inspiration, reverence, etc. (see Historic England, 2008:32)) and *experiential* (smell, sound, temperature, etc. (see Napoleone, 2017:232)) engagements. These are both subsequently amalgamated through the very corporeal monumentality of buildings (Turner and Tomer, 2013:192; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:70; Harney, 2017:151). Furthermore, it emphasises the mutability of *all* phenomena by rendering it a product of *perception*, and thus liable to constant change, in line with personal outlooks (Norberg-Schulz, 1966:31) (*Figure 46*).

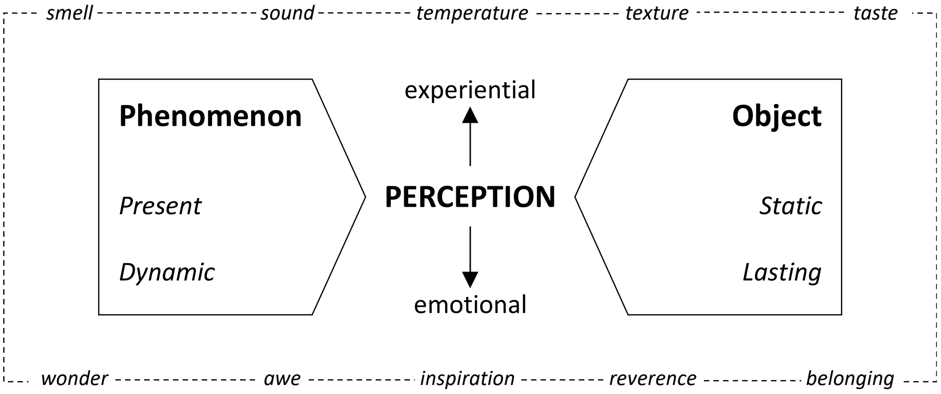

Figure 46 - Structuring the spirit of place

Source: author original image

As already mentioned in _Section 5.8 Diversity of heritage_, the most robust heritage document on spirit of place is the Québec Declaration (ICOMOS, 2008), which was released in the same year as Historic England's Conservation Principles (Historic England, 2008). It is the first attempt to both formalise and quantify the term for a broader heritage audience and defines it as:

> *…the tangible (buildings, sites, landscapes, routes, objects) and the intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, rituals, festivals, traditional knowledge, values, textures, colors, odors, etc.), that is to say the physical and the spiritual elements that give meaning, value, emotion and mystery to place.*
>
> *(ICOMOS, 2008:2)*

Note the simplification of the term, whereby experiential and emotional elements are brought under the umbrella of 'intangible elements'. However, unlike the 2003 Convention (UNESCO, 2003) which places more attention on *practices*, the Québec Declaration places an enhanced focus on *perception*. This makes sense when considering spirit of place is rooted in Heideggerian existentialism (Otero-Pailos, 2012:145). As such, it shares a number of commonalities with *negotiated authenticity* (covered within _Section 3.3.2 Hyperreality and negotiation_), which also has an existentialist slant due to its position at the interface *between* materialist and constructivist ideology (Chhabra, 2012:499). These commonalities include: their *construction* by 'various social actors' (ICOMOS, 2008:2); their dynamic and 'continuously reconstructed process' (ICOMOS, 2008:3); and their reliance on 'interactive communication and participation' (ICOMOS, 2008:4). Therefore, like negotiated authenticity, spirit of place works on the fundamental premise that authenticity can not only be *produced* through negotiations between people and buildings, but also between an existing building and any new use imposed upon it (Harney, 2017:159).

Various critics of architectural phenomenology describe it as illogical, difficult, nostalgic, and lacking overall substance (Otero-Pailos, 2012:139; Smith, 2012:363; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:88). Yet these criticisms are often delivered from the specific perspective of its usage within the architectural design process (new buildings), rather than its ability to develop a more nuanced understanding of historic buildings/ sites, their intangible heritage, and the conservation/ adaptation processes that should be implemented. Whilst it is clear that professional conservation methods to more practically grapple with the definition and safeguarding of spirit of place are still lacking (Jones, 2009:141; Harney, 2017:158), it has now been over a decade since the Québec Declaration promoted the effectiveness of digital methodologies in this regard (see ICOMOS, 2008:4; also Harney, 2017:158). Interestingly, this reflects some of the more successful approaches towards ICH safeguarding already covered in *Chapter 4 – Intangible cultural heritage and the UK*, with various countries utilising websites, wikis and interactive maps to document various heritage practices. Other more hands-on methodological initiatives includes the work of architect Travis Price[106], who has spearheaded the '*Spirit of place – spirit of design'* design-build educational programme, which places emphasis on '…the study of the spiritual culture of the host country. . . to create built space that directly reflects that culture' (Ten Wolde, 2017:330). In his international programme, architecture students learn how to foster the spirit of place through a mixture of research, design, and hands-on construction[107]. The National Trust have also developed 'Spirit of Place' workshops which aim to uncover the special character of their sites through engagement with local communities (Clark, 2014:70). What these initiatives evidence is the clear potential to grapple with spirit of place more directly within official processes, which would serve to overcome perceptions of it being elusive.

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[106] American architect/ author/ teacher/ philosopher.

[107] Also see the initiative website: https://perma.cc/7X3X-M2CN [archived link].

6.7 Chapter conclusion

Communal value is the closest compatible concept to ICH in English built heritage guidance. Despite this value containing highly complex sub-values, this chapter has evidenced how existing guidance related to it is *extremely* brief and does not expand on how these difficult concepts can be practically utilised in professional practice. This is clearly problematic when considering the increasing prominence that ICH has in heritage assessments and broader dialogues on heritage value. This chapter has highlighted the different complexities that each sub-value of communal value is comprised of, though equally highlights their shared focus on present-day societal needs – with social value championing community engagement at a local level; social memory representing a contemporary agreement about the past; symbolism focussing on the meanings and codes that exist within current social structures; and *spirit of place* focusing on the unique identity of a place. Ultimately what is currently lacking in guidance is how practitioners can better account for these present-day matters of concern. Certainly this will require guidance relating to communal value to include significantly more detail, which must include appropriate methods that can be employed to both identify and engage with heritage communities of interest. Undoubtedly, expanding and enhancing knowledge concerning communal value would be a significant development to UK practitioner guidance documentation, which is currently not only brief but also becoming increasingly dated.

There is currently little support offered for the identification and use of communal value within the day-to-day role of the built heritage professional. In an attempt to more directly address this lacuna in the literature, this research project firstly directed its attention to those accredited professionals who work with built heritage assets on a daily basis, in order to understand: how they conceptualise and consider intangible heritage within their role; how this understanding may relate to the themes and sub-themes uncovered within this chapter; and where the barriers to its integration within architectural and building conservation practices may lie. The results from this primary research are the focus of the next chapter.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES

So, a building can be architecturally non-descript, but it is the associations that make it significant. . . those associations are of equal merit to the physical.

(Interviewee 214600)

7 – Semi-structured interviews

7.1 Introduction

The literature review has revealed that whilst the UK may appear resistant to the concept of ‘intangible heritage’, there is nonetheless an observable shift in focus within literature, guidance, and policy, that demonstrates an increasing emphasis on intangible qualities. This is especially the case in relation to the acceptance of *change* and the involvement of people/ communities within broader heritage processes. What is less clear within the literature is how this implicit shift may be impacting built heritage *practice*, both in terms of how intangible heritage is understood and how it may be integrated within the remit of the built heritage professional (with a focus on those who conserve and adapt historic/ listed buildings). To better understand the practitioner perspective in relation to these uncertainties, this chapter presents the results from 16 semi-structured interviews with built heritage professionals, who agreed to offer sector-specific insight in relation to the research focus on intangible heritage. This responds to Research Aims A and B concerning the nature of intangible heritage and its impact on built heritage practices, policy and guidance in the UK.

The results are split into two sections. First, the analysis focused on determining how intangible heritage was *defined* by interviewees (*Section 7.2.1 Intangible heritage definition*) (broadly corresponding to Research Objective 1). Here, the results are broken down into a series of eight key intangible themes which represent how intangible heritage is comprehended from within the built heritage paradigm. Next, the analysis focused on uncovering the *barriers* which limit practitioners from integrating intangible heritage within their daily practices (*Section 7.2.2 Practice barriers towards intangible heritage*) (broadly corresponding to Research Objective 2). In this section, the results are broken down into five perceived practice barriers that limit the integration of intangible heritage within the built heritage sector.

The methodological approach for these results is outlined within *Section 2.1 Interviews design and method*, and the interview materials can be found within *Appendix 2. Interview materials*. Findings have been subjected to double blind peer review and published (see

Djabarouti, 2020b, 2021b). Copies of these publications are located within *Appendix 1. Peer reviewed publications*.

7.2 Results

7.2.1 Intangible heritage definition

The thematic analysis revealed eight primary themes which offer an understanding of what intangible heritage means to practitioners, how it is identified, and the status it holds within professional processes and practices. In order of importance (based on coding frequency), these are: stories; history; events; memory; building use; discord; building craft; and emotion[108] (*Table 9*). The results for each theme will now be discussed in frequency order.

Table 9 - Top eight coded definition themes extracted from the data analysis

Corresponding coding frequency and interviewee frequency indicated
Source: author original table

Order	Coded theme	Coding frequency	Interviewee frequency	Sample descriptor quote
1	Stories	36	12	*'It's social thing that's linked to storytelling'*
2	History	32	11	*'The human history of a place'*
3	Events	31	10	*'It is an event that maybe happened there'*
4	Memory	30	9	*'You are playing with memories'*
5	Use	17	7	*'Can you put more importance on a specific use?'*
6	Discord	12	4	*'It is not always positive'*
7	Craft	10	5	*'A craft skill is an intangible thing'*
8	Emotion	9	6	*'It gets me in my heart'*

7.2.1.1 Stories: 'it's a social thing that's linked to storytelling'

Intangible heritage was most commonly described by interviewees as the *story* of the building – whether that be a story about the physical building itself, or concerning the people associated with the building. Stories related to buildings were not only limited to the building in its totality, but also specific building materials and methods of construction.

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[108] Other themes that were coded but generated a significantly lower coding frequency were: 'tradition' (coding frequency: 5), 'legacy' (coding frequency: 3), 'culture' (coding frequency: 3), 'meanings' (coding frequency: 3) and 'customs' (coding frequency: 2).

Stories about people were most often about building users and ‘the stories and recollections of what happened’ (Interviewee 421225). For example, one interviewee stated intangible heritage ‘is linked to [the] working class. . . it’s a social thing that’s linked to storytelling’ (Interviewee 901781). Buildings and people were seen as co-narrators of these stories, with both contributing to the wider understandings of the conception of a building (its past) and ‘how the building is changed to adapt to new uses and new technology’ (its future) (Interviewee 870507). Overall, the context of a building story was often framed by interviewees as ‘community centred’ and relating to ‘communal values’, with its purpose to convey memory and emotion – not necessarily hard facts. As one interviewee explained about a current project:

> *It is more about the community. . . it’s about the stories and recollections of what happened there. The building probably comes secondary to that – to those stories.*
>
> *(Interviewee 421225)*

7.2.1.2 History: ‘the human history of a place’

Unlike ‘stories’, ‘history’ was described as ‘the objective fact about the place’ (Interviewee 334986), and because of this was understood to have a different relationship with the ‘memory’ and ‘emotion’ of a building. History was explicitly noted as having both a tangible and intangible quality – manifesting as either a value that can impact meaning (e.g. historic value), or a physical record that can be interrogated (e.g. the building as a historic record). The importance of history and ‘historic significance’ in relation to heritage assets was emphasised, with one interviewee explaining how it ‘gives you a sense of what the building is about and what it means – even if that isn’t entirely about what is still there’ (Interviewee 334986). ‘History’ was used as a general term to capture ideas relating to both ‘the use of buildings, how they function in the past’ (Interviewee 552297) and ‘the human history of a place’ (Interviewee 870507). Two aspects of history were noted as being particularly important: ‘historic personalities’, such as ‘a connection to Emmeline Pankhurst’ (Interviewee 421225) and ‘historic milestones’, like at Bletchley Park, where ‘what happened there was so unbelievably important and changed the course of all our futures’ (Interviewee 487627).

7.2.1.3 Events: 'it is an event that maybe happened there'

Events were also considered to be a major facet of intangible heritage and were defined as activities and/ or traditions that have a connection with a building. Three categories of event were described: cultural, political, and communal/ social events. Larger scale events with a collective social impact were referred to, like 'when the Sex Pistols played at the Free Trade Hall. . . that's definitely still intangible but culturally for Manchester it was so important' (Interviewee 901781); as well as smaller, personal scale events, such as the reflections of one interviewee regarding Rochdale Town Hall:

> *The intangible heritage there [Rochdale Town hall] might be completely different for different people. So, part of the heritage of that place for me is that my mum and dad got married there, and I played the violin there when I was little.*
>
> *(Interviewee 509240)*

Overall, interviewees described events as tied in with 'history' and 'memory' at varying scales – national, communal, personal – and acknowledged how they could be either positive or negative (e.g. the Peterloo Massacre in Manchester was described as a negative event).

7.2.1.4 Memory: 'you are playing with memories'

Memories were frequently referred to when discussing intangible heritage. They were believed to capture the spirit of a place, with professionals primarily talking about personal 'everyday' heritage narratives, comprised of 'social elements' and 'personal experiences'. As one interviewee explained:

> *It may be that building or behind that building I met my girlfriend, or I smoked my first cigarette, or I listened to this really great story or something like that. Who knows? But buildings have got these layers of meaning for people and they can be very mundane but they are equally important.*
>
> *(Interviewee 214600)*

Memories therefore 'might not be [about] a historical figure, [rather] it's people in the real-life day that have an association with the project' (Interviewee 509240). However, the potentially infinite spectrum of these building memories made this a highly subjective theme:

> *Everyone has got a slightly different perspective on whether – you're a person who used to work in the building, a person who has walked past it every day, a person in another part of the country who has seen the building on television and sees it differently. Like the spirit of place is unique to every individual.*
>
> *(Interviewee 477549)*

It was felt that memories have the capacity to 'make something that traditionally might be regarded as insignificant, significant' (Interviewee 870507). However, interviewees noted that memories were not often considered by built heritage professionals when assessing significance. The elusive and ephemeral nature of memory is a likely reason for this, with the ability of memories to outlast the physical fabric adding conceptual confusion to the assessment process:

> *There is nothing left of Peterloo – St. Peters church and churchyard are gone. . . So where is the physical thing? It isn't there. But all of that non-physical heritage – the memories, the associations – are still there and still very strong.*
>
> *(Interviewee 214600)*

This perceived lack of integration and interaction with the memories of buildings was met with caution by some, with one interviewee stating 'you have to be careful when you are playing with buildings because you are playing with memories, you're playing with those associations' (Interviewee 214600).

7.2.1.5 Use: 'can you put more importance on a specific use?'

The previous uses of a building were highlighted as intangible contributions to the 'history' and overall 'story' of the building:

> *The intangible sort of gives it a sense of place – what a building is; what it represents; how it used to be used; how it is used now; is that the right change of use.*
>
> *(Interviewee 477549)*

Building 'use' was considered to be comprised of physical evidence (the material site) and non-physical evidence (the lives of people who used the building). Interviewees noted how the correct balance of tangible and intangible qualities are needed to uncover intangible heritage related to past uses:

> *it is just sort of finding that balance. . . you can tell where a wall has been removed or an opening has been infilled. . . you can also start to trace back how the building was used and the story of the building, so you have got the intangible and the tangible working together.*
>
> *(Interviewee 477549)*

Like 'memories', building use was seen to be a subjective and variable quality, with one interviewee giving an example of an adapted church:

> *Can you put more importance on a specific use? And if you think about the people again, is there more importance to say church worshippers using a church, compared to an adaptive version of the church and it is now housing residents? In time, they will all have their own significance.*
>
> *(Interviewee 550931)*

Thus, a consequence of this inherent subjectivity is the difficulty in prioritising past building uses. However, there was a consensus that the original use/ function of a building was more likely to be its most important and relevant use.

7.2.1.6 Discord: 'it is not always positive'

Another aspect of the definition of intangible heritage was its dissonant (dark/ contested/ negative) qualities. As one interviewee stated, 'part of the intangible heritage is sometimes experiential, how people relate to the building, and it is not always positive' (Interviewee 477549). In general, interviewees felt there was inherent complexity in conserving any type of heritage with a negative association. Some examples of working with dissonant heritage included: slavery in Liverpool; the Pendle witch ghosts; the Moors Murders; Victorian asylums; graveyards; the Peterloo Massacre, and holocaust memorials. Uncertainties regarding the interpretation and dissemination of dissonant heritage extended into concerns as to whether it should be conserved for future generations or not. Only one interviewee was optimistic regarding the potential value in conserving dissonant heritage:

> *Would you want to save it because it is the site of some atrocity, but then equally, do you not need to remember some of those atrocities to make sure things don't happen there after?*
>
> *(Interviewee 487627)*

The subjectivity of this theme was exemplified by one interviewee, who would ‘buy a church and have a graveyard as [their] garden’ but on the conversion of Victorian asylums into housing, stated:

> *That seems a bit weird to me, because to me the heritage there is pain. . . I perceive that heritage – that intangible – but some other people don’t, so I don’t know?*
>
> *(Interviewee 901781)*

Regardless of this confusion, there was a sensitivity towards the need to develop a narrative that would be thoughtful, appealing and accommodating to everyone. As one interviewee neatly summarised:

> *Do you still promote it because at the end of the day you want to tell the story about how bad it was. . . but how do you go about it and how do you preserve it for future generations. . . you want to keep those memories going. And it is very difficult.*
>
> *(Interviewee 647876)*

7.2.1.7 Craft: ‘a craft skill is an intangible thing’

Traditional craft skills were perceived as part of a building’s intangible heritage primarily because of the relationship between practical work, memory and thought:

> *It is skill isn’t it, so a craft skill is an intangible thing. It is muscle memory and thought. It is intangible.*
>
> *(Interviewee 373838)*

Also noted was the overall connection between craft skills and human, social, and political histories, with a particular emphasis being placed on those individuals who ‘transmit’ the skills. As one interviewee stated, ‘it comes down to individuals who have learned it either through it being passed on or individuals who have taught it’ (Interviewee 613193). Relationships of dependence and reliance were discussed, with interviewees noting the dependence of built heritage on craft skills and the reliance of craft skills on people. A reciprocal relationship was therefore perceived between buildings (tangible) and craft skills (intangible), with their union promoting a greater chance of inter-generational transmission and longevity of the built heritage asset.

7.2.1.8 Emotion: ‘it gets me in my heart’

Intangible heritage was consistently associated with people’s emotions towards a building. This was communicated using phrases such as ‘personal value’; ‘emotional value’; and ‘emotional connection’. These concepts were generally understood to be autonomous to the building, having ‘nothing to do with the architecture or the building itself, the fabric, or the building techniques’ (Interviewee 421225). In this sense, interviewees felt emotional associations were all-embracing, non-scientific, and highly subjective. Referring to a professional colleague, one interviewee offered a short but powerful anecdote that captures the complexity in representing the emotions of people within built heritage practice:

> *We went to a consultation event at another site in Wales, and they’re quite passionate about their history which is just great. And there is a woman who came up to my colleague at the end of it, and he asked her, “oh, did you find it interesting talking about significance, what do you think is significant about this place?” And she just said, “it gets me in my heart”. You know, which is just brilliant, but at the same time he walked away and came back to me and he said, “how do we attribute that to the built fabric?”*
>
> *(Interviewee 234834)*

7.2.2 Practice barriers towards intangible heritage

Interviewees felt it was important to increase awareness of intangible heritage in relation to historic and listed buildings. For example, interviewee 487627 stated that built heritage professionals ‘…don’t definitively talk about intangible heritage, but it does crop up a lot in a more implied way than explicit way’. However, the analysis of the data revealed five barriers that restrict awareness and understanding of intangible heritage within day-to-day practitioner roles. The results for each theme indicated in *Table 10* will now be consecutively discussed.

Table 10 - Five coded barrier themes extracted from the data analysis

Source: author original table

Order	Coded theme	Sample descriptor quote
1	Role complexity	*'It's hard enough'*
2	Non-physical qualities	*'We have to see things to believe them'*
3	Tangible-intangible relationship	*'Quite practical implications'*
4	Unclear definition	*'Hard to put into words'*
5	Participatory problems	*'Token gesture'*

7.2.2.1 Role complexity: 'it's hard enough'

Although increasing awareness of intangible heritage within built heritage practice was welcomed in principal, two broad implications were highlighted by interviewees. Firstly, it was felt an inevitable expansion of their own professional role would occur, which would likely require:

1. More in-depth research of buildings (historic, archival).
2. More consideration of the ongoing narrative of a building.
3. More primary research (e.g. interviewing people).
4. More input into historic environment records.

Along with this overall increase in workload, an increase in role complexity was also noted as a concern. As one interviewee stated:

> *So, it's hard enough doing detective work on a listed building using the fact-based data that you have to mine. . . But as soon as you throw into the mix notions of intangibility, and its use, and significant people who may have been or lived there, or, hidden histories, if that's how you're interpreting it – then it makes that detective work way harder, on top of something that's already hard enough.*
>
> *(Interviewee 870507)*

Alongside increasing their workload and role complexity, commercial constraints within the built heritage sector were also noted as problematic. Interviewees believed that the safeguarding of intangible heritage would be a time consuming and expensive exercise that would not be valued by their clients. For example:

> *If the point of this is trying to acknowledge hidden histories and intangibility, then there is an element of uncertainty; and the one thing you don't want on any construction project is uncertainty, as you know, because it affects programme and cost.*
>
> *(Interviewee 870507)*

To overcome this, practitioners felt they would need to teach a variety of stakeholders (particularly clients and construction workers) about intangible heritage. As Interviewee 901781 declared, '…we [built heritage professionals] have a duty of care to educate our clients on certain things and to make sure they are aware'. Yet in relation to their own academic education, they conflictingly felt that whilst intangible heritage is taught on some relevant academic courses, it is not taught often and sometimes is not taught at all:

> *I think it is absolutely essential, but it is something at the moment that isn't taught, it is something that isn't really addressed in conservation courses.*
>
> *(Interviewee 214600)*

Overall, interviewees felt if intangible heritage was better embedded within the education of built heritage professionals, it would provide them with the skillset to educate the various stakeholders on a heritage project, leading to an increased awareness of intangible heritage across the built heritage sector.

7.2.2.2 Non-physical qualities: 'we have to see things to believe them'

Intangible heritage was described as an inherently difficult domain to acknowledge and conserve within the built heritage sector, primarily due to it being: non-physical; non-scientific; unquantifiable; subjective; and concerned with feelings. Interviewee 477549 described it as '…the thing that you can't touch or physically see'. Its inherent lack of physicality appeared to cause the biggest complexity, with one interviewee stating, '…we have to see things to believe them' (Interviewee 214600). As such, it was considered easier to attribute significance to the physical fabric, because '…it is easier to protect, and it is easier to comprehend of course' (Interviewee 421225). Interviewees suggested intangible heritage would be valued more if made objective, particularly within the built heritage sector, as it would '…quantify it in such a way that a builder can actually do repairs…' (Interviewee 214600), as well as allowing it to '…feed into something professional which makes it recognised' (Interviewee 334986). Methods suggested to achieve this included:

1. Ranking the importance of people, things, and events.
2. Establishing criteria to score intangible qualities.
3. Perceiving intangible heritage as a *social value* dataset.

A fourth method suggested was increasing the use and type of interpretation methods on projects to make intangible heritage more visible and/ or quantifiable. However, to achieve this it was felt that interpretation methods would need to be modernised and more creative:

> *You're relying on people leaving interpretation boards and I think it needs to be a bit more accessible and bit more interesting. Not everybody wants to go to a museum and read a load of interpretation boards, they want to learn in different ways, and use social media, and have different outlets – there are so many ways to learn now.*
>
> *(Interviewee 421225)*

Whilst the majority of interviewees felt a more objective understanding and approach towards intangible heritage would be desirable, this was mostly noted as unachievable in practice – particularly when considering that '…things change over time, our interests in things change over time, the rarity of things changes over time' (Interviewee 552297). As Interviewee 552297 paradoxically concluded, 'I think in its basic measure, it cannot be measured'. Along with its lack of physicality and quantifiability, the subjective nature of how various professionals perceive intangible heritage was also noted as problematic, as it '…depends on how you come to heritage and the role that you do' (Interviewee 487627). For example, Interviewee 613193 said '…archaeologists have a much better link to intangible heritage and those sorts of things' (Interviewee 613193); and Interviewee 373838 stated, '…when you're appointed as an architect to survey a building and tell the owner what needs fixing, it [intangible heritage] is less at the forefront of your mind'.

7.2.2.3 Impact of tangible-intangible relationship: 'quite practical implications'

Asking built heritage professionals to discuss intangible heritage naturally led to considerations of the relationship *between* tangible and intangible heritage domains. All interviewees stated that both are of equal importance, but the nature of their relationship was disputed. Some interviewees stated intangible heritage is not dependent on tangible heritage, remarking that '…intangible heritage does not have to be a building as well'

(Interviewee 509240). Conversely, others stated intangible heritage cannot exist without a tangible heritage counterpart, as '…the non-physical very often needs the physical to latch on to it' (Interviewee 214600). Overall, interviewees generally felt there was some form of crossover between intangible and tangible heritage. Some suggested intangible heritage provides the meaning to tangible heritage as '…the intangible sort of gives it a sense of place – what a building is, what is represents, how it used to be used, how it is used now, is that the right change of use…' (Interviewee 477549); whilst others stated the building materials themselves have intangible significance and '…there is cultural evidence in the fabric, it is not just physical evidence' (Interviewee 613193). Even objects separate from the building but related to it were believed to enhance intangible heritage:

> *It would have been more interesting if we had kept some of these found objects, and kept them in place, and written an interpretive plaque about some of the unusual things and the story behind them. Like for instance, one of the things we found was a shoe, buried in the floor, dating from when the building was built – 1797, with some Georgian pennies as well. It was common practice in those days to embed a lady's shoe into the fabric of a Georgian building as a good luck token with some money – and we found it.*
>
> *(Interviewee 870507)*

Due to the perceived crossover between the two heritage domains, interviewees felt changes to a building could have an impact on its intangible heritage. Despite a lack of focus on the physical fabric, it was felt that intangible heritage may have a positive impact on built heritage, through both an increase in protection measures and the consideration of buildings that do not typically qualify as architectural heritage:

> *It could have quite practical implications because it might mean that there would be. . . more of an impetuous than there is at the moment to retain something which isn't of massive obvious aesthetic value, or conventional architectural historic value.*
>
> *(Interviewee 334986)*

7.2.2.4 Unclear definition: 'hard to put into words'

It was unanimously agreed that policy does not make it clear how to identify intangible heritage associated with buildings, and therefore does not contribute to its safeguarding. Instead, it was believed that '…the majority of policies and procedures are geared up for the bricks and mortar – the historic fabric' (Interviewee 647876), with another interviewee stating, 'I don't think there is any sort of real consistent process for safeguarding the intangible heritage values of sites at the moment' (Interviewee 334986). Interviewees felt intangible heritage isn't fully considered in policy due to the following issues:

1. It lacks a legal definition.
2. Policy and guidance prioritise the built fabric.
3. It is difficult to legislate something you cannot see.
4. It is hard to include something subjective in policy.

As a result of this lack of focus in policy, intangible heritage was generally an implicitly understood concept by built heritage professionals, stating that it is not only '…quite hard to put into words' (Interviewee 477549), but that some practitioners '…might not use the word [label] *intangible heritage*…' (Interviewee 421225). Nonetheless, guidance was highlighted as making implicit reference to it. 'Communal value' within Conservation Principles' was consistently mentioned. The NPPF was also noted as having '…more focus on the communal aspects…' (Interviewee 487627) in comparison to its predecessors, and its '…measure of harm versus benefit. . . [gives] greater scope now to consider how intangible heritage value is affected by proposals for change' (Interviewee 552297). The NLHF was also specifically highlighted as being '…very much focused on the community values and what that means, rather than a total and utter focus on bricks and mortar' (Interviewee 487627).

Overall, intangible heritage was interpreted as a people-focused approach (primarily described as requiring an increased focus on *community value* or *communal value*). It was also described as a non-official method that could counteract the overarching focus on the built fabric of heritage in current policy, legislation, and practice. For example, one interviewee stated '…things like community engagement and communicating to people what you're doing and why you're doing it. . . [are] those more intangible parts' (Interviewee 373838); and another referred to activities such as '…talks and events that bring people to the building and celebrate the more intangible heritage of it' (Interviewee 421225).

7.2.2.5 Participatory problems: ‘token gesture’

As intangible heritage was often related back to communal and social themes by interviewees, community input was often discussed as a way to understand the intangible heritage associated with a building or a place. One interviewee stated the following on this topic:

> *If you don’t get people on board and you don’t get those intangible links, you lose that. And that’s the bit that gets lost. The bricks and mortar – they stay. . . the intangible links you lose those if you are not careful, because you have got to speak to people.*
>
> *(Interviewee 647876)*

It was suggested that people can help make intangible heritage, as ‘…without its people it [a building] is just a tangible asset…’ (Interviewee 550931). Engaging communities was also noted as contributory towards making a project more commercially successful, with Ditherington Flax Mill (Grade I Listed) offered as an example where its *Friends of* Group ‘…played an important role in looking at the building, what people wanted to see from it’ (Interviewee 261067). Interviewees stated communities themselves would also benefit from a raised awareness of intangible heritage, as it would encourage more ‘communal’ considerations in consultations; more support for *Friends of* Groups related to buildings; and more education for communities about different types of heritage and heritage value.

It was also highlighted that there are built heritage projects that communities are more likely to be involved in. Examples given were: public buildings; contentious projects; and larger scale projects. However, community engagement was generally noted as an afterthought – being labelled as a ‘tick-box exercise’ (Interviewee 706747); ‘token gesture’ (Interviewee 421225); and ‘add-on’ (Interviewee 901781). Overall, it was noted that policy procedures do not demand community engagement and generally display a lack of interest in communities, as one interviewee explained:

> *I am quite passionate about people having the opportunities and the process being open and democratic, and right now I don’t think our planning system is that, on a whole host of things.*
>
> *(Interviewee 706747)*

Alongside this lack of representation in policy, interviewees also felt it was difficult to involve people and communities in built heritage projects. Several reasons were highlighted as the root of this lack of representation:

1. Some demographic groups are harder to recruit than others.
2. Some communities simply do not wish to be involved.
3. Some clients do not want community engagement.
4. Communities can be ostracised by technocratic jargon.
5. If communities are involved, they want full control.
6. It can be difficult for non-local professionals to engage communities.

As a result of these issues, there was a general perception of a disconnect between communities and professionals, as well as between communities and policy. To overcome this, interviewees felt built heritage professionals should both educate and involve communities more in the heritage process – encouraging more participation and ownership of heritage assets. To facilitate this, it was suggested that community engagement should be embedded within legislation; communities should be engaged before the design stage; and the building conservation and adaptation process should be more accessible for communities. Overall, it was stressed that communities need more and better opportunities to be involved in the heritage process, with the following suggestions being made to achieve this:

1. Increasing public access to buildings (e.g. open days, tours).
2. Encouraging personal connections (e.g. memories, photographs, objects).
3. Performance and process (e.g. craft skills and 'living heritage' re-enactments).
4. A transparent construction process (e.g. access to live construction sites, tours).

7.3 Chapter summary

Professionals who work with listed buildings do not feel they are offered the necessary support to tackle the complex nature of intangible heritage. This is supported by *Chapter 3 – From buildings to people*, which shows why this is the case historically; *Chapter 5 – Immateriality and change in policy and guidance*, which demonstrates the lack of support provided by policy and guidance; and *Chapter 6 – Deconstructing communal value*, which highlights the complexity of the themes used to engage with intangible heritage within limited practitioner guidance. By engaging with built heritage professionals directly, the results of this chapter are undoubtedly reflections of these contextual factors. However, the results also demonstrate that despite this lack of support and direction concerning the relevance of intangible heritage to their role, built heritage professionals nonetheless appear to have an instinctively detailed and nuanced understanding of what it means and how it manifests from within the built heritage paradigm. Broadly speaking, their conception of intangible heritage manifested as a mixture of people and buildings; of subjective and objective phenomena; and of the quantifiable built fabric and the abstract epiphenomena of human life. Each of the eight definition themes amalgamate these dichotomies in different ways, though it was the concept of 'story' that was utilised by the interviewees the most. The results also evidenced a series of real-world barriers at play which prohibit professionals from truly integrating intangible heritage within their daily practices and broader conceptions of what heritage is (or could be). The chapter demonstrates how the breadth of difficulties faced within professional practice – whether conceptual, educational, political, economic, or logistical barriers – result in a scenario whereby prevailing modes of practice overlook intangible heritage, and therefore also overlook what practitioners believe it to mean and what barriers they believe restrict its safeguarding. These results reflect a professional framework that is averse to intangible heritage, ill-equipped to accommodate it within existing processes, and unable to support those practitioners who choose to give it priority within their role(s). These established contextual issues underpin this research project and further demonstrate a need for real-world guidance to help overcome the barriers outlined, as well as help better situate the role of the practitioner in relation to intangible heritage safeguarding. Results from this chapter are applied to the final case study in *Chapter 9 – Bletchley Park huts*, and expanded upon through detailed discussions in *Section 10.2 Overview: destabilising traditional tenets* and *Section 10.3 Conceptual destabilisation: stories of feelings and things*. The next chapter further analyses the nature of intangible heritage on building conservation projects across three pilot case studies. However, as already outlined within the introduction to *Chapter 2 – A multi-methodological approach*, it does not directly build upon the results of this chapter, because the interviews and pilot studies were undertaken simultaneously to build towards an understanding of how to approach the final case study selection and analysis.

8 – Pilot case studies

8.1 Introduction

This second empirical chapter utilises three pilot case study buildings to explore the various ontological, theoretical, and interpretative approaches discussed within the literature, and offers specific detail concerning the approaches and results derived from each pilot study. For the broader rationale behind the use of case studies and their position within the methodological design of the research project, please refer to *Section 2.3 Case studies design and method*. This chapter is split into five sections. Following this introductory section, the following three sections explain the findings for each pilot case study respectively, with each written in the style of a results section. The chapter ends with a consolidated reflection on the lessons learned across all three pilot studies. A series of themes are established that serve to refine the analytical point of departure for the final case study in *Chapter 9 – Bletchley Park huts*. It reflects on the conservation approaches employed at each site and how this has impacted both the transmission and creation of its intangible heritage.

8.2 Results: Long Street Methodist Church

This section outlines the results for the Long Street pilot case study, and follows on from the contextual and methodological outline in *Section 2.3.5 Ontological and analytical explorations: Long Street Methodist Church*. The primary aim of this pilot case study has been to confront the centrality of the listed building within heritage assessment processes, by challenging the ontological foundations of values-based heritage management through use of SNA (explained in *Section 2.3.8.2 Stage 2: data analysis (social network analysis)*).

8.2.1 Heritage entanglements

An overall network model of Long Street was created using SNA (*Figure 47*). This model can be conceived as the 'heritage entanglements' of Long Street. It is comprised of 144 nodes that were interconnected via a total of 486 edges. The overall model serves to illustrate the variety and complexity of relationships between human and/ or non-human entities that the building is situated amongst. Whilst the elucidation of this overarching network model is illuminating, specific visual characteristics of the model (node size, location, colour and grouping) also have utility and will now be discussed in more detail.

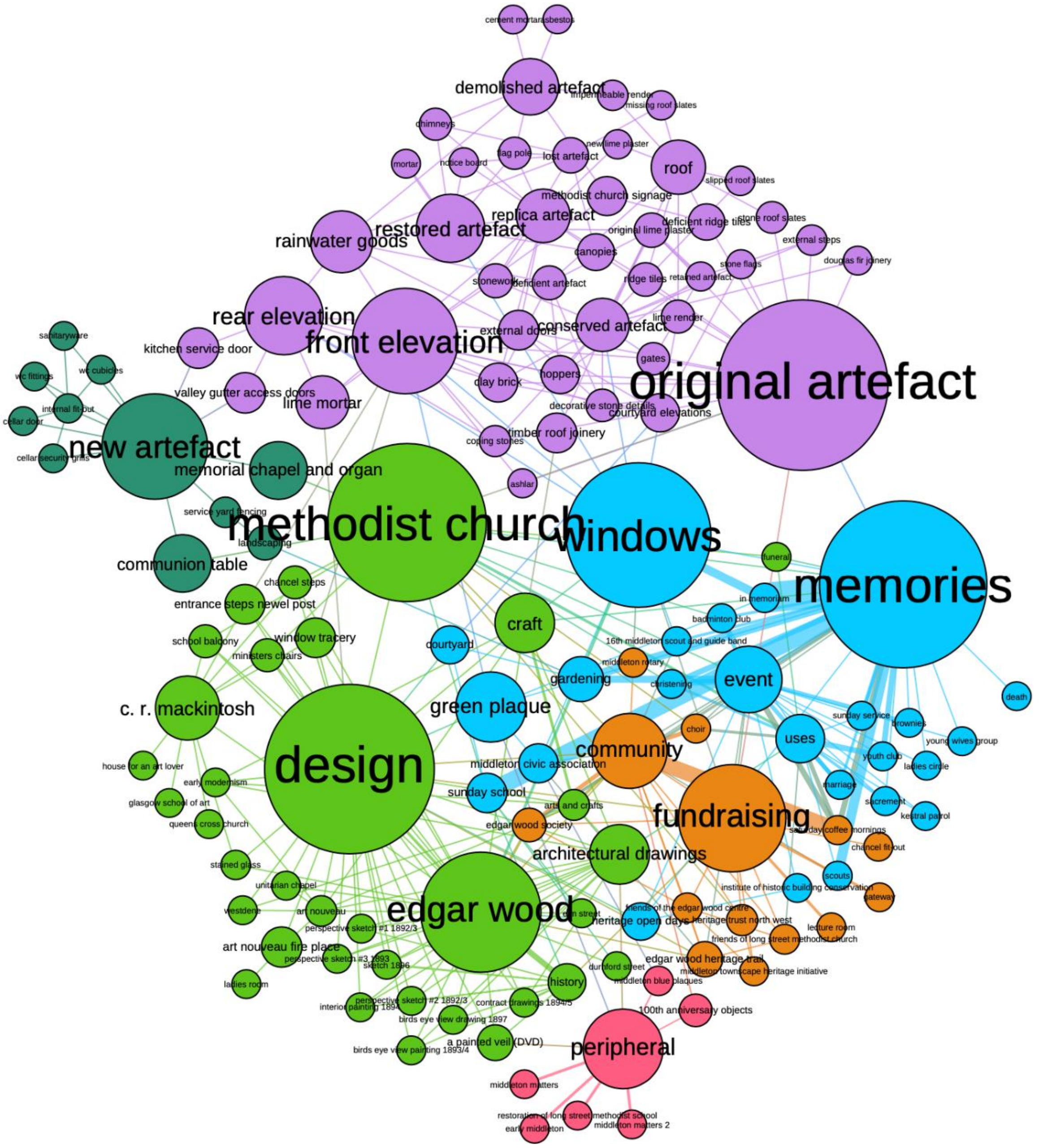
cement mortar
asbestos
demolished artefact
impermeable render
missing roof slates
chimneys
flag pole
lost artefact
new lime plaster
mortar
notice board
roof
slipped roof slates
methodist church signage
replica artefact
restored artefact
rainwater goods
deficient ridge tiles
stone roof slates
original lime plaster
external steps
canopies
douglas fir joinery
stone flags
stonework
deficient artefact
ridge tiles
retained artefact
rear elevation
front elevation
external doors
conserved artefact
lime render
kitchen service door
gates
sanitaryware
wc fittings
wc cubicles
hoppers
original artefact
valley gutter access doors
lime mortar
clay brick
decorative stone details
courtyard elevations
internal fit-out
cellar door
timber roof joinery
coping stones
cellar security grills
new artefact
memorial chapel and organ
ashlar
service yard fencing
methodist church
windows
landscaping
funeral
memories
communion table
chancel steps
in memoriam
entrance steps newel post
craft
badminton club
school balcony
window tracery
courtyard
16th middleton scout and guide band
ministers chairs
middleton rotary
gardening
christening
event
death
c. r. mackintosh
green plaque
sunday service
brownies
choir
uses
young wives group
community
design
middleton civic association
youth club
ladies circle
house for an art lover
early modernism
sunday school
marriage
glasgow school of art
arts and crafts
sacrement
fundraising
kestral patrol
queens cross church
edgar wood society
saturday coffee mornings
chancel fit-out
architectural drawings
stained glass
scouts
unitarian chapel
institute of historic building conservation
gateway
westdene
art nouveau
friends of the edgar wood centre
edgar wood
elm street
heritage open days
heritage trust north west
perspective sketch #1 1892/3
lecture room
friends of long street methodist church
art nouveau fire place
perspective sketch #3 1893
sketch 1896
edgar wood heritage trail
durnford street
middleton townscape heritage initiative
ladies room
history
middleton blue plaques
perspective sketch #2 1892/3
contract drawings 1894/5
interior painting 1894
100th anniversary objects
birds eye view drawing 1897
a painted veil (DVD)
peripheral
birds eye view painting 1893/4
middleton matters
restoration of long street methodist school
early middleton
middleton matters 2

Figure 47 - Relationships and practices of material and immaterial heritage

Source: author original image

Two visual characteristics of the heritage network in *Figure 47* will be immediately obvious – the variation in node size, and the various colours used to articulate particular groups of nodes. Firstly, the size of each node is relative to the number of connections the node has, which means the larger the node, the more critical it is to the building's existence as a heritage concept. This revealed the most connected (or 'entangled') nodes to be 'design', 'Edgar Wood', 'memories', 'fundraising', 'Methodist church', 'windows', and the building as an 'original artefact'. Secondly, the colour-coding represents clusters of nodes that have a high number of internal connections with one another – or put simply, a highly connected group of nodes. These statistical groupings therefore not only represent clusters of tangible and intangible qualities, but also the underlying practices that stimulate their entanglement. A total of six groups were identified from the network analysis, which can be interpreted from a Practice Theory perspective as '…intercalated constellations of practices, technology, and materiality' (Schatzki, 2010:123) (*Table 11*). Due to pilot study time constraints, only groups 4 and 5 ('memories' and 'building design' respectively) have been explored in further detail, though their content does inevitably overlap with the other groups identified.

Table 11 - Network groups identified by the analysis

As visually illustrated in the previous figure. Groups 4 and 5 (italicised) are interrogated further
Source: author original table

ID No.	Node Group Colour	Group
1	Dark green	New building artefacts
2	Pink	Peripheral building artefacts
3	Orange	Society and community fundraising activities
4	*Blue*	*Memories of building events and window memorialisation*
5	*Light green*	*The building design and its association with Edgar Wood*
6	Purple	The building as an 'original' artefact

8.2.2 Heritage practices: memory, design and community

8.2.2.1 SNA Group 4: memories of building events and window memorialisation

The SNA illustrates a high connection between memory, the windows of the restored building and community events. During the 2017 restoration works for Long Street, a fundraising initiative was devised that allowed members of the local community to dedicate a restored window to a friend, family member, or loved one, in exchange for a donation towards the restoration process (*Figure 48*).

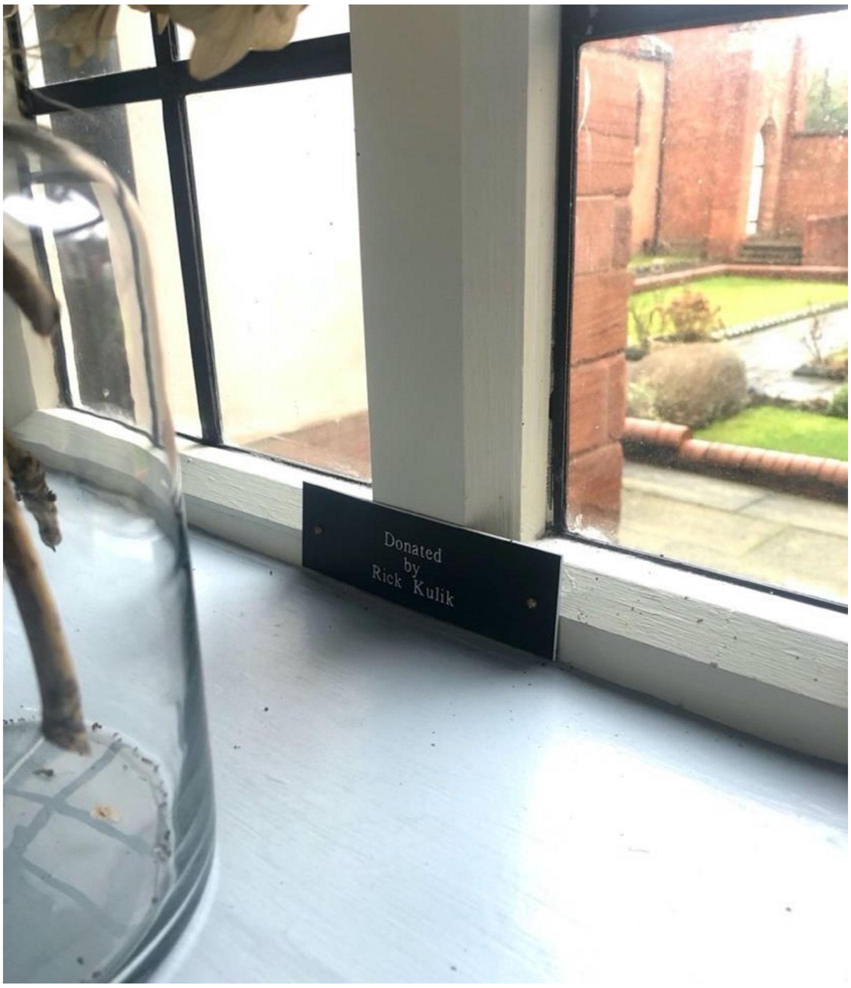

Figure 48 - Windows funded by a community member in memoriam

Commemorative plaque added to acknowledge the donation
Source: author original image

Some donations came from individuals, whilst others came from local clubs/ groups through various incentives and charity work. In striving towards a replication of the original Edgar Wood design (an expensive task involving research, craftsmanship and high-quality materials), a *memory practice* was employed that not only instigated various fundraising activities/ events within the local community, but also nurtured a contemporary relationship *between* the memories of the local community and the restoration project of the building (*Figure 49*). This new relationship between living memory and the building has not only helped to safeguard the physical building fabric, but has also contributed towards bringing the building back into viable use as a space for contemporary community practices – and subsequently, a space for the creation of new memories.

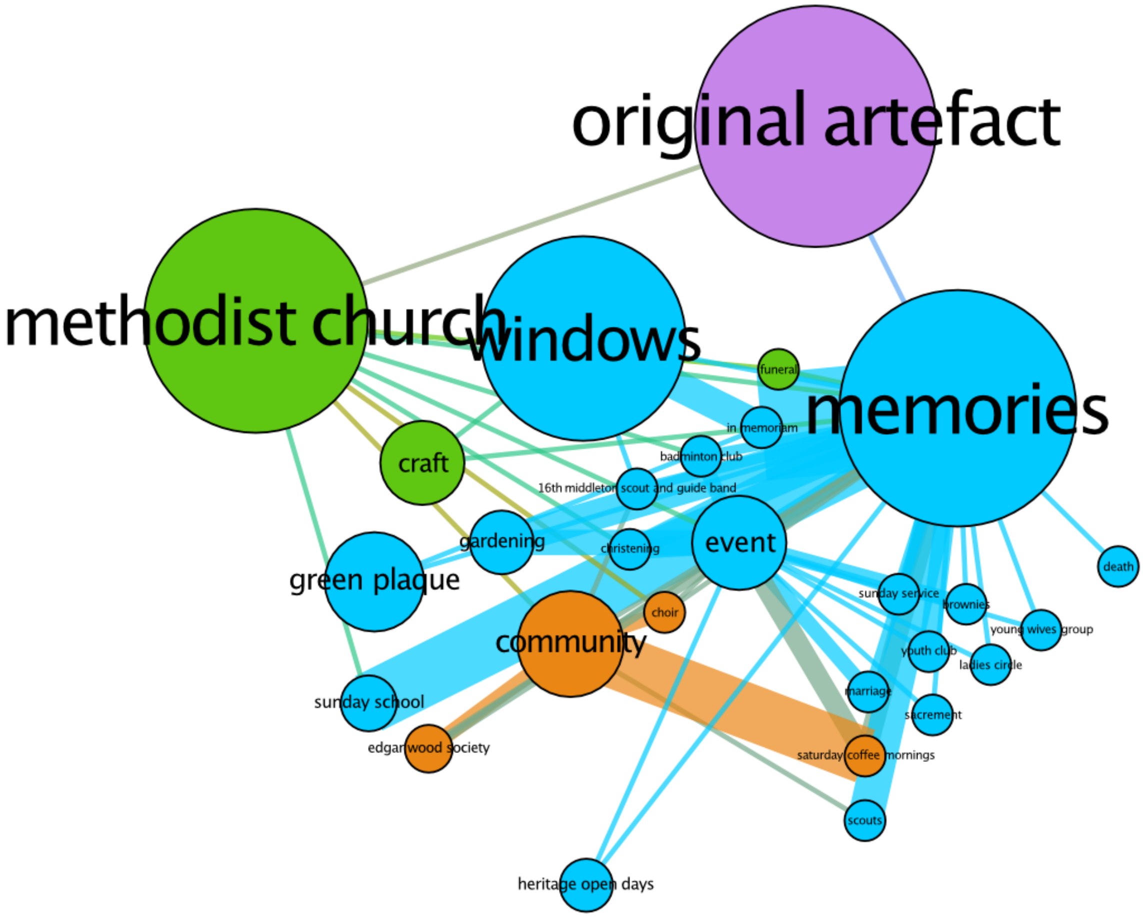
original artefact
methodist church
windows
memories
funeral
in memoriam
craft
badminton club
16th middleton scout and guide band
gardening
christening
event
green plaque
choir
community
death
sunday service
brownies
young wives group
youth club
ladies circle
marriage
sacrement
sunday school
edgar wood society
saturday coffee mornings
scouts
heritage open days

Figure 49 - Memory practices at Long Street (community activities and original building)

Source: author original image

The memory practice has therefore enhanced the memorial efficacy of the building, which now not only represents the broader narratives directly related to Edgar Wood, but also the evolving meanings of the building to the local community in the early 21st century.

8.2.2.2 SNA Group 5: the building design and its association with Edgar Wood

Unsurprisingly, the SNA calculated a group of highly connected nodes that reflect the building design and its association with Edgar Wood (*Figure 50*). It also highlights the close relationship between the original building design and the recent community fundraising activities that have supported its protection and subsequent restoration back to Wood's originally conceived design. Various peripheral artefacts contribute to this, such as key architectural design drawings across the building's design evolution.

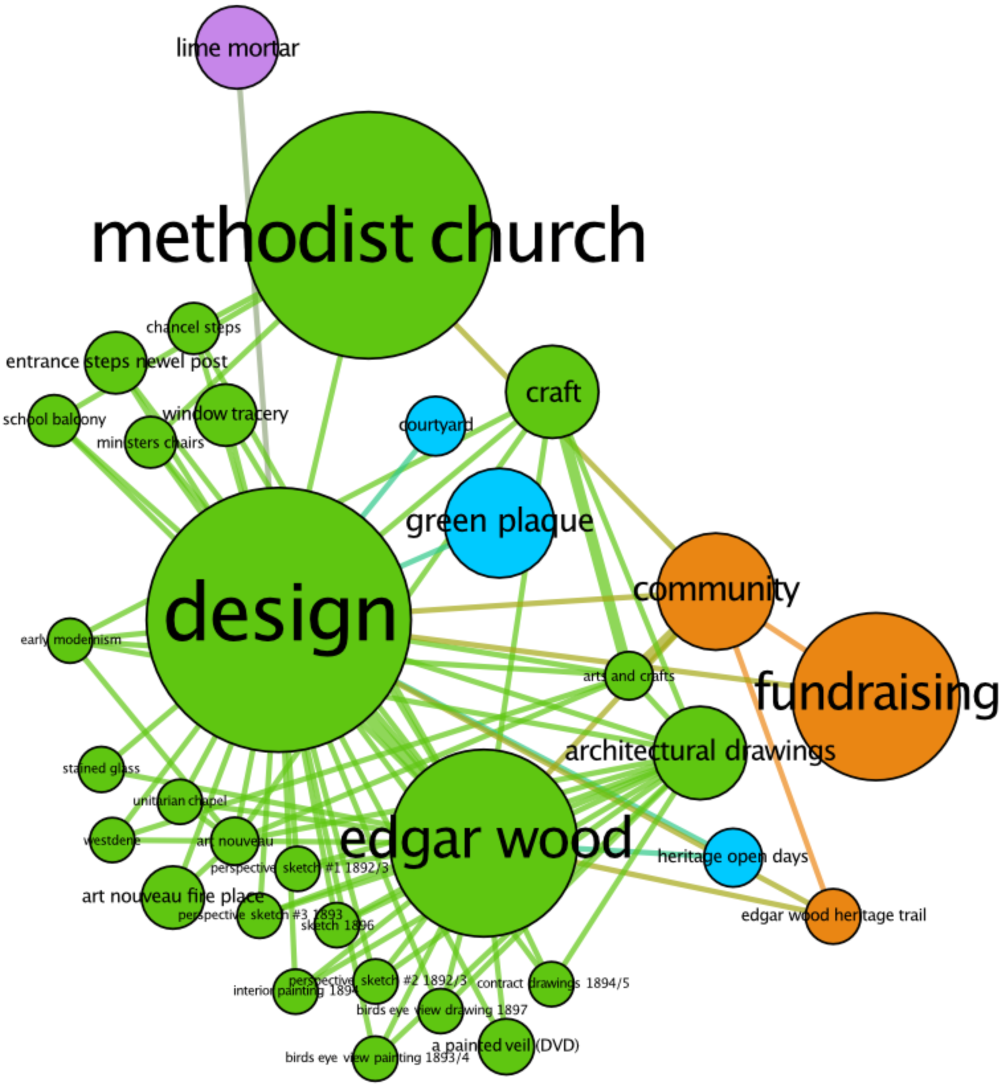
lime mortar
methodist church
chancel steps
entrance steps newel post
school balcony
window tracery
ministers chairs
craft
courtyard
green plaque
design
community
early modernism
arts and crafts
fundraising
architectural drawings
stained glass
unitarian chapel
westdene
art nouveau
edgar wood
perspective sketch #1 1892/3
heritage open days
art nouveau fire place
perspective sketch #3 1893
sketch 1896
edgar wood heritage trail
interior painting 189
perspective sketch #2 1892/3
contract drawings 1894/5
birds eye view drawing 1897
a painted veil (DVD)
birds eye view painting 1893/4

Figure 50 - Design practices at Long Street (fundraising events and Edgar Wood)

Source: author original image

However, perhaps more significant to the original design is the continued use of the building as a Methodist church, which reflects to some extent the lack of emphasis that Methodists place on their buildings (see Serjeant, 2014), in that they primarily focus on fostering a continuity of events and activities at the church for their community, ensuring its ongoing use. The restoration process tapped into this sense of community which has been nurtured at the site for so long, and which has consequently supported the safeguarding of the original Edgar Wood design (as per the original design drawings). Activities in the present-day have therefore protected the original design concept, with the building acting not only as a tool for Methodism, but also as a symbolic site of inscription for Wood's artistic integrity (as per Olsen, 2010:3; Glendinning, 2013:78).

8.2.3 Practices of tangible and intangible heritage

Using SNA as an approach to generate a network model for a listed building has its merits in relation to understanding the relationship between its tangible and intangible heritage. It also has a noticeable capacity to amalgamate contemporary themes in heritage surrounding digitisation and the problematisation of heritage domains (Rahaman and Tan, 2011; Harrison, 2015a; Taylor and Gibson, 2017; Hill, 2018b). Firstly, an SNA approach offers an equality of visibility across heritage domains that helps to address the difficulties associated with assessing and managing immaterial heritage (Smith and Waterton, 2009:298). Windows can sit alongside memories and reciprocal relationships can be established on equal terms. Secondly, it offers an opportunity to *understand* these various tangible-intangible relationships as part of broader practices, which can work towards supporting the built heritage professional's evolving role in defining what is significant (de la Torre, 2013:163). For example, by illuminating the importance of 'memory work' undertaken at the building and its ability to merge broader narratives within local narratives, the significance of the building as a symbol of community practices in Middleton is intensified. Thirdly, it offers an opportunity for heritage professionals to uncover the underlying processes that keeps heritage *as heritage*. This is achieved by looking beyond established 'cultural activities' and emphasising the ordinary, everyday practices that contribute towards its significance – what Kamel-Ahmed (2015:74) describes as the analysis of 'life patterns'. Choir, youth club, and coffee mornings sit alongside the more notable use of the building as a place of worship; and the daily mechanisms of various organisations are revealed as vitally important in maintaining a continuity of these life patterns. Lastly, and perhaps most noteworthy, an SNA approach emphasises the dynamic and unpredictable nature of heritage by de-emphasising the centrality of the building within assessment and management processes, and instead reconceptualising it as an inherent part of social phenomena (similar to Schatzki, 2010:141). The network model therefore encourages an assessment of socio-material practices and an appraisal of how best these can be managed and sustained for the future.

8.2.4 Summary: conserving socio-material practices

This pilot study has demonstrated how a rudimentary use of SNA can offer a deeper insight into the heritage significance of a historic or listed building. It has shown how this approach can encourage parity across tangible and intangible heritage domains if utilised during assessment. It also establishes how it may be possible to foster a re-aligned professional focus that concentrates more on the various practices that sustain and give meaning to built heritage assets – rather than a materialistic point of departure for assessment. Critical to this is the adoption of a renewed sense of what a building *is*, or *could be*, in order to utilise SNA to its full potential. This requires an ontological realignment that reconceptualises buildings as ever-changing material and social hybrids (also explored within *Section 1.2 Theoretical framework*). Perhaps most importantly, the use of SNA in assessing the significance of a listed building has demonstrated that whilst guidance and policy for built heritage professionals often compartmentalises heritage into 'domains', it is perhaps more illuminating and essential to understand the socio-material structures in place that fuse material and immaterial heritage together.

8.3 Results: the Hill House and Box

This section outlines the results for the Hill House and Box pilot case study. It follows on from the contextual and methodological outline in *Section 2.3.6 Theoretical and philosophical explorations: the Hill House and Box*. The main purpose of this pilot study has been to confront the dominant relationship between restoration and authenticity in relation to historic and listed buildings, by applying a postmodern outlook to the site and the prevailing interpretations of these concepts.

8.3.1 The Hill House: an authentic aesthetic

Beginning with the house itself, prior to its conservation the first approach was to outline the significance of the building and situate this within broader guidance and policy (as is the case with most built heritage projects). Its significance as an important proto-modernist design resulted in a complexity over its authenticity in relation to traditional tenets underpinned by the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964). More specifically, the safeguarding of the building as 'historical evidence' and the need to respect 'original material' and ‘contributions of all periods’ were contested during its significance assessment. This issue is clearly outlined in the heritage statement:

> *…the notion of preserving the designer’s intentions is heavily compromised by the notion that the work of all ages is worthy of being preserved, as “unity of style is not the aim of restoration” (Article 11).* ***For a building which is an icon of the International Style, “unity of style” might, with every justification, be considered as the primary value to be preserved.***
>
> (Wright, 2012:94 bold added)

The position on authenticity within the heritage statement is clear – it recommends a unity of style based on a hypothetical point of completion, rather than acknowledging the broader historical development of the building as represented by accretions, patina and/ or weathering. In considering the significance of the building as its unity of style, a conservation approach has subsequently been employed that focuses on the restoration of a concept – the design concept. Thus, what is restored is in fact an idealised or hypothetical essence – or what Baudrillard calls, a ‘simulation’:

> *The real does not efface itself in favour of the imaginary; it effaces itself in favour of the more real than real: the hyperreal. The truer than true: this is simulation.*
>
> (Baudrillard, 1990:11)

By determining that the building’s authenticity resides within a design concept (or style), the resulting restoration cannot be anything but a ‘genuine fake’, because the restoration methodology by definition requires a meticulous and creative approach towards imitation that results in the building becoming an improved version of itself (Cocola-Gant, 2019:134; Proto, 2020:86). Thus, the result will achieve both an impression of authenticity whilst still remaining an obvious counterfeit (Cohen, 2007:78). Consequently, what is actually created is a ‘…simulated experience that fulfils the desire for the “real”…’ (Rickly and Vidon, 2018:5; Proto, 2020:75) – an approach that becomes increasingly complex when factoring in the encapsulation of the house within the Box.

8.3.2 The Hill House Box

The encapsulation of built heritage is an intriguing topic, with many reasons as to why such a project may be undertaken. Examples range from the very pragmatic intentions of making a building watertight (e.g. the temporary tented scaffold constructed over Castle Drogo, Devon); to the creation of artwork (e.g. the temporary wrapping of the Reichstag, Germany); or to offer a new programmatic function (e.g. the permanent glass housing over the Old Hamar Cathedral, Norway)[109]. For the Hill House, the purpose of its temporary encapsulation is to facilitate the restoration of the building by: protecting it from the harsh Helensburgh climate; slowing down the process of decay; and allowing the building to dry out (see Carmody Groarke, 2019). However, far from these pragmatic intentions, the installation of the Box and subsequent site experience it affords is quite radical and unique. Whilst it may be a temporary structure, it is also a habitable one – with the transitory qualities associated with construction scaffolding or temporary coverings combined with the programmatic and utilitarian virtues of more permanent installations. This range of qualities results in a unique visitor experience at the Hill House during its ongoing restoration. The Box offers various external walkways, staircases, and viewing platforms, that gives visitors a novel autonomy in how they wish to engage with the Hill House. It also offers alternative experiences, such as being able to look down on the roof of the building (*Figure 51*); walk alongside upper storey windows and touch the building at heights previously unimaginable; as well as experience an alternative view of the surrounding Clyde Estuary (*Figure 52*). It also allows society to gain insight into the evolution of the ongoing conservation project (National Trust for Scotland, 2019).

Accordingly, whilst the installation of the Box was initially a subordinate add-on to the Hill House itself – and conceived very much in the spirit of a museological outlook (i.e. building as 'artefact') (Carmody Groarke, 2019), its architectural presence actually contributes towards the authenticity of the house by supporting visitor experience and autonomy (as per Pallasmaa, 2011:23). As such, it acts as a mediator *between* the original house and the formation of new traditions at the site, which are realised through the creation of new contemporary 'life patterns' (Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:69). So whilst the Hill House itself is being restored as a representation of the past, it is equally brought into the present through the spatial and experiential social practices that the Box supports (Abdelmonem and Selim, 2012:163).

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[109] Other examples of encapsulation include Rossyln Chapel, Scotland; Les Fresnoy Art Center, France; and the Sueno's Stone, Scotland (the latter being a monument, rather than a building).

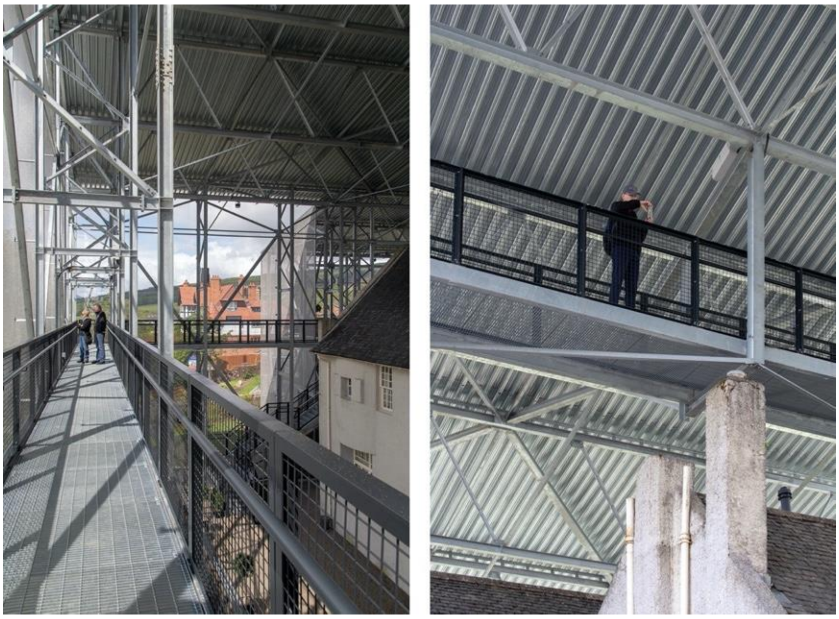

Figure 51 - The Hill House and Box walkways

Photo: Tom Parnell (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/itmpa/48672452183/in/album-72157710676927421/

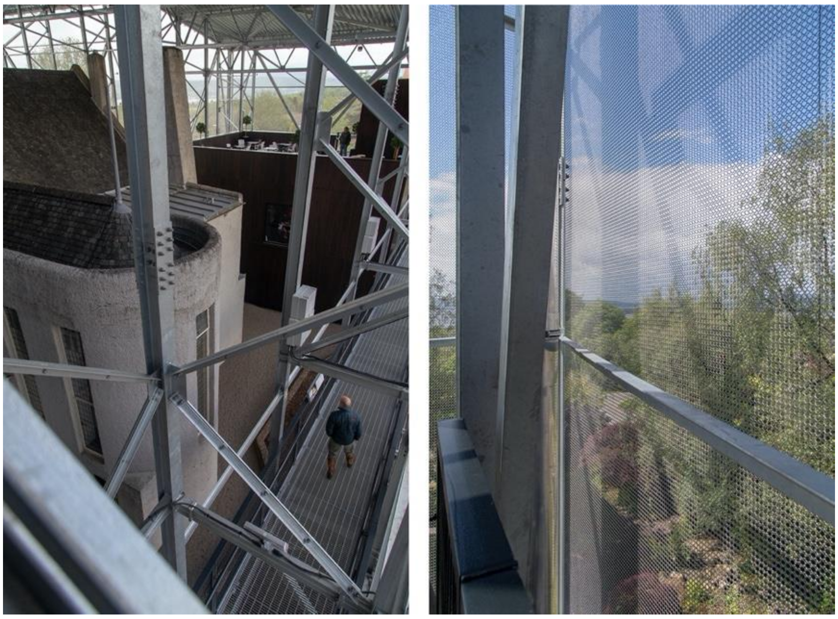

Figure 52 - Alternative views of building and site provided by the Hill House Box

Photo: Tom Parnell (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/itmpa/48672757131/in/album-72157710676927421/

The novel use of the Box accordingly becomes part of the 'everyday' experience of the site, by supporting the formation of a new social memory of the house (Harrison and Rose, 2010:240). This is very much in the 'adding to' sense (as outlined in *Section 3.3.1 Genuine fakes*), but of the intangible, rather than the tangible. Not only does this align with the postmodern conception of intangible heritage as an experiential and ritualistic practice (Littler, 2014:95), but also supports two further ideas. Firstly, that historic buildings can be altered in such a way that maintains a dynamic continuity of traditions, practices and rituals (Abdelmonem and Selim, 2012; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015); and secondly, that a connection to (and reverence for) the past can be represented by the creation of something new in the present[110] (Pallasmaa, 2012b:15; Jencks, 2016; Frost, 2017:263; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:99). The resulting heritage practices at the site facilitate novel and intimate contact with the ongoing restored essence and atmosphere of the building's original design concept. In turn, this enables an experience of aura, in that users are engaging in a unique, embodied and affective experience which subsequently *becomes* authentic (Rickly-Boyd, 2012:271; Lovell, 2018:182). The Box, as a new entity, can thus be regarded as an abstracted simulacrum, in that the experience of the Box and the original house become entangled and indistinguishable, along with what is *past* and what is *present*.

8.3.3 Hyperreality at the Hill House

The restoration project at the Hill House is misrepresented if conceived purely within the 19th century preservation-restoration dichotomy. It is also misrepresented if considered a mere copy, imitation, or 'pseudo experience' of authenticity that society seeks out (see Goulding, 1998:837; Chhabra, 2012:499; Rickly-Boyd, 2012:272). Instead, it is best understood as a complex relationship between the idealised essence of the past – as represented by the tangible heritage (the building); and the contemporary practices of the present – as represented by the intangible heritage (the personal and social practices facilitated by the Box). Consequently, the combination of building and Box creates a dynamic performance between people and the restored building which results in *new* authenticity and aura (Rickly-Boyd, 2012:271). The authenticity of the Hill House therefore becomes defined not only by an essence of an authentic aesthetic, but also by the Box structure, which acts as a catalyst for 'negotiations' between this restored 'reality' and society (see Jones, 2009:136). This effect is described by Cohen (2007:78) as 'emergent authenticity' or 'de-framing', in which the Box has now become engulfed by the perceived authenticity of the building. This is a process that will likely intensify over time (Rickly-Boyd, 2012:273; Darlington, 2020:215), and is an important factor to consider, as the Box is anticipated to encapsulate the house for up to fifteen years (Carmody Groarke, 2019). This is a forecast that only raises more questions in relation to the ongoing development of authenticity at the site.

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[110] Hence the 2003 Convention's notion of heritage being 'constantly recreated' (UNESCO 2003, 2).

8.3.4 Summary: restoring the past, ritualising the present

This second pilot study has attempted to destabilise common 'truths' in relation to historic building restoration and authenticity, by applying a postmodern Baudrillardian outlook to the Hill House and the Box which encapsulates it. It has demonstrated how this perspective can overcome the dominant scientific and visual disciplinary understandings of restoration and authenticity, which are often tolerated and propagated within the built heritage paradigm without question or critical reflection. In this scenario, the mixture of imitation (the house) and innovation (the box) has overcome dominant perceptions of restoration and authenticity, and resulted in the creation of emergent authenticity and aura that the Box has both created and been engulfed within (*Figure 53*).

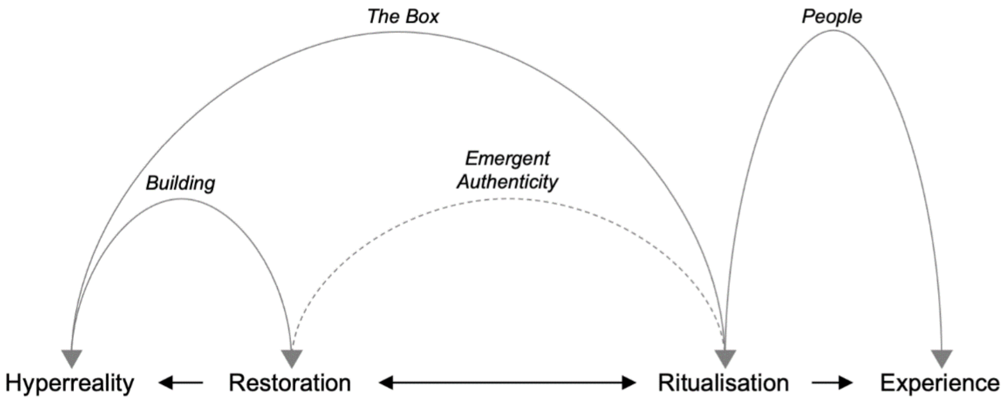

Figure 53 - Socio-material practices established in the Hill House pilot study

Source: author original image

As this is a relatively new restoration project and the Box a relatively new installation, the full impact of its presence on the authenticity of the site is yet to be fully realised. However, based on the likely intensification of its emergent authenticity at the site over the next decade or so, its temporary nature already provokes questions concerning its legacy and impact on the perceived authenticity of the Hill House, when such a time comes that it should be removed. For instance, when it is time to remove the Box, what happens to the new life patterns, everyday experiences, social memory, and emergent authenticity that it created and sustained? Is it conceivable that these new ways of perceiving, experiencing and valuing the Hill House may support an argument for the retention of the Box? Or will a prevailing desire to remove the Box motivate a post-rationalisation of these qualities as inconsequential economic by-products of decay prevention? Perhaps the Box may have even accumulated enough authenticity (the fifteen year reflective glow of the Hill House) to be celebrated on its own merit and to justify its permanent relocation elsewhere – a heritage by-product of the original building (*Figure 54*)? Whilst it is exciting to speculate over its ultimate fate, one thing remains certain – the contemporary yearning to engage with the aura of the original Mackintosh design has inspired a radical conservation method at the site, alongside a timely broadening of perspectives relating to the restoration and authenticity of historic buildings.

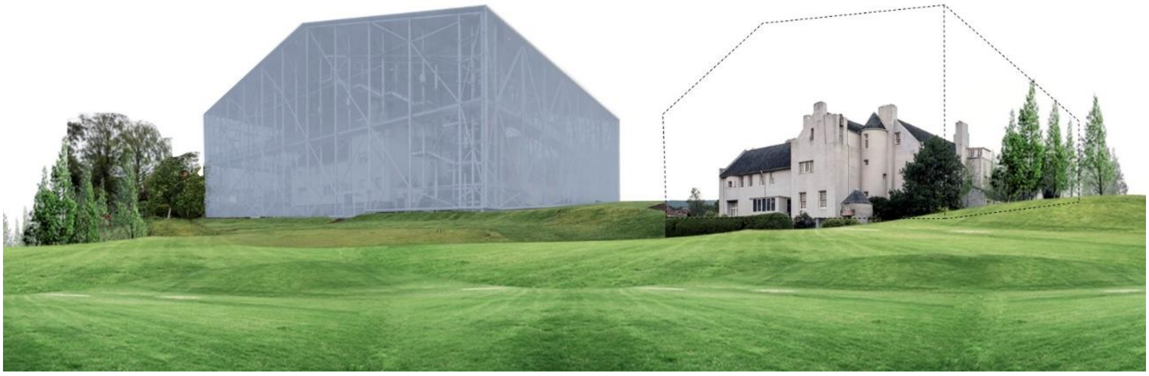

Figure 54 - Is there a case for retaining the Box and its associated practices?

One of many possible future projections
Source: author original image

8.4 Results: Coventry Cathedral and ruins

This section outlines the results for the Coventry Cathedral pilot case study, and follows on from the contextual and methodological outline in *Section 2.3.7 Interpretative explorations: Coventry Cathedral*. The primary goal of this pilot study has been to test the applicability of interpreting historic and listed buildings more in the spirit of the 2003

Convention (UNESCO, 2003), by using the linguistic analogy of 'translation' to interpret the building/ site as 'constantly recreated' by frontier societies.

8.4.1 A 'translation' approach

In architecture, the notion of a building or site containing multiple meanings has persisted through analogies with cognitive linguistics, which led to postmodern architects applying an 'architectural language' to their work – implying buildings can be 'read' (Whyte, 2006:154; Wells, 2007:7). From this perspective, we can more simplistically understand the architectural language as a means of communication *between* buildings and people. The architectural language is therefore not where meaning resides; rather, it is how meaning can be *accessed* – just as human language works (Freeman, 2003:253). Walter (2014b:641) further describes the applicability of a 'textual metaphor' such as this for cultural artefacts, whereby a historic building can be 'read' in order to interpret its meaning for society. However, the reading of buildings – particularly complex historic buildings – can be extremely challenging, as their monumentality often means they are representative of various outmoded customs and traditions[111] (Harbison, 1997:176).

William Whyte's (2006) paper suggests the alternative linguistic analogy of 'translation' is a more appropriate method for interpreting historic buildings, with the established concept of 'reading' buildings being somewhat flawed (see Whyte, 2006:177). This proposition is structured around three key points[112]. Firstly, whilst a textual metaphor may have utility, in reality there is little resemblance between a novel and a building (Whyte, 2006:154). Secondly, the restriction of the representation and interpretation of architecture to that of just text imposes interpretative limitations (Whyte, 2006:154). Lastly, and of most importance to this study, the comprehension of meanings will change across the conceptual and physical lifespan of a building – the story being 'read' is not fixed like on paper – it evolves, transforms and is (re)told in different ways depending on the personal and cultural perspectives of the interpreter (Whyte, 2006:155; also see Hassard, 2009b:162; Stone, 2019b:79). Likewise, Scott (2008:11) also describes the process of change that historic buildings go through (what he labels 'alteration') to be more akin to the act of translation. He notes its specific imperative being to bring a building from the past into the present (Scott, 2008:79). As has already been discussed in *Chapter 3 – From buildings to people*, Plevoets and Cleempoel (2013:16, 2019:10,33) refer to this approach as *translatio*, whereby the historic building acts as a precedent (or blueprint) for contemporary changes. Stone (2019b:33) concurs, noting how the process of translation is more concerned with the imposition of contemporary cultural values upon a historic building, which informs contemporary society how to interpret the past. Consequently, the notion of change must carefully balance multiple meanings from multiple cultures across time, whilst also being representative of the desires and cultural identities of those in the present (as per UNESCO, 2003:2, 2005:2).

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[111] This is a particularly relevant issue as of late (2019/2020) in the wake of Black Lives Matter, Black-British History and the subsequent impact this has had on how contemporary society perceives the designated stock of built heritage assets.

[112] Based on theories put forward by Mikhail Bakhtin, philosopher (1895-1975).

Craft can be utilised as a relevant theme to explore these ideas at Coventry Cathedral, particularly if it is regarded as '…an approach, an attitude, or a habit of action' (Adamson, 2007:4). A craft skill, for example, must not only be passed on across generations through a tradition of observational replication (Karakul, 2015:138); but must also *evolve* across time to maintain relevance to present-day societies (Sennett, 2008:26). This reflects the broader concept of craft 'revivals' which is outlined by Peach (2013:161) as follows:

> *…revivals are not simply a repetition of the past. Because craft is in a constant process of reinvention and reinvigoration, so-called 'revivals' are instead uniquely complex and historically changing, reflecting more about the present and the future than the past.*

Peach (2013:162) further highlights how craft practice is '…linked to wider social, cultural and political structures and processes' and is thus not only a reflection of, but oftentimes a reaction to, change. Note the similarity here between the concepts of: craft 'revival'; the 'translation' analogy; and the constantly recreated nature of ICH. Using Coventry Cathedral as a pilot case study, this pilot explores the notion of translation as a way to conceptualise historic buildings as constantly recreated in relation to the temporal traditions and ICH that both perpetuates and transforms the physical building across time (not dissimilar to Hollis, 2009:13). As such, its structure is more narrative-based than the previous two pilot studies. It highlights the evolution of the cathedral as a prime example of translation in relation to its craft traditions (both social- and skill-based craft heritage) – with an investigative focus placed on craft skills, craft guilds and mystery plays.

8.4.2 Three cathedrals: an overview

The Cathedral Church of St. Michael sits in the heart of Coventry, England. In the period before 1043, there was no cathedral on the site, yet its association with religious worship was already underway, with a nunnery being in existence up to the early eleventh century until it was ransacked and ruined by Danish invaders (Williams, 1985:6; Historic England, 2019b). Following this lesser known prologue is the more commonplace yet equally complex history of three buildings – or cathedrals – all of which maintain a physical presence at the site to some extent (*Figure 55*).

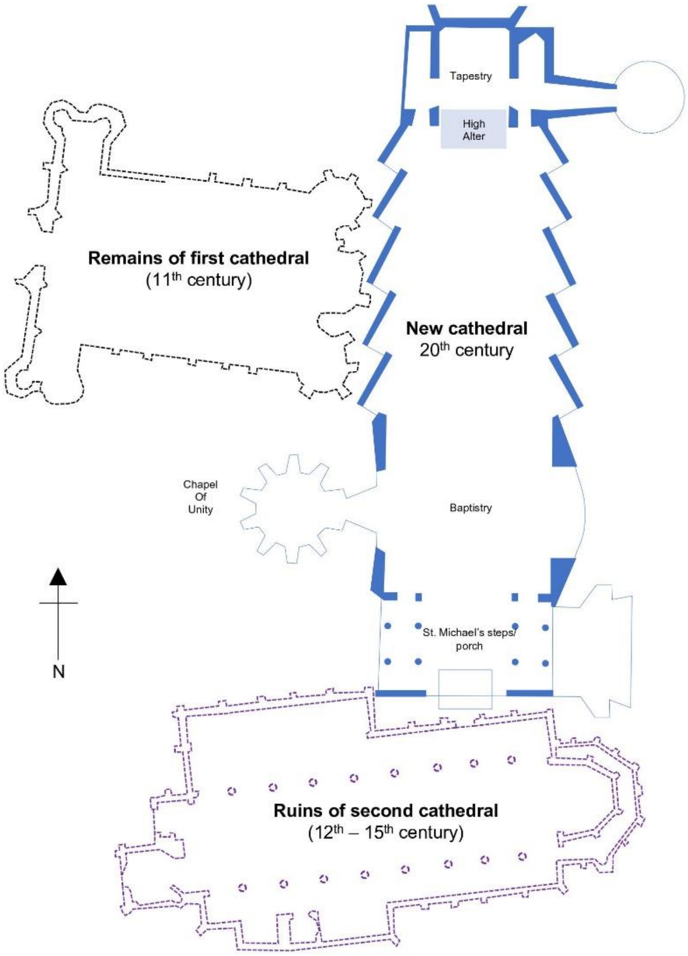
Tapestry
High Alter
Remains of first cathedral
(11th century)
New cathedral
20th century
Chapel Of Unity
Baptistry
N
St. Michael's steps/ porch
Ruins of second cathedral
(12th – 15th century)

Figure 55 - Diagrammatic plan of the three cathedrals

Source: author original image, after Sadgrove (1991)

The story of Coventry Cathedral is commonly buttressed by the polarity of WWII chaos and post-war optimism, yet the site itself has a long history that spans across three separate cathedral buildings. First, there was the construction of the Benedictine Priory of St.

Mary[113], which later became Coventry's first cathedral in 1102 (Lamb, 2008:xvii). This was eventually dissolved under the rule of Henry VIII in 1538/39 and subsequently fell into ruin (Sadgrove, 1991:3; Lamb, 2008:xvii). Second, there was the construction of what is now known as 'old St. Michaels', which was originally built to much acclaim in the 14th century for its exceptional use of the Gothic architectural style (Williams, 1985:14). It was only in 1918 that it became Coventry's second cathedral, following the eventual revival of the Diocese of Coventry (Lamb, 2008:xvii). However, during WWII it was destroyed by the sustained air attack that Coventry was subjected to (Williams, 1985:2). The destruction of this second cathedral to grace the site was all the more devastating due to the anxieties that 20th century society held over the physical fabric of historic buildings – with cathedrals in particular being caught up in the Western 'monumental complex' (Campbell, 2008:3). Lastly, this destruction set the scene for the third and final cathedral to grace the site. The new St. Michael's – a cathedral authored by Sir Basil Spence[114] – was designed to sit alongside the consolidated ruins of the former gothic cathedral, creating a symbolic contrast between war/ destruction, and reconciliation/ renewal (Williams, 1985:3). It was completed and consecrated in 1962 (Williams, 1985:57)[115].

8.4.3 A translation of craft skills

It is likely that the Benedictine Priory first brought to Coventry a practical selection of craft skills. Whilst these were originally a part of an all-encompassing practice of monastic devotion, they eventually led to craft being one of the key factors that instigated the initial growth of the city (Williams, 1985:6). The craft skills originally practiced by these monks from their Priory subsequently established a line of tradition that connects to the establishment of medieval craft guilds in Coventry and their influential role in society – especially when considering the distinction between craft and social guilds was often blurred within medieval social structures (see Anderson, 2013:43). In Coventry, merchant and artisan craft guilds became the backbone to its economic and civic growth, with various crafts operating in the city (Cherry, 2011:182). Due to this, craft guilds and the skills that those guilds both practised (artisanal guilds) and represented (merchant guilds) had an influential role in the mechanisms of the city (Sennett, 2008:57). Particularly for the latter, this was not only from the perspective of economic power (Ogilvie, 2007:1), but also overall social influence (Ogilvie, 2007:1; Epstein, 2008:155). Their impact is also evident in the construction, use, alteration, planning[116] and decoration of churches (Williams, 1985:6; Anderson, 2013:43). For example, the now ruinous medieval cathedral at the site ('old St. Michaels') was not only a physical manifestation of craft skills, but also a social space for craft guilds to meet and discuss important socio-economic affairs. As with many English churches, this was achieved through the widening of the aisles in order to house the various craft guild chapels[117] (Williams, 1985:35; Anderson, 2013:45).

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[113] The footings of which are located to the West of the current nave (Campbell, 2008:16).

[114] Sir Basil Spence, architect (1907-1976).

[115] Coventry is one of only a few cathedrals to be consecrated since the Middle Ages (Campbell, 2008:25).

The subsequent preservation and integration of the second cathedral within the 1950's design concept of the third cathedral, the 'new' St. Michaels, was an example of gothic architectural craftsmanship being utilised as an instrument to project a strong national identity (Campbell, 2018:87). This decision was set within the context of a post-war spirit of optimism and Britishness – a reaction to both the physical and social damage brought about by WWII. In particular, the focus on 'national character' that was instigated by the Festival of Britain[118] around this time, resulted in the third cathedral embodying the spirit of the festival, in terms of both its 'ethos' and 'aesthetic' (Hauser, 2007:9; Wiebe, 2012:193). As Wiebe (2012:193) explains:

> *…Coventry Cathedral mediated between tradition and modernity in its vision of renewal. It was in part a war memorial, the ruins preserved as a monument to national and civic loss. The new Cathedral looked back to a medieval past in which the Church was integrated with society and the arts. . . Despite all these signs of a preoccupation with the past, however, the Cathedral, like the Festival of Britain, worked hard to declare its modernity and offer a vision of renewal.*

So whilst the ruin of the second cathedral was retained as an outward symbol of hope, the new cathedral addressed the perceived loss of spirit (Alison and Hoole, 1987:7), with its architect, Basil Spence, using it as a vehicle to both propagate and recreate traditional crafts and skills through the gathering of leading Neo-Romantic artisans (Campbell, 2008:14; Wiebe, 2012:8) (*Figure 56*). This included the work of Neo-Romanticists such as

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[116] It is noted by Anderson (2013:45) how the diversity of English parish church plans from this era can often be traced back to the integration of Guild Chapels.

[117] The Smiths, the Cappers, the Dyers, the Mercers (Williams, 1985:14).

[118] Festival of Britain, 1951. A national exhibition that celebrated a recovering post-war Britain.

Graham Sutherland (his 'Christ in Glory in the Tetramorph'[119] tapestry) and John Piper (his 195-pane stained glass baptistry window) (*Figure 57*).

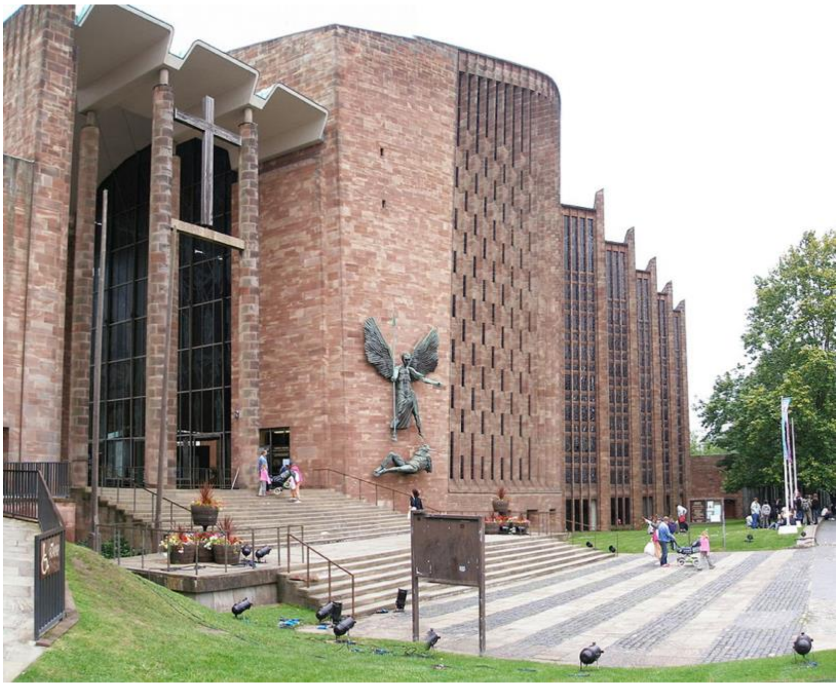

Figure 56 - New St. Michaels exterior

Photo: buzzard525 (CC BY 3.0)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Coventry_Cathedral_-_panoramio.jpg

Whilst for many, the new Coventry Cathedral was a contentious modern interpretation of traditional liturgy, it was also unquestionably a design that stimulated a re-creation of artisanal craft practices at the site (Williams, 1985:35; Herbert, 1999:544). Campbell (2008:26) concurs, referring to the project as a '…renewal of national architectural and craft traditions of the 1950s…'. For the Neo-Romanticists, and indeed for Spence, the new Coventry Cathedral was conceived as a physical expression of society's position *between* the destruction of WWII, and the new challenges that lay ahead in the guise of modernism/ universalism (Wiebe, 2012:8). The former, the WWII destruction, was reconciled by utilising the ruined cathedral as a representation of the historical continuity of *place*, and thereby explicitly acknowledging the physical and spiritual voids created by wartime chaos (Alison and Hoole, 1987:7; Mitchell, 2014:277).

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[119] Also known as 'Christ in Majesty', 1962. Located to the North of the nave of new St. Michael's.

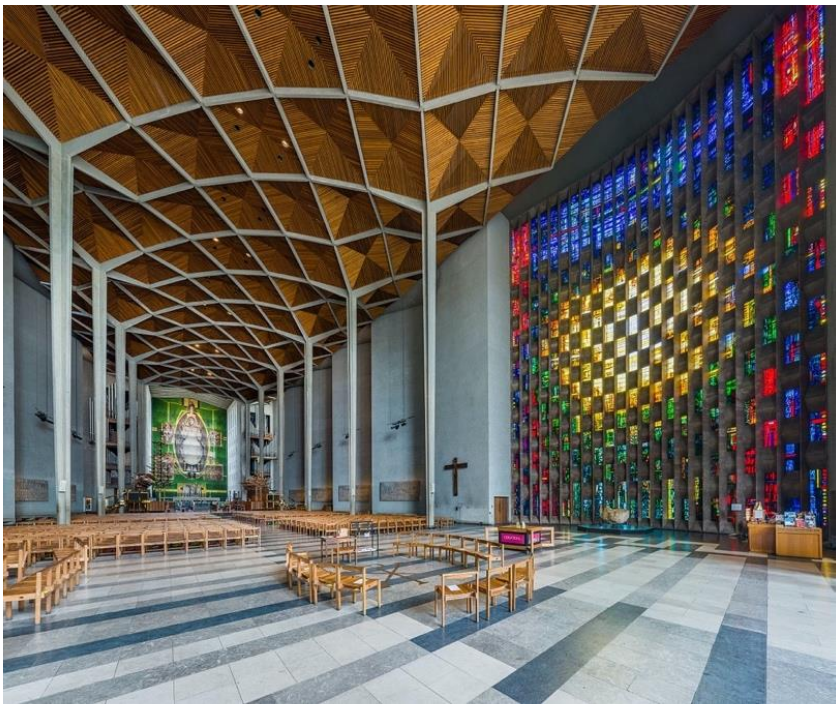

Figure 57 - New St. Michaels interior, showing the tapestry and baptistry window

Photo: David Iliff (CC BY-SA 3.0)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Coventry_Cathedral_Interior,_West_Midlands,_UK_-_Diliff.jpg

The latter, the future-oriented challenges, were addressed more generically through the broader Neo-Romantic focus on genius loci (or spirit of place) (a theme already discussed within *Section 6.6 Spirit of place*). As Mitchell (2014:259) explains:

> *Neo-Romanticism was a search to revive what painter Paul Nash called the genius loci, "the spirit of place". In this sense, Neo-Romanticism was also an ethical sensibility and practice, for while visual art and architecture can certainly have profound differences between them, Neo-Romanticism was pushing back against the move toward the universal and abstract in both fields.*

In this sense, contemporary craft revival was utilised in very much the same way as the medieval crafted ruin, in that both sought to build upon the traditions of the site with something new. The ruined cathedral did so literally through its retention and reuse as a memorial; and the craftsmanship of the new cathedral (artistic, artisanal, architectural) did so through its emphasis on a mutual 'framing' of past and present into a highly charged social symbol[120] (Hauser, 2007:252; Mitchell, 2014:265). It was therefore not only the palimpsest of existing buildings that were utilised as a blueprint for something new, but also the spirit of local and national society at that time. A bond was thus formed across all three cathedrals, starting from the initial practice of craft by the Benedictines, to the gothic architectural craft skills of medieval Coventry, and finally the post-war gathering of Neo-Romantic artisan craft skills in Spence's new cathedral.

The position of the third cathedral at the crescendo of post-war optimism has resulted in it also becoming a symbolic conclusion to the post-war spirit of the early 1950's (equally represented by the Festival of Britain and Neo-Romantic movement more generally)[121] (Hauser, 2007:252; Mandler, 2008:1084). As Spence himself stated in 1965:

> *If I could build Coventry again, I wouldn't build it in the same way. The mood is different now: there's not the same emotional intensity.*
>
> *Sir Basil Spence interview from 1965*
> *(quoted in Campbell, 1996:254)*

Indeed, in many respects, the 1960s needed another cathedral – a fourth – to represent its forward momentum, wholesale acceptance of modernist principles, and increasingly secular outlook. Whilst this translation could not be achieved physically at the site, it is through its associated social practices (themselves rooted in the social function of craft), where the ongoing evolution of the site can be interpreted.

8.4.4 A translation of social practices

The medieval guild system fostered not only the transference of craft skills (Epstein, 2008:155), but also held an important social role in terms of its influence on social mobility and social order (Swanson, 1988:30; Sennett, 2008:57; Djabarouti and O'Flaherty, 2020:425) – both of which were rooted in the capacity for craft to instil social attitudes and values. Guilds also held a significant public position in social life through their production and performance of mystery plays (Stephens, 1969; Swanson, 1988:29), which were performances (pageants) of a liturgical nature enacted primarily by the craft guilds of the

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[120] A negative by-product of this was an equal disdain for the building by both modernists and conservatives, with it being perceived as either too modern, or too traditional (Bullock, 2002:76; Christie, 2016:154).

[121] This reflects the length of time taken to complete the building, with the original architectural competition occurring in 1950 (around the height of the Neo-Romantic movement and a year before the Festival of Britain), and its completion occurring 12 years later in 1962.

Midlands and the North (Anderson, 2013:43)[122]. At Coventry Cathedral, mystery plays acted as a source of education and communication between church and society (Wallace and Lamb, 2008:73), and it was the 'Grey Friars' who were well known for their annual performance on *Corpus Christi Day*, which was set on a moving stage outside the cathedral (Williams, 1985:14–15) (*Figure 58*). With many medieval cities holding their own mystery plays, the content of these public performances was often a reflection of the city within which it was performed, with the Coventry Weavers'[123] play, for example, exploring '…hierarchical tensions. . . [and] different modalities of authority in early sixteenth-century Coventry' (Alakas, 2006:17). Thus, whilst the physical act of crafting things may often be representative of societal dynamics (Sennett, 2008:7), so too were the associated public performances that were undertaken. Indeed, part of the purpose of these events was to reinforce the position and success of the craft guilds through ritual and ceremony (Swanson, 1988:44).

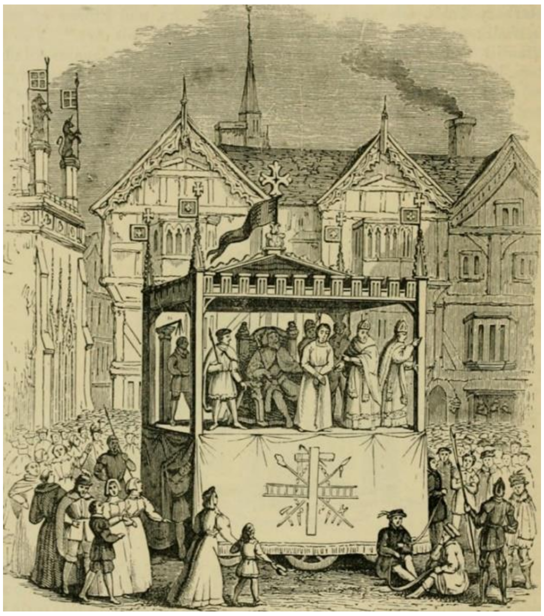

Figure 58 - Etching of a typical medieval mystery play

Photo: Robert Chambers (Public domain)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ChesterMysteryPlay_300dpi.jpg

The public mystery plays that were originally produced and performed by the medieval craft guilds have survived through re-creation across time, which has been encouraged by their integration within the changes that have occurred both at the cathedral site itself and nationally. For example, in tandem with the prominence of Neo-Romanticism, medieval mystery plays experienced a resurgence in the 1950's. Various re-enactments occurred as part of the Festival of Britain, with cycles at York, Chester, as well as at Coventry, within the ruins of the second cathedral (Gill, 2001:159; Wiebe, 2012:159,163) (*Figure 59*).

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[122] Due to the involvement of the Craft Guilds, they were also known as 'Guild Plays'.
[123] The Weavers are noted as one of the first progressive Craft Guilds in Coventry (Williams, 1985:17).

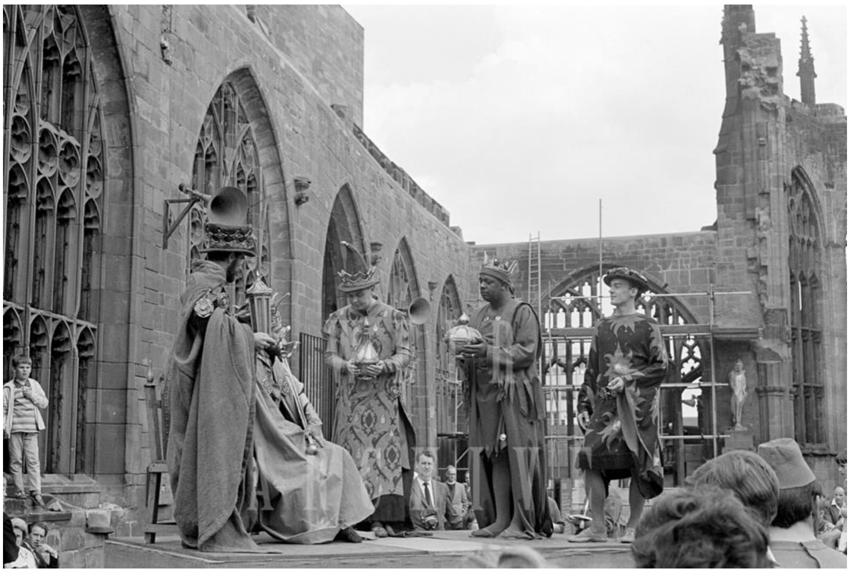

Figure 59 - Mystery play in the ruins of the second cathedral, 1964

Source: Anthony Weir (all rights reserved; permission of use granted)

This was coupled with the first post-war re-creation of the equally long-standing Godiva Procession[124], which over the centuries has been staged '…infrequently enough for each **revival** to be a notable local event' (Gill, 2001:157 bold added) (*Figure 60*). The combination of these two events as part of the Festival of Britain served to not only capture the spirit of reconstruction in Coventry at that time (Gill, 2001:157), but also contributed towards a sense of British culture that the festival sought to harness as part of a broader '…act of national reassessment, and corporate reaffirmation of faith in the nation's future' (Cox, 1951:6)[125]. As already outlined in the previous section, it was this melting pot of reconstruction, reassessment and reaffirmation that underpinned the design concept for the third cathedral, which was eventually completed and consecrated some ten years after the festival.

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[124] A procession in Coventry occurring since the 17th century that re-tells the story of Lady Godiva.

[125] Quote from the official Festival of Britain exhibition guidebook.

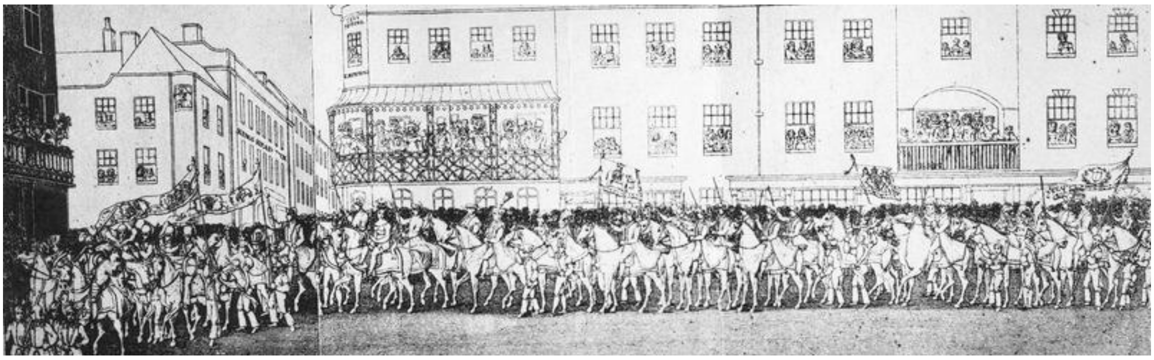

Figure 60 - An 1825 revival of the Godiva Procession

Photo: David Gee, via Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry (public domain)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Godiva_Procession_HAGAM.tif

Since the festival, mystery plays have continued to be recreated within various 'play sites' on the cathedral grounds, with the retained 'old' St. Michaels ruin continuing to act as an 'open stage' for re-creating these traditional craft guild performances in new ways that appeal to contemporary society (Wallace and Lamb, 2008:73) (*Figure 61*).

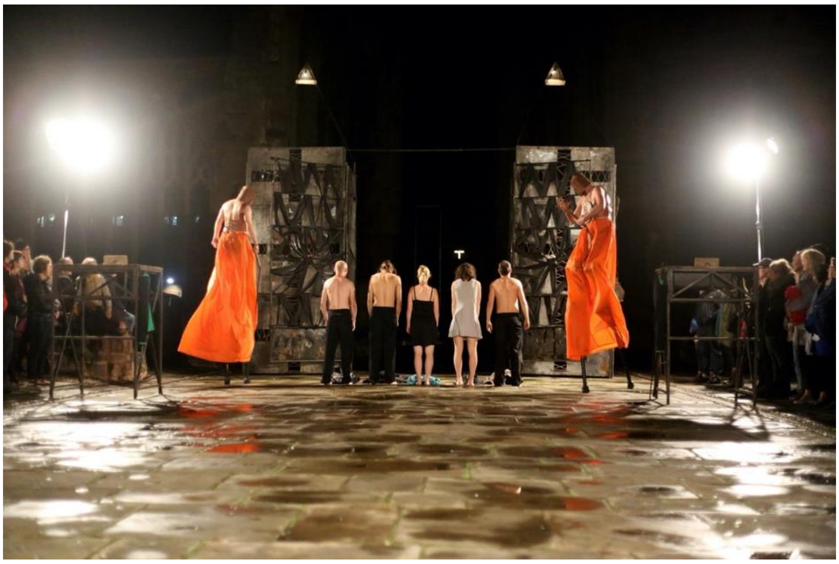

Figure 61 - Contemporary re-creation of a mystery play within the cathedral ruins

Source: Gerda Muldaryte (all rights reserved; permission of use granted)

The result is an urban spatial experience that is constantly in flux – balancing chaos, contemplation, renewal, re-creation and present-day issues – all within a correspondingly pluralistic setting of medieval and Neo-Romantic craft. Equally, it is also possible to interpret other cultural events at the cathedral as secular reinterpretations of the mystery plays, such as the various contemporary drama that has been performed on the steps of the new cathedral to the general public (Williams, 1985:25). This evolution of performance as an act of culture rather than religion at the site reflects to some extent the desires of an increasingly secular society (see Campbell, 2008:26) (a theme already touched upon with *Section 6.5.2 A symbolic decline*). Alongside various ad hoc performances, the medieval mystery plays have also been revived through the *Coventry Mysteries Festival*, which states to be '…a new spectacle of music, colour and theatre that maintains the glorious medieval atmosphere' (The Coventry Mysteries Festival, 2014). The Godiva Procession has also been reinvented as the *Godiva Festival*, which '…build[s] on the success of the ancient Godiva Procession. . . to create a free festival of entertainment as an extension of traditional celebrations' (Coventry Godiva Festival, 2021). The cathedral ruins themselves are also now host to various smaller-scale rock festivals and events. Whilst from one perspective these events may transcend the original use of the ruins as a space of contemplation and reflection (see Lamb, 2008:xviii), they also seek to retain the medieval sentiment of public performance through the appropriation of its immediate urban context.

The spirit of the mystery plays and their ability to fuse religion, society and craft, has been constantly re-examined and re-appropriated across time in relation to the changing nature of the cathedral site (as per Rigney, 2008:348–349). A series of re-creations can be interpreted that seek to perpetuate the spirit of the mystery plays originally performed by the craft guilds, whilst still allowing for a translation to maintain relevance to contemporary society (Hollis, 2009:13). Thus, a continuity of craft heritage has not only been sustained through the provision of 'transferable skills' via the medieval guild system of training (Epstein, 2018:684), but also through the integration of craft within the broader cultural mechanisms of the city and its socio-cultural development.

8.4.5 Summary: a translation of intangible heritage

This pilot study has highlighted the evolution of the cathedral site in relation to its social- and skill-based craft traditions – with specific focus given to the themes concerning craft skills, craft guilds and mystery plays. When considering Coventry Cathedral as a series of craft translations, what is actually being discussed is approximately 1000 years of history –

represented by a site that is alive, constantly evolving and an ‘active participant’ in the development of the city (as per Walter, 2014a:4). This is grounded by the emphasis of three distinct yet interconnected buildings, which, far from a linear development, demonstrate various overlaps across space and time, including evolving relationships with history and society. Accordingly, it is not just Spence’s contemporary cathedral that is being discussed, but all three cathedrals, with both their tangible and intangible heritage forming durable craft narratives that bind together various points in time into a nonchronological intermingling of events. Therefore, whilst the craft heritage of Coventry Cathedral may not be the dominant or often considered narrative (i.e. in comparison to WWII), there is nonetheless an underlying translation of tacit craft-centred knowledge and social practices that have contributed towards the ongoing physical changes to the site – whether that be through its construction or its (re)use. From the initial practice of craft skills at the site by the Benedictine Monks, to the post-war gathering of Neo-Romantic craft skills in Spence’s new cathedral; and from the first mystery play by the Grey Friars, to the secular play performances that now take place within the ruins of old St. Michael’s; Coventry Cathedral demonstrates how a building can accommodate a commitment to history whilst remaining wholly conscious of its obligation to contemporary societal needs (i.e. the constant evolution, or re-creation, of the story).

A consistent thread of continuity ties the earliest monastic carved block to the last stitch of Graham Sutherland’s tapestry, with each frontier society utilising what was passed on to them through history by translating it into something relevant and useful. Craft-based knowledges and practices have been creatively imitated across time, with each new cathedral both carrying forward and supporting the craft heritage of the site in a different way. To conclude, in referring back to Whyte (2006:170), he fittingly states ‘[t]he study of architecture, moreover, is about more than just the study of a single building’. This is most true for Coventry Cathedral, with its constant re-creation ensuring not only relevance to contemporary society, but forward momentum for translation of its associated traditions and ICH into the future.

8.5 Reflecting on the pilot studies: towards an intangible outlook

Contrasting the previous chapter's broader focus on the definition of and barriers towards intangible heritage within the built heritage paradigm, this chapter has instead focused on three case-specific pilot studies in order to grapple with prevailing ways of thinking about and doing building conservation on the ground, such as: challenging the ontological foundations of built heritage within the heritage assessment process (Long Street); deconstructing dominant understandings of key concepts such as 'restoration' and 'authenticity' (Hill House); and exploring interpretative possibilities when applying a dynamic (recreated) understanding to the existence of historic and listed buildings (Coventry Cathedral). Overall, whilst their importance as a consolidated activity has been concerned with the development of a refined analytical approach towards the final case study, the case-specific results have been equally illuminating. The broader thematic connections that help structure the approach towards the final case study analysis will now be discussed.

8.5.1 Tradition: transmission and creation

For any built heritage asset that is assessed and engaged with in a sensitive manner, there exists an imperative to gain stability between past and present, in a way that also keeps a careful eye on future possibilities and needs. What has been evident across all three pilot studies, is how various conservation approaches have been utilised in ways that can: 1) safeguard the *transmission* of intangible heritage associated with the building/ site; and 2) support the *creation* of intangible heritage that relates to the building/ site. The combination (or balance) of these two qualities – transmission and creation – very much reflects the *temporal* understanding of tradition discussed in *Section 3.3.3 Tradition, originality and change*, whereby the past can be supported and appraised through innovation in the present (Pallasmaa, 2012b:15; Jencks, 2016; Frost, 2017:263; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:99). It also lies at the core of ICH, with 'self-identification' and 'constant re-creation' requiring the constant re-appraisal of the past to support contemporary contexts and future projections (Lenzerini, 2011:101) (also highlighted in *Section 4.2 Safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage*). Indeed, an undercurrent of this balancing act is perceptible throughout much of the thesis content thus far, and has been evident across the pilot studies in various ways which will be summarised below. It also underpins a series of thematic reflections across all three pilot studies, which has stimulated further questions in relation to the refinement of the analytical approach for the final case study project (*Table 12*).

Table 12 - Four thematic reflections across the three pilot case studies

Overview of each theme and the questions they provoke in relation to the analysis of the final case study
Source: author original table

Consolidated pilot case study themes	Overview of theme	Questions to consider within final case study
Tradition is dynamic	Tradition is a constantly evolving concept that fuses the past with the present to foster transmission into the future	In what ways do past and present co-exist? What is the relationship between conservation/ adaptation processes and the representation of the past?
Constant re-creation	Buildings are constantly recreated across time which allows them to represent a range of socio-cultural values	Is there always an underlying lineage across a multitude of changes to buildings? Can changing social values be perceivable as a palimpsest, like changing built fabric?
Transmission through imitation	Like conservation, *imitation* occurs across a spectrum, which can be employed to assist in cultural transmission	Is it possible to know what degree of imitation is appropriate in a specific scenario? How does imitation relate to and satisfy contemporary practices and needs?
Social practices/ rituals	Changes to buildings can support and sustain existing social practices and rituals, as well as create new traditions that build on existing ones	If social practices are extraneous to the built fabric, how are they to be correlated with conservation/ adaptation approaches? Is there a correlation between the creation of new traditions and the conservation/ adaptation approaches employed?

8.5.2 Sites of the social

Each pilot study was approached as a 'site of the social' (Schatzki, 2010) (as per *Section 1.2 Theoretical framework*), rather than simply a quantifiable material entity. When framed by Schatzki's PT structure in this way (*Figure 5*), the **practices** that occur at each site are all underpinned by: particular 'understandings' (i.e. why the building is significant); 'rules' (i.e. constraints imposed by its designation as a built heritage asset); and 'teleologies' (i.e. a collective understanding, or agreement, of the building's function and purpose as 'heritage'). Equally, the various **material arrangements** (whether that be the consolidation of existing materials, the reconstruction of damaged building elements, or the construction of new materials) play a role in shaping material encounters between people and buildings.

Together, these practices and material arrangements highlight how 'intangible' heritage in relation to architecture (and certainly historic/ listed buildings), is not only a reference to *immateriality* in a strictly representative (phenomenological or symbolic) sense. Instead, what has been made apparent from the pilot studies is how the intangible heritage related to these buildings has manifest as very present-day processes. Accordingly, the conservation approaches employed have helped to shape and refine these processes to achieve a balance between transmission and creation through practices that are: *participatory* (e.g. the communal fundraising activities at Long Street); *affective* (e.g. the new experiences of essence and aura afforded by the Hill House Box enclosure); and *spiritual* (e.g. the perpetuation of the spirit of place at Coventry Cathedral through the translation of tangible and intangible heritage) (*Figure 62*).

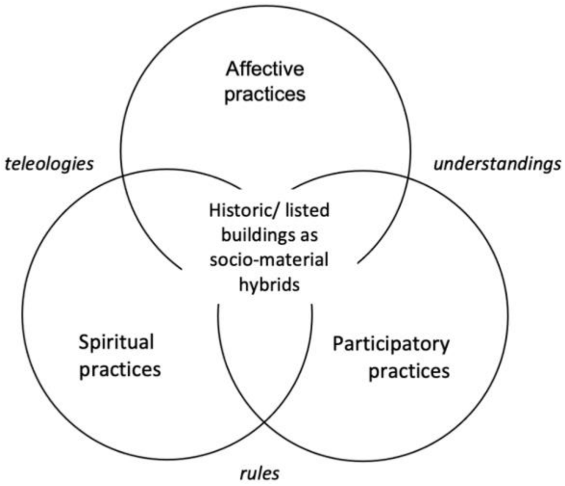

Figure 62 - Participatory, affective, and spiritual practices

Underpinned by understandings, rules and teleologies
Source: author original image (framed by Schatzki (2010)).

Thus, whilst the buildings are embroiled within these present-day practices, the focus is not so much on their materials; rather, it is on the ways in which they can support both the transmission and creation of identities and perceptions of the past.

8.5.2.1 Re-creation through participatory practices

Participatory practices to transmit and/ or create intangible heritage have been varied, and correlate with many of the methods covered within *Section 6.3.2 Community engagement*.

At Long Street, qualitative methods (interviews with the building users/ the local community) and participatory fundraising initiatives (window memorials), worked alongside the restoration approach to not only reinstate a more accurate representation of Edgar Wood's original design concept, but to also help create new memory practices at the building. In turn, these practices can be understood as rituals, in that they have contributed towards the preservation of memories. Equally, they have given the physical building additional symbolism which allows it to represent and communicate a broader selection of everyday narratives (as per *Section 6.5 Buildings and symbolism*). Accordingly, the legacy of Wood has expanded to include not just the proto-modernist design concept of the building, but also the various personal and social memories of the building and its place within the history of Middleton. So in the same way that the Methodists saw buildings as tools for worship (see Serjeant, 2014), Long Street has been utilised as a tool for Edgar Wood's contemporary *renaissance*, which is framed by meaning just as much as materials.

8.5.2.2 Re-creation through affective practices

Like Long Street, the Hill House is now also retrospectively classified as a proto-modernist building. Though both buildings may build upon the legacy of proto-modernism and their respective architects through a restoration approach, the former has relied more on participatory practices (building tours, interviews, events), whilst the latter has focused on the creation of affective practices that occur through interactions *between* the building and the users of the Box structure (experience, ritual and aura). At the Hill House, the method of semi-permanent encapsulation has helped foster a revised set of spatial and experiential secular rituals in relation to the building, which offer novel ways to engage with the restored building, and consequently with the myth of Mackintosh. As his projects were often approached as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*[126], the Hill House is loaded with various symbolic references across most of its building components (see Gregh, 1996:42) – all of which can be experienced from new perspectives (and in some cases, in more detail). The encapsulation approach thereby facilitates not only a freedom of experience between subject and object, but also acts as a tool for learning more about the design principles of Mackintosh and why this is important heritage for both the local town and for Scotland.

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[126] German term which means a total work of art.

8.5.2.3 Re-creation through secular spiritual practices

Lastly, at Coventry Cathedral, the retention of the second cathedral ruin has contributed towards a series of cultural ‘revivals’ at the site. Cultural performance, craft practice, and various ritualistic events balance transmission and creation through meaningful translations, which consequently entangles both tangible and intangible heritage into a dialog about present and future, rather than just the past (as per *Section 6.6 Spirit of place*). Cultural performance, craft practice, and various ritualistic re-enactments translate various histories whilst equally allowing for the creation of new traditions. Accordingly, these practices work towards understanding what the site wants to be, as much as what it has been or currently is. Thus, the spirit of place becomes defined as much by the consistent imposition of contemporary practices (intangible), as it does the palimpsest of physical structures at the site (tangible). This reflects the binding effect that secular spiritual practices can have on the connection between buildings and people, when working towards a continuity of identity for a building or site.

8.5.3 Re-creation through negotiation

It has also been interesting to note the different *negotiations* that each pilot study has supported – whether that be between various people/ groups (Long Street) (as per Jones, 2010:195; García-Almeida, 2019:411); people and buildings (Hill House) (as per Jones, 2010:195; Su, 2018:920); or between various historical phases of the building itself (Coventry Cathedral) (as per Harney, 2017:159). At Long Street, the need to create a legacy of Wood’s impact on Middleton brought together numerous individuals and organisations through various activities and events. At the Hill House, the Box (an additive element) has become the mediator *between* people and the restored building. Lastly, at Coventry Cathedral, the new cathedral building negotiates with the older buildings through the Neo-Romantic technique of ‘framing’, which creates a dynamic site as host for equally dynamic events and performances. Accordingly, each study reinforces the idea that authenticity can be produced, and that this production is not grounded in any one conservation method. The unique characteristic of the final case study project, the Bletchley park huts, further investigates this by reviewing a variety of conservation methods undertaken across several huts, within one overarching conservation scheme.

9 – Bletchley Park huts

9.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the context, analysis and results of the final case study project, the Bletchley Park huts, and builds on the *consolidated* findings from the semi-structured interviews (*Chapter 7 – Semi-structured interviews*) and pilot case studies (*Chapter 8 – Pilot case studies*). The inherent strength of this case study is the diversity of conservation and interpretation approaches employed across 12 huts at the site – ranging from consolidation and preservation through to wholesale restoration, reconstruction and replication. The approaches employed will be considered alongside: the condition of each hut at the time of their conservation (including any modifications that had already occurred), their proposed uses, and the stories told within each hut as a result of the conservation method employed. The chapter begins with a broader contextual analysis of WWII in relation to heritage, building conservation and architecture (*Section 9.2 Second World War context*). It considers how the context of destruction placed conservation methods under intensified scrutiny, with traditional tensions between the application of preservation and reconstruction methods re-emerging at an unprecedented scale, in tandem with the establishment of post-war international charters. The impact of WWII in promoting a more implicit intangible outlook will also be considered – especially in relation to the increased prominence of social memory, 'memoryscapes', and the rise of ordinary/ unconventional heritage sites.

Following this, the huts are introduced and a brief overview of their unique history in relation to the broader 'Bletchley Story' is given – including their ever-changing meaning to society and the various narratives that they simultaneously represent (*Section 9.3 The 'Bletchley story'*). Their unique position as 'unremarkable' listed buildings is considered within the wake of a HLF funded conservation project that was completed in 2014, as well as the subsequent conservation projects that have occurred since then at the site. The conservation works undertaken have increased the prominence of the huts by celebrating the mundane and ordinary aspects of their design and history as central to their individual stories and the broader Bletchley Park story.

The overarching approach concerning the conservation of the huts and wider site is then reviewed (*Section 9.4 Conserving and restoring the huts*), which draws on interviews with the project team, on-site observations, and various related documents and literature. Lastly, this leads into a detailed results section (*Section 9.5 Hut analysis*). Following the use of SNA to analyse the huts (refer to *Appendix 5. Final case study example data and analysis*), it reveals how the various conservation methods for each hut relate to intangible heritage safeguarding at the site.

9.2 Second World War context

9.2.1 WWII and heritage

WWII was a critical global event that shaped and continues to shape approaches towards the conservation of listed buildings, with every country in the world being either directly or indirectly impacted by it (Carr and Reeves, 2015:1). It significantly impacted approaches towards built heritage – with countless buildings, cultural monuments, homes, and other urban infrastructure being either damaged or completely destroyed (Diefendorf, 1989:128). The 20th century has therefore not only produced significantly more ruined buildings than any previous time (Edensor, 2005:17), but has also been instrumental in generating a broader societal awareness and care for its heritage (Lowenthal, 1998:24). However, in attempting to heal physical wounds of the built environment, old wounds surrounding the preservation-restoration debate were also reopened and re-questioned within a new global context (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:209).

Built heritage is often exploited as a useful target during times of conflict (Clark and Drury, 2001:113), especially as a means to disrupt unity and bonding of enemy societies (Brosché et al., 2017:253). Buildings are a particularly worthwhile target in this regard as not only are they traditionally utilised as symbols of national identity, but are also often representative of particular societal values as well (Abdelmonem and Selim, 2012:164). Brosché et al. (2017:253) outline four primary motives for attacks to cultural property: 1) it is an inherent part of the disagreement; 2) it can provide a tactical advantage; 3) it is a low-risk target; and 4) it has an economic incentive. Cultural property is also more likely to have been systematically identified, listed, categorised and documented, which makes it an easily accessible target. A well-known example of this are the Baedeker raids, which targeted specific cities and buildings based on the information provided within the Baedeker tourist guidebook for Great Britain[127]. Another example was the deliberate targeting of buildings displaying the distinctive Hague Convention emblem (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:367).

The extreme destruction to the built environment during WWII created a new challenge for architects and planners, amongst others, who had to consider how the repair and rebuilding of historic cities – their buildings and monuments – was to be approached (Diefendorf, 1989:128). It also sparked the creation of international protective measures for heritage (Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:4; Smith, 2011:11), which in turn created fertile ground for the emergent 'cultural internationalism' that is now a key legacy of wartime destruction (Brown, 2005:41). This is most notably represented within the various post-war international documents produced by UNESCO and ICOMOS (reviewed within *Chapter 5 – Immateriality and change in policy and guidance*), with the former organisation being established specifically in response to the two World Wars (Giglitto, 2017:32). This began with the Hague Convention (UNESCO, 1954) and then with the more notable Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964). It is these documents that Winter (2013:538) describes as promoting a '…"fabric" centric concept of conservation'. In response to both the destruction caused by WWII, as well as the new urban development opportunities that this damage created, the Venice Charter placed the notion (or problem) of 'authenticity' as central to its ethos (Smith, 2006:27). Issues concerning how to repair partially damaged buildings; whether to reconstruct wholly destructed buildings or not; and how to offer ongoing protection to the surviving historic building stock; can all be seen to have been exponentially heightened since WWII and the subsequent publication of the Venice Charter. A consequence of this, however, was the focus on and objectification of the material fabric of buildings – based on the convenient belief that authenticity is measurable (Gao and Jones, 2020:2). This has already been outlined within *Section 1.1 Research context*, as well as in *Chapter 3 – From buildings to people*.

Yet even within this material-focused framing of heritage, WWII both encouraged and questioned the concept of authenticity and its most appropriate methodological conservation pairing, with various approaches utilised to achieve various results, as Stubbs and Makaš (2011) explain:

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[127] *Baedeker's Guide to Great Britain* by Karl Baedeker, 1937.

> *Post-war recovery also required implementing a variety of architectural conservation approaches. Interventions covered the whole spectrum of possibilities, ranging from painstaking anastylosis and restoration to romantic imitation inspired by contemporary architectural fashion. Where documentation was missing, in-fill additions to the urban silhouette were often created according to the whim of the builder, often in the mode of Viollet-le-Duc. In other cases, new sympathetic designs in brick and travertine were used that respected the scale of surrounding buildings.*
>
> *(Stubbs and Makaš, 2011:18)*

For example, was it more authentic to accept the destruction that had occurred from WWII and to consolidate damaged structures in their ruined state, like the approaches taken at Coventry Cathedral, England (*Figure 63*), or the Hiroshima Prefectural Commercial Exhibition building, Japan? Or was it more appropriate to meticulously reconstruct a building back to its pre-destructed state, like the approach taken at the city of Warsaw, Poland?

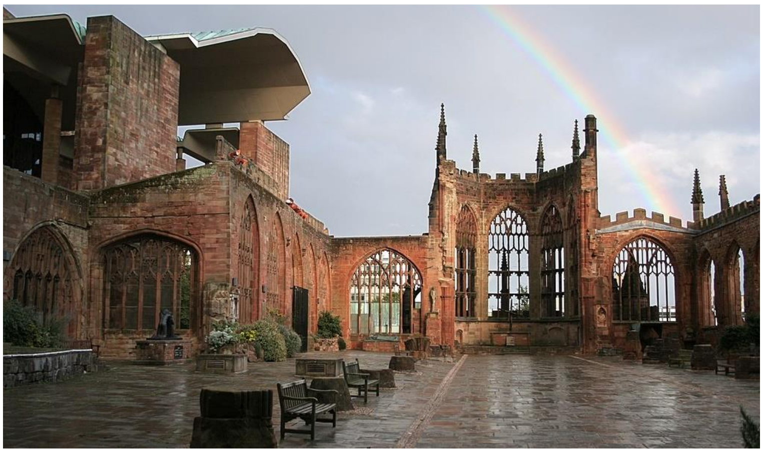

Figure 63 - The retained ruins of old St. Michaels at Coventry Cathedral, UK

Source: Andrew Walker (CC BY-SA 3.0)
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Coventry_Cathedral_Ruins_with_Rainbow.jpg

In many respects, this reflects what Hassard (2009a:271) describes as a '…bipolarity between "continuity" and "renewal"…' – should an understanding of the atrocities that occurred during WWII be maintained, or should society omit the evidence and build anew?

Or perhaps a little of both comes most naturally to society, as Giedion (1971:859) suggested?

9.2.2 WWII and intangible heritage

9.2.2.1 Towards the 'memoryscape'

Despite the anxieties over physical heritage that WWII intensified, there is clear evidence of UNESCO documentation steadily shifting its concern from tangible to intangible manifestations of culture since the early post-war documents released by UNESCO and ICOMOS (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004:52) (also see *Section 5.2 Policy patterns and trends*). This is a much-needed shift, especially when considering the consequences of war can equally destroy intangible heritage as much as tangible heritage (for example, see Gonçalves et al., 2003:4). This shift also helps to represent the characteristics of war sites more generally, which have an emotional value that helps national (and even global) narratives intimately resonate with local communities (Historic England, 2018:24). Winter (2014:3) states the legacy of conflict has been a major contributor towards notions of collective memory, remembering, and forgetting. Similarly, Smith (2006:57) highlights how there has been a rise in 'social memory' since WWII due to an ever-increasing amount of civic remembrance events since the war ended. Gonçalves et al. (2003:4) refer to sites of war as 'psycho-sociological heritage', and whilst acknowledging the pain and dissonance that these sites represent, they suggest that it is important to maintain negative memories and help communities connect with them. Historic England also believe sites of war are an obvious example of where identity and emotional links to heritage are made by communities – particularly as they connect contemporary society with '…past lives, sacrifices and events of importance to them' (Historic England, 2017:8). Indeed, for many, sites of war are utilised as memorials of loss, acting as a tangible place that can be visited to grieve and acknowledge the suffering of loved ones (Byrne, 2009:240). Yet most sites of war will undoubtedly represent memories that some do not wish to remember – or in fact, would prefer to be completely erased (Woods, 1993:10). There are also those sites where society wishes to engage in both remembering and forgetting simultaneously. Thus, the postmodern heritage paradigm, which can value heritage that is dark and difficult (Clark and Drury, 2001:14), alongside heritage that is personal and subjective (Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:11), is a particularly useful model for offering a fully representative interpretation of the intangible heritage related to WWII sites.

It is probable that WWII sites and the associated remembering and forgetting that they stimulate has been an instigator of what Glendinning (2013:423) calls the ‘dissolution of the “real monument”’, and an increase in memory landscapes. This is where a physical site is used as a hub for memory work through the encoding of multiple (and potentially conflicting) narratives (Edensor, 2005:131; Glendinning, 2013:424). Edensor (2005:130) explains that whilst the memoryscape ‘…materialise[s] memory by assembling iconographic forms and producing stages for organising a relationship with the past’, its meaning is ultimately in the hands of ever-changing contemporary societal interpretations. Therefore, whilst some interpretation work must be performed in order to refine the messages conveyed at sites of memory, a fluidity exists that allows for a personal interpretation (Glendinning, 2013:424).

If built heritage is considered to be a human process (Harvey, 2001), conducted by various actors across space-time, then wartime sites do not only symbolise the fragility of physical sites but also the fragility of society itself. In considering the appropriate conservation response towards wartime sites, how then, might the various degrees of intervention impact the intangible heritage of these contested and emotionally loaded sites? And equally, if the intangible heritage of these sites is taken into consideration, how might this impact which conservation approach should be employed? For example, might their reconstruction encourage the revival of ‘…traditions of practice, understood as a manifestation of intangible heritage…’ (Hassard, 2009a:284)[128]? Or, conversely, might it create barriers for the emergence of new customs, traditions and needs of frontier societies (Woods, 1993:10)? And if the cumulative intangible qualities of a site have the power to revive social memory (Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:99), then a WWII site such as Bletchley Park is unquestionably relevant and fertile ground to further explore the relationship between the conservation of built heritage and its impact on intangible heritage (as per Research Objective 6) (*Table 1*).

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[128] Such as the continuity of skills propagated through the constant rebuilding (reconstruction) of the Ise Jingu Shrine, Japan.

9.2.2.2 Temporary and ordinary heritage sites

Purpose-built military sites in the UK represent a broad range of functions (Historic England, 2018:1). Naturally, this also means their physical form, design and construction also varies dramatically. WWII sites fall into the category of 'modern warfare', which is generally assumed to be post-1914 (see Historic England, 2018). As well as 'front line' structures, WWII was also characterised by communications sites that reflected the technological developments of global warfare at this time (Historic England, 2018:17). Whilst many WWII constructions were permanent and durable concrete or stone structures (see Kerrigan, 2018), equally there were also some that were not constructed to serve a durable, fixed or long-term purpose. For example, logistical sites to assist in the wartime effort, such as Bletchley Park in Milton Keynes, or the Prisoner-of-War camp at Harperley, County Durham, were constructed as basic, temporary timber buildings that were not only meant to be modifiable, but were also not designed to have any longer term post-war endurance (Historic England, 2003:3, 2018:3). Similarly, prefabricated housing built to offset the bombing of homes were built quickly as 'temporary homes' and not meant to last any longer than a decade or so (Blanchet and Zhuravlyova, 2018:1). The use of temporary buildings is one of three significant characteristics that shaped the war period of 1914 to 1945 (the other two factors being air power and aerial bombing (Historic England, 2018:11)). This is predominantly why temporary huts and prefabricated housing are now considered as archetypal built heritage assets of WWII (Historic England, 2018:13). The uniqueness of WWII sites can therefore stem as much from architecturally humble and ordinary building typologies as it can from distinctive ones (Historic England, 2003:11), which certainly adds complexity to the prevailing building conservation approaches outlined within the introductory *Section 1.2 Theoretical framework*.

The temporary and fragile nature of modern warfare sites can also impact designation and legislative protection. Modern warfare structures tend to either be scheduled or listed. The former is normally applied to those structures in a ruinous state, and the latter to those structures that may benefit from an adaptive reuse strategy. This broadly corresponds with the level of protection offered by each designation, with listing being less demanding and offering greater opportunities for strategic interventions (Historic England, 2018:24). So whilst more durable WWII structures (such as those of concrete or stone) can serve as long-term emotional and atmospheric containers of memory (Weston, 2017:231; Kerrigan, 2018:6), temporary buildings like the Bletchley Park huts are far too fragile to be utilised as a ruin with any real monumental permanency without significant intervention. Yet despite this, and despite their perceived ordinariness, temporary sites such as the huts at Bletchley Park can still represent both national and local significances (Historic England, 2018:1).

9.3 The 'Bletchley story'

9.3.1 A brief history

Bletchley Park is primarily known as being the hub for Communications and Intelligence defence during WWII, with its primary function being to decrypt enemy messages (Historic England, 2018:17). A mansion house already existed on the site, which was the first building to be utilised by the Government Code and Cypher School (hereafter GC&CS) as their main headquarters (Lake and Hutchings, 2009:94). As the GC&CS outgrew this building, more space was created through the construction of specialist 'huts' next to the mansion house (Monckton, 2006:295). The earlier huts were hastily constructed in timber, whilst the later huts were constructed in more durable materials (brick and concrete) (Grey and Sturdy, 2010:51). It is because of the various developments and changes that occurred at the site during the war that the huts themselves need to be assessed in relation to the broader masterplan (Lake and Hutchings, 2009:90) (*Figure 64*); and hence why – despite their utilitarian design and long-term dilapidation – they have been listed and consequently subjected to traditional conservation methods, as will be explored in forthcoming sections.

The initial workforce at Bletchley Park was primarily sourced from Oxbridge, who created various practices and cultural activities at the site that reflected their cultural background (e.g. chess and debating clubs) (Grey and Sturdy, 2010:57). However, as the school expanded, a broader and more diverse socio-cultural workforce was employed to undertake various small, isolated and monotonous tasks (Monckton, 2006:296; Grey and Sturdy, 2010:61; Bletchley Park Trust, 2012:6). The overall strategy of this approach was to ensure that no member of the general workforce was aware of the purpose of the site, with all reference to rank, hierarchy and structure being purposefully absent (McKay, 2012:49–50). As a result, the majority of the workforce had little knowledge of the meaning or consequences of the work they were involved in (Grey and Sturdy, 2010:51; Jenkins and Kenyon, 2019:19).

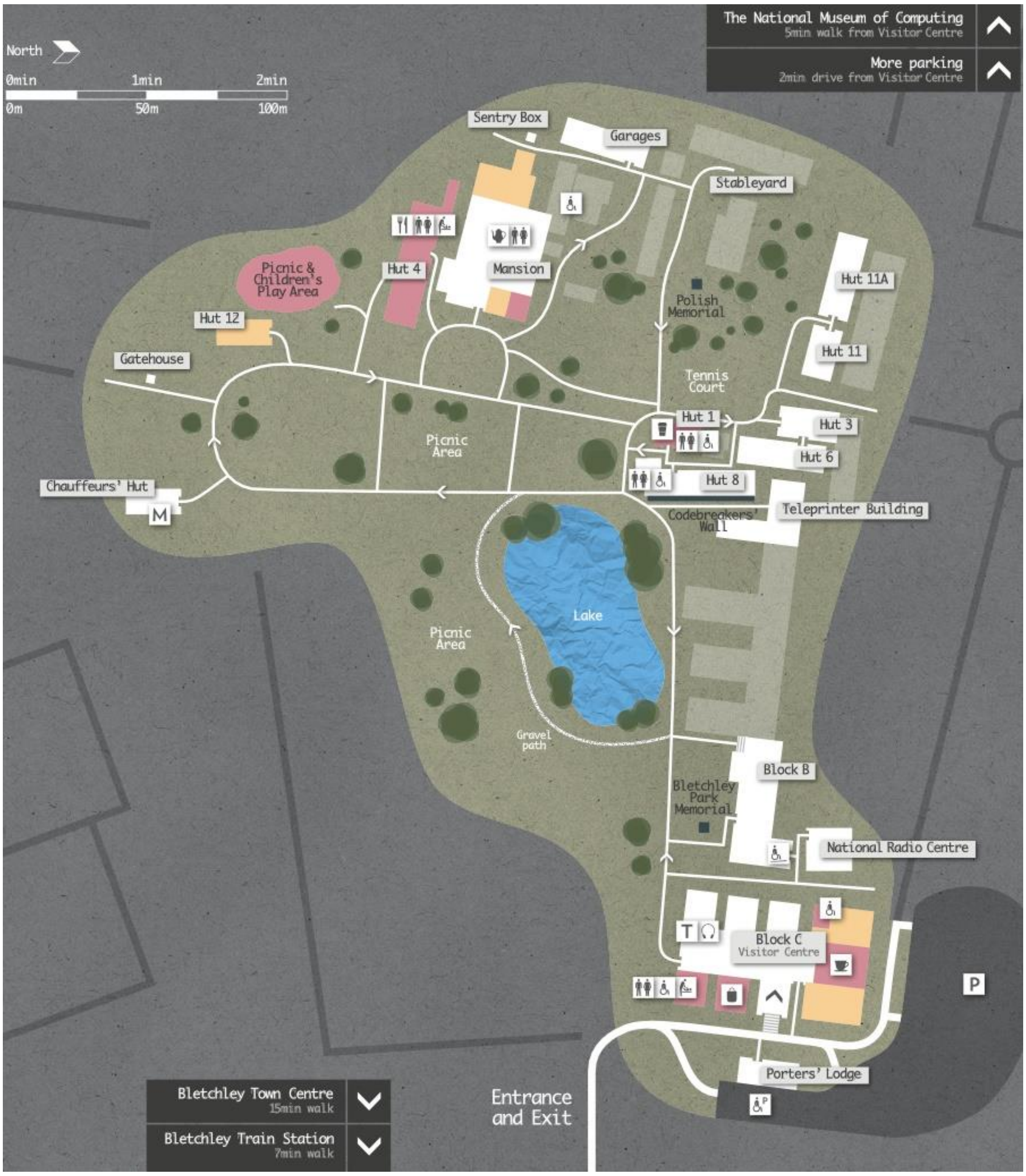
The National Museum of Computing
5min walk from Visitor Centre
More parking
2min drive from Visitor Centre
North
0min
1min
2min
0m
50m
100m
Sentry Box
Garages
Stableyard
Picnic & Children's Play Area
Hut 4
Mansion
Hut 12
Polish Memorial
Hut 11A
Hut 11
Gatehouse
Tennis Court
Hut 1
Hut 3
Hut 6
Picnic Area
Hut 8
Chauffeurs' Hut
M
Codebreakers' Wall
Teleprinter Building
Lake
Picnic Area
Gravel path
Block B
Bletchley Park Memorial
National Radio Centre
Block C
Visitor Centre
T
P
Porters' Lodge
Bletchley Town Centre
15min walk
Bletchley Train Station
7min walk
Entrance and Exit

Figure 64 - Extract from the visitor site map at Bletchley Park

Source: Bletchley Park Trust (public domain)

This secrecy continued after the war, with an ongoing 'blanket ban' placed on disclosing any decryption or intelligence activities that occurred there (Smith, 2004:272). It was only in the 1970's that the true nature of the site was fully revealed in detail through the publication of a book by Fred Winterbotham[129] titled *The Ultra Secret* (Lake and Hutchings, 2009:87; Grey and Sturdy, 2010:51). Interestingly, along with the public, this information will have been equally new and exciting for the majority of those who worked at the site during the wartime era. Since then, Black et al. (2010) explain how Bletchley Park has long been visited by over-sixties as a 'war memorial'. It is also visited by those who perceive it as the '…spiritual home of the dawn of the information age…', being for the information age what Ironbridge Gorge was for the industrial age (Lake and Hutchings, 2009:87; Black et al., 2010). Specific exhibitions at the site such as the National Museum of Computing attempt to convey this significance by intertwining narratives of code breaking and computer development (Ferguson et al., 2010:11). However, since the more recent conservation and restoration activities at the site (covered in the next section), visits are increasingly geared towards understanding the smaller, more personal narratives of its wartime workforce, rather than the larger national and global narratives that are more commonly associated with it. For example, Monckton (2006:294) describes the huts as a '…visible testament to the contribution of the thousands of people who worked there…', as well as being physical evidence of how '…its complex organisation functioned…'. The interest in the day-to-day functioning of the huts has therefore shifted to account for not just the scientific/ STEM work that occurred there, but also the human history of the individuals who undertook this work (BPT curator, interview, 24th March, 2020).

9.3.2 Recent activities at the site

Notwithstanding the years of neglect and various intrusive modifications, most of the Bletchley Park huts still stand today, despite not being designed or constructed to do so (Monckton, 2006:291; Historic England, 2018:3). Their continued existence is in part due to their occupation by government agencies for over 40 years in the post-war era (Monckton, 2006:291) – reflecting the well-known mantra that the most efficient way to keep a building from harm is to ensure it remains in active use, in a way that resembles the original use as closely as possible (Earl, 2003:113). Similarly, the same can also be said for WWII prefabricated housing, with many 'prefabs' still being used as permanent homes, despite their temporary purpose and short construction lifespan (Blanchet and Zhuravlyova, 2018:1). This reflects the realities of WWII sites more generally, as it is often the case that a desire to use the site in some way (either through an existing or new use) will improve its chances of subsequently becoming a designated heritage asset (Historic England, 2003:10).

---

[129] Fred Winterbotham (1897-1990). MI-6 intelligence, Chief of the Secret Intelligence Service and based at Bletchley Park.

It was the eventual threat of demolishing Bletchley Park in 1991 that prompted not only the designation of the site as a conservation area, but also the formation of the Bletchley Park Trust (hereafter BPT) in 1992. The BPT proposed to reuse the entire site as a place to tell its story so that it could be passed on to future generations (Black et al., 2010:9). After an initial designation refusal in the 1990s (English Heritage, 2005b:1), the significance of the huts was eventually acknowledged in 2004-2005 when the majority of them were listed Grade II, despite their precarious condition (Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011b:65). Between 1992 and 2010, Bletchley Park was gradually developed into a visitor attraction which welcomed approximately 108,000 visitors per year (project conservation architect, interview, 31st March 2020). However, between 2008 and 2011, a more dedicated online campaign was established through the use of social media, high profile news coverage, celebrity endorsement, and an official petition, to raise awareness of the site's importance and to source funds to sustain its upkeep (Black et al., 2010). In 2009, the site finally acquired HLF funding to '…transform Bletchley Park into a world class heritage and educational centre' through a conservation and restoration programme for the site (Black et al., 2010:11). Following the substantial £7.5m funding grant, a conservation and restoration scheme called *Project Neptune* was undertaken between 2010 and 2014, which included the conservation of huts 1, 3, 6, 8 and 11, as well as extensive landscaping, site maintenance and management works (*Figure 65*). The impact of Project Neptune has seen visitor numbers increase dramatically from approximately 108,000 to 300,000 per annum (project conservation architect, interview, 31st March 2020). More families and younger people now visit the site, which now offers an educational/ learning focus as a way to share and perpetuate its story with younger generations (Black et al., 2010:8). The momentum generated by Project Neptune and lessons learned from the project also resulted in the eventual restoration of hut 11A in 2018, the restoration of the Teleprinter building in 2019, and the announcement of a further ten year masterplan to be completed by 2025 (Bletchley Park Trust, 2015).

The increase in visitor footfall has helped the BPT achieve some financial stability. However, it has also put new pressures on the listed buildings at the site – particularly the insubstantial timber huts. At the start of the HLF project, many of the huts were in a fragile physical condition, with significant adaptations made in the post-war era (project conservation architect, interview, 31st March 2020).

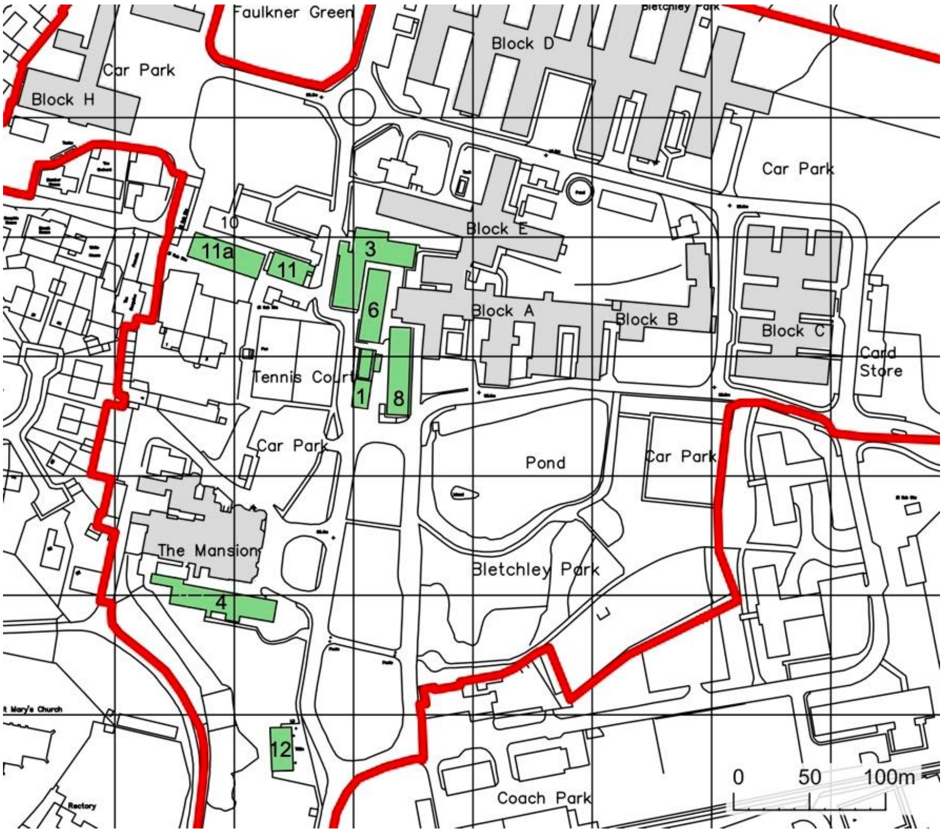
Faulkner Green
Bletchley Park
Block D
Car Park
Block H
Car Park
10
11a
11
3
Block E
6
Block A
Block B
Block C
Card Store
Tennis Court
1
8
Car Park
Pond
Car Park
The Mansion
Bletchley Park
4
St Mary's Church
12
Rectory
Coach Park
0
50
100m

Figure 65 - Existing 2011 site plan at the start of Project Neptune (not to scale)

Extract from Kennedy O'Callaghan drawing 199_0_00. Green denotes the hut buildings (by author)
Source: Milton Keynes Planning Portal (public access)

Evidence of their condition can be seen within the various reports commissioned by the BPT around the time of the HLF grant, such as the Conservation Management Plan of 2011, which explicitly notes '…a number of significant and listed buildings being in very poor condition and having a negative effect on the character of the Conservation Area' (Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011a:6) (*Figure 66*). In transitioning to what Black et al. (2010:4) describe as a 'world-class heritage and education centre', it has therefore been necessary to not only revert the huts back to their wartime state, but to also introduce contemporary adaptations and uses that create suitable internal environments to house various exhibitions, interactives and objects from the BPT collection. In turn, this assists in communicating the various stories of the site to visitors (*Figure 67*).

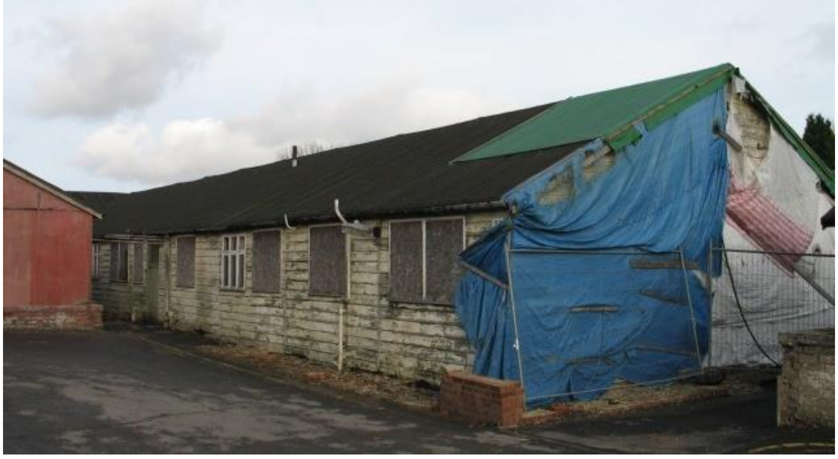

Figure 66 - A dilapidated hut 6 in 2009, before the HLF project

Photo: Gerald Massey (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1592914

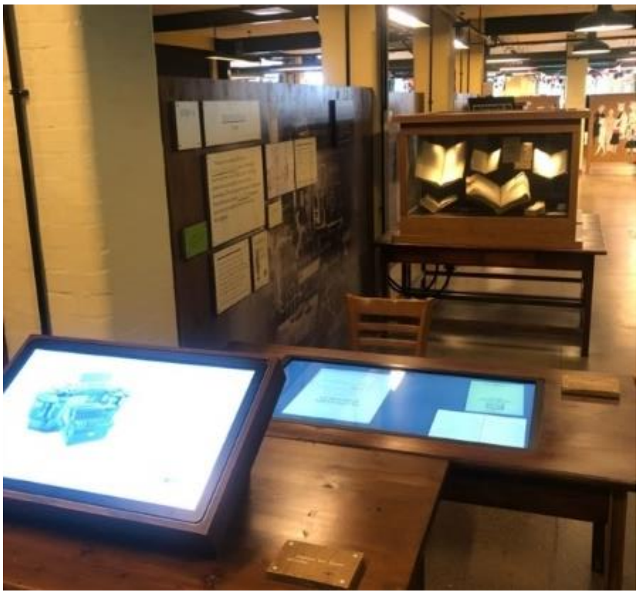

Figure 67 - Interactives and artefacts in the visitor entrance to the site (Block C)

Source: author original image

9.3.3 'Beyond the building'

One of the overarching aims of the recent HLF project was to tell the stories of the various functions that occurred in the huts during WWII (Jenkins and Kenyon, 2019:19). For Jenkins and Kenyon (2019:20), these stories are in many respects 'beyond the building', which reflects the fact that the working practices and activities developed at the site are a key part of its significance (Lake and Hutchings, 2009:88). The approach taken by the BPT has been to communicate how the site's heritage is not limited to popular accounts in literature and film; nor is it limited to the genius of significant individuals (e.g. Alan Turing[130]); rather, it's about the stories of *all* the different people who worked there:

> *…it wasn't just about the well-known codebreakers of the Imitation Game/ Enigma Film, but a whole host of staff from differing backgrounds working in teams, in shifts, across site where information was given out on a need to know basis. There was little time off but there were successes that people did acknowledge within their teams even if they didn't know the whole story.*
>
> *(project curator, interview, 31st March 2020)*

This is explicitly clear from the beginning of the visitor experience at the site, with countless 'in their words' interpretation boards offering excerpts from veteran interviews[131] to either compliment or add further detail to the site's collection (whether that be an accessioned object or a building) (*Figure 68*). The content from these excerpts originate from the BPT Oral History Programme – another facet of the HLF project – which has captured hundreds of veteran's wartime memories, as well as acquiring supporting evidence from their families of their experiences (project curator, personal communication, 31st March, 2020). So whilst Bletchley Park is often thought of in relation to the 'genius of individuals', it is the 'mundane' efforts of thousands of ordinary people that are now being documented and interpreted at the site (Grey and Sturdy, 2010:49). This is reflected in one study by Grey and Sturdy (2010:49), who emphasise how the wartime functions of the site successfully balanced the mundane (ordinary) and the esoteric (genius), which ultimately became fundamental to its success.

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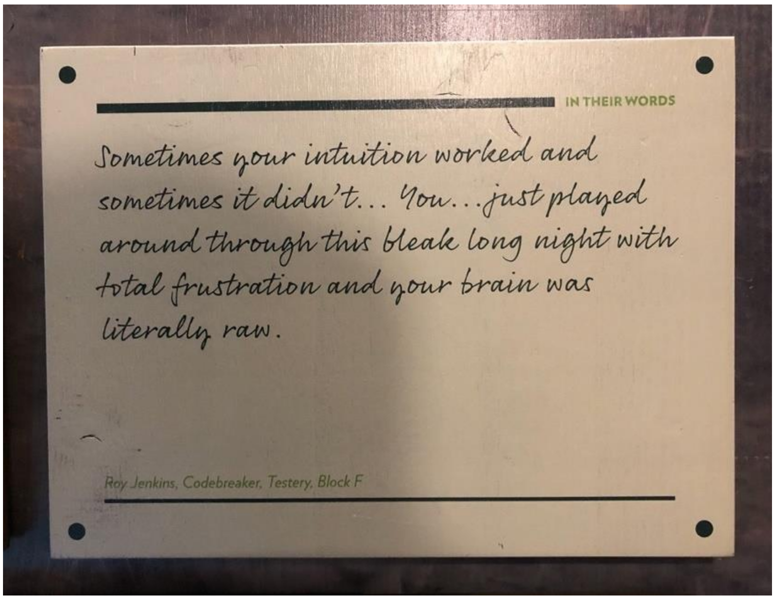
[130] Alan Mathison Turing (1912-1954). 'Father of Computer Science, Mathematician, Logician, Wartime Codebreaker and Victim of Prejudice'. Quote from the Alan Turing Memorial, Sackville Park, Manchester.

[131] Part of the Bletchley Park Oral History Programme, which captures '…the stories of people who had a connection to Bletchley Park or one of its outstations during World War Two' (Bletchley Park Trust, 2019). Refer to https://perma.cc/HW9U-DWRX [archived link].



IN THEIR WORDS

Sometimes your intuition worked and sometimes it didn't... You...just played around through this bleak long night with total frustration and your brain was literally raw.

Roy Jenkins, Codebreaker, Testery, Block F

Figure 68 - An 'in their words' interpretation board

Source: author original image

It is clearly important for the BPT that their approach to the site acknowledges, captures and celebrates the many individuals who worked at Bletchley Park, so that their activities are not forgotten or overshadowed, like the overlooked efforts of the 'forgotten army' (Women's Land Army)[132] (Smith, 2009:21). In particular, the BPT emphasise both the drudgery of the work in the huts in tandem with the poor working conditions they provided. As with most short-term wartime construction, the huts were erected quickly as temporary structures, with oral accounts confirming that this resulted in very poor working conditions – even when they were newly erected buildings (see McKay, 2012:53). Other oral accounts document the tiresome work that the workforce had to endure in these substandard working environments, with one veteran Wren describing the vast majority of the workforce within the huts as 'work horses' (Grey and Sturdy, 2010:54) (*Figure 69*). As part of the conservation project, the BPT have actively strived to represent and convey these uncomfortable working conditions to varying degrees, along with the repetitive shift work that the wartime workforce had to endure (project curator, interview, 31st March, 2020). Consequently, it is feelings of frustration, monotony and discomfort that the BPT wants visitors to feel when inside certain huts – in equal measure with feelings of joy, camaraderie and inspiration (project curator, interview, 31st March 2020).

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[132] Similarly, it was the oral histories of their wartime experiences that helped to legitimise the WLA's position as a significant contributor to the wartime effort, which in turn gave a richer (or new) meaning to the tangible heritage related to their efforts, as well as a 'voice' to those who originally did not have one (Smith, 2009:22).

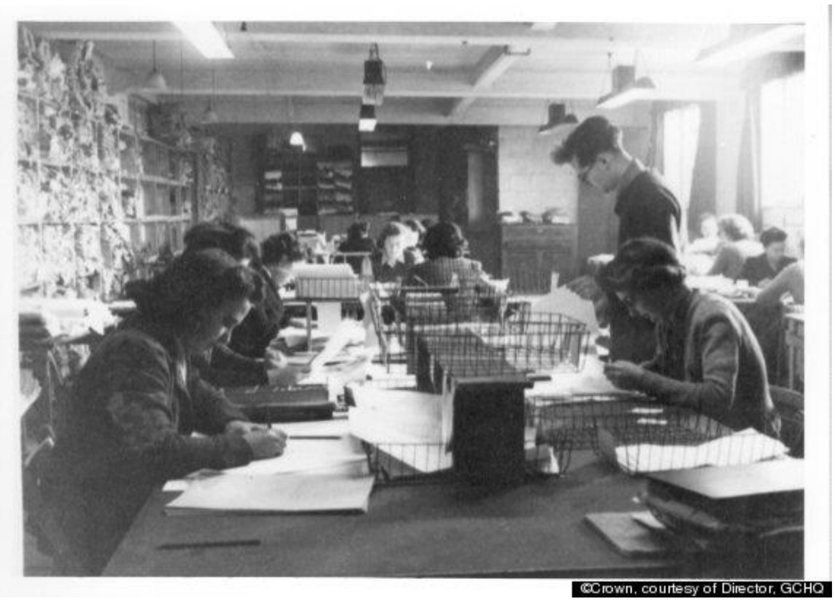
©Crown, courtesy of Director, GCHQ

Figure 69 - Working conditions and atmosphere at the Bletchley Park huts

Undated photograph that supposedly shows the hut 3 team
Photo: UK Government (CC BY-SA 4.0)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Women_in_Bletchley_Park.jpg

9.4 Conserving and restoring the huts

As already discussed within *Section 9.2.2.2 Temporary and ordinary heritage sites*, there is an undeniable ordinariness to the Bletchley Park huts, hence why the earlier timber huts have often been referred to as nothing more than a collection of scruffy timber buildings (Grey and Sturdy, 2010:63; McKay, 2012:53); and the later brick and concrete huts as simple and undistinguished (Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011c:137; Historic England, 2020c). In fact, all are described as architecturally undistinguished within their listing descriptions (for example, see Historic England, 2005b). Yet despite this, there is evidence of an increasing appreciation of their architectural merit – particularly in relation to the evolution and development of cryptography from a modest small-scale operation to a global operation of intelligence and mass production (Monckton, 2006:291; Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011b:78). Accordingly, the categorisation of the physical fabric of the huts is also evolving, with Hutchings and Jeremy (2009:88) referring to their 'architectural detail' (contra. Historic England), and how these details are symbolic of this evolution and development. Similarly, when interviewed for this research project, the conservation architect for Project Neptune explained how '…they [the huts] are all designed very beautifully to be very scarce…' (project conservation architect, interview, 31st March 2020). Again, this signals a more nuanced interpretation of their ordinariness. Yet far from ordinary is how such humble structures, which have existed well beyond their designed lifespan, have had such a significant impact on both the national consciousness and broader global narratives[133] (Monckton, 2006:291).

The overarching philosophy for the conservation of the huts was outlined from an architectural perspective by their conservation architect, who has been working with the huts since 2010:

> *We set about doing a fairly straightforward conservation approach and trying to conserve as much as we could. But one of the key concerns that we had was the extent of alteration as it happened – so trying to assess the significance of which aspects of them that still stood held which level of significance. . . but we were effectively restoring the huts.*
>
> *(project conservation architect, interview, 31st March 2020)*

The scope of the conservation approach for the huts was also clarified:

> *…it was discussed that anything post-war was considered to be of no significance at all. . . But the entire war period should be conserved of equal significance; but there might be certain stories that would best be told in certain huts because of the significance of the events that took place in those huts or associated with those huts during the war.*
>
> *(project conservation architect, interview, 31st March 2020)*

Thus, as the whole five-year wartime period was of interest, any post-war alterations and uses were considered to have no significance (project conservation architect, interview, 31st March, 2020), which worked towards the creation of a visitor experience that is wholly anchored in an abridged wartime period of approximately five years.

Through speaking to key personnel in relation to Project Neptune, it was evident that the point of departure for the conservation of each hut was highly influenced by the following key considerations: 1) the physical condition of each hut at the start of the HLF project (including any prior modifications that had already been undertaken); 2) the perceived significance of each hut at the time of the project; 3) the interpretation strategy and methods that each hut could accommodate; 4) the conservation philosophy and methods (degree of intervention) that was deemed appropriate for each hut; and 5) the potential use and experience of each hut (particularly from a visitor/ touristic perspective). The project relationships between these considerations is illustrated in *Figure 70* – especially in relation to how they work towards the safeguarding of what is commonly referred to as 'the Bletchley [Park] story' (see Historic England, 2005c; Black et al., 2010:10; Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011c:159; Black and Colgan, 2016:17; Bletchley Park Trust, 2017; Welchman, 2018:140).

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[133] For example, the wartime work undertaken in the huts has been represented in various literature and film in both romanticised and reminiscent portrayals (Lake and Hutchings, 2009:87; Black et al., 2010; Grey and Sturdy, 2010:48).

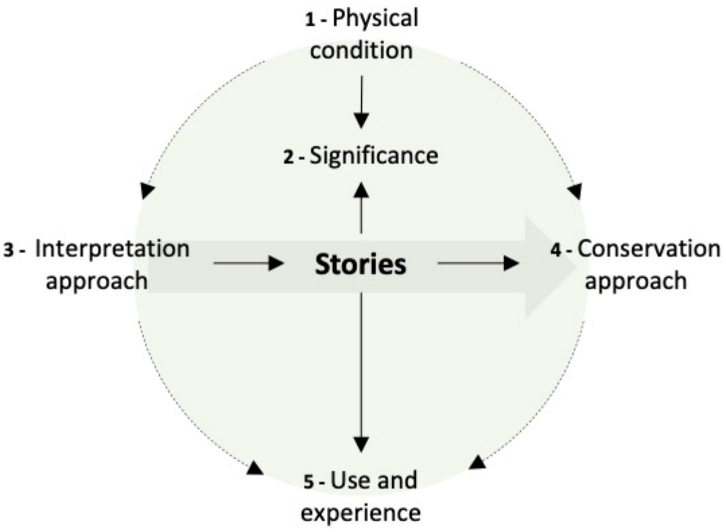

Figure 70 - Key considerations of Project Neptune

Source: Author original image

It was the need to make the Bletchley story accessible which not only led to the preservation and restoration of the huts themselves (Jenkins and Kenyon, 2019:19), but also instigated a broader and more nuanced approach in relation to what constituted the heritage of the site. It is also important to stress the interrelated nature of these considerations throughout the conservation and restoration project. For example, the existing condition of each hut (which varied quite substantially) not only determined the conservation approach employed for each hut, but also influenced the interpretation methods that were appropriate to use. As the curator for the huts explained:

> *…the physical completeness of the buildings informed the strategy for intervention to a large degree with regard to the inclusion of technology for interactives etc.*
>
> *(project curator, interview, 31st March 2020)*

In turn, the methods appropriate for interpretation influenced the types of stories that could be told in each hut and therefore in what capacity each hut could be used and contribute to the visitor experience. The broader touristic and economic needs of the site also influenced approaches towards conservation, with the degree of intervention employed often being leveraged as an opportunity to enhance the structural integrity of the huts, in order to accommodate more interpretation equipment or visitor facilities. For example, one hut required complete removal of its cladding due to asbestos, so received discreet structural bracing prior to its restoration; whilst others required the removal of original wartime walls in order to accommodate enough visitors in certain spaces (project conservation architect, interview, 31st March, 2020). Thus, whilst the retention of wartime fabric was an explicit conservation priority, the huts have nonetheless been subjected to various degrees of intervention to ensure certain stories can be told in certain spaces. As will be explored in the following section, this ranged from the consolidation of their dilapidated condition at the start of the conservation project (e.g. hut 3 'time capsule' room); through to preservation and restoration of their internal atmosphere (e.g. huts 3 and 6); as well as adaptations of their physical layout/ use for contemporary amenities (e.g. hut 4).

The various conservation approaches undertaken as part of Project Neptune also exist in conjunction with previous methods undertaken at the site, such as the replication of hut 12 in the late 1940s (Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011b:83), and the demolition of huts 2, 14, 14A and the NAAFI[134] hut at various stages of the site's history (the exact locations of which are now physically marked within the landscape). The huts in their totality therefore represent various degrees of *intervention* and *imitation* – from demolition, consolidation, and preservation; to conservation, restoration and replication. It is this rich combination of approaches that is of interest to this research project – especially in relation to how each approach may impact the safeguarding of the intangible heritage of the site. This is all the more relevant when considering the significance of the huts is commonly accepted as being less about their architectural merit and more about their immaterial qualities and associations (Jenkins and Kenyon, 2019:19). This sentiment is best summarised by the conservation architect for the huts:

---

[134] Naval, Army and Air Force Institute.

> *It is not about the architecture. It is about the history and the intangible significance. And so, I suppose from my point of view I have to not try to be an architect who has any sort of evident presence. So, I think our aim is for it not to look as though an architect has been anywhere near it.*
>
> *(project conservation architect, interview, 31st March 2020)*

A number of questions emerge from this notion: what is the relationship between the physical fabric of the huts, the chosen conservation method employed at each hut (the degree of intervention), and the safeguarding of its intangible heritage? How much physical fabric of the huts should be changed to accommodate present-day activities and uses? And can a comparative analysis across all huts yield a greater understanding of the dynamics at play between conservation/ adaptation processes and intangible heritage? As Gonçalves et al. (2003:6) state regarding another WWII site[135], '[i]t is argued that details such as changes in the windows have little to do with the intangible values, while others see this as a physical sign to conserve the intangible'. As already aluded to, whilst the conservation philosophy at the site has an explicit focus on its wartime existence, some original (and therefore categorised as objectively 'authentic') fabric of the huts has been reluctantly demolished in order to meet the increasing demands put on the site by contemporary needs (project conservation architect, interview, 31st March, 2020). Yet whilst this approach reduces the material authenticity of the physical site experience, it arguably may result in a more effective (and affective) transmission of the site's stories (or intangible significance).

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[135] Transit camp for Jews, Drancy, France.

9.5 Hut analysis results

The analysis of the huts at Bletchley Park was primarily underpinned by site visits, architectural and historical documents, as well as various interviews/ discussions with key actors involved in the recent HLF hut conservation project[136] (as per the methodological overview in Figure 8). As a result, specific 'conservation' approaches (degrees of intervention) for each hut have been identified and examined in relation to their impact on the intangible heritage of the site – or, their contribution to the *Bletchley story*. A review of each hut will now be offered. It will utilise concepts and understandings of intangible heritage in relation to historic and listed buildings as elucidated from the previous empirical research results in *Chapter 7 – Semi-structured interviews* and *Chapter 8 – Pilot case studies* (also see Djabarouti (2020b, 2020a, 2021a)).

The huts represent the coming together of various conservation and interpretation approaches that ultimately determine which stories are associated with which huts. Across a total of 12 huts (4 of which are demolished), varying degrees of intangible heritage are evident, which the conservation project has attempted to embody and represent in different ways. In their totality, the conservation of the huts represents a body of work that can be understood as an active dialogue between past and present – echoing the results derived from the pilot studies in *Chapter 8 – Pilot case studies*. Several huts experiment with this dialogue in different ways, to construct various contemporary experiences of heritage that still have roots in the pastness of the site. Thus, the heritage experience of the site can be more generally understood as a strategic re-creation of an abridged version of the past, in the present. In the following sub-sections, the interpretation approach, stories told, and overall aims for each hut, will be considered in relation to the conservation approaches employed, along with the intangible qualities that each hut either explicitly or unintentionally works towards transmitting and/ or creating. Whilst some of the degrees of intervention discussed sit outside the scope of the Project Neptune conservation scheme (e.g. the demolition of huts), their impact and immersion within the contemporary use of the site makes them no less relevant for comparative analysis.

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[136] Key personnel included the conservation architect for Bletchley Park, the Head of Collections and Exhibitions for the Bletchley Park Trust, and the Bletchley Park Trust curator.

An overview of the SNA that assisted in clarifying the constituent tangible and intangible qualities for each hut (and therefore the practices they entail and stories they represent) is shown in *Figure 71*. This network includes the eight themes derived from the semi-structured interviews. For more detailed analytical data on the initial analysis of the huts, please refer to *Appendix 5. Final case study example data and analysis*. Five groups of nodes were detected from the analysis, with each representing a particular story of the site. However, due to the variety of conservation approaches utilised within the green grouping (huts 8 and 11A) and blue grouping (huts 1, 4 and 12), these groups have each been further divided into two separate groups for the purposes of this section structuring. Thus, a total of seven sections follow which each represent a *degree of intervention* undertaken across the huts, as well as a particular story that the BPT are trying to communicate (*Table 13)*.

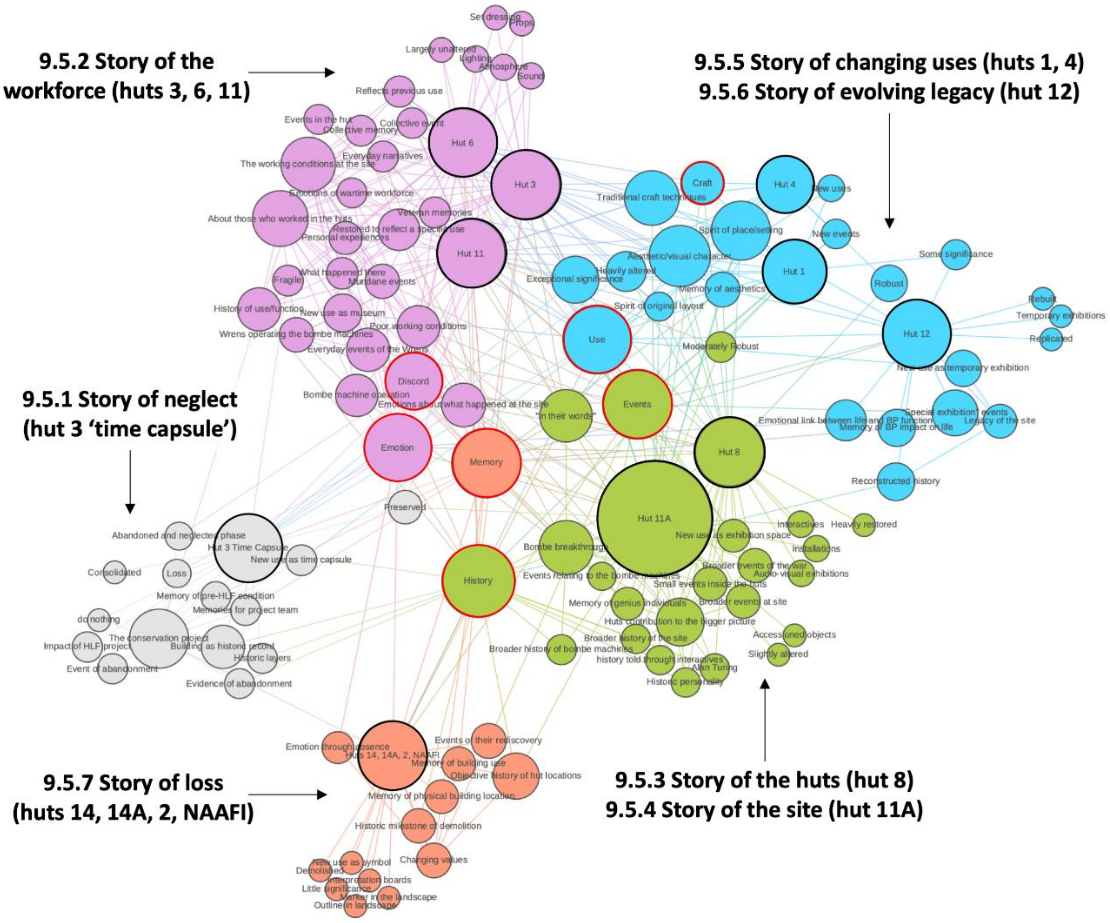
9.5.2 Story of the workforce (huts 3, 6, 11)
9.5.5 Story of changing uses (huts 1, 4)
9.5.6 Story of evolving legacy (hut 12)
9.5.1 Story of neglect (hut 3 'time capsule')
9.5.7 Story of loss (huts 14, 14A, 2, NAAFI)
9.5.3 Story of the huts (hut 8)
9.5.4 Story of the site (hut 11A)
Set dressing
Props
Largely unaltered
Lighting
Atmosphere
Sound
Reflects previous use
Events in the hut
Collective memory
Collective event
Hut 6
Everyday narratives
The working conditions at the site
Hut 3
Emotions of wartime workforce
Veteran memories
About those who worked in the huts
Restored to reflect a specific use
Personal experiences
Hut 11
Fragile
What happened there
Mundane events
History of use/function
New use as museum
Poor working conditions
Wrens operating the bombe machines
Everyday events of the Wrens
Discord
Bombe machine operation
Emotions about what happened at the site
Emotion
Memory
Preserved
Craft
Hut 4
New uses
Traditional craft techniques
Spirit of place/setting
New events
Aesthetic/visual character
Hut 1
Some significance
Heavily altered
Exceptional significance
Memory of aesthetics
Robust
Spirit of original layout
Rebuilt
Temporary exhibitions
Use
Moderately Robust
Hut 12
Replicated
New use as temporary exhibition
"In their words"
Events
"Special exhibition" events
Emotional link between life and BP function
Memory of BP impact on life
Legacy of the site
Hut 8
Reconstructed history
Hut 11A
Interactives
Heavily restored
New use as exhibition space
Installations
Bombe breakthrough
Broader events of the war
Audio-visual exhibitions
Events relating to the bombe machines
Small events inside the huts
History
Memory of genius individuals
Broader events at site
Huts contribution to the bigger picture
Broader history of the site
Accessioned objects
Broader history of bombe machines
Slightly altered
history told through interactives
Alan Turing
Historic personality
Abandoned and neglected phase
Hut 3 Time Capsule
New use as time capsule
Consolidated
Loss
Memory of pre-HLF condition
Memories for project team
do nothing
The conservation project
Impact of HLF project
Building as historic record
Historic layers
Event of abandonment
Evidence of abandonment
Emotion through absence
Huts 14, 14A, 2, NAAFI
Events of their rediscovery
Memory of building use
Objective history of hut locations
Memory of physical building location
Historic milestone of demolition
New use as symbol
Changing values
Demolished
Interpretation boards
Little significance
Marker in the landscape
Outline in landscape

Figure 71 - Overview of huts using SNA network analysis

Colours represent groups of densely connected nodes, which helps to situate the various huts (outlined black) alongside the themes from the semi-structured interviews (outlined red), to determine the stories that they are supporting
Source: author original image

Table 13 - Overview of the approaches taken across the Bletchley Park huts

Conservation, interpretation and stories
Source: author original table

Hut	Hut 3 (time capsule room)	Huts 3, 6, 11	Hut 8	Hut 11A	Huts 1, 4	Hut 12	Huts 2, 14, 14A, NAAFI
Conservation approach	Consolidated/ preserved	Preserved/ restored	Restored (additive)	Restored (subtractive)	Adapted/ restored	Reconstructed/ restored	Demolished
Interpretation approach	Do nothing	Set dress/ audio-visual	Exhibition (interactives)	Exhibition (objects)	N/a	Flexible exhibition space	Interpretation panels
Stories told	Story of neglect	Story of the workforce	Story of the huts	Story of the site	Story of changing uses	Story of an evolving legacy	Story of loss

9.5.1 Story of neglect: hut 3 (time capsule room)

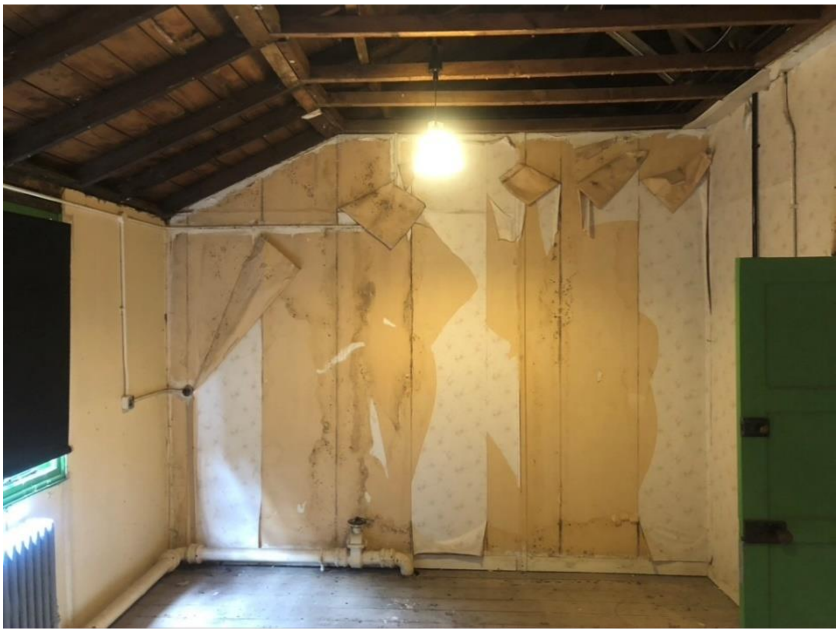

Figure 72 - Time capsule room (hut 3) remains in its pre-conservation condition

Source: author original image

Hut 3 contains a room that reveals the condition of the huts at the start of the conservation project[137]. Fittingly named the 'time capsule' room, it is a preserved and consolidated sample of the as-found condition of the huts, which the BPT keep as both a record of activity and for general interest (BPT Head of Collections and Exhibitions, interview, 28th August, 2020). Due to its unaltered condition (*Figure 72*), it is kept off the main visitor route and is not a part of the official visitor experience. The rationale for its omission is twofold. Firstly, its unaltered and therefore insubstantial condition makes it too fragile for regular viewing (BPT curator, interview, 24th March, 2020). Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, it serves as a sobering counterpoint to the broader restoration of the site – immediately breaking the 'spirit' of the visitor being back in an abridged war-time period. As the conservation architect explained:

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[137] A broader overview of hut 3 in its totality is given in the next section. This section focuses only on the 'time capsule' room that is located within it.

> *…their [the BPT] idea is that when you get to site and you go through Block C visitor centre, you are putting yourself back in time, so the spirit of the visitor is that you step back in time and for the whole visit you're back into the theme of the 1930s and 1940s.*
>
> *(project conservation architect, interview, 31st March 2020)*

The overarching site concept of being transported 'back in time' is a new approach to the site experience that was developed as part of Project Neptune. It is in stark contrast to the visitor experience at the site before the conservation project, which exhibited the decaying and ruinous condition of the site, in much the same way that the time capsule room now does (*Figure 73*).

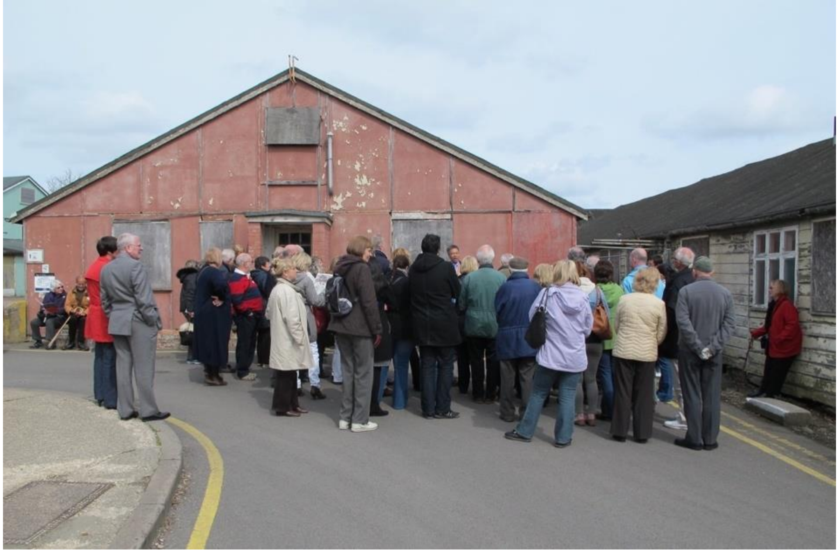

Figure 73 - Tour of a decaying Bletchley Park in 2012 (huts 3 and 6)

Photo: Ashley Booth (CC BY-NC 2.0)
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/snglinks/7090230655/in/album-72157624961247618/

Despite this, the time capsule room is used for educational visits (project conservation architect, interview, 31st March, 2020), and its potential utility as part of a 'behind the scenes' tour or heritage open day has also been considered by the BPT (BPT curator, interview, 24th March, 2020). The fascination with the site as a decaying and forgotten place has also been reflected in the *Station X* art project, which documented the decaying condition of Blocks C and D in 2011 (Station X, 2011) (*Figure 74*), as well as on various urban exploration sites which primarily focus on the decay of uninhabited spaces[138].

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[138] For example, refer to: https://perma.cc/D59Y-VT4P [archived link].

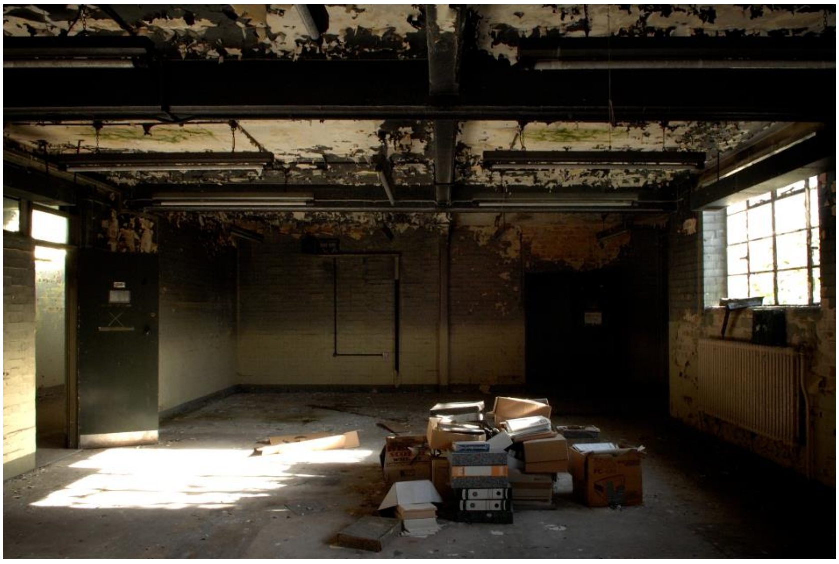

Figure 74 - Image from the 'Station X' project

A collaborative project that documented the disused and decaying condition of Blocks C and D
Photo: Rachael Marshall (all rights reserved; permission of use granted)
Source: https://documentingstationx.wordpress.com

The time capsule room at the site offers a physical historical record of not only the pre-conservation condition but also of the various uses of the huts across time, with its derelict and unpreserved condition showing evidence of various finishes, alterations, repairs and changes over the course of the hut's existence (*Figure 75*). In this space, the mantra of 'buildings as objects' used by the BPT is highly relevant, as it does go some way towards highlighting the reality of the huts as fragile objects that are in care. The brutally honest condition of this space also creates a sense of discord on several levels. First is the unkept nature of the space, which acts as a reminder of the neglect that the huts in their totality were subjected to during the timeframe of their low social valuation. Second is the absence of activity within the space, with its dereliction placing the visitor consciously *after-the-fact* of its intended purpose. In doing so, the room acts more as a space of contestation, rather than a celebration of continuity.

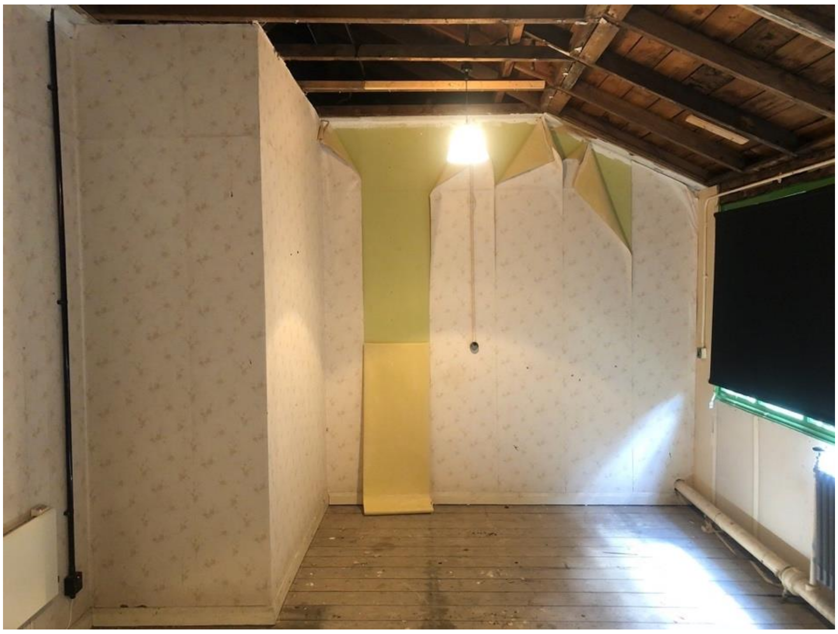

Figure 75 - Time capsule room, hut 3. Layers of use.

Source: author original image

This creates an emotional experience for the visitor which results in a new use for this space as an evocative and somewhat ghostly remnant – the latter being made ever more intense by the accurate restoration and set-dressing that has occurred within the adjacent rooms. From this perspective, the experience is very much about looking beyond the veil of restoration, and towards the harsh reality of time, decay, and the contested qualities that these factors ultimately support. Equally, the retention of the space in this way suggests a need to remember that the entire site was once in this condition. In many ways, this is perhaps the most Ruskinian approach taken at the site, though the one used most sparingly.

9.5.2 Story of the workforce: huts 3, 6, 11

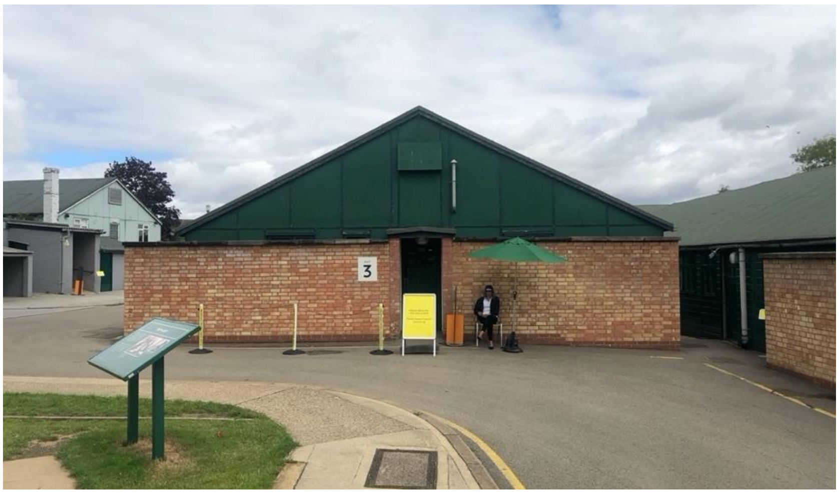

Figure 76 - Hut 3 exterior (behind the reconstructed blast wall)

Source: author original image

Huts 3 and 6 had been derelict since the 1980s, and so whilst they were in a fragile condition at the start of Project Neptune, they had not been subjected to much modification. This led to their significance both internally and externally being noted as 'exceptional' (Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011b:79) (*Figure 76*). Their intact condition resulted in both the preservation of as much original fabric as possible, and the restoration of any damaged fabric back to its wartime state. This combination of commonly opposing conservation approaches allowed the interpretation team to utilise these buildings as a place to tell the story of the working conditions of the people who worked specifically inside them. This involved the re-creation of their wartime atmosphere through set dressing, props, lighting, sound and projection. For visitors, these huts aim to offer an experience of authentic wartime atmosphere (BPT curator, interview, 24th March, 2020) (*Figure 77*).

In contrast to the fragile condition of huts 3 and 6, hut 11 was in a 'moderately robust' condition at the start of the project (Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011c:116). This reflected the shift in hut construction from timber to brick due to the ongoing expansion of the codebreaking operation (Historic England, 2020c) (*Figure 78*). Hut 11 focused on the operation of the bombe machines[139], and is promoted by the BPT as part of the 'Bomb Breakthrough' story, and therefore to be experienced together with hut 11A, which focuses on the broader significance and developments related to the bombe machine.

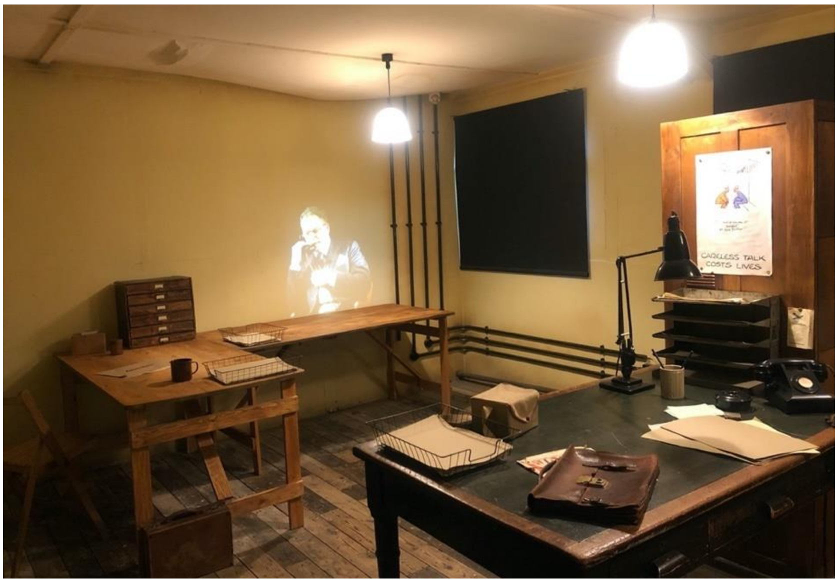

Figure 77 - Hut 6 interior

Also representative of hut 3 interior.
Source: author original image

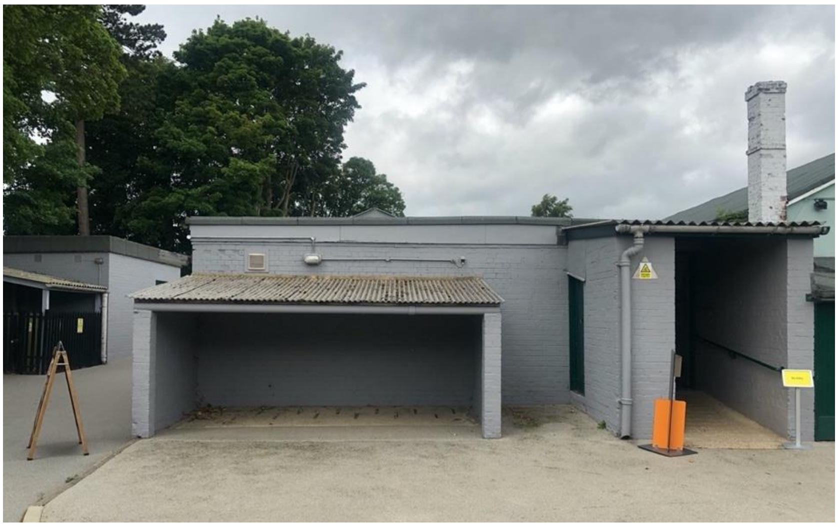

Figure 78 - Hut 11 exterior

Source: author original image

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[139] Codebreaking machines used to decode German messages.

However, unlike hut 11A, hut 11 is specifically interested in communicating what happened at a very specific time period within the building itself, by focussing on the working conditions that the Women's Royal Naval Service ('the Wrens') had to endure when operating the bombe machines (*Figure 79*).

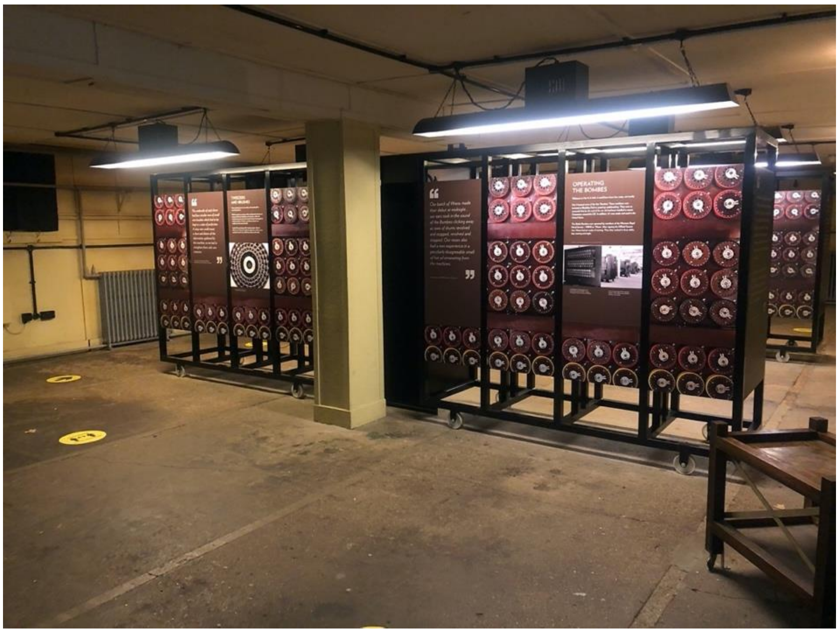


Figure 79 - Hut 11 interior, known as the 'hell hole'

Source: author original image

From this perspective, it is more like huts 3 and 6, which also focus on the wartime working conditions within the buildings. Like huts 3 and 6, hut 11 has been restored back to its wartime state as it would have been when the Wrens worked the bombe machines (the specific period of 1941-1943). Contemporary audio-visual exhibition material is interwoven with both the preservation and restoration of the building, to convey the working conditions and create an evocative atmosphere inside the hut. As the BPT explain, the experience of this hut '…tells the story through the eyes of the people who worked there' (Bletchley Park Trust, 2018:24). This has been achieved through physical alterations to the building (e.g. the removal of post-war Crittall windows), as well as specific internal restoration details based on veteran memories – such as the purposeful staining of the original paint colour to replicate the staining of cigarette smoke (which would have been part of the wartime atmosphere of the room). Overall, hut 11 has received significantly less set dressing and props than huts 3 and 6, which reflects the general nature and atmosphere of the space during the wartime effort. Whilst huts 3 and 6 were undoubtedly unpleasant, they were still office spaces. Conversely, hut 11 was known by wartime workers as the 'hell hole' (Dunlop, 2014:156; Bletchley Park Trust, 2020a), with the Wren operators often locked inside during shifts (McKay, 2012:218).

Overall, a restoration approach has been employed both internally and externally across all three huts to recreate their historic wartime use and atmosphere. Where possible, a preservation approach was utilised when material was deemed 'original'. Memories and everyday narratives of those who worked within the huts during the war have been combined with physical evidence from the building (e.g. historic paint analysis, original fittings) to create an audio-visual atmosphere of discord – the difficult working conditions and monotonous assignments, combined with the breakthroughs and extraordinary activities that occurred in those spaces (BPT curator, interview, 24th March, 2020). Visitor emotions are therefore very much steered towards the people who toiled away within the huts, who are also visually recreated as being both present and busy at work (*Figure 80*).

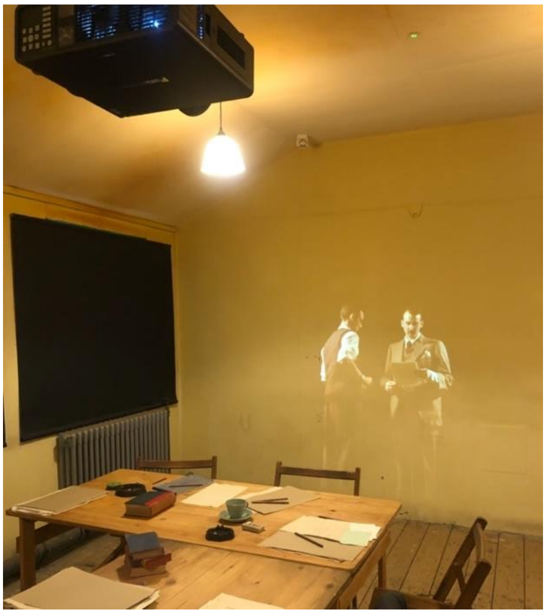


Figure 80 - Projections of wartime staff working in hut 3

Source: author original image

Whilst both huts have been restored to accurately recreate their past use as wartime offices, their present use is still both different and demanding – placing new constraints on the huts to perform as visitor attractions, which has ultimately had an impact on original wartime fabric (e.g. the installation of electrical systems). Unlike other huts at the site which accommodate new uses that are disconnected from their former uses (e.g. hut 4 is now a café), the new uses within huts 3 and 6 still maintain a lineage with their former use, with the reconstructed wartime layout and atmospheric interpretation imploring visitors to use the building in a similar way to their wartime inhabitants. Veteran memories are therefore represented and upheld by the activities that occur within all three huts. The restoration of the original wartime layout and the re-creation of the internal atmosphere compels contemporary uses to amalgamate with (and somewhat imitate) those uses that are now outmoded.

9.5.3 Story of the huts: hut 8

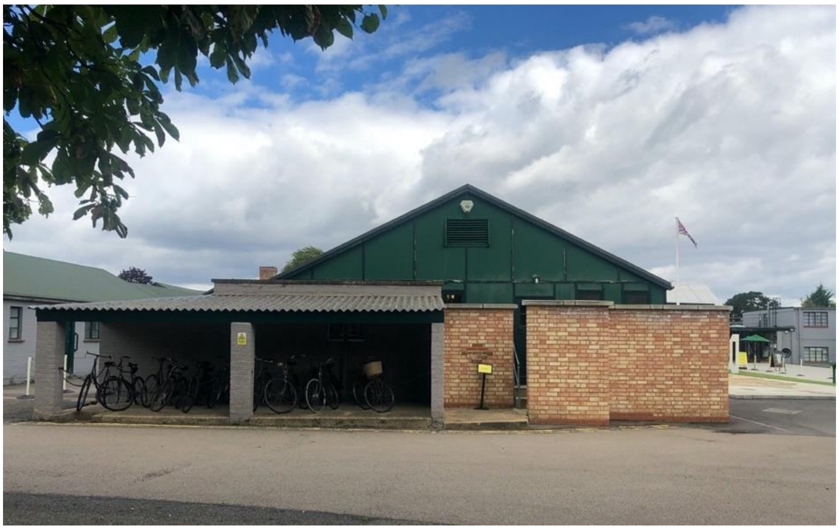


Figure 81 - Hut 8 exterior (with bike shed in front)

Source: author original image

The condition of hut 8 at the start of Project Neptune was noted as ‘robust’, which reflected the fact it had been subjected to heavy modification and refurbishment prior to the conservation project, which also dramatically impacted its historic character (project conservation architect, interview, 31st March 2020). The hut was also internally ‘gutted’ as part of a conversion into an exhibition space, which resulted in the loss of much original material (Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011b:80). In an attempt to reverse this impact, all modern interventions (i.e. plasterboard walls, modern paint schemes and electrics) were reversed and the hut was heavily restored back to its wartime appearance (*Figure 81*). The heavy restoration of hut 8 due to the lack of original building fabric has resulted not only in the re-creation of its wartime external aesthetic and internal layout, but has also facilitated the installation of more creative interpretation-based interventions, which allows more storytelling to occur in this hut (BPT curator, interview, 24th March, 2020) (*Figure 82*). Whilst Alan Turing's office in hut 8 has still been set dressed in the spirit of huts 3 and 6 (to emphasise the genius of Turing and the specific activities that took place in that exact room), the rest of the hut is an exhibition space which focuses on explaining the story of *all* huts in relation to their impact on the broader war effort.

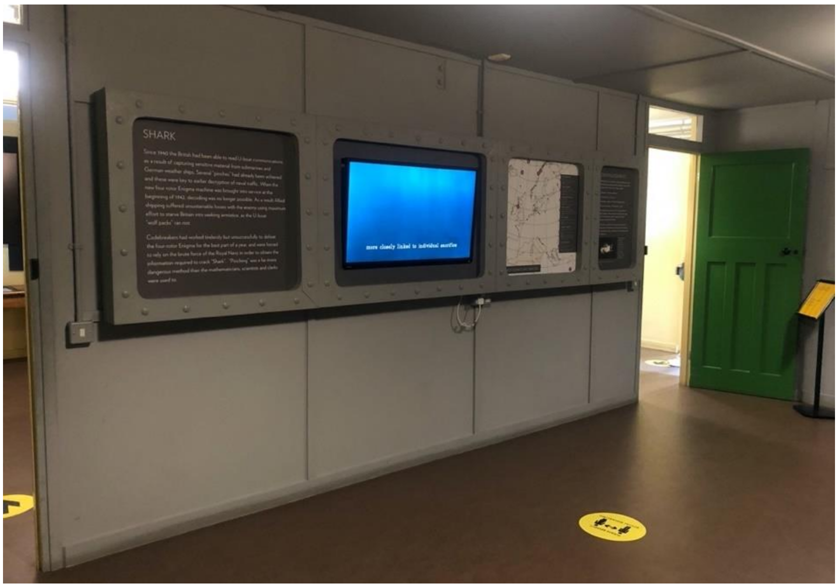


Figure 82 - Hut 8 interior exhibition space

Source: author original image

Each room tells a different story that connects the codebreaking activities within the huts to the broader wartime effort, and most rooms contain audio-visual installations and digital interactives that educate visitors about cryptography. Although the restoration of hut 8 is very much geared towards its new use as an exhibition space, the reinstatement of its former wartime layout and the marriage of this with a contemporary use still offers a sequence of continuity that allows the users of the spaces to connect the stories told to the physicality of the building. Overall, the nature of the experience in hut 8 – whilst restored back to its wartime layout – is very much about the contemporary re-creation of what happened in the huts, and does not emphasise the *specific* use, events, or memories that occurred within the building to the same extent as huts 3, 6 and 11.

9.5.4 Story of the site: hut 11A

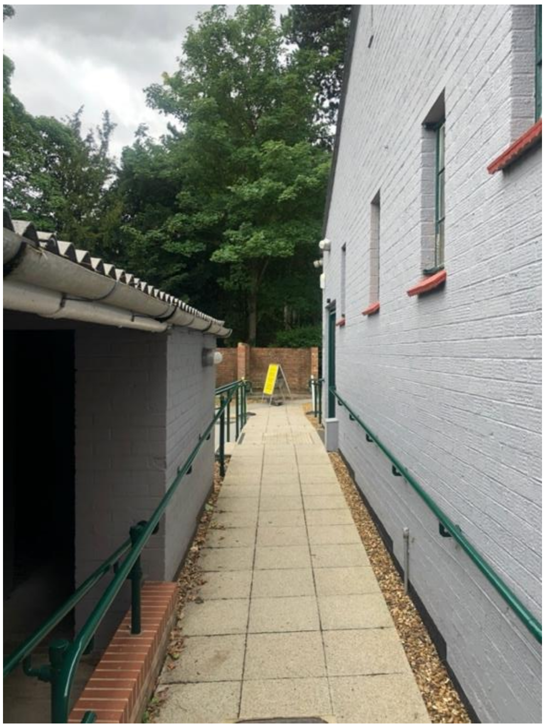


Figure 83 - Path between Hut 11 (left) and Hut 11A (right)

Source: author original image

Like hut 8, hut 11A focuses on the broader story of the site. Its conservation focuses on the development of the bombe machine and how this contributed towards the overarching wartime effort (BPT Head of Collections and Exhibitions, interview, 28th August 2020). It is also comparable to hut 11 in that it was one of the later brick huts, so was also found in a 'moderately robust' condition (Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011c:116) (*Figure 83*). The restoration of this hut was completed approximately four years after the completion of Project Neptune, and so represents a developed approach towards the restoration of the site by utilising more freestanding interpretation equipment; opting for a higher degree of reversibility with regards to the overarching conservation approach; and promoting minimal intervention to the building itself (BPT curator, interview, 24th March, 2020). Most post-war additions were also removed, which created a large open plan space to the North West end of the hut that could accommodate the exhibition. Contemporary audio-visual installations, interactives, as well as many of the BPT's accessioned wartime objects are used to help tell the story of 'the Bombe Breakthrough' (Bletchley Park Trust, 2018:24) (*Figure 84*).

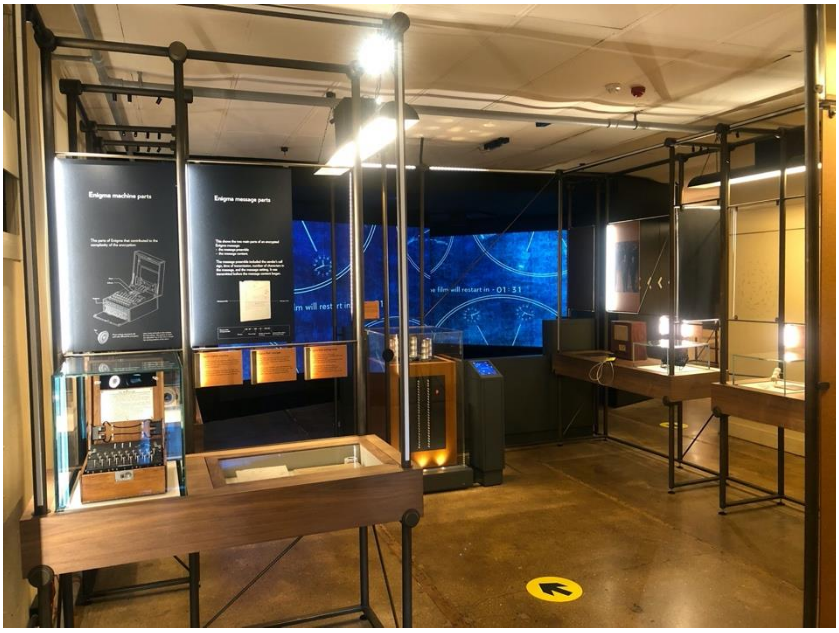


Figure 84 - Hut 11A interior

Source: author original image

Hut 11A is principally concerned with the history and events related to Bletchley Park. Whilst its exhibition theme – the Bombe Breakthrough – relates to its former use as the principal location for the bombe machines – this is communicated through the broader historical information and objects on display, which are recreated as accessioned objects. Combining the restoration of the building with the free-standing nature of the exhibition offers a clear contrast between perceived old and new elements, though the focus is very much removed from the building itself, which essentially becomes a backdrop for the contemporary exhibition. Overall, the use of a 'buildings as objects' approach for this hut situates it in a comparable manner to other objects within the BPT collection (BPT curator, interview, 24th March, 2020), with the resulting conservation approach maintaining a balance between the history of the hut and the provision of a completely new use which does *not* attempt to imitate the past in any way.

9.5.5 Story of changing uses: huts 1, 4

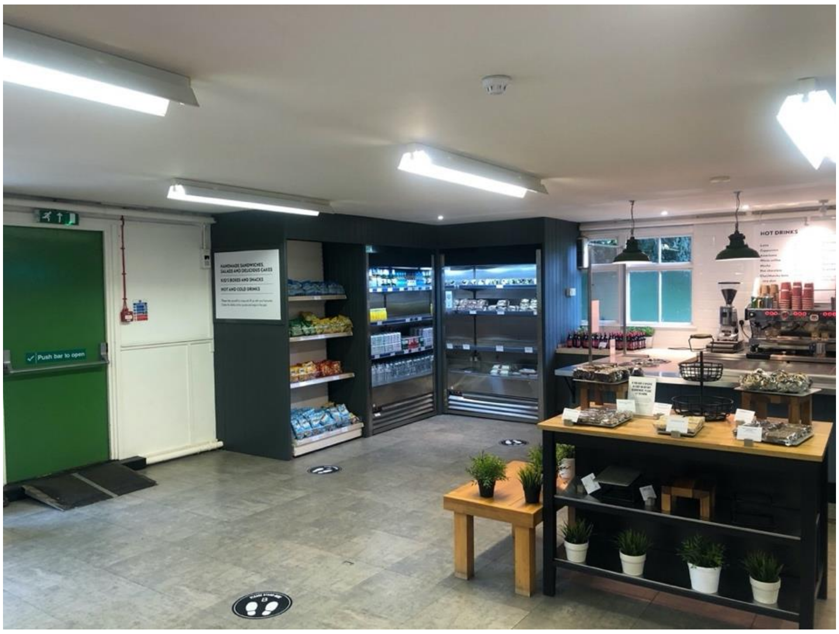


Figure 85 - Hut 4 interior, now a visitor café

Source: author original image

Huts 1 and 4 are both utilised for visitor facilities at the site (café/ bar, kiosk, WCs). Hut 4 is used in its totality for this purpose (*Figure 85*), whilst hut 1 is only partially used in this way. Hut 1 is comprised of a timber portion (one of the earliest huts) and a brick portion (added in 1942). The condition of hut 1 at the start of the project was described as 'moderately robust' in the Conservation Management Plan (Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011c:116), although it was also noted that it was fairly flimsy and in need of some structural support (project conservation architect, interview, 31st March, 2020). The former is likely to be about the brick portion, and the latter about the earlier timber portion. It is the brick portion of hut 1 that has been utilised as a kiosk and WCs, though planning and listed building consent was granted for the conservation and reconfiguration of the original timber portion back to its wartime layout and appearance. This area of hut 1 was not accessible to the researcher during the fieldwork visit but is often used as a lunchroom for visiting school groups (BPT Head of Collections and Exhibitions, interview, 28th August 2020). Similarly, hut 4 was noted as 'robust' and therefore '[c]apable of accepting considerable changes without compromising significance…' (Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011c:115–116). This reflects its ongoing post-war use and consequently the significant alterations to its wartime fabric that facilitated this ongoing use (English Heritage, 2005b:13). Despite this, the external appearance of hut 4 remains largely unaltered, with its significance noted as ‘exceptional’, along with the timber portion of hut 1. The brick portion to hut 1 is noted as having ‘some’ significance (Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011b:78–79).

The restoration of huts 1 and 4 has been primarily focused on their external appearance and their broader contribution to the overall character and spirit of the site experience. Their restored aesthetic is based on both archival research and veteran memories, allowing their restoration to focus on the memory of hut aesthetics and site character. The history of these huts is therefore less focused on how they were used in the past and instead focused on keeping the spirit of the visitor within the abridged 1930s/1940s wartime period when within the grounds of the site. Of course, upon entering these huts and experiencing their contemporary reuse, this spirit is unavoidably unsettled. Internally, the huts have been adapted to accommodate new uses and events that support the contemporary function of the park as a tourist attraction, and no attempt is made to physically acknowledge previous internal configurations or uses (e.g. through symbolic floor markings or other physical remnants).

As these huts are used for visitor facilities, no exhibitions, accessioned objects, or interpretation methods have been employed, which leaves their restoration to primarily serve social practices that are concerned with the present, rather than the past. The robust yet heavily modified condition of huts 1 and 4 facilitated these internal adaptation approaches, with their robustness able to accept new changes/ uses and their existing modifications making their adaptation significantly less contentious. This has allowed them to serve a dual function as both representations of the past (externally) and containers of contemporary practices (internally). Their story becomes less about what happened inside them and more about the experience of using them for a new purpose.

9.5.6 Story of an evolving legacy: hut 12

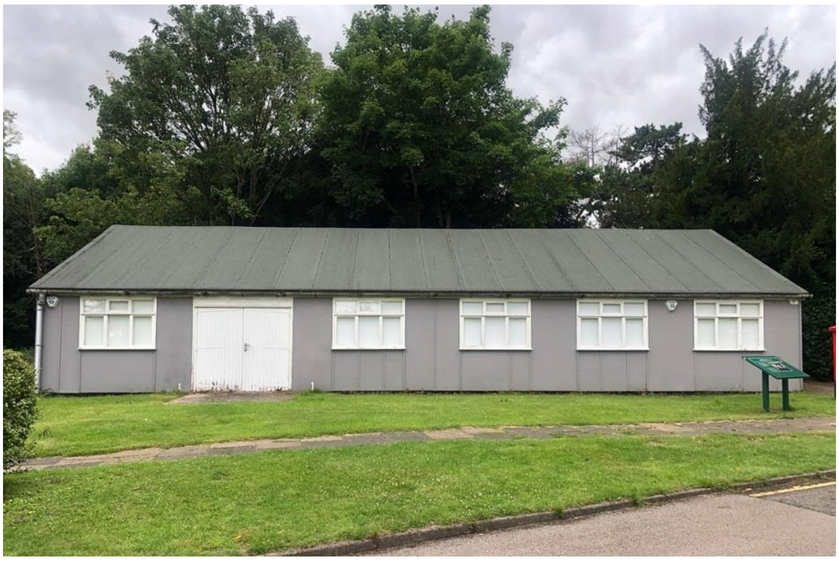


Figure 86 - Hut 12 exterior

Source: author original image

Hut 12 was demolished and erected in its current location in 1942; however, it was subsequently relocated again in the 1940s and rebuilt in its new location during the 1950s (English Heritage, 2005a:216) (*Figure 86*). Due to the significant changes in both its physical fabric and location, hut 12 is not listed, whereas the other huts are listed grade II. It is also located away from the main cluster of huts – beyond hut 4, to the Western perimeter of the site (refer to *Figure 64* and *Figure 65*). Despite the relaxation in legislative protection for this hut, the same conservation approach has been utilised to ensure visual continuity across the site, although the unlisted nature of it has facilitated more substantial and visible structural support to enable the removal of all internal walls (*Figure 87*).

These modifications allow the hut to function as a flexible, contemporary exhibition space. Temporary exhibitions seek to evidence the lasting impact of the wartime work at Bletchley Park on contemporary society, by exploring themes related to intelligence, surveillance and data processing – all legacy themes of the site's wartime use. For example, the *Never Alone* exhibition which was installed during the researcher's fieldwork visits to the site explored the relationship between smart devices, daily life, and how data generated from these devices is used (Bletchley Park Trust, 2020b).

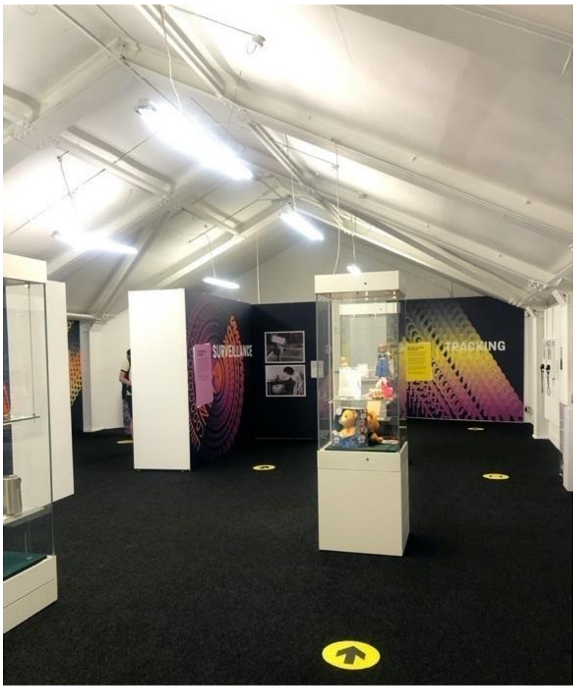
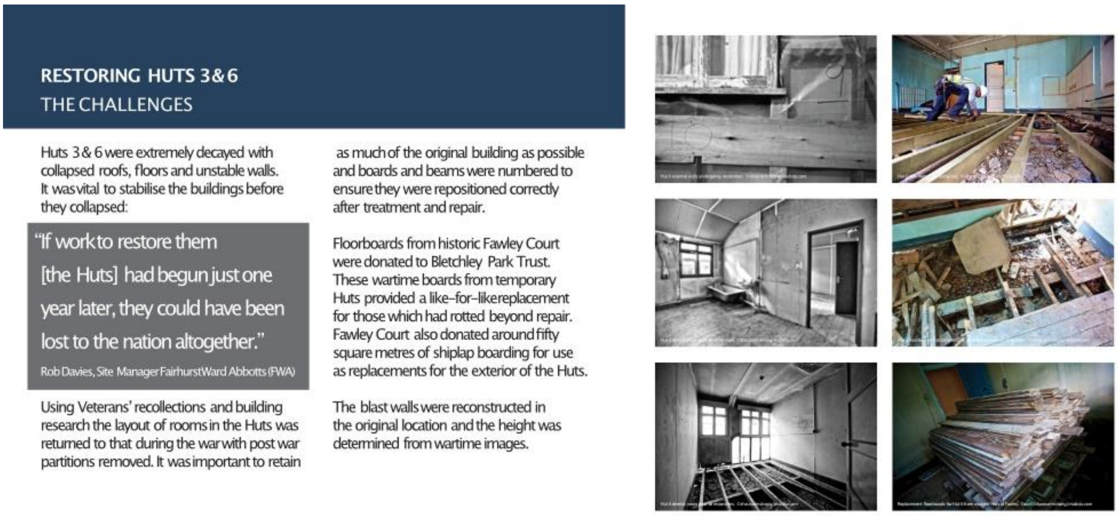


Figure 87 - Hut 12 interior. Flexible open plan temporary exhibition space

Source: Author original image



RESTORING HUTS 3&6
THE CHALLENGES

Huts 3& 6 were extremely decayed with collapsed roofs, floors and unstable walls. It was vital to stabilise the buildings before they collapsed:

> "If work to restore them [the Huts] had begun just one year later, they could have been lost to the nation altogether."
>
> Rob Davies, Site Manager FairhurstWard Abbotts (FWA)

Using Veterans' recollections and building research the layout of rooms in the Huts was returned to that during the war with post war partitions removed. It was important to retain as much of the original building as possible and boards and beams were numbered to ensure they were repositioned correctly after treatment and repair.

Floorboards from historic Fawley Court were donated to Bletchley Park Trust. These wartime boards from temporary Huts provided a like–for–likereplacement for those which had rotted beyond repair. Fawley Court also donated around fifty square metres of shiplap boarding for use as replacements for the exterior of the Huts.

The blast walls were reconstructed in the original location and the height was determined from wartime images.

Figure 88 - Interpretation panel for the 2018 exhibition *Rescued and Restored* in hut 12

Source: Bletchley Park Trust

In 2018, the hut held a special exhibition called *Rescued and Restored*, which focused on the Project Neptune restoration scheme. Various interpretation panels, artefacts and interactives were used to explain the restoration and interpretation challenges, and various documents/ objects discovered during the restoration works were also displayed (*Figure 88*). For visitors who enter the site, hut 12 appears just as historically 'authentic' as the other huts in terms of its external appearance. Yet there is no physical element of the hut that can be defined as 'original' in the way this term is used to define the physicality of the other huts. Despite its accurate imitation of the original (first) hut 12, it is ultimately a copy, with its lack of designation reflecting the reduction in value that society places on copies. Physically, the hut stands as a memory marker for the original hut 12, though the actual distinction between original and copy is now unclear (and perhaps even irrelevant) due to the amount of time that has passed. However, it is because hut 12 is a copy, that this has permitted the reuse of the building as an exhibition space which has the capacity to reference the site's past in a meaningful way for contemporary society.

9.5.7 Story of loss: huts 2, 14, 14A, NAAFI

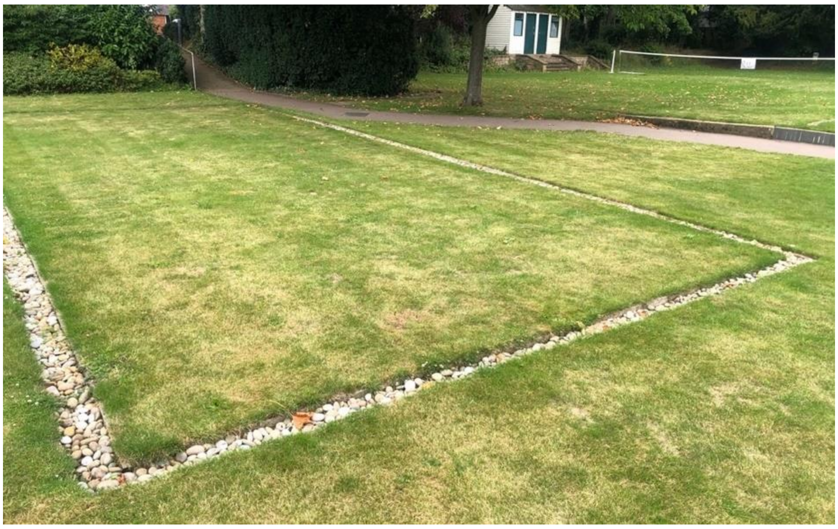


Figure 89 - Huts 2 and NAAFI hut outlines

Source: author original image

The constant evolution of the Bletchley Park huts both during and after the war has resulted in not only the reuse of existing huts for different purposes, but also the relocation, replacement and subsequent demolition of several huts during the war. Regarding the latter, the location of huts 14, 14A, 2, and the NAAFI hut have been interpreted within the landscaping as either outlines (*Figure 89*) or footprints (*Figure 90*), along with more traditional interpretation panels nearby that explain their original presence, purpose and use. The identification of these huts goes some way towards contributing to the wartime character of the site, by assisting visitors in their understanding of what the site would have been like during the abridged wartime period that the BPT wish to epitomise.

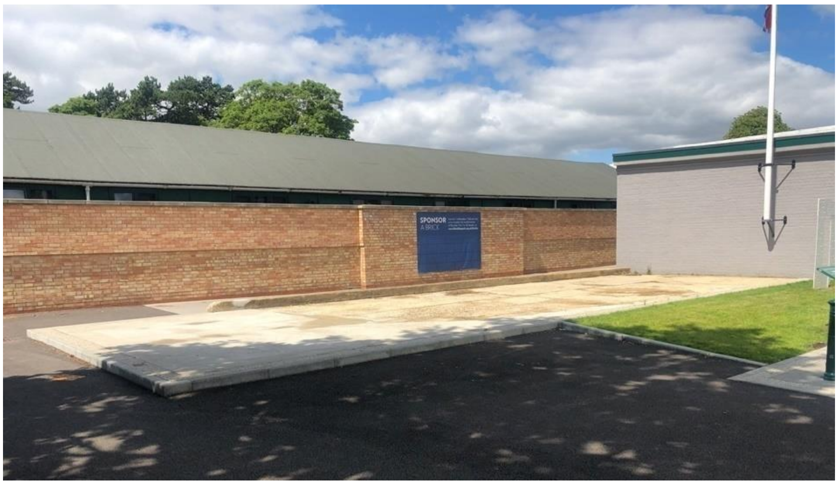


Figure 90 - Hut 14A outline/ footprint

Source: author original image

By representing the loss of these huts, the outlines can be interpreted as symbols of the demolished huts. As such, they represent not only the factual history of there once being huts in these locations, but also carry with them a discord for visitors – that is, they offer both gain and loss. Their presence offers visitors new knowledge about the site that would otherwise not be perceivable. Yet equally they reaffirm the loss of the huts and the lost potential for experiences like those that occur within the surviving huts. Whilst the time capsule room represents the experience of the site *before* the conservation project commenced, these symbolic markers instead represent an alternative projection of the fate of all the rapidly decaying huts if the conservation project had not been undertaken.

9.6 Chapter summary

This penultimate chapter has focused on the conservation and adaptation approaches undertaken at the Bletchley Park huts and how these various approaches have impacted the intangible heritage of the site. As such, this chapter has primarily focused on satisfying Research Objective 6, which is embedded within Research Aim C (*Table 1*); though it also serves to build upon and contribute to the themes drawn from the previous empirical research chapters. The WWII context of the site has been fundamental in facilitating access to intangible phenomena due to its focus on 'remembering' and de-emphasis on architectural quality. It therefore does not align with what typically constitutes architectural heritage. Certainly, the huts are the most unlikely candidates for designation from the perspective of traditional approaches within building conservation and architecture. Despite this, the determination by society to tell the Bletchley story has resulted in their designation and subsequent conservation/ adaptation. The various approaches employed at the site have impacted its intangible heritage in different ways, by contributing towards the safeguarding of various stories and therefore transmitting and/ or creating specific intangible practices. Various participatory, affective and spiritual practices are supported to stabilise an abridged wartime identity of the site in perpetuity. Yet equally, opportunities for meaningful re-creation, evolution, and even innovation of the site's story are celebrated.

What can therefore be asserted at this stage of the thesis is the existence of a very meaningful relationship between the conservation process employed at each hut and the stories that are told within them – or in other words, **a dynamic between building conservation and intangible heritage**. It can further be asserted that the role of imitation (within the context of building conservation and architecture) also has a particular nuanced role to play in terms of assisting the storytelling process; and of course, the amount of imitation employed relates directly to the conservation method utilised. A causal link is thus established between historic buildings, building conservation, and intangible heritage. The next (and final) chapter offers a consolidated discussion and conclusion for the research project in its entirety, which will consolidate all empirical research results into a conceptual model and series of methodological strategies for built heritage practice.

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SOCIO-MATERIAL CONSERVATION

> *…one thing is certain: the aura and fascination of “the monument” will endure in some way or another, whether in tenacious survival or in gradual but inexorable dissolution.*
>
> (Glendinning, 2013:450)

10 – Overall discussion and conclusions

10.1 Introduction

This final chapter serves as an overall discussion and conclusion for the thesis. Firstly, *Section 10.2 Overview: destabilising traditional tenets* outlines three broad approaches that address the real-world complexities and barriers that the research has uncovered in relation to conceptualisation and safeguarding of intangible heritage within the UK built heritage paradigm. These are: 1) advancing intangible heritage in conservation concepts and methods; 2) supporting practitioner dissemination of intangible heritage; and 3) practitioner participation in intangible heritage practices. It is the first approach (advancing concepts and methods) that is of particular interest to this research project, which primarily falls within the scope of Research Aims C and D.

The two sections that follow on from this focus on both a *conceptual* and *methodological* broadening for built heritage practice respectively. *Section 10.3 Conceptual destabilisation: stories of feelings and things* offers a conceptual model of intangible heritage for built heritage practitioners, and is based primarily on the research results from *Chapter 7 – Semi-structured interviews*. Then *Section 10.4 Methodological destabilisation: five socio-material strategies* proposes a series of five methodological approaches towards historic buildings that compliment this model, which are based primarily on the final case study results in *Chapter 9 – Bletchley Park huts* (which itself builds on the results from *Chapter 8 – Pilot case studies*). Together, both sections work towards what this research classifies as a *socio-material outlook*[140] for built heritage practice. Lastly, *Section 10.5 Reflections on the aims and objectives of the research project* reflects on the research aims and indicates the locations within the thesis where they have been addressed. The chapter (and thesis) ends with a series of closing remarks (*Section 10.6 Concluding remarks*), along with some final reflections, limitations, and opportunities for future research (*Section 10.7 Final reflections, limitations and future research*).

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[140] The term 'socio-material' has been borrowed from what can be broadly termed as assemblage or praxeological theory. This includes both PT and ANT, as well as other theoretical models that seek to explain '…the co-constitution between humans and non-humans' (Müller, 2015:27) in order to '…understand large and complex phenomena including. . . organisations, institutions and society' (Nicolini, 2017:22). This research approaches historic buildings as highly complex phenomena, and part of its original contribution lies in the novel application of a socio-material perspective to historic and listed buildings.

10.2 Overview: destabilising traditional tenets

It is clear from both the literature and empirical research that immaterial manifestations of culture must bend to established sector-specific understandings and processes which are centred around physical materials and sites (Wilks and Kelly, 2008:130; Smith and Campbell, 2017:39). Accordingly, a lack of *physicality* is at the root of the issue, which creates sensitivities centred around misalignments with commercial constraints, added workload, and complexity (also see Smith and Waterton, 2009:297). However, whether it was perceived as too hard, too obscure, or a subsidiary consideration in formalised mechanisms, this research has equally evidenced a resounding sentiment of interest and desire from built heritage practitioners to see intangible heritage recognised and utilised more within day-to-day built heritage practice.

Building upon the combined results of the research project, three principal guidelines are proposed to overcome the established barriers towards intangible heritage, and to enhance its recognition within the built heritage sector. These are as follows:

Guideline 1. Advancing intangible heritage in conservation concepts and methods.

Guideline 2. Supporting practitioner dissemination of intangible heritage.

Guideline 3. Practitioner participation in intangible heritage practices.

An overview of each guideline is now given, followed by a set of more detailed *conceptual* and *methodological* strategies for achieving Guideline 1. Focus has been placed on this particular guideline as not only does it relate to Research Aims C and D, but it also serves to underpin the ability to achieve Guidelines 2 and 3 (as per *Figure 91*).

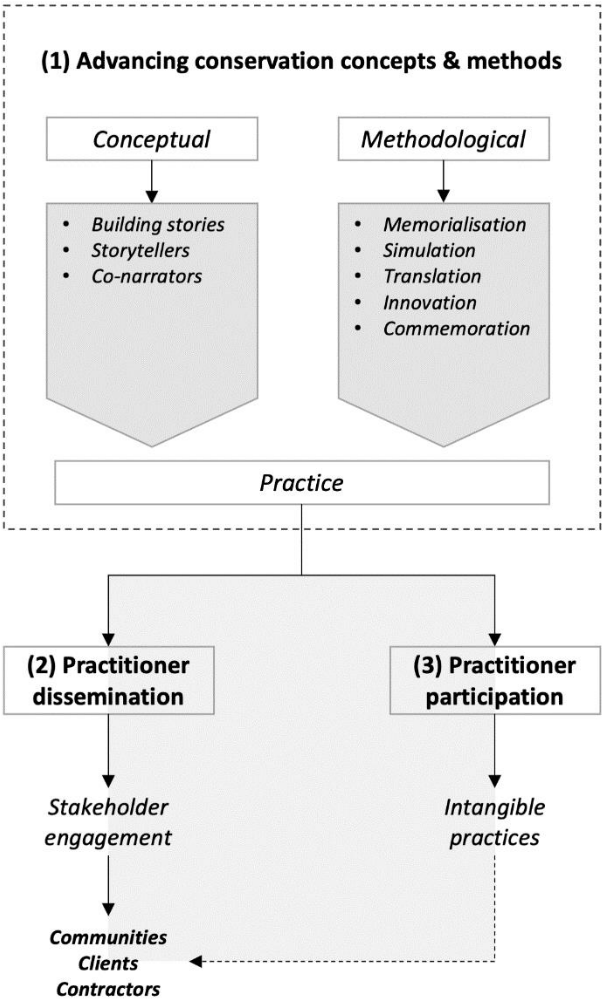
(1) Advancing conservation concepts & methods
Conceptual
Methodological
• Building stories
• Storytellers
• Co-narrators
• Memorialisation
• Simulation
• Translation
• Innovation
• Commemoration
Practice
(2) Practitioner dissemination
(3) Practitioner participation
Stakeholder engagement
Intangible practices
Communities
Clients
Contractors

Figure 91 - Structuring of the three guidelines for overcoming practice barriers

With a focus on advancing 'conceptual' and 'methodological' conservation concepts
Source: author original image

10.2.1 Guideline 1: advancing conservation concepts and methods

It is clear that intangible heritage is often associated with physical sites, which in turn become culturally charged markers or anchors for ongoing heritage consumption (Byrne, 2009:246; Harrison, 2015b:309; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:68). Equally, the spatio-temporal qualities of historic sites further support the ongoing development of contemporary life patterns, rituals and social practices (Abdelmonem and Selim, 2012:163; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:71; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:28). To accommodate these perspectives within assessment, management and conservation processes, a revised conceptual model is required that supports practitioners towards the intellectualisation of heritage as a dynamic contemporary process or practice in relation to physical sites (Harvey, 2001:320;

Smith, 2006:65; Skounti, 2009:75; Winter, 2013:536; DeSilvey, 2017:50; Jones, 2017:22; Yarrow, 2019:2). For example, this reconceptualization could be in relation to the understanding of heritage as a *process* of remembering and forgetting (Edensor, 2005:126; Rigney, 2008:345); as a *process* of knowledge transfer (García-Almeida, 2019); or perhaps more pertinent to the scope of this thesis, the conservation and management of heritage as a *cultural process* itself (Pendlebury, 2015:431; Douglas-Jones et al., 2016:824; Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016:469). In particular, the latter not only places more emphasis on how built heritage professionals situate their *own* practices within this broadening of heritage, but also emphasises the need for intangible heritage to still relate to the life experiences and basic objectives of built heritage practice.

Formalised frameworks for supporting and administering this conceptual shift will in turn create fertile ground for relevant methodological shifts in relation to how alterations to the physical fabric of historic buildings can impact intangible heritage (and vice versa). Certainly, conservation and adaptation processes will require strategies that re-frame the point of departure for building alterations from the perspective of meanings rather than materials (Muñoz Viñas, 2005:212), rather than continuing to uncritically and unquestioningly subscribe to the usual philosophical approaches which have not changed in over a century (Buckley, 2019:62).

10.2.2 Guideline 2: supporting practitioner dissemination of intangible heritage

There is a clear lack of support that UK built heritage professionals receive from formal policy, legislation and guidance on the subject of intangible heritage, which acts as a barrier to a deeper and more formal engagement with such complex immaterial phenomena (Wells, 2017:26). A consequence of this – and a clear concern for practitioners – is the lack of engagement from commercial stakeholders that this creates. As a result, practitioners acknowledge a duty to both engage with and teach stakeholders about intangible heritage (clients, contractors). However, there is undoubtedly a problematic lacuna within conservation theory and training (academic and professional) in relation to the nuances that are specific to this understanding of heritage (Wain, 2014:54; Orbaşli, 2017), which ultimately short-circuits the good intentions of this knowledge transfer process. Indeed, the lack of support that is offered to built heritage practitioners across education and policy reduces both the awareness of and methods for engaging with intangible heritage when working with historic buildings and sites. This results in a fated scenario that sustains perceptions of it being time consuming, costly, and complex, despite there being no actual initiatives implemented to address these manufactured barriers.

Without support from education and policy in the UK, intangible heritage will continue to be perceived as obscure, complex, and consequently outside the remit of built heritage practice. Its association with physical sites will remain highly complex and contested (as per Kearney, 2009:220); and it will remain a significantly under-researched topic in general (as per Hassard, 2009b:163). The issue at hand then, is not so much that of an overbearing expert authority (as per Smith, 2006:29; Winter, 2013:537), but rather a need to provide formalised resources and support for practitioners to understand, champion and disseminate the relevance of intangible heritage in relation to the conservation and adaptation of built heritage assets.

10.2.3 Guideline 3: practitioner participation in intangible heritage practices

To alter a building is to wholeheartedly alter its history, the trajectory of its ongoing narrative, its meanings, its contemporary function, and its subsequent interpretation. Critical understandings of heritage question the exclusive performance of this task by professional expert groups (Smith, 2006:29; Winter, 2013:541). Instead, it is suggested the professional point of departure should be derived from significant and sustained input from communities of interest (Blake, 2009:45; Lenzerini, 2011:111) – especially those who are underrepresented or less dominant (Pocock et al., 2015:965). This reflects a realigned focus that places the anchoring and scaffolding of community identity *before* concerns of an architectural and/ or materialistic nature. However, a disconnect between policy and communities is observed by practitioners, which incites a matching disconnect between themselves and communities of interest. Together, these factors sustain an inability to *formally* involve and engage the public adequately within built heritage practices, with existing formalised guidance that lends itself to this matter clearly being limited. As a result, a reliance is placed on informal participatory practices and fringe activities to engage communities (i.e. interviews, open days, tours, site access and craft skills demonstrations, as per the results in *Section 7.2.2.5 Participatory problems: 'token gesture'*). These informal solutions are based on methods which support a more processual conception of built heritage, which is centred around events, social interaction and knowledge-sharing practices (also see Smith, 2009:21; Longley and Duxbury, 2016:1; DeSilvey, 2017:170; Jones, 2017:25). Integrating intangible heritage within the built heritage paradigm may therefore lie not so much in the common desire to elucidate the relationship *between* tangible and intangible heritage, but rather in the capacity for practitioners within the built heritage sector to reinterpret their role as one which actively changes and recreates heritage (Littler, 2014:103).

Working into how Guideline 1 (advancing conservation concepts and methods) can be achieved in more detail, what now follows is a detailed discussion and set of *conceptual* and *methodological* proposals derived from the amalgamated research results.

10.3 Conceptual destabilisation: stories of feelings and things

10.3.1 The building story

From the perspective of the built heritage professionals who contributed to this study, the intangible heritage of buildings is understood as a complex landscape of building ‘narratives’ that collectively contribute towards an overarching building ‘story’ (*Figure 92*). The building story was portrayed as a co-authorship between the building fabric (social production) and human epiphenomena (social construction), with various narratives extracted from both people and buildings. This was also evident within the Bletchley Park case study, where multiple stories and narratives contribute towards the overarching ‘Bletchley [Park] story’ (see Historic England, 2005c; Black et al., 2010:10; Kathryn Sather & Associates, 2011c:159; Black and Colgan, 2016:17; Bletchley Park Trust, 2017; Welchman, 2018:140). Accordingly, three aspects of the building story are important to consider: 1) stories support different types of remembering in relation to physical and non-physical heritage; 2) stories can accommodate a multiplicity of heritage meanings; and 3) stories can synthesise (and therefore overcome) the typical duality concerning tangible and intangible heritage domains.

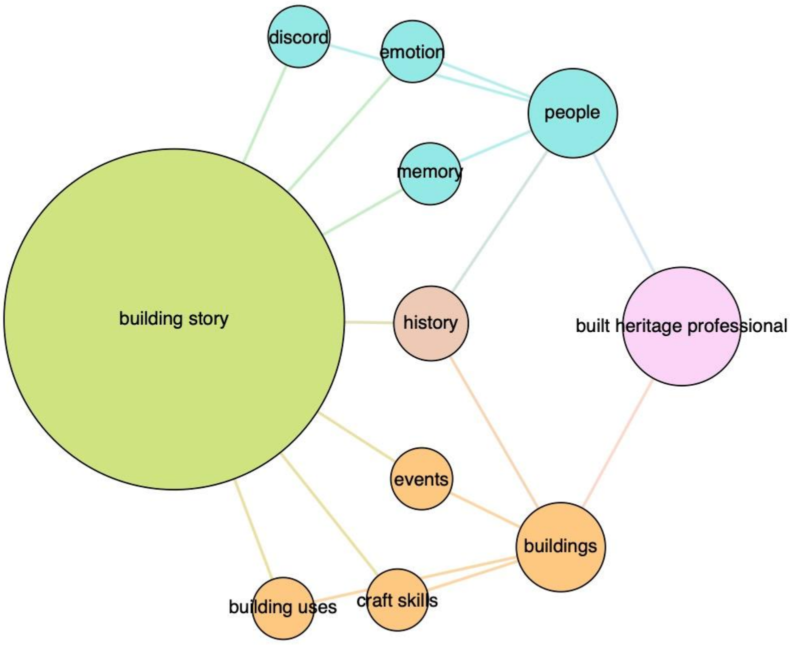

Figure 92 - A conceptualisation of intangible heritage within the built heritage paradigm

Source: author original image

10.3.1.1 Types of remembering within the building story

Certain intangible themes were perceived by interviewees as being more dependent upon the physicality of the building than others. This results in two distinct forms of remembering – one that is related to the intangible themes associated with the building fabric, and another that is independent of the building fabric. Firstly, buildings were described by interviewees as being able to tell their own unique stories and participate in the storytelling of heritage places (similar to DeSilvey, 2006:318; Ingold, 2007:14); as well as having the ability to affect and animate the world around them (as per Bennett, 2010:xx; Pétursdóttir, 2013:14). The historic building itself was therefore perceived as being representative of an objective and non-personal 'monumentalized cultural memory' (see Müller-Funk, 2003:218). This was represented by intangible themes that were described as primarily reliant upon the physical building fabric – 'uses', 'events' and 'craft'. The physicality of buildings anchors these intangible associations in place to varying degrees. Consider, for example, the relationship between specific events and specific huts at Bletchley Park, or the communion of intangible craft skills at Coventry Cathedral. By contrast, themes that were often described as autonomous to the building fabric –

‘memory’, ‘discord’ and ‘emotion’ – were explained in relation to the *interpretation* of buildings and the creation of a living, personal, yet socially rooted ‘collective memory’ (Müller-Funk, 2003:216). For example, consider the affective and experiential qualities of the Hill House Box, or the transformation of Bletchley Park’s significance from the information age and computing, to the struggles and tenacity of the wartime workforce.

10.3.1.2 Multiplicity of meaning within the building story

Not only were the intangible themes generally organised across the co-authorship between buildings and people, but they were also discussed across a variety of diametric narrative scales: positive-negative (e.g. ‘discord’); personal-communal (e.g. ‘memory’); fact-fiction (e.g. ‘stories’); and historic-everyday (e.g. ‘events’) (*Figure 93*).

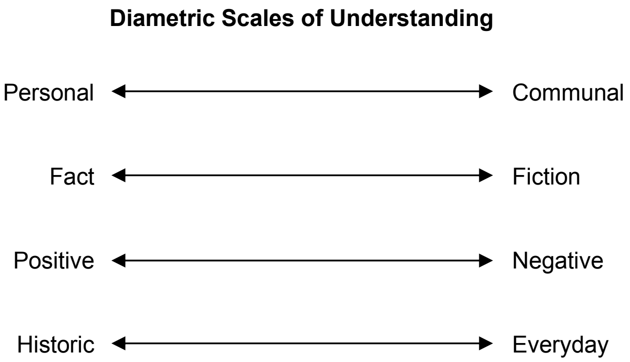

Figure 93 - Diametric scales of understanding

Author original image

These narrative scales demonstrate the varied possibilities for heritage selection and various significances that can be derived from built heritage assets. For example, these can range from the significance of a negative subjective memory of one person, through to a positive objective historical account of an entire society, and all possibilities and combinations in between. These scales correlate somewhat with the broad explanation of ‘communal value’ covered within Historic England’s (2008:31–32) guidance, which makes reference to ‘collective memory’, ‘stories’, ‘uncomfortable events’ and ‘historical (particularly associative). . . values’ (Historic England, 2008:31–32). By implication, addressing all scales across their full spectrum would result in a heritage asset with a multiplicity of formalised significances, meanings, stories and authors. This is a multi-vocal quality which, according to Muñoz Viñas (2005:211), should also constitute a 'value' in its own right; and which would work towards the understanding of buildings as 'multi-authored hybrids' (Walter, 2020:167). Yet this is in direct opposition of the tendency to apply a reductive approach that seeks to outline one dominant story of significance. Though all narrative themes were noted as important and meaningful, their actual conscription within finalised interpretations of buildings was described as too subjective and complex to consider. In avoiding these complex representational matters, interpretation inevitably magnetises towards the official 'sanitised history' of broader national narratives (Spennemann, 2006:6; Singh, 2008:134; Labadi, 2013:87; Pocock et al., 2015:967).

10.3.1.3 Overcoming heritage domains within the building story

By using stories to conceptualise intangible heritage within their material focused sector, the research suggests built heritage professionals are able to overcome the complexities of the perceived 'nature-culture split' (Hill, 2018b), and instead work towards a definition of heritage as an entanglement of dependencies between feelings and things (as per Hodder, 2014). Stories are particularly useful in this regard, as they are more than capable of expressing and organising a variety of conflicts and contradictions (Cameron, 2012:574). This enables practitioners to conceptualise the story as either the building (like Walter, 2014b:645), or something other than the building (similar to Pocock et al., 2015:966). The use of stories can therefore be understood as a reactive method that is employed to overcome the perceived tangible-intangible duality. This resonates with contemporary ontological developments in heritage studies that conceptualises heritage as assemblages and/or networks of various material and immaterial 'actors' (Harrison, 2015a; Hamilakis, 2017; Hill, 2018b; Skrede and Hølleland, 2018).

10.3.2 Storytellers and co-narrators

Stories are ultimately a reflection of the storytellers' personal and cultural perspectives (Whyte, 2006:155; Stone, 2019b:79). This makes storytelling a moving and affective act of interpretation – evoking personal experiences, expressions and emotions (Cameron, 2012:574). Yet if stories are what built heritage professionals use to conceptualise the intangible heritage of buildings, then what of the storyteller? The professionals did not explore their own position in relation to the building story – depicting instead a relatively passive role that objectively mediates between social and material worlds to uncover an impartial story. This perspective overlooks the significance of their role as curator of heritage values (as per de la Torre, 2013:163), as well as their personal experiences that will inevitably shape the storytelling process (Cameron, 2012:575). Conversely, if the role of the built heritage professional was more explicitly acknowledged as 'storyteller', it would not only be the historic building that assumes a mnemonic role (Stone, 2019b:50), but also those responsible for conserving and adapting it (Rigney, 2008:347). The intangible heritage of buildings would accordingly be understood as a part-reflection of the professional's way of seeing the world – interweaving built heritage *practice* with the various human and non-human narratives that the project interviewees highlighted as inherent aspects of the building story. Thus, in order to assist in sustaining intangible heritage practices, built heritage practitioners *themselves* must also commit to their own intangible practices directly in relation to the heritage site – whether that be through tours, talks, lectures, events, workshops, or other related approaches. This is not only as a means to support the stories related to sites (Pocock et al., 2015; Djabarouti, 2020b; Walter, 2020), but perhaps more importantly as a hands-on method which encourages the enrichment and enhancement of these stories through participatory processes (Jones, 2017:22; Orbaşli, 2017:165; Walter, 2020:138).

For example, there is literature that highlights how walking tours of buildings can encourage learning and increase engagement (Markwell et al., 2004:460; Douglas et al., 2018:32). Whilst this is typically depicted from the perspective of the tour facilitator as the expert, this research posits that this could be utilised as a two-way process of co-narration, whereby tours with communities of interest can assist practitioners in accessing unsupported knowledges that are unofficial and/ or marginalised – especially in relation to the more-than-physical qualities that underpin the importance of buildings to communities. This is supported by Harrison (2010:266), who notes how activities such as this can assist in '…accessing an alternative view of a different culture'. This has already been touched upon within ***Section 10.2.3 Guideline 3: practitioner participation in intangible heritage practices***, where it was noted how non-official and unsupported methods can actually support a more dynamic conception of built heritage – like events, social interaction, and knowledge-sharing practices (also see Smith, 2009:21; Longley and Duxbury, 2016:1; DeSilvey, 2017:170; Jones, 2017:25).

Despite the potential benefits of various unofficial practices that have been highlighted within the literature review and empirical research, it is ultimately their lack of prominence within policy and guidance that renders them problematic, non-essential, and easy to overlook. Ratification of the 2003 Convention could address this issue, by encouraging social groups to take a more prominent role when considering the safeguarding of their intangible heritage (Blake, 2009:45; Lenzerini, 2011:111). In turn, this could further address the issue in current guidance whereby communal value is undermined by other heritage values that are believed to be more important (as per Pendlebury, 2013:715; Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016:474; Jones, 2017:24). The conceptualisation of intangible heritage within the built heritage paradigm therefore lies not so much in elucidating the relationship *between* tangible and intangible heritage, but rather in the ability for built heritage practitioners to re-evaluate their role as one that creates and transmits stories across generations. This not only requires support from sector-specific guidance and policy, but also a self-awareness from professionals of their own personal involvement in narrative development. This will undoubtedly reflect their own cultural and personal perspectives, including the conservation methods that are chosen to be imposed upon the physical fabric of buildings.

10.4 Methodological destabilisation: five socio-material strategies

The research results offer a unique perspective on the relationship between the conservation/ adaptation of physical heritage sites, and the conservation of the stories that sustain their value and promote cultural activity. What is critical in this regard is the way in which physical *change* to historic and listed buildings can impact the safeguarding of intangible heritage, and vice versa, which retains the notion of *change* as a central theme. When applying the findings from earlier empirical research to the results derived from the Bletchley Park huts, there were some clear overlaps concerning the relationship between site and story. This has facilitated further refinement of the results into a series of five *socio-material strategies* (*Table 14*). The purpose of these strategies is to connect the conservation/ adaptation of historic and listed buildings more directly to the types of stories that are capable of being created and/ or sustained. They offer an alternative way of perceiving standardised conservation methods, by placing the safeguarding of stories as the principal point of departure for understanding what physical alterations should take place. The strategies are as follows:

1. Memorialisation
2. Simulation
3. Translation
4. Innovation
5. Commemoration

Specific attention is given to the following five characteristics of each strategy:

1. The type of story or narrative it supports.
2. How it uses or relates to the past.
3. The compatible conservation approaches that can be employed.
4. The resulting physical qualities that are produced.
5. The contemporary practices and experiences that are supported and sustained.

The strategies are vertically ordered within *Table 14* in relation to the degree of intervention that they impose on the physical fabric (i.e. *Memorialisation* requiring minimal intervention and *Commemoration* requiring wholesale demolition). The following sections will outline each of the five strategies in detail, as well as give examples of real-world projects that demonstrate their application. The proposal is not working towards the idea that one strategy is more appropriate than another; rather, that they are to be utilised in a manner that best supports the story of the specific site. Therefore, whilst isolated examples are given for each strategy to emphasise their qualities and effectiveness, the more likely scenario is the use of multiple strategies at a single site. This is discussed in more detail within the last section of this chapter (*Section 10.4.6 Application of strategies in practice*).

Table 14 - Five characteristics of the five proposed socio-material strategies

Source: author original table

Socio-material strategy	Story or narrative supported	Use of the past	Core conservation approaches	Physical qualities	Contemporary practices
MEMORIALISATION	Story of a contested past	Using a contested past to create affect in the present	Decline Consolidation	Palimpsest Patina Decay	Remembering
SIMULATION	Story of a specific desirable moment	Hyperreal simulation of a romanticised moment	Preservation Restoration Reconstruction	Perfection Newness	Replication
TRANSLATION	New stories anchored to a past narrative	Dynamic use of the past to support its transmission into the future	Preservation Restoration Adaptation	Contrast Contradiction	Re-creation
INNOVATION	New stories and narratives	Using the past only to support the present	Restoration Adaptation	Newness Contrast	Creation
COMMEMORATION	Story of loss	Recalling a past to stop forgetting	Deconstruction Demolition	Absence Symbolism	Not forgetting

10.4.1 Memorialisation

Table 15 - Characteristics of the 'Memorialisation' strategy

Source: author original table

Socio-material strategy	Story or narrative supported	Use of the past	Core conservation approaches	Physical qualities	Contemporary practices
MEMORIALISATION	Story of a contested past	Using a contested past to create affect in the present	Decline Consolidation	Palimpsest Patina Decay	Remembering

The first strategy that has emerged is *Memorialisation*. This results in an untouched and un-curated space that consequently becomes an affective and ambiguous palimpsest of contested uses and activities. It offers a multiplicity of pasts and meanings that are physically represented to varying degrees by an observable patina of weathering and change. Examples of this strategy include the 'time capsule' room within hut 3 (*Section 9.5.1 Story of neglect*); St. Peter's Seminary, Scotland; and the Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Japan. More generic examples may include monastic ruins or buildings subjected to a sustained 'managed decline' approach (as per DeSilvey, 2017). Thus, whilst a ruin of a building that has been purposefully damaged could be an example of this strategy, so too could a building that has simply been abandoned and neglected. The lack of heavy curation in relation to the combined conservation and interpretation approaches for this strategy positions visitors *after-the-fact* of its history (Harbison, 1993:99). This results in more autonomy for the users of the space to interpret their own meanings – though this lack of conservation and curation also results in the potential for certain stories to remain distorted or overlooked. As such, whilst this strategy supports a broad overarching story of contestation, it does not impose specific performative or remembrance practices; rather, it supports the co-existence of multiple stories and narratives (similar to Edensor, 2005:131; Glendinning, 2013:424). Despite it being able to support new practices centred around the memorialisation of the place, it can also significantly reduce the utilitarian function of the building.

Looking in more detail at a real-world case, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome), a UNESCO World Heritage Site in Hiroshima, Japan, is a strong example of this strategy. Following its damage and near-destruction due to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in 1945, the ruined condition of the building has been left untouched, aside from minor consolidation works to evade collapse (*Figure 94*). This also includes the retention of debris across the immediate site.

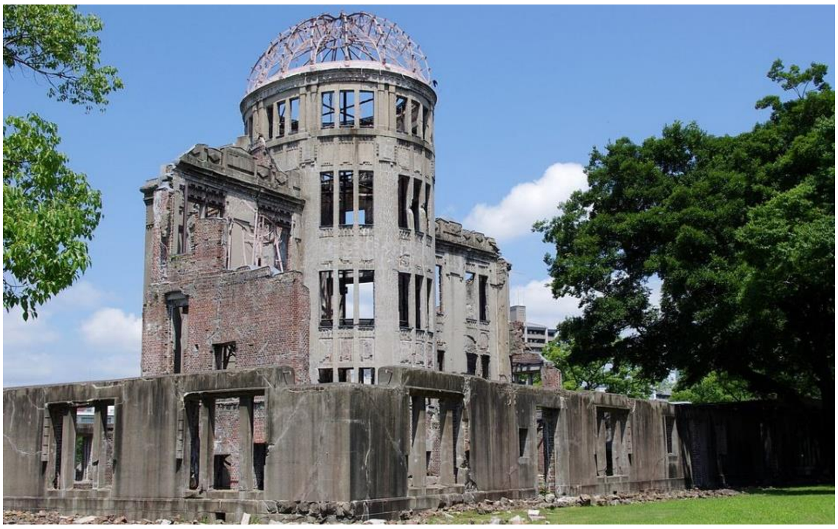

Figure 94 - Genbaku Dome, Hiroshima Peace Memorial

Photo: Jakub Halun (CC BY-SA 4.0)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:20100722_Hiroshima_Genbaku_Dome_4461.jpg

The building offers a strong overarching story that is related to the destruction of Hiroshima; however, its physical condition as a palimpsest contributes towards a level of flexibility within the boundaries of this story. Evidence of its previous use and its original form/ structure gives visitors the autonomy to remember not just the specific moment of destruction, but how the building may have been used in various ways beforehand, as well as other smaller stories relating to various now-exposed elements and details of the structure (*Figure 95*). Whilst it is important for societies to connect to the negative and contested qualities of a site (Gonçalves et al., 2003:4), understandably not everyone is interested in re-living or emulating a contested past. Instead, the semi-destroyed and un-curated nature of the site also supports new cultural performances and rituals that allows society and individuals to remember and make sense of this past in whatever way best works for them. This is supported by the un-curated and semi-ruinous nature of this strategy, which works towards encouraging affective and experiential practices centred around ongoing remembering.

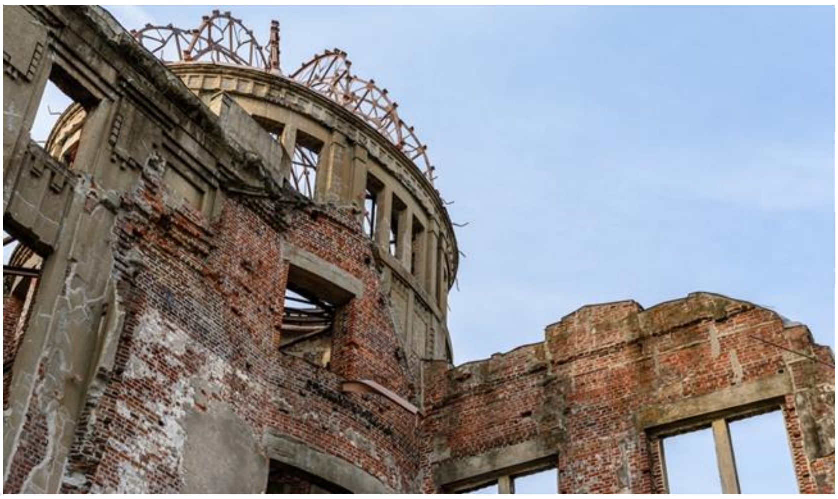

Figure 95 - Patina and palimpsest at the Genbaku Dome

Photo: dconvertini (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/con4tini/48943734931

This is also evident at St. Peter's Seminary, Scotland, which to quote from Hollis (2013), is a building that is both 'no longer and not yet'. The new owners (the Kilmahew Education Trust) are working towards a more dynamic and multi-vocal educational focus at the long-abandoned site:

> *The architecture and landscape have multiple tangible and intangible assets which we would like to explore in order to provide lifelong learning to visitors. . . and to provide the opportunity for continuous professional development and scientific and historical research.*
>
> *(The Kilmahew Education Trust, 2020)*

Sites like these demonstrate that contestation, neglect, decline and qualities of palimpsest can actually afford new remembering opportunities that are not confined to the static narratives of 'monumental memory' (Müller-Funk, 2003:218; Hofmann et al., 2017:12), and are well-suited to the creation and propagation of communicative memory (Rigney, 2008:346), as well as 'memory making' (DeSilvey, 2017:14), and associated educational/ learning activities.

10.4.2 Simulation

Table 16 - Characteristics of the 'Simulation' strategy

Source: author original table

Socio-material strategy	Story or narrative supported	Use of the past	Core conservation approaches	Physical qualities	Contemporary practices
SIMULATION	Story of a specific desirable moment	Hyperreal simulation of a romanticised moment	Preservation Restoration Reconstruction	Perfection Newness	Replication

The second strategy proposed is *Simulation*, which supports a curated story representing a very specific and desirable hypothetical moment in time. To achieve the required degree of specificity, original materials and design features are both preserved and restored. Additionally, heavy interior restoration (including objects, set-dressing and props) can also be employed, which results in an extremely controlled visitor experience that simulates a romanticised and idealised essence of the past (Cohen, 2007:78; Falser, 2008:130; Boughey, 2013:30). Examples include the set-dressed huts of Bletchley park (*Section 9.5.2 Story of the workforce*); Blists Hill Victorian Town, Shropshire; the Coffin Works Museum, Birmingham; and the Black Country Living Museum, Dudley. General examples include many Victorian ecclesiastical restoration projects, heritage theme parks, and living heritage museums. At these sites, the professional team of architectural conservators and curators are the storytellers, with less autonomy given to the users of the space in this regard. To achieve a refined story, this strategy utilises a high level of imitation and a low level of contrast between original and replica – characteristics of a hyperreal experience (Goulding, 1998:848; Labadi, 2010:79; Steiner, 2010:245; Proto, 2020:69). This ranges from the imitation of material and design, to spatial and atmospheric qualities. As a highly refined simulation of a specific moment in time, this strategy relies primarily on imitation over invention. The level of imitation employed results in a newness and level of perfection that ultimately reveals itself as fake, whilst simultaneously appearing real – a genuine fake (Cohen, 2007:77). The level of replication employed results in society becoming embroiled in past rituals and performances within the confines of a spatial reproduction, such as the literal retracing of past footsteps, or engaging in educational activities that replicate outmoded traditions. Users of these buildings and sites knowingly reproduce outmoded practices in order to situate themselves *within* the scope of the story, resulting in experiences of essence and aura (Wells, 2007:5; Jokilehto, 2009:133; Rickly-Boyd, 2012:273; Harrison, 2013:88; Pearce and Mohammadi, 2018:72; Rickly and Vidon, 2018:5).

Architectural restoration projects in the spirit of Viollet-le-Duc are typical examples of this approach, whereby the replication of an original design concept is prioritised over the present state (for example, the approach taken at the Berliner Schloss, Germany). This approach is also evident within the more recent conservation dilemmas of Modernist architecture (Orbaşli, 2017:163), as well as their proto-modernist antecedents explored within *Chapter 8 – Pilot case studies*. However, for projects such as this, it is equally common for concessions to be made internally to facilitate a contemporary use. For example, the restoration of the Yale Center for British Art by Louis Kahn restored the original design concept whilst simultaneously reconfiguring office spaces to meet contemporary requirements; and again, the Berliner Schloss abandons simulation internally to house an alternative interior programme (Ekici, 2007:26).

By contrast, living heritage museums – such as the Black Country Living Museum – offer a stricter example of this strategy in use, hence why they also come under scrutiny for commodifying and sanitising culture (Goulding, 1999:647). This open-air museum is in Dudley, West Midlands, UK, and tells the story of the industrial heritage of the region, which is centred around coal mining and iron forging. The museum itself takes the form of a small purpose-built village, with the majority of buildings relocated from neighbouring areas (*Figure 96*). Like Bletchley Park, it represents an abridged period of the past (although a much broader one, ranging from 1850-1950). This results in an experience of a condensed and intense moment in time that never actually existed – a perfectly curated and somewhat sanitised version of mid-19th century industrial life. A very specific and refined story is communicated to visitors, who are able to situate themselves within the story, by watching industrial demonstrations, engaging with costumed historians, and playing old-fashioned street games (*Figure 97*). So whilst the contested nature of *Memorialisation* prohibits the desire to simulate the past, and therefore offers society a choice in terms of how they interact and interpret the building; by contrast, the specificity of *Simulation* supports the ongoing performance of highly curated practices which are replications. These practices manifest as social activities and events that must work within very prescriptive physical, spatial and curatorial boundaries, with little creative room offered for innovation.

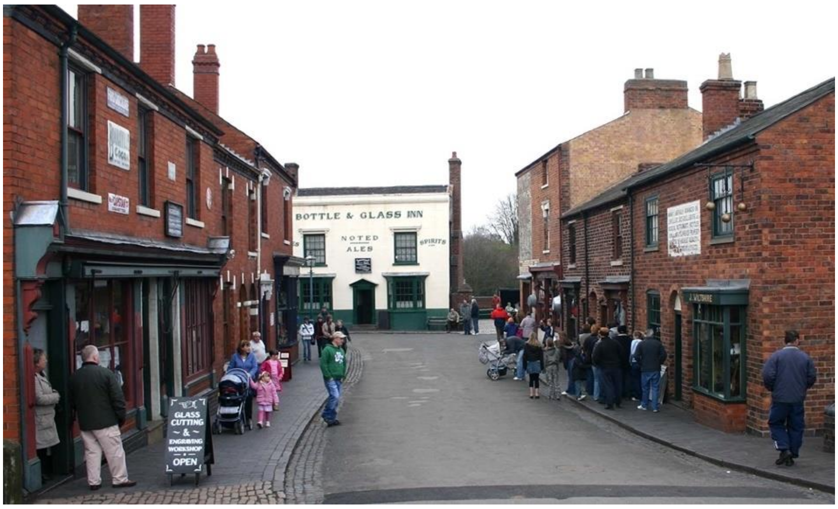
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Figure 96 - Meticulous (hyperreal) reconstruction at the Black Country Living Museum

Photo: David P. Howard (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1661396

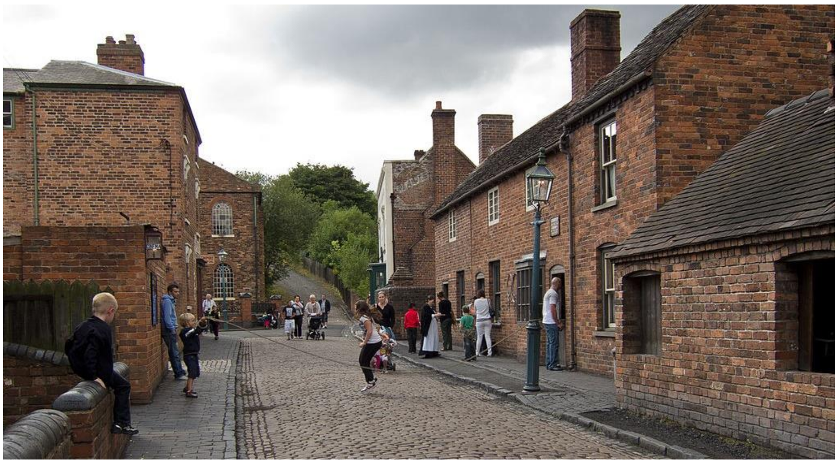


Figure 97 - Skipping in the simulated streets of the Black Country

Photo: Phil Sangwell (CC BY 2.0)
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/onemananhisdog/6083186323

10.4.3 Translation

Table 17 - Characteristics of the 'Translation' strategy

Source: author original table

Socio-material strategy	Story or narrative supported	Use of the past	Core conservation approaches	Physical qualities	Contemporary practices
TRANSLATION	New stories anchored to a past narrative	Dynamic use of the past to support its transmission into the future	Preservation Restoration Adaptation	Contrast Contradiction	Re-creation

Translation utilises some of the approaches employed within *Simulation*, however, rather than seeking out a hyperreal simulation of the past, the past is instead used as inspiration for legible and inspired contemporary change that continues a historical lineage. Whilst both strategies demonstrate a reverence for the past, *Translation* exhibits this by building upon its legacy through creative re-creation and a dynamic interpretation of tradition (Pallasmaa, 2012b:15; Jencks, 2016; Frost, 2017:263; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:99). Examples include huts 8 and 11A at Bletchley park (*Section 9.5.3 Story of the huts: hut 8* and *Section 9.5.4 Story of the site: hut 11A*); the Coventry Cathedral site (*Section 8.4 Results: Coventry Cathedral and ruins*); the Museum of Science and Industry, Manchester; and the Reichstag building, Germany. For *Translation*, both the professional team and the building users are engaged in storytelling. Unlike the high level of specificity created through *Simulation*, the conservationists and curators selectively engage with the past to communicate stories that are anchored to broader narratives. This nurtures new perspectives on how its heritage is both understood and experienced by building users. Thus, unlike *Simulation*, which encourages replication alone, *Translation* supports 'innovative imitation' (Lowenthal, 2015:158) – hence its positioning in-between *Simulation* and *Innovation* strategies in *Table 14*. From this perspective, it is a dynamic strategy (Whyte, 2006; Rigney, 2008:348–349).

The Reichstag is a famous and often-cited architectural project that is a clear example of this strategy in use. The building was heavily damaged during WWII and remained in a consolidated state until an architectural project in the 1990's preserved and restored parts of the original building, whilst simultaneously introducing new elements and interiors that were inspired by both existing and destroyed building elements. The most notable contemporary feature is the glass dome (*Figure 98*), which serves as a contemporary echo of the destroyed cupola, and now functions as a habitable visitor attraction (*Figure 99*). The building represents various stories that each contribute towards a broader and more flexible narrative of democracy and equality. Unlike *Memorialisation*, stories are clearly articulated and distinguishable, which allows building users to engage with them from various perspectives – a semi-curated approach.

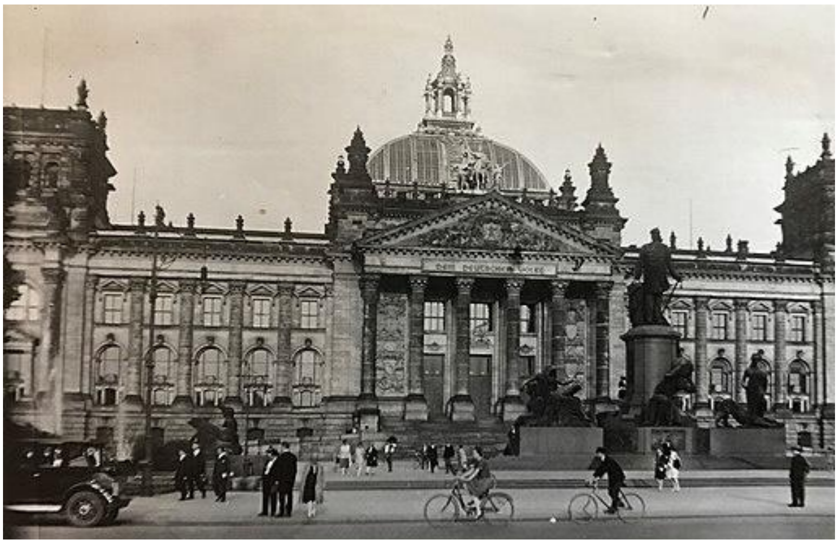


Figure 98 - Reichstag building before damage (1920s/1930s)

Photo: Loritz Family photos (CC BY-SA 3.0)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Reichstag_building_in_the_1920s_or_early_1930s.jpg

Wartime graffiti, bullet holes, and the original building design are not only visually contrasted against the adaptation of spaces and the incorporation of new elements, but are also further contrasted against the new daily rituals that now occur at the site as a consequence of its translation (*Figure 100*). Conceptual and physical space is made for contemporary alterations and practices that maintain a meaningful lineage to the past (Pallasmaa, 2012b:15; Jencks, 2016; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:99), whilst equally offering sufficient flexibility to facilitate the transmission of both past and present into the future (Frost, 2017:263; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:99). This approach is therefore more refined and grounded in building function than *Memorialisation*, yet significantly less structured and predetermined than *Simulation*.

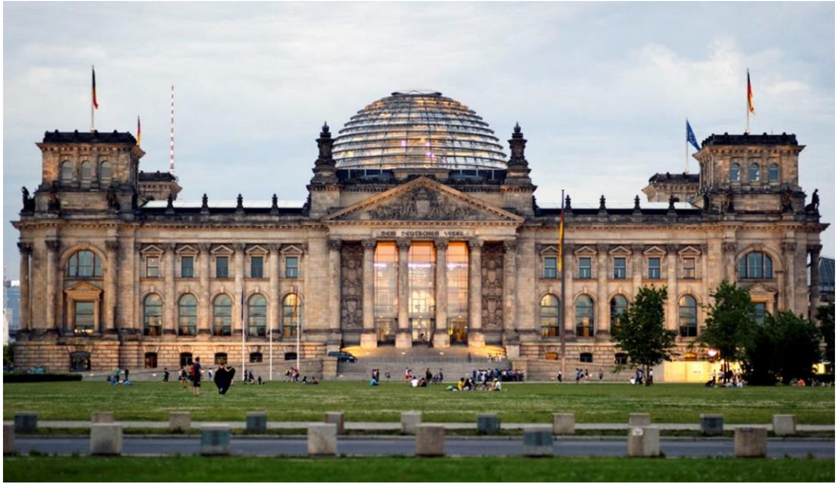


Figure 99 - Reichstag building restored facade and dome

Photo: Michael J. Fromholtz (CC BY-SA 3.0)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Reichstag_Building.jpg

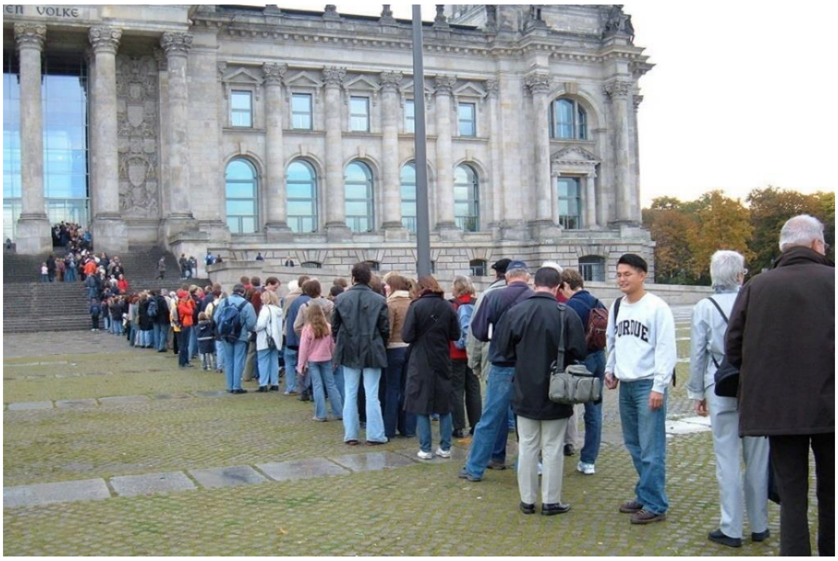


Figure 100 - The Reichstag queue; a new ritual

Photo: BrokenSphere (CC BY-SA 3.0)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Reichstag_queue_2.JPG

10.4.4 Innovation

Table 18 - Characteristics of the 'Innovation' strategy

Source: author original table

Socio-material strategy	Story or narrative supported	Use of the past	Core conservation approaches	Physical qualities	Contemporary practices
INNOVATION	New stories and narratives	Using the past only to support the present	Restoration Adaptation	Newness Contrast	Creation

Innovation is best characterised by a contemporary building adaptation approach, in that it utilises an existing building as an historic setting, or backdrop, to encapsulate new uses, aesthetics and spatial configurations (see Brooker and Stone, 2004:11). Changes are often focused less on preserving the materials and functions of the past, and more concerned with facilitating new uses and needs (Stone, 2019b:184). This is a scenario that will also undoubtedly produce new stories and practices at sites that are not necessarily connected to or promoting a direct lineage with its history. Whilst it is possible to perceive physical qualities that are similar to *Translation* (i.e. contrast and contradiction between old and new elements), *Innovation* mainly prioritises programmatic, economic and sustainability objectives (Mısırlısoy and Gan Günç, 2016:92; Brooker and Stone, 2018:1; Plevoets and Cleempoel, 2019:1; Stone, 2019b:218), which will not *necessarily* emerge from a direct lineage with or re-evaluation of the past. Huts 4 and 12 at Bletchley Park are examples of this strategy (*Section 9.5.5 Story of changing uses* and *Section 9.5.6 Story of an evolving legacy*), along with countless other examples across the country where historic buildings are adapted to serve a non-touristic economic function. Consider the reuse of old warehouses as office spaces, the conversion of old barns into residential homes, or the reuse of historic mills as apartment complexes.

A scheme that clearly demonstrates the latter is the recent adaptation of Murrays' Mills, Manchester, from a 19th century cotton mill to a contemporary apartment complex (*Figure 101*).

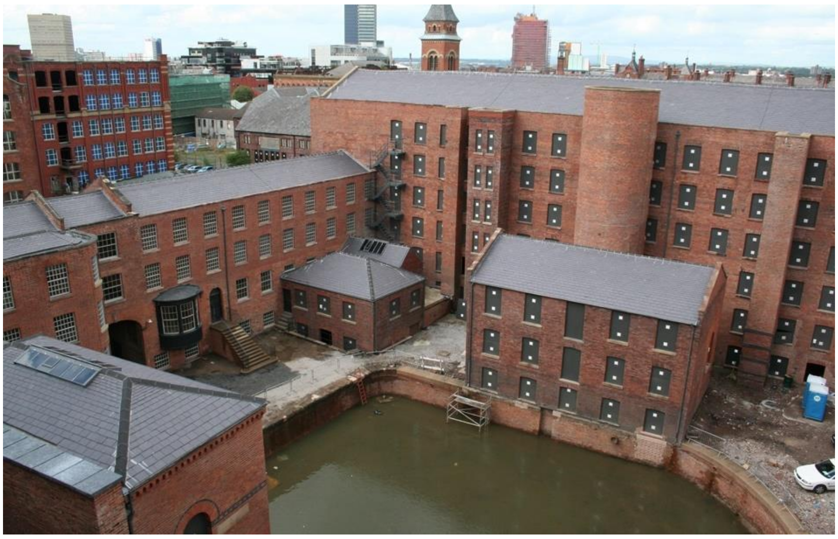


Figure 101 - Murrays' Mills, Ancoats, Manchester

Source: Jonathan Davis (all rights reserved; permission of use granted)

Here, a packaged legacy of the building is used strategically to support a new use and function that is primarily driven by economic goals. Thus, rather than use *Simulation*, which would have required an open-plan restoration back to an abridged period of time when the building was used as a cotton mill (such as the approach taken at Quarry Bank Mill, Manchester (*Figure 102*)); or *Memorialisation*, which would have meant the building be left in a semi-derelict state; or *Translation*, which would have required a more sensitive and poetic connection to the historical development of the site; instead, *Innovation* has taken place through programmatic change, internal subdivision, and the application of new internal layers and finishes (*Figure 103* and *Figure 104*). Accordingly, utilising this strategy supports the creation of a completely new set of practices, rituals and life-patterns at historic sites, which whilst unfamiliar, may also result in the creation of new traditions that could themselves be subjected to re-creation in the future.

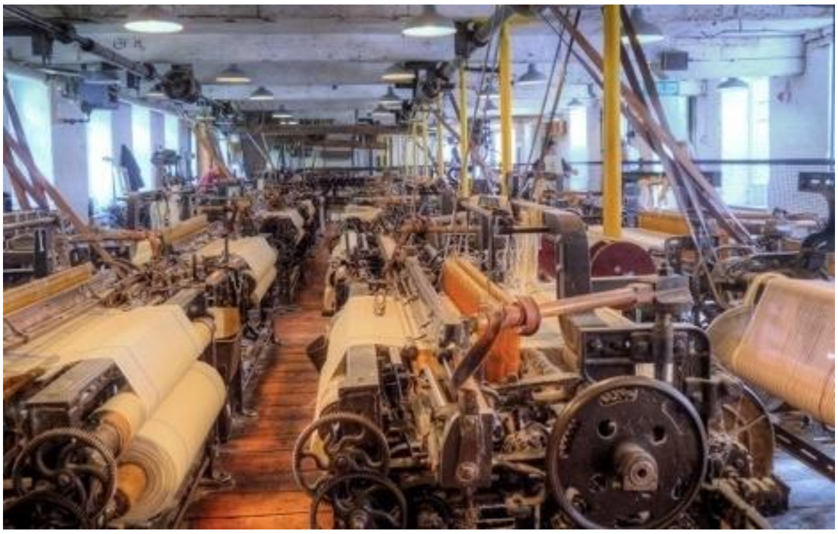


Figure 102 - Weaving shed at Quarry Bank Mill

Photo: David Dixon (CC BY-SA 2.0)
Source: https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/4157974

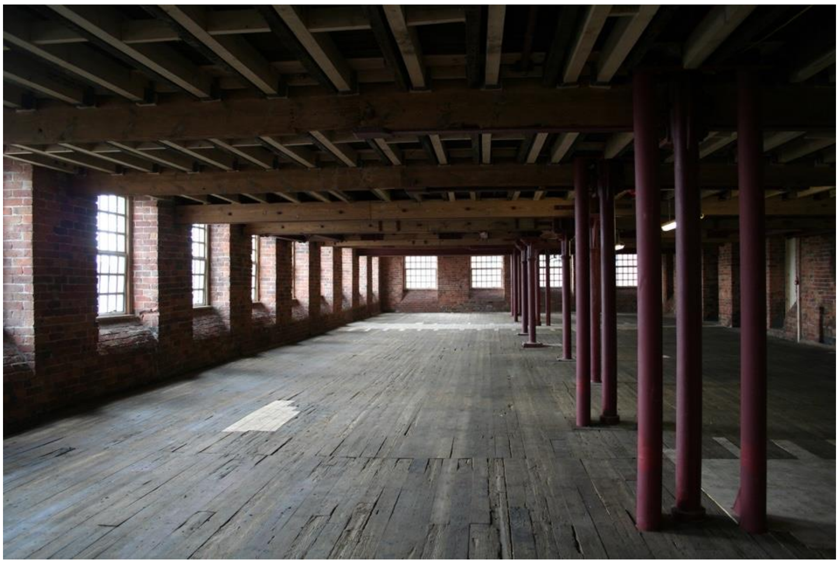


Figure 103 - Murrays’ Mills after conservation but before adaptation

Photo: Jonathan Davis (all rights reserved; permission of use granted)

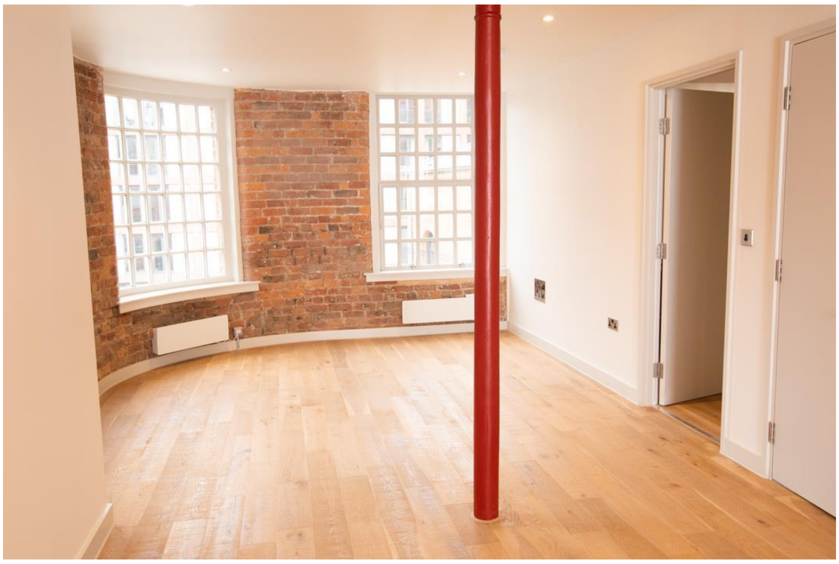


Figure 104 - Inside an apartment at Murrays' Mills, Ancoats, Manchester

Photo: Reside Manchester
Source: https://www.zoopla.co.uk/new-homes/details/53577395

10.4.5 Commemoration

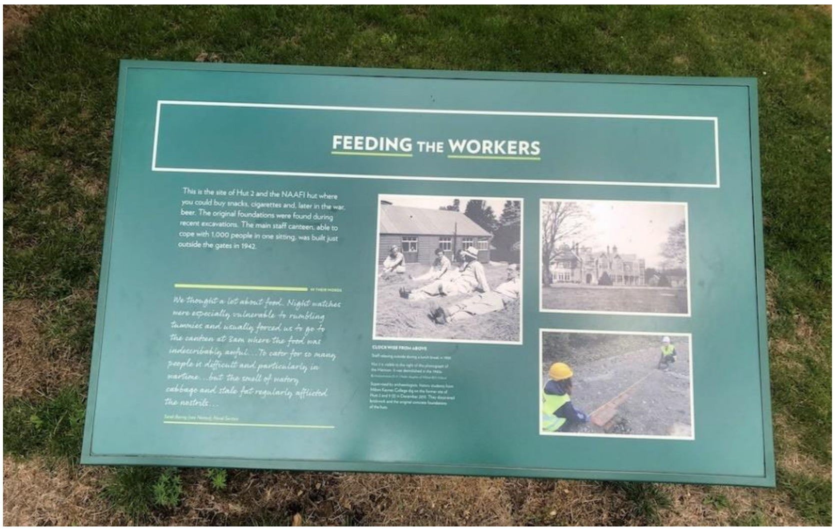
Table 19 - Characteristics of the 'Commemoration' strategy

Source: author original table

Socio-material strategy	Story or narrative supported	Use of the past	Core conservation approaches	Physical qualities	Contemporary practices
COMMEMORATION	Story of loss	Recalling a past to stop forgetting	Deconstruction Demolition	Absence Symbolism	Not forgetting

Commemoration bears similarities to *Memorialisation*, though there are important differences. Whilst *Memorialisation* relies on the physical presence of a building and qualities of palimpsest and decay in order to anchor contemporary remembering of a contested past, *Commemoration* relies wholly on traces of physical absence to communicate to society that things are no longer what they once were (Edensor, 2013:448). It is a story of loss, and is therefore centred around *not forgetting*, rather than *remembering*. This facilitates the commemoration of the past through symbolic activity, with the absent building or structure recalled and represented by new physical markers that bring absences into the present (Goulding et al., 2018:27). Without such interpretative markers, it would be less likely that visitors would either know of or remember what was once there – especially as more time passes.

Examples of this strategy include the outlines/ footprints of huts 14, 14A, 2 and the NAAFI hut at Bletchley Park (*Section 9.5.7 Story of loss*); the National September 11 Memorial, New York; as well as countless interpretation panels fixed to buildings that communicate something once existed at a site (*Figure 105* and *Figure 106*). As this strategy requires literal immateriality (and therefore demolition and/ or destruction), it is highly unlikely to be applied wholesale at a building unless: 1) it is going through a period of low social valuation; or 2) it is the target of a premeditated attack. As the former is often employed when buildings are deemed unworthy of retention (and therefore unworthy of remembering), it is the discordant territory of the latter scenario which offers the most explicit example of this strategy in use.



FEEDING THE WORKERS

This is the site of Hut 2 and the NAAFI hut where you could buy snacks, cigarettes and, later in the war, beer. The original foundations were found during recent excavations. The main staff canteen, able to cope with 1,000 people in one sitting, was built just outside the gates in 1942.

IN THEIR WORDS

We thought a lot about food. Night watches were especially vulnerable to rumbling tummies and usually forced us to go to the canteen at 3am where the food was indescribably awful… To cater for so many people is difficult and particularly in wartime…but the smell of watery cabbage and stale fat regularly afflicted the nostrils…

CLOCKWISE FROM ABOVE

Figure 105 - Interpretation panel for the demolished huts at Bletchley Park

Commemorating their past uses and functions
Source: author original image

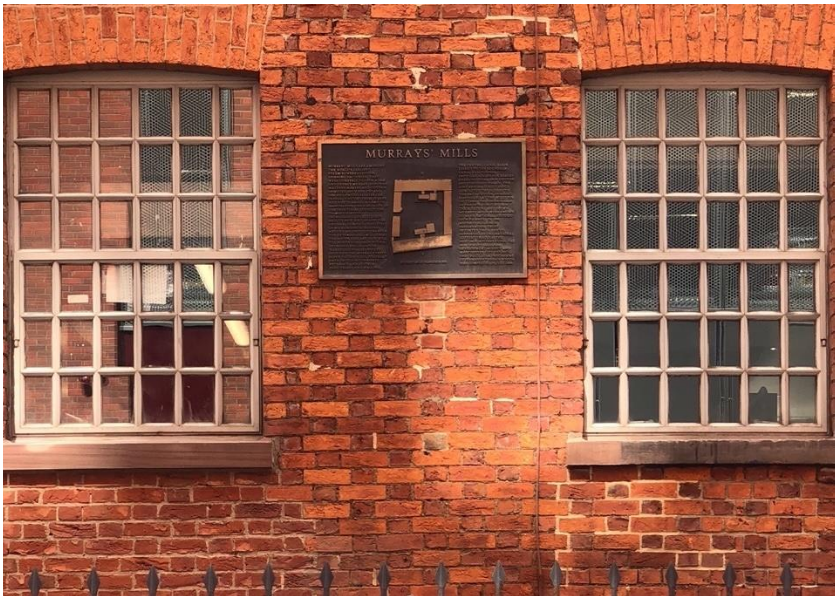


Figure 106 - Interpretation panel of the original Murrays' Mills complex, Manchester

Commemorating various blocks on the complex that no longer exist
Source: author original image

The National September 11 Memorial, New York, is one such example. The site is the well-known location of the two towers that were destroyed by terrorist attacks in 2001. It has subsequently been transformed into a site of commemoration through the construction of two memorial pools which represent the former location of the towers (*Figure 107*).

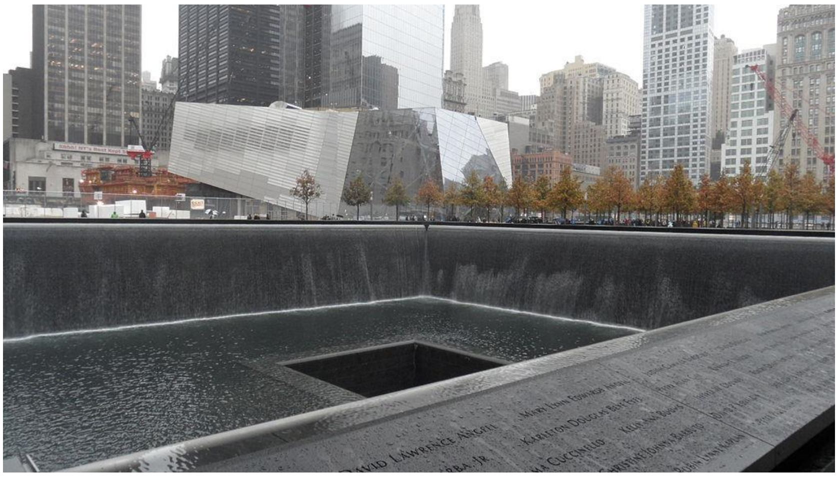


Figure 107 - 'Reflecting Absence'. The National September 11 Memorial

Photo: Saschaporsche (CC BY-SA 3.0)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:National_september_11_Memorial_%26_museum.jpg

Titled 'Reflecting Absence', the new interpretation sites become symbols of a former physical presence, which has *become* historical through absence. The site encourages a contemporary recall which is stimulated by loss, to avoid forgetting the events that occurred. *Commemoration* gives visitors a high degree of autonomy in relation to their experience and use of the site. This is maintained by the lack of historical fabric that this strategy supports, which results in no curation of historic fabric being employed. The requirement for absence when using this strategy results in less refined narratives than *Memorialisation*. The site becomes a fluid and uninterpreted 'memoryscape' that allows visitors to curate their own experiences across a multiplicity of tenses: in the past (as something tangible that is now lost); in the present (through symbolic recall); and in the future (as something that could have been, or as a warning of what could happen again). How visitors choose to use the site is ultimately a subjective decision based on their interests in relation to the broader narrative being supported.

10.4.6 Application of strategies in practice

As is likely already evident from the examples provided for each strategy, utilising only a single socio-material strategy across an entire building can result in extreme outcomes in relation to the way that stories are told at heritage sites. Whether ruin or absence, imitation of the past, or near disregard for it, there is unquestionably much critique to be drawn from each strategy when used in isolation (*Table 20*).

Table 20 - Problematic characteristics of isolated strategy use

Source: author original table

Strategy	**Conceptual and practical issues**
Memorialisation	Results in uninhabitable space Memories/ histories could be missed through lack of interpretation
Simulation	Scrutiny for being a pastiche/ fake experience Strategically excludes certain memories/ histories
Translation	Cannot accurately represent a specific past moment Does not allow for the creation of innovative stories/ narratives
Innovation	Potential misuse of heritage for economic gain Imposes unfamiliar uses on sites
Commemoration	Requires demolition/ destruction Could be used as an excuse to demolish a building/ site

This is a fitting moment to briefly revisit the dilemmas surrounding preservation and restoration as discussed in *Chapter 3 – From buildings to people*. Strong philosophical dogma, such as the popular anti-restorative rhetoric posed by the SPAB, is applicable to the transmission of intangible heritage only if it is the most appropriate method to tell the story or convey the narrative. On restoration, the SPAB are uncompromising in their belief that '…[t]he outcome tends to be a reproduction, at the expense of genuine character, lacking both honesty and readability' (see Hunt and Boyd, 2017:48). Yet what if a reproduction (or *Simulation*) is the most effective method to support a continuity of immaterial manifestations of culture, which best represent the communities of interest? By adhering so strictly to an anti-restorative approach, the type of story (and therefore intangible heritage) that can be safeguarded becomes restricted and regulated. Likewise, if baseless replication and fakery is relentlessly implemented at the expense of patina, repair or innovation, the same restrictions also occur in relation to the accumulation of historic layers and the accommodation of contemporary programmatic functions.

Keeping with this outlook, being open to a multi-strategy approach offers more contextual relevance, as well as working towards the notion of there being no single strategy, conservation approach, or story, that is necessarily more credible (or reliable) than another. In most historic and listed buildings, some spaces best fulfil a need when a clarity of continuity is felt between the historic fabric and newer interventions, whilst others benefit from parting with tradition to embrace a new chapter in the building narrative. Oftentimes, a strategic threshold between old and new is a necessary aesthetic for interpretation, whereas there are equally those scenarios whereby a visual and/ or philosophical boundary is less desirable and blurred boundaries work best. Restoring a detail, an interior, or a façade, in a way that seamlessly replicates an earlier historic state may be necessary to represent a specific story or social group, whilst other times a simple legible repair of what already exists may better support this representation.

From this perspective, this research aligns itself more so with the ‘revolution of common sense’ that Muñoz Viñas (2005:212–213) urges, whereby conservation is to be considered a means to achieve meaning for people/ society, rather than a restrictive method that prioritises material truth alone. Poignantly, this contemporary conservation approach relies upon the contextual nuances and details of social and built environments significantly more than the isolated or blind use of a single philosophical approach – it must be adaptable and flexible based on its socio-material input. In this scenario, the role of built heritage practice, and of the architectural conservationist, becomes one of *ethics* over *evidence*, and of *context* over *canon* (see Muñoz Viñas, 2005:202; Orbaşli, 2017:164).

Whilst there are plenty of contemporary built heritage projects that illustrate the various aforementioned strategies employed simultaneously (for example, see the Neues Museum, Berlin; Kolumba Museum, Cologne; and CaixaForum, Madrid), it is questionable as to whether the chosen methods and the resulting stories they sustain were actually underpinned by any intangible practices between practitioners and society – a prerequisite for the meaningful safeguarding of stories (as outlined within *Section 10.2.3 Guideline 3: practitioner participation in intangible heritage practices*, as well as more broadly within *Section 6.3 Social value, community identification and engagement*). Without this qualitative, interactive, and social ingredient, any strategy employed – however successful

– will have missed opportunities to expand its scope and point of departure beyond the all-too-familiar issues of visual aesthetics and materials.

10.5 Reflections on the aims and objectives of the research project

> Research question: *in what way does the safeguarding of intangible heritage impact architectural and building conservation practices in the UK?*

This project has sought to understand how an increasing focus on safeguarding intangible heritage may impact architectural and building conservation practices within the built heritage paradigm in the UK. As already outlined within *Chapter 2 – A multi-methodological approach*, a series of interviews with built heritage professionals, alongside the exploration and testing of postmodern heritage perspectives at physical heritage sites, are utilised as methods to answer this question (in tandem with the literature review and document analysis). The research question was broken down into a series of aims (A-D) and objectives (1-8) in order to focus in on specific sub-issues of the research inquiry (Cohen et al., 2007:89). These were developed to focus on definition and perception (Aim A), policy and guidance (Aim B), the relationship between intangible heritage and conservation processes (Aim C), and the production of strategies that assist in conserving the intangible heritage of buildings (Aim D). The order of the aims and objectives are roughly chronological in relation to the thesis structure, although as with most research projects, there have been various overlaps as the project has developed. This was exacerbated by the Covid-19 global pandemic, which resulted in the unavoidable amendment of research aims and revision of the ethical approval for the project[141].

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[141] For example, at RD1 stage (the first formal PhD milestone), one research aim involved engagement with community groups connected to case study buildings (e.g. a *Friends of* group). As the Covid-19 global pandemic occurred during the fieldwork year of the PhD, adjustments to the project aims and scope were required to mitigate this unforeseen scenario. In hindsight, this added a layer of refinement to the project, as focus was placed more directly on practitioners. Thankfully, the semi-structured interviews with built heritage professionals had already been carried out before Covid-19. This matter has also been highlighted in Section 2.3.2 Case study selection.

10.5.1 Reflecting on Research Aim A

> *Aim A: form a conclusion about the nature of intangible heritage from within the built heritage sector, with a particular focus on historic and listed buildings*

Aim A served as the fundamental starting point for the research project, by seeking to establish a definition not only of ICH in relation to its codification through UNESCO and supporting literature, but also by attempting to explore its definition from within the scope of the UK built heritage paradigm. Firstly, the implicit but increasing prevalence of intangible heritage concepts within UK built heritage practice are highlighted within the literature (Sections 3.3 and Section 3.4), which is then followed by a broad review of how it is currently conceptualised both within the UK and further afield (Chapter 4). Following this, interviews with built heritage professionals in the UK offered a unique insight into the perception of intangible heritage from their building-focused standpoints (Section 7.2.1). This definition was subsequently structured into a coherent model (Section 10.3.1) and utilised *within* the SNA analysis of the final case study (Section 9.5). In tandem with exploring the definition of intangible heritage within the UK built heritage sector, actual and perceived barriers towards intangible heritage were also explored within the literature (Section 3.4), supporting policy/ guidance (Section 5), and from the perspective of practitioners (Section 7.2.2). Guidelines for addressing these barriers were subsequently proposed within Section 10.2. Please refer to *Table 21* which itemises the key thesis chapters/ sections where this aim has been met.

Table 21 - Addressing Research Aim A and Objectives 1 and 2

Source: author original table

Aim A	**Form a conclusion about the nature of intangible heritage from within the built heritage sector, with a particular focus on historic and listed buildings**	**Sections/ chapters where addressed**
Obj. 1	Formulate a definition and description of intangible heritage from within the built heritage paradigm, including its relationship to tangible heritage	3.3 3.4 4 7.2.1 9 10.3.1
Obj. 2	Understand the practice barriers in place that limit practitioners from integrating intangible heritage within their daily practices	3.4 5 7.2.2 10.2

10.5.2 Reflecting on Research Aim B

> *Aim B: understand the impact of intangible heritage on built heritage practice, policy and guidance in relation to the conservation and/ or adaptation of historic and listed buildings*

It was of key importance to gain insight into the key documents that structure built heritage practice within the UK, including relevant international documents that are either directly or indirectly related. In particular, the research was keen on understanding which documents were most compatible with the notion of intangible heritage (both implicitly and explicitly). The review of policy and guidance is primarily located within Chapter 5, although references to key documents generally occurs throughout the thesis (e.g. the relevance of WWII in relation to the development of conservation charters in Section 9.2). After highlighting in Section 5.2 the general trends in the documents towards people-focused and pro-change policies, a more focused review of the constituent components of 'communal value' (Historic England, 2008:31) was conducted in Chapter 6. This only served to highlight the complexity of the term and the mismatched brevity of its description and associated guidance. In tandem with the document analysis, practitioner views on policy and guidance to support their ability to safeguard intangible heritage in relation to built heritage was also considered in Section 7.2. As suspected, it was perceived as unclear and undefined, with no real support from relevant policy to help make it a less complicated concept to assess, safeguard and manage. Please refer to *Table 22* which itemises the key thesis chapters/ sections where this aim has been met.

Table 22 - Addressing Research Aim B and Objectives 3 and 4

Source: author original table

Aim B	Understand the impact of intangible heritage on built heritage practice, policy and guidance in relation to the conservation and/ or adaptation of historic and listed buildings	Chapters/ sections where addressed
Obj. 3	Assess how much consideration built heritage professionals and built heritage policy give to intangible heritage	5 6 7.2
Obj. 4	Evaluate the impact and development of intangible heritage in relevant legislation, policy and guidance	5.2 6.2 9.2

10.5.3 Reflecting on Research Aim C

> *Aim C: explore the relationship between the intangible heritage of historic and listed buildings and the various degrees of intervention utilised to secure their conservation and/ or adaptation*

Aim C marks a turning point in the thesis where emphasis shifts to the conservation and adaptation processes that are employed at historic and listed buildings in the UK, and how they impact intangible heritage. Underpinned by the findings from the literature review, conventional approaches and understandings of built heritage in the UK were confronted across a series of three pilot studies, which sought to understand how a greater parity between tangible and intangible heritage could be established. Section 8.3 focused on developing new ontological/ analytical approaches; Section 8.4 on challenging established theoretical understandings of key conservation concepts (namely restoration and authenticity); and Section 8.5 on developing the interpretation of buildings by applying the concepts of *translation* and *constant re-creation* (UNESCO, 2003:2). Together, these approaches highlighted the balancing act that sites must curate between past and present, and between *transmission* and *creation*. *Participatory*, *affective*, and *spiritual* practices were highlighted as highly relevant to achieving an appropriate balance. The consolidated findings from these pilot studies were applied to the final case study in Chapter 9, which served to explicitly address the relationship between the degrees of intervention on a conservation project and its intangible heritage, by connecting conservation approaches to specific stories. This was underpinned by the results from the semi-structured interviews in Chapter 7, which revealed stories to be the most prevalent way that practitioners reconciled immaterial manifestations of culture within their role. Please refer to *Table 23* which itemises the key thesis chapters/ sections where this aim has been met.

Table 23 - Addressing Research Aim C and Objectives 5 and 6

Source: author original table

Aim C	**Explore the relationship between the intangible heritage of historic and listed buildings and the various degrees of intervention utilised to secure their conservation and/ or adaptation**	**Chapters/ sections where addressed**
Obj. 5	Challenge established professional conservation approaches in order to understand the relationship between the conservation of buildings and the safeguarding of intangible heritage	8.3 8.4 8.5
Obj. 6	Conduct a final case study analysis that explores the relationship between specific conservation/ adaptation approaches and intangible heritage safeguarding	9

10.5.4 Reflecting on Research Aim D

> Aim D: *produce conservation and adaptation strategies that offer practical guidelines to assist built heritage professionals in safeguarding the intangible heritage of historic and listed buildings*

The final aim of the research project is concerned with providing guidelines for built heritage practitioners (especially architectural conservationists) in relation to the safeguarding of intangible heritage when altering historic and listed buildings. This is achieved in the final chapter of the thesis (Chapter 10), which proposes a *socio-material outlook* for historic and listed buildings. Three guidelines are proposed which work towards the destabilisation of traditional conservation tenets, and thus a broadening of practitioner roles to include intangible heritage within their remit (Section 10.2). An outline of all guidelines is given, but it is Guideline 1 that is developed in considerably more detail within Section 10.3. This reflects the primary focus of the thesis in relation to the development of *conceptual* and *methodological* criteria for use within built heritage practice. Section 10.3.1 focuses on the development of a conceptual model that underpins the 'building story', whilst Section 10.3.2 develops a series of five socio-material methodological strategies that elucidate the relationship *between* the treatment of the physical building fabric and the types of stories that are capable of being created and/ or sustained. Please refer to *Table 24* which itemises the key thesis chapters/ sections where this aim has been met.

Table 24 - Addressing Research Aim D and Objectives 7 and 8

Source: author original table

Aim D	**Produce conservation and adaptation strategies that offer practical guidelines to assist built heritage professionals in safeguarding the intangible heritage of historic and listed buildings**	**Key thesis chapters/ sections where addressed**
Obj. 7	Formulate a conceptual model for the built heritage sector in relation to the safeguarding of intangible heritage when working with historic or listed buildings	10.2 10.3.1
Obj. 8	Consolidate the literature, primary research, and case study findings into methods and/ or strategies that are applicable to the physical fabric of historic and listed buildings	10.3.2

The original contribution of this research project is underpinned by the established aims, which influenced the methods employed, and certainly the sector-specific scope of its inquiry. The nature of intangible heritage within the UK built heritage paradigm is now significantly more understandable as a result – in terms of its definition, the barriers that prohibit its prominence, and its dynamic with the physical conservation and adaptation processes that are typically imposed upon the fabric of historic and listed buildings. Engagement with built heritage practitioners, the adoption of novel methods for built heritage analysis (SNA), and the exploration/ application of contemporary critical heritage concepts and ideas at physical heritage sites in the UK, have all facilitated a timely broadening of prevailing conservation concepts and methods. The research proposes these are to be utilised in practice to help architectural conservation catch up with (and contribute towards) the broader debates concerning what heritage is and how it is done.

10.6 Concluding remarks

Whilst UK built heritage practice is not yet formally structured to accommodate intangible conceptions of heritage, immaterial considerations are emergent and evident. By engaging with those who are qualified to work with historic and listed buildings, it has been clear that intangible heritage is hard to articulate from a building-focused perspective. Nonetheless, it was generally conceived as the building 'story' – a collaborative effort between buildings and people; material and social worlds; subjective human epiphenomena and objective building fabric. Yet within this model, the professional role as 'storyteller' was largely unacknowledged, despite the significant and persuasive curatorial role that they must adopt in relation to the remembering/ forgetting of cultural memories and the spatial narration of the building story. This omission is reflective of much broader issues surrounding a clear lack of support in education, policy, and guidance, for built heritage practitioners to accommodate intangible heritage within their professional remit. An emphasis on 'storytelling' is therefore especially relevant to the evolution of built heritage practice, evolving as it must to accommodate ever-changing conceptions of what heritage is and how it is understood by relevant stakeholders.

To assist in this evolution of role, the study has proposed both a conceptual and methodological shift. Reconceptualising built heritage practice as a dynamic storytelling activity offers greater opportunities for intangible heritage to be consolidated within the built heritage paradigm, by supporting the notion of *socio-material conservation* as an approach that works towards the safeguarding of stories. In tandem with this, the conservation/ adaptation of the physical building itself must be considered as subsidiary and guided by this new approach. Five strategies have been established which frame physical change to historic and listed buildings around the safeguarding of stories, rather than materials. This does not necessarily increase risk of loss or unnecessary change, with many examples provided within this research project that demonstrate how a focus on intangible heritage can lead to a broadening of designation criteria and therefore more overall protection for physical sites. However, it does increase the complexity of built heritage interpretation and designation. This can be overcome by practitioners committing to their own intangible heritage practices in relation to built heritage, which can foster the elucidation of stories and the development of narratives through a more active and sustained engagement with communities of interest. This works towards a professional role transformation that requires practitioners to take explicit responsibility for the conservation of intangible heritage when conserving and/ or adapting physical heritage sites. Examples of *participatory*, *affective*, and *spiritual* practices have been evidenced as opportunities to achieve this within the process of conservation.

Compatible interpretative and methodological strategies that can accommodate this conceptual shift have been proposed and explored within this research project. The use of SNA in assessing the significance of a listed building has demonstrated that whilst guidance and policy for built heritage professionals often compartmentalise heritage into ‘domains’, it is perhaps more illuminating and essential to understand the socio-material practices in place that entangle the various material and immaterial heritage. In doing so, one must accept the notion that these socio-material practices should be considered for conservation and safeguarding, alongside the physical building itself.

The five socio-material strategies that have been devised in this study support the notion of building stories/ narratives being the primary point of departure for alterations to the physical fabric, rather than fixed dogmatic principles that prioritise material repair, aesthetics and legibility. These strategies also offer new perspectives on established degrees of material intervention, by destabilising the dominant scientific and visual disciplinary understandings that underpin prevailing attitudes towards restoration and authenticity. Consequently, traditional debates relating to preservation and restoration become less relevant, as a conservation of common sense transcends the notion of a singular supreme method. Instead, the use of whatever conservation methods are best for safeguarding specific stories and intangible heritage practices are championed as the most appropriate point of departure.

What has become most apparent within this study, is how the amalgamation of transmission and creation; imitation and intangibility; or of restoring the past and ritualising the present, can actually overcome prevailing binary views of tangible/ intangible; original/ copy; authentic/ inauthentic; within heritage and conservation practices. Certainly, for historic and listed buildings to endure as testimony to society, the physical residue of the past must always be restored to some degree – whether that be through painstaking replication of an entire design concept or by conducting the smallest of repairs. Equally, our present time and actions are always impacted by these imitation attempts – whether that be the impact upon monotonous daily life patterns, or the support of more cherished rituals that are intrinsically interwoven into societal identity. Buildings are conserved within a historical continuum, but traditions are propagated by people in the present. Neither exist within or are derived from a secluded past, and both deserve a framework that is attentive, ethical, and supportive of their *interrelation*. However, this requires a critical re-evaluation that positions architectural conservationists and the broader built heritage profession *within* this continuum and *within* the very social heritage processes of the present. If heritage is a process or performance, and if people *do* heritage, then people *are* heritage. The implications of this reconceptualization are just as pertinent to the evolving role of the heritage practitioner, as they are to the users of heritage.

10.7 Final reflections, limitations and future research

The scope of this research project and the multi-methodological nature of its design has allowed various perspectives to be explored in relation to the impact of an intangible conception of heritage on prevailing approaches. However, due to the scope of the research inquiry, some avenues of study were not explored to their full extent, which not only set the limitations of the research project, but also serves as a map for future research activities. Firstly, whilst the research phenomena are concerned with community identification and engagement in relation to heritage, community engagement as a distinct area of study was not thoroughly explored within the literature (e.g. Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of participation'); nor was the full scope of community engagement methods explored in detail. This was primarily influenced by the scope of the research aims, which were designed around practitioner needs (i.e. definition, policy, practice and practical conservation strategies), rather than community engagement objectives [142]. Future research should address this by building upon the findings and understanding what participatory methods are appropriate for built heritage practitioners to utilise when attempting to safeguard the building story/ narrative (for example, walking tours as a method of both building surveying, story gathering and community involvement). Secondly, whilst the research offers novel methodological strategies for engaging with built heritage assets, these methods were applied to existing buildings and sites retrospectively, rather than used by the researcher within a design project. Future research would benefit from employing these methods within the context of the architectural design process, to understand how they relate to architectural design and conservation approaches. This would be a particularly useful research project to develop within an architectural academic design studio environment, as a precursor to its use within professional practice.

Equally, in relation to interpretation/ assessment methods, the study utilised only the basic principles of SNA in assessing the heritage of its case study buildings, as the researcher does not have a background in SNA. As such, there is further potential to be explored with regards to its use as an analytical tool in relation to historic and listed buildings. Future research would benefit from an interdisciplinary team of researchers from both heritage and SNA fields (e.g., computer science, mathematics, statistics) to explore a fuller and richer range of heritage assessment and interpretation possibilities. How a real-world use of SNA might be integrated within the role of the built heritage professional when assessing the significance of buildings is unclear at this stage. However, it is possible that the key concepts reinforced by this research (i.e. a mindfulness of parity across heritage domains; an openness towards ontological redefinitions of buildings; and the consideration of heritage 'practices' as a focus for conservation) are arguably already capable of being integrated within individual professional approaches towards the assessment and management of built heritage assets, without the need to utilize SNA-specific software.

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[142] The unfortunate onset of the Covid-19 global pandemic further supported the decision to limit the research scope in this way.

Although many interrelated themes and perspectives have been explored within this research project, the researcher would like to offer a further four specific research themes that may benefit from further research underpinned by the research findings:

1. Future typologies of built heritage

   As is evidenced through the final case study (Bletchley Park huts), a socio-material outlook contributes towards a broadening of the listed building stock through the prioritisation of stories over sites (similar to Pocock et al., 2015). The de-centralisation of the physical building that this approach supports, results in an increased likelihood of buildings being designated that conventionally fall outside the heritage gaze. What might be the architectural typologies that this approach helps safeguard and how might this elucidate the future focus of built heritage practice? For example, the comparatively recent reconceptualization of Modernist architecture as ‘heritage’ (a paradox which aimed to ‘…set the Modern Movement *in* history’ (Glendinning, 2013:433)) has led to the need for a revised conservation skillset that can work with modernist materials and justify the preservation of original design concepts. What might be the architectural heritage of the future when focussing more explicitly on intangible heritage, and what challenges might this bring to built heritage practice?

2. The role of nostalgia within the research project

   The term ‘nostalgia’ appears only a handful of times within this thesis document. This is a deliberate omission, with nostalgia itself being a broad, complex and elusive topic that demands a research design which caters for this. What is the role of nostalgia within the scope of this research project and how might negative perceptions of nostalgia (a melancholic *longing for*) influence the viability of the conceptual approach and socio-material strategies that have been developed?

3. The power of copying

   This research project has highlighted the various advantages of imitation and copying in relation to the safeguarding of intangible heritage, which runs in opposition to prevailing perspectives on this matter. It has evidenced how a spectrum of imitation exists, which, in conjunction with various degrees of creation (or innovation), can utilise and interact with the traditions of a heritage site in different ways. How then, might the idea of imitation and copying apply to the architectural design process – both in terms of explicit architectural interventions to historic and listed buildings, as well as the process of designing new architecture within an existing heritage site, historic urban environment, or conservation area?

4. Architectural representation

   Continuing with how this research may impact the architectural design process, architectural conservationists communicate to each other and to the broader built heritage profession using orthographic drawings. How might the architectural representation of space and form in this way be developed to capture the dynamic, processual, and intangible qualities of heritage? For example, the use of *reverse perspective* (or *inverse perspective*) to enhance the dynamic qualities of the building and prioritise movement over measurement could be a future avenue of exploration (see Avci, 2015:161).

Lastly, the researcher must also take a reflexive approach towards the findings of this study, and accept the limitations imposed on the research by personal educational and professional experiences. The researcher has an academic and professional background in both architecture and building conservation. Although traditional modes of conservation practice have been critiqued and not taken for granted, there has still undoubtedly been a certain centrality placed upon buildings within this study, which in some respects contradicts the literature concerning what intangible heritage is. This reflects the much broader paradox of the research project, whereby intangible heritage phenomena are brought *within* the umbrella of a tangible-focused framework, which inevitably results in its exposure to the very same socio-political forces that influenced its increasing prominence in the first place.

END.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Peer reviewed publications

Djabarouti, J. (2022) [forthcoming chapter]. 'Negotiating the spirit of place: towards a performative authenticity of historic buildings.' Emerald Publishing

Negotiating the spirit of place: towards a performative authenticity of historic buildings

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ABSTRACT: This chapter explores the utility of an existentialist understanding of authenticity for the historic built environment. Historic building conservation and adaptation has long been synonymous with objective authenticity, which is falling increasingly out of step with both the contemporary understanding of heritage as an intangible social process, and the redefinition of building conservation as the management of change. Drawing on the existentialist idea of authenticity as a dynamic process of intra- and inter-personal negotiations, this theoretical contribution works towards a revised framework that suggests focus should be placed on how built heritage practitioners can perform authentically, rather than measure authenticity. The concept of 'performative authenticity' for historic buildings – underpinned by 'participation', 'locus' and 'action' – is outlined as an approach that can foster a more relevant and applicable concept of authenticity for contemporary building conservation and adaptation practices.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Within the often overlapping spheres of building conservation and architectural heritage, authenticity is a central concept in both academia (Jokilehto, 2009, p. 126) and practice (Plevoets & Cleempoel, 2019, p. 79). A formalised version of the term within a heritage context first appeared in the *International charter for the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites* (the Venice Charter) (ICOMOS, 1964). Here, it was employed as a universal characteristic that the international heritage community could use to quantify the value of historic building fabric (Silverman, 2015, p. 73; Silverman & Fairchild Ruggles, 2007, p. 4). Following the Venice Charter, practical and methodological guidance for heritage professionals has primarily been magnetised towards material problems of authenticity as the principal point of departure. This is evident from the ICOMOS *Guidelines for Education and Training in the Conservation of Monuments, Ensembles and Sites* (ICOMOS, 1993), which underpins the criteria for prominent building conservation training routes in the UK (for example, see AABC, 2019; IHBC, 2008; RIBA, 2014), and is itself a self-defined product of the Venice Charter (see ICOMOS, 1993, p. 1). Consequently, historic building authenticity in the UK (both in definition and in practice) is primarily conceptualised as a measurable and objective value (Gao & Jones, 2020, p. 2; Labadi, 2010, p. 79; Lenzerini, 2011, p. 113) – qualities which characterise ‘objective authenticity’ (see Cohen, 2007, p. 76; Rickly-Boyd, 2012, p. 272; Su, 2018, p. 933).

This formalised point of departure has set in motion two key concepts in relation to the authenticity of historic buildings. The first is the fetishization of material aging, or ‘patina’ (Gao & Jones, 2020, p. 9; ICOMOS, 1964; D. A. Scott, 2016, p. 11; Walter, 2020, p. 212); and the second is the marginalisation of replication/ copying as being a deceptive activity (Goulding, 1998, p. 838; F. Scott, 2008, p. 62). These two concepts, along with the objective version of authenticity, create what Scott (2008, p. 180) refers to as a ‘triplet of ordinates’ that sustain the objective and scientific treatment of historic buildings. Resulting from these ordinates, manmade changes to historic buildings are conventionally made visually legible (Earl, 2003, p. 108; Gao & Jones, 2020, p. 9; D. A. Scott, 2016, p. 11; Stubbs & Makaš, 2011, p. 59). Thus, within this particular disciplinary context, authenticity is employed as much as an *aesthetic* attribute as it is a philosophical underpinning. Earl (2003, p. 108) describes this as the habit of ‘super-honesty’, which responds to the risk that individuals may feel fooled or cheated by the building if the history of its architecture is misinterpreted. Therefore, the professional act of building conservation is at its core a somewhat burdensome ‘truth-enforcement operation’ (Cobb, 2014, p. 7; Muñoz Viñas, 2005, p. 91). The reason why this is troublesome is because it relies upon answers to broader and more complex philosophical problems concerning the nature of truth, its relationship to *the self* and *society*, and of course, *whose* truth it refers to. It is fundamental questions such as these that both inspires and guides the overarching deconstructivist logic of this contribution.

As will be discussed, authenticity within building conservation and architectural heritage has generally remained limited to this dominant objective definition, despite there being various credible and complimentary advances on authenticity in other fields over the last century. It is perhaps no surprise then that Orbaşli (2017, p. 157) believes ‘…established conservation principles and the tools that support them are woefully ill-equipped to respond to rapidly shifting attitudes…’. Of particular interest to this research are the ideas on authenticity within the field of existential philosophy (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, p. 300), including the comparatively recent advancements evident within tourism studies (itself a child of European existential philosophical thought (Su, 2018, p. 923)). More specifically, existentialist thinking supports the notion of authenticity as a *dynamic* activity of *self-making*, which is a concept that is both accepted and advanced within tourism studies by reconciling the self with society and heritage objects through *negotiated* experiences between individuals, things and places.

This chapter is interested in how an evolving and interdisciplinary understanding of existentialist authenticity might be applicable to the equally evolving Western conceptualization

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of heritage from physical objects (tangible) to social practices (intangible), which correspondingly works towards the idea of heritage being a dynamic – or 'constantly re-created' – process in response to its ever-changing cultural context (Fairchild Ruggles & Silverman, 2009, p. 11; Lenzerini, 2011, p. 101). How might the commonalities between existentialist authenticity and intangible heritage advance the concept (and conversation) surrounding historic building authenticity, and what it means to champion truth, honesty and originality within contemporary building conservation practice? Undeniably, critical questions such as these are becoming increasingly important to ask when considering the growing trend in heritage studies and practices towards the immaterial (intangible and spiritual) (see Djabarouti, 2020b; Harrison, 2013, p. 86), which is a heritage domain that Buckley (2019, p. 62) explicitly suggests '…might usefully lead to an expanded set of conservation outcomes'. If this is the case, then undoubtedly it would also lead to a significant shift in how the authenticity of historic buildings is conceptualised within contemporary conservation processes.

To bring these ideas within the walls of building conservation and architectural heritage, this chapter suggests that the concept of *genius loci* (or *spirit of place*) is the most logical theoretical terrain to accommodate these shifting understandings of authenticity and heritage. Spirit of place is a dynamic, existentialist concept that focuses on the identity (or 'essence') of place (Shirazi, 2014, p. 43). In architecture, its application seeks to understand how built form can best represent these underlying characteristics (Plevoets & Cleempoel, 2019, p. 87; Shirazi, 2014, p. 42), and aims to achieve this by focussing on both the material (tangible) and immaterial (intangible) qualities of buildings (Norberg-Schulz, 1979, p. 6; Plevoets & Cleempoel, 2019, p. 88; Shirazi, 2014, p. 43). Spirit of place can also be applied more specifically to the *historic* built environment in terms of the contextual relationship *between* people and history, and how this is represented through the layering of changes to the physical building fabric (Plevoets & Cleempoel, 2019, p. 87; Shirazi, 2014, p. 3). As such, the focus on a dynamic and relational quality between the building, the self, and society, may afford new potentialities for developing a more relevant and applicable concept of authenticity for matters relating to contemporary building conservation and adaptation practices.

2 AUTHENTIC OBJECTS AND LIVING THINGS

Authenticity generally refers to *oneself*, *authorship* and *authority* (Cobb, 2014, p. 1; Jokilehto, 2009, p. 125; Plevoets & Cleempoel, 2019, p. 80; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, p. 300), yet some of its earliest applications were in relation to the authentication of objects (Rajagopalan, 2012, p. 308). In building conservation and architecture, authenticity has since become a central theme (Brown & Maudlin, 2012, p. 347; Rajagopalan, 2012, p. 308), where conventional

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understandings are compatible with the characteristics of 'objective authenticity' – a term that is already comprehensively defined within tourism studies (see Chhabra, 2012, p. 499; Cohen, 2007, p. 76; Rickly-Boyd, 2012, p. 272). Objective authenticity begins from the premise that a building has an innate genuineness that can be determined and agreed upon by professional expertise (Rickly-Boyd, 2012, p. 272; Wilks & Kelly, 2008, p. 131). Cohen (2007, p. 76) relates it to 'origins' and 'genuineness', and Chhabra (2012, p. 499) associates it with '…genuine, actual, [and] real…'. For historic buildings, this often places a heavy emphasis on the documentary value of materials (Jokilehto, 2018, p. 29; Jones & Yarrow, 2013, p. 6; Walter, 2014, p. 636), as well as the original architectural design concept (Orbaşli, 2008, p. 51). This perspective of historic building authenticity is rooted in the transfer of knowledge from the conservation of moveable art objects to the conservation of buildings (Mydland & Grahn, 2012, p. 575), which successively led to a desire for safeguarding historic buildings as 'authentic antiques' (see Djabarouti, 2021; also Kamel-Ahmed, 2015, p. 69). Of particular interest in this regard is the universality that this has given to historic building authenticity – both in terms of its meaning and its quantification (Waterton, 2010, p. 39; Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 12). For example, consider the UNESCO 'test of authenticity' and its long list of established parameters to gauge how authentic a place is (Jokilehto, 2006, p. 7; Plevoets & Cleempoel, 2019, p. 79).

Associated with this understanding of historic building authenticity is the concept of 'character', which Yarrow (2018, p. 332) describes as '…one of a complex of interlinked concepts, including "authenticity", "integrity" and "honesty"'. These very human qualities are often attributed to historic buildings either through their materials, such as the '"honesty" of brick' (Sennett, 2008, p. 136); or form, like the personification of classical column orders (Graves, 1982, p. 12; Groat & Wang, 2013, p. 400). This use of anthropomorphism specifically within building conservation practice is a widespread and commonplace approach that goes some way towards justifying an objective conceptualisation of authenticity. Its lineage in terms of the *modern* conservation movement can be traced back to the writings of John Ruskin, who believed that by personifying buildings, we could use them to represent *ourselves* (Sennett, 2008, p. 138; Yarrow, 2018, p. 332) – the '…"good man's house" as a personification of the owner…' (Jokilehto, 2018, p. 215). Pre-Ruskin, it is said that anthropomorphism was likely used to imbue things with spiritual and symbolic qualities (Graves, 1982, p. 12; Sennett, 2008, p. 120).

Historic buildings are often anthropomorphised in order to give them individual 'agency', 'character', and 'social lives' (Jones, 2009, p. 140; Walter, 2020, p. 30; Yarrow, 2018, p. 332, 2019, p. 14). This is especially prominent in architecture and building conservation literature, which promotes *the life* of a building as fundamental towards the understanding of its value and significance. For example, key texts speak of building's lives (Harris, 1999); living buildings

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(Insall, 2008); the lives of buildings (Hollis, 2009); the voices of buildings (Littlefield & Lewis, 2007); how buildings learn (Brand, 1995); buildings must die (Cairns & Jacobs, 2014), and so on. The notion of the building as a living thing, or social entity, is thus framed by the belief that heritage practitioners have the ability to perceive a *life*, a *character* and a *temperament* from old buildings. By inference, this also implies that it is also possible to address anything about the building that is life*less*, or 'out of character' (Yarrow, 2018, p. 341, 2019, p. 14). Part of this process is to impose a certain ethic on to the building – what could be described as a moral social code – which represents the collective virtues and standards of a particular society or culture (Di Betta, 2014, p. 87). In doing so, it therefore becomes possible to attribute objective values to historic buildings by judging them against a set of shared social codes (Sennett, 2008, p. 137; Yarrow, 2019, p. 4). This is why Smith (2006, p. 91) refers to anthropomorphism as a process of 'legitimization' that the conservation sector uses to support the aforementioned traits of universality and inherent value.

It is also important to highlight that unlike the production of new architecture, building conservation has a necessary preoccupation with decay prevention (DeSilvey, 2006, p. 326; Feilden, 2003, p. 3). It is unsurprising then that the personification of historic buildings – structures which are oftentimes aging badly, damaged, and in need of repair – encourages a predictable yet poetic parallel between the death of people and the decay of buildings (DeSilvey, 2017, p. 158; Glendinning, 2013, p. 17). The existential fears and worries about life that ever-aging societies carry with them are consequently imposed upon (and embodied by) the historic building stock (Kobialka, 2014, pp. 358–359; Winter, 2013, p. 535). For existentialists, these fears and worries about life are what can stimulate the necessary actions to inspire authenticity of the self (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, p. 313). However, existentialist authenticity is concerned with the relationship between *self* and *action* on the journey towards 'self-making' (Cobb, 2014, p. 7), which makes it a subjective concept that cannot be measured or applied to buildings. Equally, it also problematises the notion of historic buildings being embodiments of social codes. As Golomb (1995, p. 145) explains:

> Suppose we assume that authenticity can be implemented in society. This endows it with objective import. But this objective meaning undermines its standing as an individual pathos rather than a universal ethic.

This issue reflects the broader friction that exists within existentialist thinking between the subjective notion of the self (i.e. the authenticity of the individual), and the notion of a social existence of the self within society (i.e. the fulfilment of authenticity within a broader social and moral existence). More recently, tourism studies has reconciled this by relating individual activities to broader concepts of identity and value (Su, 2018, p. 922). Accordingly, individuals who place themselves within a touristic scenario '…figuratively put their silhouettes in the

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tourist space with the purpose to investigate upon their true selves' (Di Betta, 2014, p. 88). This understanding is not distracted by debates concerning whether the built environment is 'real' (such as whether a historic building offers material legibility), as it focuses more on whether the individual is being true or real to *themselves* by partaking in the experience in the first place (Su, 2018, p. 923). Developing this further, a recent study by Su (2018) attempts to better conceptualise the subjectivities of intangible (immaterial) heritage by developing '…a new perspective in which heritage practitioners' ability in making object-related values with materiality can be described by subjective authenticity' (Su, 2018, p. 934). Here, authenticity is about the individual heritage *practitioner* and how they practice or perform heritage within a particular host community (Su, 2018, p. 934). This acknowledgment of both the self and society within existentialist authenticity stems from an earlier study by Wang (1999) who established intrapersonal (individual) and interpersonal (social) dimensions of existentialist authenticity. Steiner & Reisinger (2006, p. 308) have since advanced this concept by connecting it to the Heideggerian notion that *individuals* can encourage *each other* to seek out a more authentic existence. When applying this concept to the built heritage practitioner and the personified historic building, practitioners are perhaps able to feel more authentic in themselves and their practice (intrapersonal) by establishing an active relationship with the building (interpersonal). This relationship is driven by a desire to inspire the building to seek out a more authentic existence, which must be achieved by conserving and adapting its physical fabric in order to meet the contemporary standards of the social codes that are imposed upon it.

3 AUTHENTIC CHANGE AND NEGOTIATED AUTHENTICITY

Despite evolving understandings of both heritage and authenticity over the past century, building conservation has engaged very little with alternative theoretical underpinnings. This has not only resulted in a fairly static conception of historic building authenticity, but in turn has also meant the spectrum of conservation processes has changed very little over the past century (Buckley, 2019, p. 62). In seeking to challenge this, the *contemporary conservation theory* of Salvador Muñoz Viñas states objective authenticity is a fictitious concept that wrongly implies a preferred (and therefore static) condition is a more authentic one:

> The belief that the preferred condition of an object is its authentic condition, that some change performed upon a real object can actually make it more real, is an important flaw in classical theories of conservation.
>
> (Muñoz Viñas, 2005, pp. 95–97)

This is a critical perspective that has gained increasing momentum over the past decade, with authentic *change* becoming an increasingly popular sentiment that is gradually overshadowing the idea of fixing a building at a particular moment in time. Walter's (2014, 2020) meticulously

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crafted 'Narrative Theory' of conservation is one such theoretical example that demonstrates a clear utility of this perspective for built heritage practice. There are other theoretical developments that also align with this idea of authenticity, by working towards the reconceptualization of heritage buildings as dynamic and ever-changing – whether as cultural events (DeSilvey, 2017, p. 29; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004); as moving entities (Latour & Yaneva, 2008); as ever-changing material and social hybrids (Djabarouti, 2020a); or as melting pots of intangible heritage (Skounti, 2009, p. 83). In practice, even the formal definition of conservation within built heritage practitioner guidance is now defined as '…the process of managing change' (see Historic England, 2008, p. 22).

Whilst change may not always be positive or acceptable (Walter, 2020, p. 15), buildings are nonetheless subjected to numerous changes to ensure they remain wholly relevant and useful to frontier societies (Brooker & Stone, 2018, p. 1; Edensor, 2013, p. 447; Hollis, 2009, p. 9). These can range from smaller (and oftentimes more surreptitious) 'satisficing' changes (Brand, 1995, p. 164; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015, p. 68), through to larger and more significant forces of change (Brand, 1995, p. 5,127; Edensor, 2013, p. 447). Whilst within the scope of heritage this is often touted as a contemporary (and sometimes radical) reinterpretation of a traditionally conservative and anti-change profession, it is actually more akin with older ways of thinking and doing than it is with innovation. For example, in Medieval Europe, building projects would normally last for decades, if not centuries, with little expectation that they would be finished in one's own lifetime, and even less expectation for it to be a static representation of a specific society at a particular point in time (see Glendinning, 2013, p. 26). Buildings were constantly transforming, with construction scaffolding often holding a near permanent presence.

Interestingly, the move towards conservation being primarily associated with change reflects one of the most relevant concepts that underpins existentialist authenticity, which is the idea that authenticity is a fluid and dynamic quality. An individual cannot be always authentic; nor can there be a static concept of an authentic self that one can gradually aspire towards (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, p. 302; Su, 2018, p. 923). As Detmer (2008, p. 141) explains from the perspective of French novelist-philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre:

> …our inescapable freedom carries with it the consequence that we never arrive, can never rest, can never coincide with ourselves. We cannot stop exercising our freedom. So our values must also always be dynamic, never static. . . The value lies in the doing, and not in the arriving at a permanent stopping point.

Authenticity for the existentialists is thus not a static 'value' that can be attributed to the physical fabric of historic buildings; rather, it is the ongoing process of *conveying* values in some way (Su, 2018, p. 924), which would mean historic building authenticity must also evolve in direct correlation with societal change. This quality further implies that there exists an

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imperative to learn more about oneself (and thus become a more authentic individual) through the ongoing experience of life (the 'doing'). In relation to built heritage, Gao and Jones (2020, p. 14) refer to this as the 'experience of authenticity', and describe it as '…the unfolding relations between people and "old things" over time, with particular attention to present and future relations'. For them, the authenticity of self and authenticity of objects are brought together through contemporary negotiations of authenticity (Gao & Jones, 2020; also see Le, Arcodia, Novais, & Kralj, 2019, p. 260). Hence the term *negotiated authenticity*, which refers to the relationship(s) *between* the material (tangible) and immaterial (intangible) (Jones, 2010, p. 195; Su, 2018, p. 920). Negotiated authenticity places an enhanced focus on secular societal rituals and performances as methods to actively seek out authenticity (Rickly-Boyd, 2012, p. 272), making it not only a subjective quality of self-making, but also an inherently creative activity involving various people, stakeholders, places and value judgements (García-Almeida, 2019, p. 411; Jones, 2010, p. 195). Note the similarity here between negotiated authenticity (comprised of *experience* and *negotiation*) and Wang's (1999) aforementioned intra- and inter-personal existentialist dimensions, both of which go some way towards reconciling the existentialist friction between self and society.

4 NEGOTIATING THE SPIRIT OF PLACE

Within the common polarities of heritage (tangible/ intangible; objective/ subjective; society/ self), there is a common sentiment that intangible heritage is the antithesis to built heritage. Yet immaterial manifestations of culture are not completely alien within building conservation and architecture, with the notion of *genius loci* (more commonly referred to as *spirit of place*) being intimately related to the concept of authenticity (Plevoets & Cleempoel, 2019, p. 90). Emerging from a lineage with the work of Alexander Pope and his contextualized approach towards English landscape design in the eighteenth century (see Kepczynska-Walczak & Walczak, 2013, p. 452), it is Christian Norberg-Schulz (1966, 1979) who made a significant contribution towards its use within the subject of architecture in the twentieth century (Kepczynska-Walczak & Walczak, 2013, p. 452; Otero-Pailos, 2012, p. 145; K. Smith, 2012, p. 362). Situated under the theoretical umbrella of *architectural phenomenology*, Norberg-Schulz based his architectural understanding of spirit of place on the Heideggerian concept of existentialist phenomenology (Seamon, 1993, p. 3; Shirazi, 2014, p. 5). In particular, it is the notion of 'dwelling' and the role of *building* as a means to support site- and person-specific dwelling that was of particular concern:

> Genius loci is a Roman concept. According to ancient Roman belief every "independent" being has its genius, its guardian spirit. This spirit gives life to people and places, accompanies them from birth to

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> death, and determines their character or essence. . . The genius thus denotes what a thing is, or what it "wants to be", to use a word of Louis Kahn. . . It suffices to point out that ancient man experienced his environment as consisting of definite characters. In particular he recognized that **it is of great existential importance to come to terms with the genius of the locality where his life takes place**.
> (Norberg-Schulz, 1979, p. 18)
> (bold added)

At its simplest, architectural phenomenology asserts that historic buildings are best interpreted through interaction and direct contact between people and buildings (Otero-Pailos, 2012, p. 139) – though it does not explicitly advocate anthropomorphism as a means to achieve this. Instead, the work of Norberg-Schulz focuses primarily on the perception of architecture, which is split into the present, dynamic qualities of *the phenomenon*, and the lasting, static qualities of *the object* (see Norberg-Schulz, 1966, p. 28). As K. Smith (2012, p. 362) explains:

> …the perception of these concrete phenomena, according to Norberg-Schulz, is influenced by cultural and individual activity. In essence, "phenomenology of place" was the relationship **between** concrete environmental phenomena and intangible human phenomena.
> (bold added)

From these descriptions, it is clear that spirit of place maintains a focus on the intangible, experiential and unique qualities of a tangible building or place – thus amalgamating intangible phenomena with the very corporeal monumentality of buildings (Kamel-Ahmed, 2015, p. 70; Turner & Tomer, 2013, p. 192). Furthermore, it emphasises the mutability of *all* phenomena by rendering it a product of perception, and thus liable to constant change, in line with our own personal outlooks (Norberg-Schulz, 1966, p. 31).

Whilst various critics of architectural phenomenology describe it as illogical, difficult, nostalgic, and lacking overall substance (Otero-Pailos, 2012, p. 139; Plevoets & Cleempoel, 2019, p. 88; K. Smith, 2012, p. 363), these criticisms are often delivered from the specific perspective of its usage within the architectural design process, rather than its ability to develop a more nuanced understanding of historic building authenticity. Nevertheless, heritage studies generally makes little reference to and use of the developments that architectural phenomenology has made to the concept of spirit of place, opting instead for a more simplified understanding of it as the ‘special’ character of a place (see Clark, 2019, p. 150). The most robust heritage document on spirit of place is the ICOMOS *Québec declaration on the preservation of the spirit of place* (ICOMOS, 2008), which is the first attempt to both formalise and quantify the term for a broader heritage audience. In contrast to Norberg-Schulz, the declaration more simplistically defines spirit of place as:

> …the tangible (buildings, sites, landscapes, routes, objects) and the intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, rituals, festivals, traditional knowledge, values, textures, colors, odors, etc.), that is to say the physical and the spiritual elements that give meaning, value, emotion and mystery to place.

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(ICOMOS, 2008, p. 2)

There are some clear overlaps across the concepts of negotiated authenticity and spirit of place, such as: their *construction* by 'various social actors' (ICOMOS, 2008, p. 2); their dynamic and 'continuously reconstructed process' (ICOMOS, 2008, p. 3); and their reliance on 'interactive communication and participation' (ICOMOS, 2008, p. 4). This is no coincidence, with negotiated authenticity maintaining an existentialist slant due to its position at the interface between materialist and constructivist ideology (Chhabra, 2012, p. 499), and spirit of place being rooted in Heideggerian existentialism (Otero-Pailos, 2012, p. 145). Accordingly, both work on the existentialist premise that it is possible to *produce* authenticity in some way – whether that be through our personal ever-changing perceptual and psychological interpretations of the built environment, or through the social interactions and experiences that individuals (re)negotiate in particular places – in conjunction with specific people, objects and buildings. This key principle overcomes three familiar dualisms that sustain prevailing views on historic building authenticity:

1. It addresses the all-too-familiar tangible-intangible heritage binary, by placing emphasis on the interactivity of heritage domains, rather than their division (their *betweenness*).

2. It seeks to tackle the existentialist friction between self and society, by focussing on the performances and practices that embeds the individual *within* a social process.

3. It blurs the threshold between social and material phenomena by de-centralising people and objects and instead focusing on the constructed *relationships* that binds them together.

Overcoming these dualisms means there is no fixed target of historic building authenticity to aim for; nor is there a definitive architectural form or design that can best represent authenticity. It is by contrast something that is made in the present, through various interactions, negotiations and agreements – all of which emerge from the application of site-specific and contextualised social and moral codes. There can therefore be no 'test of authenticity', at least not in the way that UNESCO puts it. Instead, it is perhaps better to focus on achieving an honest *performance* of authenticity, which requires an understanding of how practitioners can best *do* heritage, in their quest towards both intra- and inter-personal dimensions of existentialist authenticity. Part of this recalibration will require practitioners to focus more on understanding how authentic experiences and meanings can be *supported*, rather than quantified. This reflects the need for significantly more emphasis on 'participation' and 'consultation' within building conservation

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practices to support the shift ‘…from the conservation of truth to the conservation of meanings in contemporary conservation’ (Orbaşli, 2017, p. 163).

5 TOWARDS A PERFORMATIVE AUTHENTICITY

Based on the understanding of authenticity as a constructed or produced concept, historic building authenticity is not something that is protected by conservation and adaptation processes; rather, it *is* these very processes that (re)produce it in the first place (also see Plevoets & Cleempoel, 2019, p. 92). Scott’s (2008, p. 180) triplet of ordinates for the scientific treatment of buildings mentioned at the beginning of this chapter can correspondingly be revised to work towards a **performative authenticity** of historic buildings, which reframes the building as a representation of an ongoing social process. This alternative framework is underpinned by the proposed ordinates of *participation*, *locus* and *action*:

- **Participation** refers to the value in ‘the doing’ for both ‘self’ and ‘society’ and raises the importance of community engagement within the building conservation process. Participation captures the notion of performance as being both an intrapersonal professional act, as well as an interpersonal social activity. It acknowledges that heritage is not just a collection of static material objects, but is a constantly shifting collection of social and moral codes that are imposed on buildings through these activities.

- **Locus** refers to the need for a deeper and more subjective experience of place. It goes beyond its usual association with ‘setting’, to encompass both the subjective and present experiences of buildings, together with the continuity of their unique and lasting physical qualities. Authenticity as a rich and deep understanding of context (social and physical) – rather than an objective and generalised test – facilitates the use of specific physical and social perspectives as a means to understand how best to *practice* building conservation, and thus how best to act authentically as an actor within these practices (whether practitioner or public).

- **Action** refers to the need to exercise freedom in order to perform authentically. For practitioners, it is the act of conserving and adapting buildings that exercises freedom through creative acts – processes which are represented by physical changes to buildings. Thus, to work towards an authentic historic building means to exercise personal and social freedom through change. This relates to the individual practitioner not only as author of their own actions, but also as representative of contextualised social codes that must arise

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from sustained participatory practices. Methods of engaging with historic materials should therefore arise from constantly re-evaluated practices, rather than through a preoccupation with dogmatic conservation principles.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In attempting to outline a contemporary understanding of historic building authenticity, this chapter has relied heavily upon an existentialist outlook as a means to develop a revised framework for built heritage practitioners to perform authentically, rather than to measure authenticity. Indeed, part of existentialist thinking is to challenge dominant viewpoints and question existing ways of doing and thinking (Golomb, 1995, p. 1), which has been the fundamental purpose of this contribution. By outlining the prevailing understanding and use of objective historic building authenticity in the UK, the aim has been to highlight the disparities between current building conservation practices and the broader shift towards intangible (immaterial, dynamic and localised) conceptions of heritage. By moving beyond anthropomorphised and material-centred themes (such as honesty and character), it is instead possible to focus on the dynamics *between* materials and meanings, which the conservation process can work towards creating and sustaining, through the revised ordinates of participation, locus and action. Of course, this will always result in a focus on the physical fabric at some point in the process – after all, those who are tasked with altering historic buildings must indeed, alter them. Yet what this research suggests is that these physical alterations should no longer form the point of departure in themselves; nor should they determine or be bound by objectified and outmoded ideas of authenticity. Instead, they should arise from a very conscious and genuine performance, which, underpinned by participation, locus, and action, may support a much deeper understanding of truth, on the quest towards a more relevant concept of authenticity for contemporary building conservation and adaptation practices.

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Practice barriers towards intangible heritage within the UK built heritage sector

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Declaration of Conflicting Interest

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Practice barriers towards intangible heritage within the UK built heritage sector

For historic buildings to endure as testimony to society, physical residue of the past must always be altered to some degree. Consequently, the overarching characteristics of built heritage practice maintains a sincere focus on material authenticity and decay prevention to encourage safeguarding of built heritage assets. However, in order to accommodate increasingly influential critical heritage perspectives within the built heritage paradigm, a more intangible, people-focused and participatory point of departure is required for determining how a building should be altered. Utilising a transdisciplinary approach, this research focuses on understanding the perceived barriers at play which limit practitioners from integrating intangible heritage within their role. Analysis of sixteen interviews with UK-based practitioners are structured into five thematic barriers: 1) role complexity; 2) non-physical qualities; 3) unclear domain relationship; 4) uncertain definition; 5) participatory problems. To overcome these barriers, three high-level strategies are proposed: 1) advancing intangible heritage in conservation concepts and methods; 2) supporting practitioner dissemination of intangible heritage; and 3) practitioner participation in intangible practices. By assembling these strategies into an overarching model, attention is placed on conceptual and methodological shifts as impetus for empowering practitioners to both disseminate and participate in intangible heritage practices related to physical heritage sites.

Keywords: building conservation, intangible heritage, built heritage, heritage practice, heritage management

Introduction

Built heritage is on a trajectory of reassessment and redefinition, which is signified by a growing interest in accessing and acknowledging its more-than-physical qualities. This is reflected within the discourse of critical heritage theory, which is concerned with questioning heritage norms through the widening of methodological approaches and dialogue between experts and non-experts (Association of Critical Heritage Studies

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2012). Consequently, Western built heritage assessment and management procedures are receiving growing criticism for their role within a paradigm that conceptualises listed buildings as objective representations of authenticity (Djabarouti 2021; Jones and Yarrow 2013, 6; Su 2018, 920). This friction is intensified when framed within a UK context, which has its own established approaches towards heritage that pushes back against these critical notions. Accordingly, intangible heritage is characterised as '… "irrelevant", "difficult" and [therefore] incomprehensible…' (L. Smith and Waterton 2009, 297); and its position subsidiary to issues concerning the physical fabric of sites (Pendlebury 2013, 715; Fredheim and Khalaf 2016, 474; Jones 2017, 24).

By addressing this friction from the perspective of an increasingly commonplace binary attitude towards heritage (i.e. tangible and intangible), and contextualising it through engagement with those who work with listed buildings in the UK, the objective of this research is to understand what the *perceived* practical barriers, complexities and limitations are for safeguarding intangible heritage when working with built heritage. Correspondingly, a transdisciplinary position is adopted, whereby 'real-world' issues are targeted through collaboration across academic and practice knowledges (Wickson, Carew, and Russell 2006, 1050; Lawrence 2010, 127). A key issue for this research has been complexities surrounding the conceptualisation of intangible heritage within the material-focused UK built heritage industry – a research quandary that reflects a very real-world dilemma for practitioners. For example, I have suggested elsewhere that the term 'intangible heritage' (hereafter IH) may actually have its own particular definition and nuanced themes when employed within the built heritage sector itself (see Djabarouti 2020). Equally then, there are likely to be related practitioner insights that

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illuminate why IH is not used as the primary point of departure for assessing, conserving and altering listed buildings in the UK.

Whilst this research is positioned broadly at the interface between tangible and IH domains, it goes beyond a theoretical inquiry into domain relationships – a topic already covered in great detail elsewhere. Instead, it considers the problematisation of IH to be primarily a practice-based issue. Thus, in communicating with practitioners, it attempts to elucidate real-world perceptions that may influence the direction of academic thought, by offering clarity to the following questions: what are the perceived barriers that incite resistance to IH within UK built heritage practice? And what broader strategies can be employed to enhance recognition of IH within the built heritage sector?

The article begins with an historical overview of prevailing modes of built heritage practice in the UK, to establish why industry reinforces the idea of heritage as a noun, or object. Next, it outlines the departures that a critical outlook makes from these viewpoints, and in what way it works towards the notion of heritage as a verb, or process. Following this, results from sixteen interviews with practitioners reveal the following five thematic barriers that prohibit the integration of IH within UK-based built heritage practice: role complexity; non-physical qualities; unclear domain relationship; uncertain definition; and participatory problems. The study proposes three high-level strategies to overcome these barriers, which are assembled into an overarching model. As the UK is utilised as a context that is representative of a Western European approach towards heritage, it is anticipated that the barriers uncovered may also claim a broader scope of contextual relevance.

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From physical objects to physical sites

The foundations of building conservation are built upon seventeenth and eighteenth-century antiquarian studies that concentrated on the conservation of art objects and concepts relating to 'aesthetics', 'history' and 'truth' (Delafons 1997, 9; Jokilehto 2005, 8). The eventual formalisation of antiquarianism as a branch of scholarship in England can be attributed to emerging sensibilities of patriotism (Glendinning 2013, 42), with the destruction of the built environment during the Industrial Revolution prompting a widening of the antiquarian scope to include historic buildings (H. Silverman 2015, 71). Further destruction across the two twentieth-century world wars served to heighten the sense of fragility and desire for permanence in relation to the historic built environment (L. Smith 2011, 11), whilst also instigating a surge in international conservation charters and guidance (Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman 2009, 4).

Specific practical modes of building conservation that are utilised today (i.e. restoration, preservation, reconstruction) are products of the 'antiquarian approach' (Mydland and Grahn 2012, 575), and carry with them residual ideas that were originally developed to address movable objects – particularly ideas relating to objectivity, aesthetics and expert authority (Winter 2013, 537). From these early activities between people and objects, notions of inherent value and expert knowledge emerge (L. Smith 2006, 29), with individuals such as Cesare Brandi helping to refine a conservation approach that focused on celebrating the inherent 'artistic' and 'aesthetic' values of historic buildings (Muñoz Viñas 2005, 6, 68). The strength of these ideas saw them become commonplace in art and conservation education during the late-twentieth century. For example, H. W. Janson's (1986, 9) [1962] seminal reference text *History of Art*, states art '…is meant to be looked at and appreciated for its intrinsic value'.

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Similarly, the Preface to Harold Plenderleith's (1969, vii) equally influential text, *The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art*, places the object of conservation at the centre of the framework, with various peripheral concerns, actions and objectives working together to achieve a stable, refined object, ready for admission into a 'collection' of heritage items. Plenderleith's work is noted by Jokilehto (2018, 285) as crucial in the development cultural heritage conservation. Glendinning (2013, 399) also notes it as a major source of inspiration for Sir Bernard Feilden, who went on to write their own *magnum opus*, the *Conservation of Historic Buildings* (see Feilden 2003) [1982] – a standard reference text for both the education and practice of building conservation.

Material authenticity and decay prevention

From these origins, it is unsurprising that immaterial cultural practices are understudied within building conservation in the UK. IH not only defies Western training traditions (Wain 2014, 54), but also challenges legislation that classifies heritage in ways that align with the requirements of material sites (Pendlebury 2013, 709; DeSilvey 2017, 81). Practical guidance is therefore underpinned by the idea of material authenticity as the departure point for considered change. In the UK, this is evidenced within the structuring of the ICOMOS *Guidelines for Education and Training in the Conservation of Monuments, Ensembles and Sites* (ICOMOS 1993), which underpins key conservation training routes (see IHBC 2008, 2; RIBA 2020, 7; AABC 2019, 1). This document is a self-defined product of the *International charter for the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites* (the Venice Charter) (ICOMOS, 1964) (see ICOMOS 1993, 1), meaning building conservation expertise has a direct lineage to a specific version of authenticity that the Venice Charter promotes (H. Silverman and

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Fairchild Ruggles 2007, 4; H. Silverman 2015, 73; Pendlebury 2015, 431) (see Figure 1).

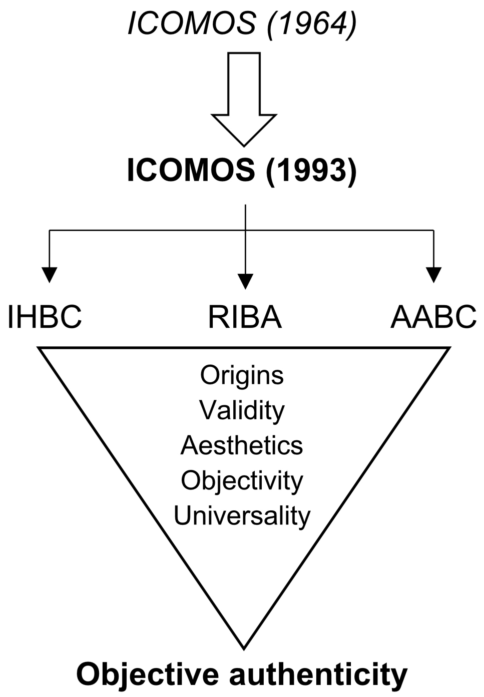

Figure 1 – Structuring of objective authenticity within architectural conservation guidelines in the UK. Author original image.

Accordingly, building conservation is a term that principally relates to the practice of decay prevention (Feilden 2003, 3; DeSilvey 2017, 3). Certainly, within the context of a Western building conservation ethos, limiting decay is of paramount importance (L. Smith 2006, 286), hence why the majority of legislation and guidance are structured to address it. A spectrum of technical methods have ultimately been developed to address decay in order to extend the lifespan of listed buildings (Feilden 2003, 22). Fundamental to the justification of these practices is the Western understanding of cultural memory being inherent within the original, unchanged state of the building (DeSilvey 2017, 19;

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Jokilehto 2018, 420; Boccardi 2019, 7).

Intangible heritage and the conservation paradigm

Within comparatively recent ideas of heritage, issues of representation and universality that stem from an overreliance on physicality have been problematised (Harrison and Rose 2010, 239). This has made space for shifting understandings which dispute *inherent* qualities of built heritage assets – prefering instead to re-theorise heritage as a practice that is produced by contemporary society (Glendinning 2013, 424; Jones and Yarrow 2013, 6; Su 2018, 919). This re-evaluation supports people-focussed initiatives (Glendinning 2013, 431; Jokilehto 2018, 2); a growing concern for public engagement and participation (Avrami 2009, 178); and works in direct correlation with the reconceptualisation of heritage as an intangible construct (L. Smith 2006, 3; L. Smith and Akagawa 2009, 6; L. Smith and Waterton 2009, 291; Glendinning 2013, 418). From the unique perspective of this cultural shift (see Littler 2014), heritage is created and sustained through action and practice, rather than *acquired* from a pre-determined collection of inherently significant things (L. Smith and Akagawa 2009, 7). The literature concerned with this reconceptualisation asserts that material heritage sites have no inherent value or meaning without input and engagement from people and society (Blake 2009, 45; Lenzerini 2011, 111; Kamel-Ahmed 2015, 69). Thus, in order to align with these ideas, contemporary theoretical approaches towards built heritage conservation must be conceptually capable of offering a more articulated framework for managing IH within the context of physical change.

In the UK, shifting sentiments such as these have made implicit impact since the early 2000s, with (then) English Heritage's *Power of Place* publication (Historic England, 2000) being instrumental in supporting the need for a more local and

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multivocal conception of heritage (see Clark 2019, 258). As the title suggests, at its core was the concept of ‘place’, borrowed from the periodically updated *Burra Charter* (ICOMOS 2013) [1979]. As such, it brought into the UK built heritage sector a focus on ‘values’ that were originally developed to better support non-Western perspectives on heritage (Walter 2020, 57) – such as cultural memory, oral history and stories (see Historic England 2000, 25-26, 42).

Whilst the document improved the representation of heritage that is less fabric-oriented and technically driven, what it did not do is address the more complex paradigmatic strain that these novel ideas placed on existing conservation theories and concepts. The friction created by this dilemma is perhaps best articulated at an international scale through the 2008/09 argument between former ICOMOS presidents Michael Petzet and Gustavo Araoz; with Petzet backing the core (original?) ideology of international monument conservation, and Araoz conversely supporting the need for a revised conservation paradigm that transcends the focus on preserving physical fabric (Orbaşli 2017, 162; Walter 2020, 25). This argument was some five years after the release of UNESCO’s *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (hereafter the 2003 Convention), which articulates an understanding of heritage as ‘…constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment…’ (UNESCO 2003, 2); and utilises the umbrella term ‘intangible cultural heritage’ for heritage that is immaterial and dynamic (UNESCO 2003; L. Smith and Waterton 2009, 293; Lenzerini 2011, 118; Jokilehto 2018, 2;). Whilst the physical fabric of historic sites is not explicitly mentioned within the convention, the definition of IH does include ‘…instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces…’ (see UNESCO 2003, 2), which could conceivably include buildings of heritage value. This

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reflects the fact that IH is often connected to and impacted by the physical things of life (Harrison 2015, 309; Hill 2018); hence why so many have attempted to elucidate the intersection between tangible and intangible heritage domains (for example, see Bouchenaki 2003, 4; Byrne 2009, 230; Kamel-Ahmed 2015, 67; Pocock, Collett, and Baulch 2015, 952; Taylor 2015, 73).

Despite acknowledging the importance of physical things within the 2003 Convention, a conceptual disconnect remains prevalent between listed buildings and IH. This is proliferated through the regulations that define heritage (Wells 2017, 26) and the heritage discourse(s) that adopt the predisposed binary (i.e. ‘tangible value’ and ‘intangible value’) (see L. Smith and Campbell 2017) – both of which stem from the overarching conflict between essentialist and social constructionist mindsets that Petzet and Araoz characterise respectively. Set within a Western conservation ethos, this friction has sustained a highly documented domain bias in practice that positions IH as a subset of tangible heritage (Pendlebury 2013, 715; Fredheim and Khalaf 2016, 474; Jones 2017, 24). It is interesting to note how this hierarchy exists within a values-based heritage model that explicitly calls for the consideration of intangible qualities (Avrami et al. 2019, 1). Yet in many ways, the values-based methodology actually *sustains* the conceptual disconnect, by calling for the well-ordered segregation of so-called tangible and intangible ‘values’ (reflected within Historic England’s (2008) guidance). What then, might be the perceived practice barriers in place that sustains this hierarchy and maintains this conceptual disconnect? Whilst the theoretical and political barriers might be well considered within the literature, the real-world practice barriers are less researched and evidenced – especially from the specific perspective of UK-based built heritage practitioners.

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Practitioner perspectives

To address these matters from a UK practice-based perspective, sixteen interviews were undertaken in 2019 with built heritage practitioners primarily from the North of England. Recruitment sought practitioners who had at least five years' experience working with built heritage assets. An interview method was chosen because it provides an opportunity to gather narratives from specific 'social worlds' (Miller and Glassner 2004, 137). From the perspective of this study, the 'social world' is the built heritage sector and the narratives are a construct of the practitioner's experiences and perceptions of IH from within their professional remit (both general and project focused). The questions asked during the interviews are outlined in Table 1. Whilst these were used as a guide, the semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed interviewees to drive discussions in directions that reflected their experiences (e.g. the use of specific projects to validate particular viewpoints).

Table 1 – Semi-structured interview questions.

No.	Question
1	Do you think practitioner considerations of intangible heritage are reflected in policy and guidance?
1a	If yes, how and why are they reflected?
1b	If no, how and why are they not reflected?
2	What do you think would be the ideal approach towards recognising intangible heritage related to historic and listed buildings within policy and guidance?
3	Does current professional guidance made available to you make it clear how you should identify, interpret and safeguard intangible heritage in relation to historic and listed buildings?
4	Could you give me any examples of intangible heritage related to historic and listed buildings, and do you think it is possible to rank these examples?
4a	If it is possible to rank these examples, what might be the method to do this?
4b	If it is not possible to rank these examples, why not?
5	How involved are local people/ communities/ community groups in your built heritage projects?
5a	How involved do you think communities should be?
5b	What do you think community involvement should include?
5c	What stage of the project do you think this involvement would be preferable?
6	How do you think local communities could be better engaged during the conservation and/ or adaptation of historic and listed buildings?

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Interviewing ended when repetitive data emerged (i.e. 'theoretical saturation') (see Glaser and Strauss 2000, 61; Bryman 2012, 420). Although Guest et al (2005, 74) state twelve interviews is normally sufficient to reach saturation, there were a number of factors that indicated the research may demand more, such as: the complexity of IH for the sample (G.W. Ryan and Bernard 2004, 12); the semi-structured nature of the interviews (Guest, Bunce, and Johnson 2005, 75); and the heterogeneity of the sample (i.e. profession, expertise) (Guest, Bunce, and Johnson 2005, 76). Indeed, many interviewees held completely different educational and professional credentials, reflecting the multifarious interdisciplinary nature of built heritage practice (Jones 2009, 11; Djabarouti and O'Flaherty 2020, 423). It was anticipated that this would also be reflected in their perceptions and engagement with heritage, as well as their views on IH. An overview of interviewee roles is given with Table 2.

Table 2 – Overview of sample role within the built heritage sector.

Role	Number
Conservation architect (AABC, IHBC, RIBA, or multiple)	6
Architect (works on heritage schemes, not accredited)	2
Historic building surveyor	2
Planner (with heritage specialism)	1
Heritage consultant	3
Archaeologist (with heritage specialism)	1
Governmental heritage role	1

Interviews were transcribed and coded, with content analysis employed using qualitative data analysis software. A final tactile round of 'cutting and sorting' analysis was also employed for deeper narrative ordering of themes (Gery W. Ryan and Bernard 2003, 94). The thematic barriers uncovered serve to structure the results section. These are: role complexity ("its hard enough"); non-physical qualities ("we have to see things to believe them"); unclear domain relationship ("quite practical implications");

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uncertain definition (“hard to put into words”); and participatory problems (“token gesture”) (see Table 3).

Table 3 – Five coded barrier themes developed from the data analysis.

Order	**Coded theme**	**Sample descriptor quote**
1	Role complexity	*‘It’s hard enough’*
2	Non-physical qualities	*‘We have to see things to believe them’*
3	Unclear domain relationship	*‘Quite practical implications’*
4	Uncertain definition	*‘Hard to put into words’*
5	Participatory problems	*‘Token gesture’*

Role complexity: ‘it’s hard enough’

Interviewees did feel it was important to increase awareness of IH in relation to historic and listed buildings. For example, interviewee 487627 stated that built heritage professionals ‘…don’t definitively talk about IH, but it does crop up a lot in a more implied way than explicit way’. Two implications of increasing awareness of IH were highlighted. Firstly, it was felt an inevitable expansion of their own role would occur, which would likely require:

(1) More in-depth research of buildings (historic, archival)
(2) More consideration of the ongoing narrative of a building
(3) More primary research (e.g. interviewing people)
(4) More input into historic environment records

Along with this, an increase in role complexity was noted as a concern. As one interviewee stated:

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> ...it's hard enough doing detective work on a listed building using the fact-based data . . . as soon as you throw into the mix notions of intangibility, and its use, and significant people who may have been or lived there, or, hidden histories, if that's how you're interpreting it – then it makes that detective work way harder, on top of something that's already hard enough.
> (Interviewee 870507)

Commercial constraints within the built heritage sector were also highlighted as problematic. Interviewees believed the increased complexity associated with safeguarding IH would be a time consuming and expensive exercise, and therefore not valued by clients:

> If the point of this is trying to acknowledge hidden histories and intangibility, then there is an element of uncertainty; and the one thing you don't want on any construction project is uncertainty, as you know, because its affects programme and cost.
> (Interviewee 870507)

To overcome this, practitioners felt they would firstly need to teach relevant stakeholders (namely clients and contractors) about IH. As Interviewee 901781 declared, '…we have a duty of care to educate our clients on certain things and to make sure they are aware'. Yet in relation to their own academic education, they conflictingly felt that whilst IH is taught on some relevant academic courses, it is not taught often and sometimes not at all:

> I think it is absolutely essential, but it is something at the moment that isn't taught, it is something that isn't really addressed in conservation courses.
> (Interviewee 214600)

Overall, interviewees felt if IH was better embedded within the education of built heritage professionals, it would provide them with the skillset to educate stakeholders

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on a heritage project about it, leading to an increased awareness of IH across project teams.

Non-physical qualities: 'we have to see things to believe them'

IH was described as an inherently difficult domain to address within the built heritage sector, primarily due to it being: non-physical; non-scientific; unquantifiable; subjective; and concerned with feelings. Interviewee 477549 described it as '…the thing that you can't touch or physically see'. Its inherent lack of physicality appeared to cause the biggest complexity, with one interviewee stating, '…we have to see things to believe them' (Interviewee 214600). It was therefore considered logical to attribute significance to the physical fabric, because '…it is easier to protect, and it is easier to comprehend of course' (Interviewee 421225).

Interviewees suggested IH would be valued more if made objective, particularly within the built heritage sector, as it would '…quantify it in such a way that a builder can actually do repairs…' (Interviewee 214600), as well as allowing it to '…feed into something professional which makes it recognised' (Interviewee 334986). Methods suggested to achieve this included:

(1) Ranking the importance of people, things and events
(2) Establishing criteria to score intangible qualities
(3) Perceiving IH as a social value dataset

A fourth method suggested was increasing the type of interpretation methods on projects in order to make IH more visible. However, it was felt that interpretation methods would need to be modernised to achieve this:

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> You're relying on people leaving interpretation boards and I think it needs to be a bit more accessible and bit more interesting. Not everybody wants to go to a museum and read a load of interpretation boards, they want to learn in different ways, and use social media, and have different outlets – there are so many ways to learn now.
> (Interviewee 421225)

Whilst the majority of interviewees felt a more objective approach towards IH would be desirable, this was mostly noted as unachievable in practice – particularly when considering that '…things change over time, our interests in things change over time, the rarity of things changes over time' (Interviewee 552297). As Interviewee 552297 paradoxically concluded, 'I think in its basic measure, it cannot be measured'.

Along with its lack of physicality and quantifiability, the variance in professional perception of IH was also noted as problematic, as it '…depends on how you come to heritage and the role that you do' (Interviewee 487627). For example, Interviewee 613193 said '…archaeologists have a much better link to IH and those sorts of things' (Interviewee 613193); and Interviewee 373838 stated, '…when you're appointed as an architect to survey a building and tell the owner what needs fixing, it [IH] is less at the forefront of your mind'. Hence, concerns ultimately gravitated towards how interdisciplinary teams can agree upon what IH necessitates safeguarding.

Unclear domain relationship: 'quite practical implications'

Asking built heritage professionals to discuss IH naturally led to considerations of the relationship between the two heritage domains. All interviewees stated that both are of equal importance, but their relationship was disputed. Some stated IH is not dependent on tangible heritage, remarking that '…IH does not have to be a building as well' (Interviewee 509240). Conversely, others stated IH cannot exist without a tangible

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heritage counterpart, as '…the non-physical very often needs the physical to latch on to it' (Interviewee 214600). Overall, interviewees suggested some form of crossover between intangible and tangible heritage. Some stated IH simply provides meaning to tangible heritage, whilst others stated building materials themselves have innate intangible significance and '…there is cultural evidence in the fabric, it is not just physical evidence' (Interviewee 613193).

Due to this perceived crossover between the two heritage domains, interviewees did feel IH could be impacted by changes to a building; and despite it being less reliant on physical fabric, it was felt it could have a positive impact on built heritage, through both an increase in protection measures and the broadening of what typically qualifies as architectural heritage:

> It could have quite practical implications because it might mean that there would be. . . more of an impetus than there is at the moment to retain something which isn't of massive obvious aesthetic value, or conventional architectural historic value.
> (Interviewee 334986)

The unsettling of traditional tenets that this represents was further represented in relation to materials themselves, with one interviewee questioning the idea of truth being inherent within materials:

> …the truth of materials is a hang-up people still have today. But really it's just in my view, an idea, and shouldn't be an absolute rule. And why can't you pretend that one material is another?
> (Interview 373838)

Hence, by focussing on IH, interviewees were inclined to deliberate over unconventional trajectories for the conservation of buildings and their materials,

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evidencing a body of knowledge that is not normally exercised or associated with their expertise.

Uncertain definition: 'hard to put into words'

It was unanimously agreed that policy does not clarify how to identify IH associated with buildings. Instead, it was believed that '…the majority of policies and procedures are geared up for the bricks and mortar – the historic fabric' (Interviewee 647876). The following reasons were often given for this:

(1) It lacks a legal definition
(2) It is difficult to legislate something you cannot see
(3) It is hard to include something subjective in policy

As one interviewee stated, 'I don't think there is any sort of real consistent process for safeguarding the IH values of sites at the moment' (Interviewee 334986). Resulting from this lack of representation in policy, IH was generally an implicitly understood concept noted as being '…quite hard to put into words' (Interviewee 477549); and also that some professionals '…might not use the word [label] *intangible heritage*…' (Interviewee 421225).

Despite this ambiguity, it was highlighted by some that guidance does make implicit reference to IH. 'Communal value' within Historic England's (2008) *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance* was consistently mentioned. The *National Planning Policy Framework* was also noted as having '…more focus on the communal aspects…' (Interviewee 487627) in comparison to its predecessors. The National Lottery Heritage Fund's (2019) *Strategic Funding Framework* was also specifically highlighted as being '…very much focused on the community values and

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what that means, rather than a total and utter focus on bricks and mortar' (Interviewee 487627). Overall, IH was noted by interviewees as primarily a community-centred domain, with one interviewee remarking '…things like community engagement and communicating to people what you're doing and why you're doing it. . . [are] those more intangible parts' (Interviewee 373838).

Participatory problems: 'token gesture'

As IH was related back to communal themes by interviewees, community input was often highlighted as a way to understand the IH of a building or a place:

> If you don't get people on board and you don't get those intangible links, you lose that. And that's the bit that gets lost. The bricks and mortar – they stay. . . The intangible links you lose those if you are not careful, because you have got to speak to people.
> (Interviewee 647876)

It was suggested that people can help make IH, as '…without its people it [a building] is just a tangible asset…' (Interviewee 550931). Engaging communities was also noted as able to make a project more commercially successful, with Ditherington Flax Mill (Grade I Listed) used as an example where its *Friends of* Group '…played an important role in looking at the building, what people wanted to see from it. . . [so] the benefits from that group were immense' (Interviewee 261067). Interviewees stated communities themselves would also benefit from a raised awareness of IH, as it would encourage more 'communal' considerations in consultations; more support for *Friends of* Groups of buildings; and more education for communities about different types of heritage and values.

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It was noted that particular built heritage projects are more likely to receive community involvement. Examples given were: public buildings; contentious projects; and larger scale projects. However, community engagement was generally noted as an afterthought – being labelled as a 'tick-box exercise' (Interviewee 706747); 'token gesture' (Interviewee 421225); and 'add-on' (Interviewee 901781). It was noted that policy does not demand community engagement and generally displays a lack of interest in communities:

> I am quite passionate about people having the opportunities and the process being open and democratic, and right now I don't think our planning system is that, on a whole host of things.
> (Interviewee 706747)

Alongside this, interviewees also felt it was difficult to involve communities. A number of issues were highlighted as the cause of this:

(1) Some demographic groups are harder to recruit than others
(2) Some communities simply do not wish to be involved
(3) Some clients do not want community engagement
(4) Communities can be ostracised by technocratic jargon
(5) Non-local professionals can struggle to engage communities

As a result, there was a general perception of a disconnect between communities and professionals; as well as between communities and policy. To overcome these disconnects, interviewees suggested community engagement should be more explicitly embedded within legislation; communities should be engaged *before* the conservation and design stage; and the conservation process itself should be more accessible for communities. Overall, it was stressed that communities need better opportunities to be

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involved in the heritage process, with the following suggestions made to achieve this:

(1) Increasing public access to buildings (e.g. open days, tours)
(2) Encouraging personal connections (e.g. memories, photographs, objects)
(3) Performance and process (e.g. craft skills and 'living heritage' re-enactments)
(4) Offering a transparent construction process (e.g. access to construction sites, tours, traditional skills demonstrations)

Towards an intangible outlook

It is evident from both the literature and empirical research that immaterial manifestations of culture must bend to established sector-specific understandings and processes which are centred around physical materials and sites (Wilks and Kelly 2008, 130; L. Smith and Campbell 2017, 39). Accordingly, a lack of *physicality* is at the root of the issue, which creates sensitivities relating to misalignments with commercial constraints. It also predetermines the perception of IH as an *ancillary* consideration and therefore responsible for additional role workload and complexity. Yet whether it was perceived as too hard; too obscure; or a subsidiary consideration in formalised mechanisms, there was equally a resounding sentiment of interest and desire to see more IH safeguarding in practice – an observation which implies that professionals *do* recognise their practice is based on a refined (narrow?) scope of what heritage is and how it is understood. It also highlights the need for research and guidance that can help practitioners overcome the perceived barriers and improve recognition of IH within the built heritage sector. This paper proposes three overarching strategies to help achieve this: 1) advancing IH in conservation concepts and methods; 2) supporting practitioner dissemination of IH; and 3) practitioner participation in IH practices.

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Advancing IH in conservation concepts and methods

IH is often associated with physical sites, which in turn become culturally charged markers for ongoing heritage consumption (Byrne 2009, 246; Harrison 2015, 309; Kamel-Ahmed 2015, 68). Equally, the spatio-temporal qualities of historic sites support the ongoing development of contemporary life patterns, rituals and social practices (Abdelmonem and Selim 2012, 163; Kamel-Ahmed 2015, 71; Plevoets and Cleempoel 2019, 28). To accommodate these perspectives within conservation processes, a revised conceptual model is required that supports practitioners towards intellectualising heritage as a dynamic process or practice in relation to physical sites (Harvey 2001, 320; L. Smith 2006, 65; Skounti 2009, 75; Winter 2013, 536; DeSilvey 2017, 50; Jones 2017, 22). This could be as a process of remembering and forgetting (Edensor 2005, 126; Rigney 2008, 345); a process of knowledge transfer (García-Almeida 2019); or perhaps more pertinent to the scope of this paper, the conservation and management of heritage as a socio-cultural process itself (Avrami 2009, 179; Pendlebury 2015, 431; Fredheim and Khalaf 2016, 469). Unquestionably, the latter places more emphasis on how built heritage professionals situate their *own* practices within this broadening of heritage, as well as emphasising the need for IH to still relate to practitioner life experiences and professional objectives.

Formalised frameworks for supporting and administering this conceptual shift will in turn create fertile ground for relevant methodological shifts in relation to how alterations to the physical fabric of listed buildings can impact IH (and vice versa). Certainly, conservation processes will require strategies that re-frame the point of departure for building alterations from the perspective of IH, rather than continuing to uncritically and unquestioningly subscribe to the usual philosophical approaches which have not changed in over a century (Buckley 2019, 62). This aligns with the views of

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Erica Avrami (2009, 177) who believes that the field of conservation '…requires [a] new emphasis on the social processes of conservation and a reorientation of the underlying principles of practice'. This can be further framed within the 'revolution of common sense' in conservation that Muñoz Viñas (2005, 212–13) outlined four years earlier, whereby the role of the built heritage practitioner must become one that prioritises ethics over evidence, and context over canon (see Muñoz Viñas 2005, 202; also Orbaşli 2017, 164).

Supporting practitioner dissemination of IH

There is a clear lack of support that built heritage practitioners receive from formal policy and legislation on the subject of IH, which acts as a barrier to a deeper and more formal engagement with such complex immaterial phenomena (Wells 2017, 26). This reduces both awareness of, and methods for, engaging with IH when working with physical sites. The result is a fated scenario that sustains perceptions of IH being time consuming, costly, and complex, despite there being no actual initiatives implemented to address these entirely manufactured barriers. A consequence of this – and a concern for practitioners – is a lack of engagement from commercial stakeholders that this creates. Consequently, practitioners acknowledge a duty to both engage with and teach stakeholders about IH. However, there is undoubtedly a problematic lacuna within conservation training concerning the nuances that are specific to this understanding of heritage (Wain 2014, 54; Orbaşli 2017), which ultimately short-circuits the good intentions of this knowledge transfer process. Coupled with this is a lack of educational training on IH. For example, of all the professionals interviewed, only one noted they had undertaken a full post-graduate educational 'module' on IH – a symptom of a broader fact that there is no requirement for post-graduate credentials within

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accreditation guidance and certainly no requirement to demonstrate an understanding of how to engage with the more-than-physical qualities of physical sites.

Without support from education and policy in the UK, IH will continue to be perceived as obscure, complex and consequently outside of the remit of built heritage practice; its connection to physical sites will remain highly complex and contested (Kearney 2009, 220); and it will remain a significantly under-researched topic in general (Hassard 2009, 163). The issue at hand then, is not so much that of an overbearing expert authority (L. Smith 2006, 29; Winter 2013, 537), but rather a need to provide formalised resources and support for practitioners to understand, champion and disseminate the relevance of IH in relation to the conservation and adaptation of built heritage.

Practitioner participation in IH practices

To alter a building is to wholeheartedly change the trajectory of its ongoing narrative, its contemporary function, and any future interpretation. Critical understandings of heritage question the exclusive performance of this task by professional expert groups (L. Smith 2006, 29; Winter 2013, 541). Instead, it is suggested the professional point of departure should be derived from sustained community input (Avrami 2009, 178; Blake 2009, 45; Lenzerini 2011, 111) – especially with those who are underrepresented (Pocock, Collett, and Baulch 2015, 965). This reflects a realigned focus that places the anchoring and scaffolding of community identity *before* concerns of an architectural and/ or materialistic nature. However, the inability to *formally* involve and engage the public adequately within built heritage practices has led to a reliance on informal participatory practices and fringe activities.

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These informal solutions are centred around methods which support a more processual conception of built heritage (e.g. events, social interactions and knowledge-sharing practices (R. Smith 2009, 21; Longley and Duxbury 2016, 1; DeSilvey 2017, 170; Jones 2017, 25). Therefore, in order to assist in sustaining IH practices, built heritage professionals *themselves* must also commit to their own intangible practices directly in relation to the heritage site – whether that be through tours, talks, lectures, events, workshops, or similar approaches. Whilst these methods can operate as a means to tell stories related to sites (Pocock, Collett, and Baulch 2015; Djabarouti 2020; Walter 2020), they more importantly function as hands-on methods that encourage the enrichment and enhancement of these stories through participatory practices (Jones 2017, 22; Orbaşli 2017, 165; Walter 2020, 138). Integrating IH within the built heritage paradigm may therefore lie not so much in the common desire to elucidate the relationship *between* tangible and IH, but rather in the capacity for practitioners to reinterpret their role as one which actively changes and recreates heritage (Littler 2014, 103).

Closing remarks

This study has extracted real-world perceptions related to the integration of intangible heritage within the remit of the built heritage practitioner. By focusing on *perceived* barriers, three broader strategies are proposed, which if utilised together, may encourage more prominence of IH within the built heritage sector. It is likely these approaches will offer most impact if structured in a way that gives precedence to conceptual and methodological shifts, which will empower practitioner dissemination of IH to project stakeholders. Equally, it will also encourage the use of participatory methods within their professional remit, by encouraging practitioners to orchestrate their own intangible

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practices in relation to built heritage sites (see Figure 2). Whilst critical perspectives about built heritage practice are becoming increasingly commonplace within heritage and conservation courses, their impact within practice is still largely imperceptible, despite the good intentions evidenced by this study. This paper has attempted to illuminate why this may be, which not only highlights the perceived practice barriers in place, but also highlights broader issues related to education and training, and their complex interrelationship with professional practice (an interface that warrants targeted investigation from the perspective of IH). Certainly, from the specific scope of this study, if people *do* heritage, then people *are* heritage. The implications of this reconceptualisation are just as pertinent to the evolving role of the built heritage practitioner, as they are to the users and performers of heritage.

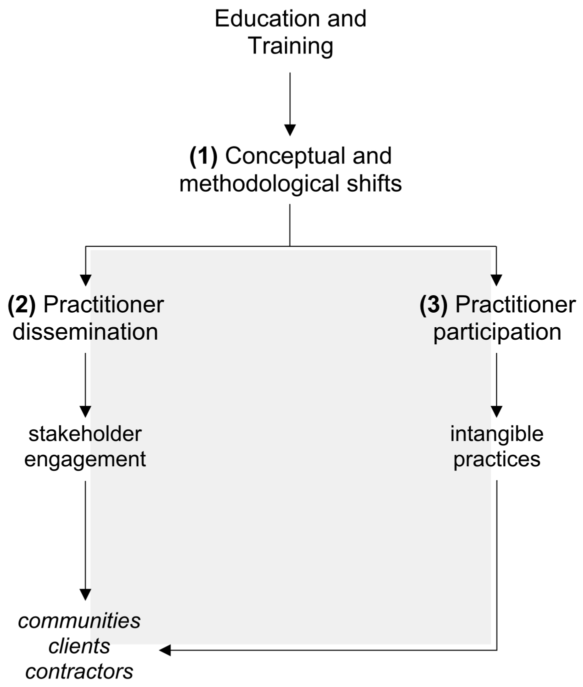
Education and Training
(1) Conceptual and methodological shifts
(2) Practitioner dissemination
(3) Practitioner participation
stakeholder engagement
intangible practices
communities
clients
contractors

Figure 2 – Structuring of approaches for overcoming barriers towards intangible heritage within the UK built heritage sector. Author original image.

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Imitation and intangibility: postmodern perspectives on restoration and authenticity at the Hill House Box, Scotland

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Imitation and intangibility: postmodern perspectives on restoration and authenticity at the Hill House Box, Scotland

Restoration is often problematised within built heritage practice as an inauthentic activity of imitation. This is symptomatic of a Western focus on physical heritage sites, which is underpinned by an amalgam of scientific materialism and visual aesthetics. Situated within a postmodern conceptualisation of heritage as increasingly dynamic, social and intangible, this study suggests the relationship between restoration and authenticity is increasingly out of step with contemporary perspectives and would benefit from a critical gaze. Drawing on Baudrillard's theory of 'hyperreality', this study makes space for two key concepts within the built heritage paradigm: authenticity as emergent and fluid; and the legitimisation of imitation as a valid activity. Together, these are explored in relation to the restoration of the Hill House, Scotland, and its encapsulation within the 'Hill House Box'. From a postmodern, Baudrillardian outlook, the site becomes a dynamic performance between the restored building (a tangible 'simulation' of an idealised essence) and the users of the Hill House Box (an intangible, ritualised experience). Consequently, this demonstrates how the amalgamation of imitation and intangibility can overcome binary views of original/ copy; authentic/ inauthentic, resulting in the creation of emergent authenticity and aura that the Box both creates and is engulfed within.

Keywords: restoration, authenticity, intangible heritage, hyperreality, postmodern, building conservation, architectural conservation, architecture

Introduction

This article seeks to contribute towards understanding and destabilising the dominant 'materialist approach' towards historic building authenticity, which sits on one side of the materialist-constructivist dichotomy of authenticity proposed by Jones (2009). More specifically, it is the problematisation of building restoration as an inauthentic and fake activity within this framework that is of interest (see F. Scott 2008, 62; Jones and Yarrow 2013, 17; Walter 2014, 643; Stone 2019, 102). This perspective is very much

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symptomatic of a Western focus on physical sites as representative of heritage, and will be considered from the standpoint of two related disciplines – building conservation and architecture. This article will highlight how the union of these disciplines – what may be termed 'architectural conservation' – has stimulated and sustained the notion of 'objective authenticity' through a fusion of scientific materialism and visual aesthetics. This is a powerful amalgam that supports two prevailing outlooks: the conception of authenticity as original, measurable, and tangible (Jones 2009, 136; Rickly and Vidon 2018, 3; Gao and Jones 2020, 2); and the notion of restoration/ imitation as pastiche or parody (Goulding 1998, 838; F. Scott 2008, 62).

Drawing on Jean Baudrillard's (1994) [1981] theory of 'hyperreality' and more specifically its usage within both built heritage research (Lewi 2008; Steiner 2010; Labadi 2010; Lovell 2018; Cocola-Gant 2019) and architecture (Proto 2006; 2020), this study attempts to make space for a postmodern heritage outlook within the built heritage paradigm that can accommodate the following two developments that are more sympathetic towards an 'intangible' outlook: the conception of authenticity as an emergent and fluid societal act; and the legitimisation of imitation/ restoration as a valid activity. Together, these are explored in relation to the restoration of the Hill House, Scotland, an early twentieth century proto-modernist building designed in 1902 by notable architect Charles Rennie Mackintosh. To facilitate the restoration of the building to its original design concept, it has recently been encased within the 'Hill House Box' (hereafter 'the Box'). This temporary accessible architectural structure is serving the very practical function of sheltering and drying out the building whilst conservation works are undertaken on its decaying fabric. Equally, it fulfils a touristic

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and economic function by facilitating on-going visitor access, as well as offering a novelty of installation aesthetics to its immediate context.

From a postmodern, Baudrillardian outlook, the restored building is conceived as a tangible simulation (or ‘simulacrum’) of an idealised design essence (Cocola-Gant 2019); and the Box enclosure as a further abstracted simulacrum that facilitates a desirable intangible experience of the house – one that is both embodied and hyperreal (Wells 2007, 5; Rickly and Vidon 2018, 5). A dynamic performance between people and the restored building ensues, resulting in emergent and ‘de-framed’ authenticity and aura at the site (Cohen 2007, 78; Rickly-Boyd 2012, 271).

The article begins with an outline of the authorised characteristics of *authenticity* pertaining to the disciplines of building conservation and architecture. The concept of *restoration* is then explored from the perspective of this framework, where it is suggested that its deep-rooted classification as ‘a lie from beginning to end’ (Ruskin 2012, 205) [1849] is merely a symptom of prevailing (yet slowly waning) understandings of value and authenticity (for example, see Jones and Yarrow 2013, 6; Walter 2014, 635). Contrasting these perspectives, an understanding of heritage in relation to restoration, imitation and copying is then explored exclusively from the perspective of intangible heritage and related documents (namely UNESCO 2003; ICOMOS 1994). The relevance of Baudrillard’s concepts of ‘hyperreality’ and ‘simulacra’ in relation to this are then offered, with restored historic buildings conceived as ‘hyperreal simulacrum’ that operate across a spectrum of imitation in relation to the closeness of original/ copy; authentic/ inauthentic (see Lewi 2008; Lovell 2018; Cocola-Gant 2019).

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Lastly, the relationship between postmodern conceptions of restoration and authenticity inform a theoretically-driven exploration of the Hill House and its temporary enclosure, where a mixture of site visits and document analysis work towards the development of an exploratory case study method with a theory-building structure (Groat and Wang 2013, 349). In doing so, the perception of authenticity and restoration is brought within the context of a dynamic postmodern outlook, where plurality, multiplicity and continuity are championed (Tiesdell, Oc, and Heath 1996, 7; Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 75); and differences between 'original' and 'copy' are distorted (Cohen 2007, 77; Steiner 2010, 245). This is an increasingly relevant viewpoint to explore when considering built heritage policy and practice are increasingly shifting towards a more postmodern outlook (see Djabarouti 2020), and architectural conservators/ designers are beginning to favour similarity over contrast (see Plevoets and Cleempoel 2019, 31).

Authentic antiques

Authenticity is a central theme within theories of conservation (Rajagopalan 2012, 308), as well as both traditional and contemporary architecture (R. Brown and Maudlin 2012, 347). The key tenets of conservation have hardly changed over the past century (Buckley 2019, 62), with prevailing understandings of authenticity remaining highly influential (García-Almeida 2019, 411). Indeed, building conservation practice has long emphasised the documentary value and material authenticity of buildings (Jones and Yarrow 2013, 6; Walter 2014, 636; Jokilehto 2018, 29), which makes it an easy poster child for the '…epistemological bias towards scientific materialism…' within the broader conservation sector (Winter 2013, 533). Intimately tied to the practice of building conservation is the practice of architecture, which in the second half of the

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twentieth century, enthusiastically embraced building conservation within its professional remit in response to a weakened societal confidence in Modernism (Diez 2012, 274). Despite the discipline of architecture emerging from ‘activities of life’, it has long been governed by aesthetic considerations (Pallasmaa 2011, 57; 2012a, 29), with a theoretical paper trail that demonstrates a focus on physical building qualities (K. Smith 2012, 107). Contemporary architectural practice consequently maintains a point of departure that primarily relies on the application of concepts to physical form – such as material stability and honesty (Hill 2006, 2,74; K. Smith 2012, 71); as well as permanence and continuity (L. Smith and Waterton 2009, 290; Jones 2017, 23).

Within this framework, the relationship between restoration and authenticity in conservation is traditionally related back to the notion of *patina*, or how much one could (or should) have visual access to alteration and ageing (D. A. Scott 2016, 11; Gao and Jones 2020, 9). Similarly, from an architectural perspective, material repair choice is often informed by the need for it to weather (Hassard 2009a, 282). It is this Ruskinian[1] obsession with patina and its emphasis on material authenticity which has resulted in the very modern fetishization of heritage buildings as visual representations of the contrast between continuity and renewal (see Hosagrahar 2012, 77). An example of this is the conservation work undertaken at Rochester Cathedral, which vehemently exemplifies the Ruskinian/ SPAB[2] aesthetic (see Figure 01).

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[1] John Ruskin, critic (1819-1900).

[2] The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB). A society underpinned by the writings of John Ruskin.

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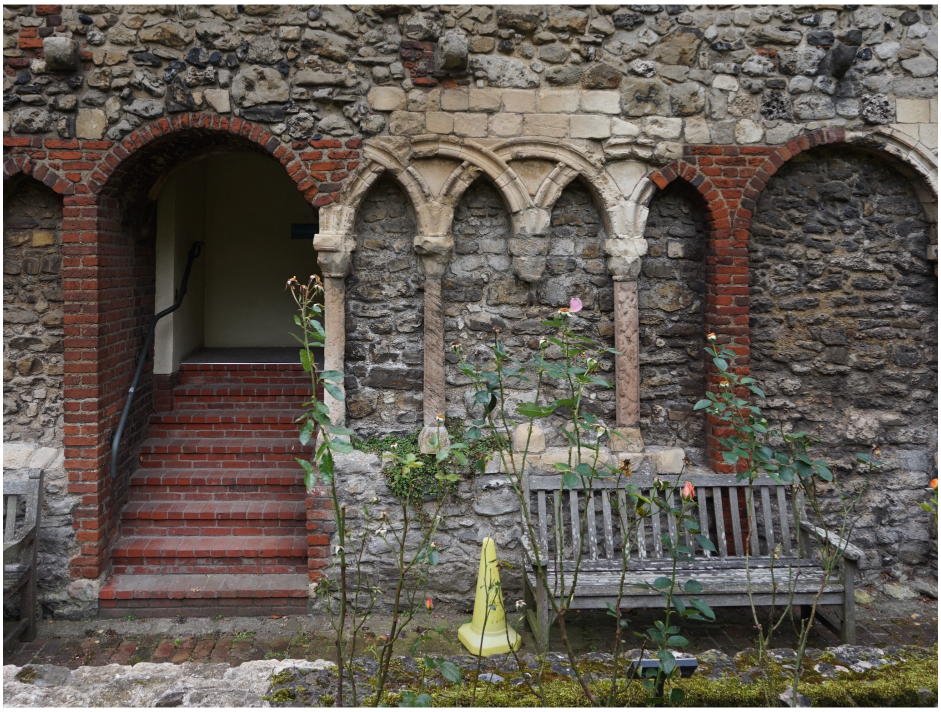

Figure 01. The SPAB approach towards authenticity at Rochester Cathedral, UK. Author original image.

At its simplest, what this aesthetic of distinctions represents is the passage of time. This is desirable within a Western context because old things are perceived as having more inherent value and scientific validity (L. Smith 2006, 285; Yarrow 2018, 1). As a result, the older a building is and the more it distinguishes between old and new, the more 'authentic' it is perceived to be (Labadi 2010, 70).

Authenticity in the postmodern heritage paradigm

Restoration, copying, imitation

Restoration is understood as returning a building to a previous state (Muñoz Viñas 2005, 17; Orbaşli 2008, 50). In contrast to the aforementioned Ruskinian principles, it does not encourage historical legibility (Stone 2019, 102), hence why it has long been

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considered an approach that damages historic building authenticity[3] (Glendinning 2013, 117). For historic buildings, most commonly the previous state that is selected is the one that is perceived to best represent the original architectural conception of the building, meaning restoration is often associated with a desire for architectural perfection (Earl 2003, 57; Feilden 2003, 9; Kamel-Ahmed 2015, 67). Glendinning (2013, 78) describes restoration as '…a hypothetical original artistic integrity, an ideal essence, which must be deduced and recovered from the present state'. However, it is not necessarily limited to the building in its totality (or its 'unity'), with smaller works of building maintenance and making good often requiring at least a partial return to a previous condition (e.g. a small stone indent)[4] (F. Scott 2008, 63) (see Figure 02).

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[3] For example, Ruskin stated restoration was '…the most total destruction which a building can suffer. . . a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed…' (Ruskin 2012) [1849].

[4] Scott (2008, 63) makes the further proposition that much of what is classified as 'conservation' is actually 'continuous restoration'.

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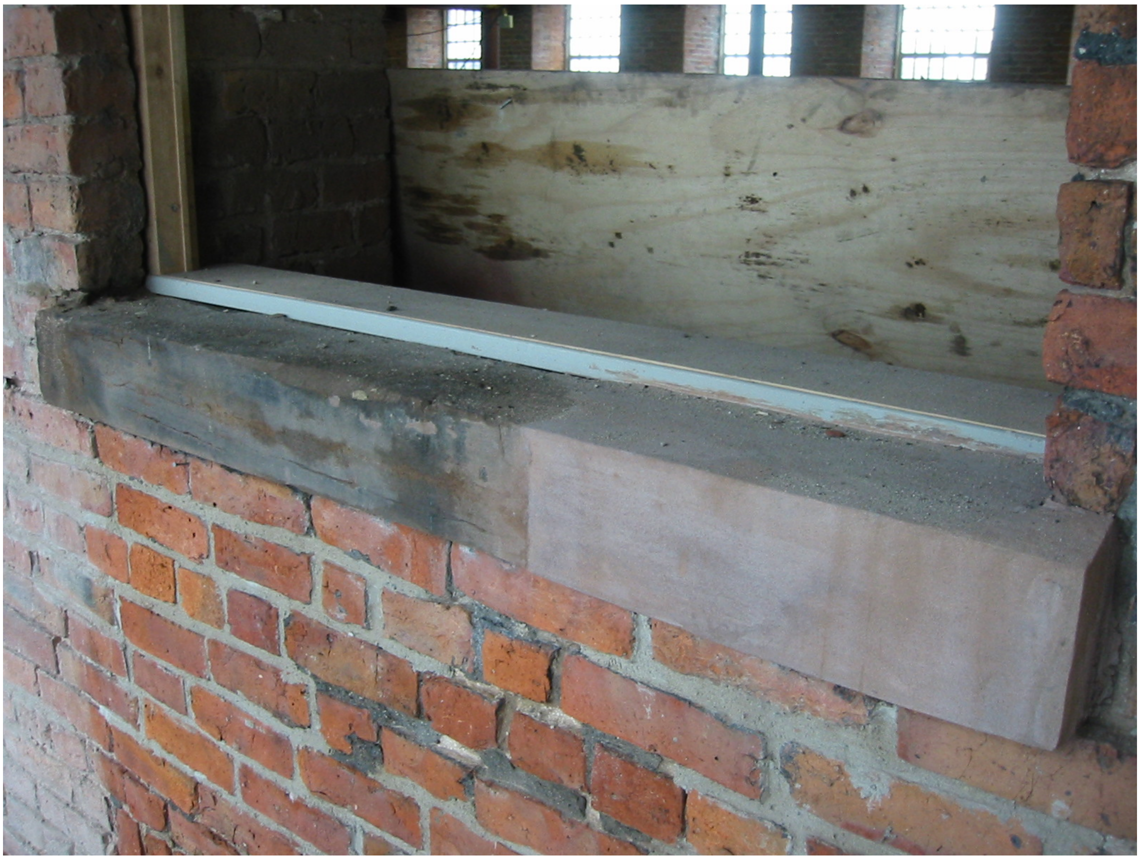

Figure 02. Isolated sandstone repair at Murrays Mills, Manchester. A restoration approach?
Image courtesy of Jonathan Davis. All rights reserved.

Restoration can be achieved in two principal ways: a ‘subtracting from’ sense and an ‘adding to’ sense (Hassard 2009b, 149–50). For the former – the ‘subtracting from’ – any changes to a building across time, whether natural or manmade, are removed or reversed (Jones and Yarrow 2013, 15). This is most notably exemplified by the nineteenth century habit of ‘scraping’[5] historic buildings to remove signs of ageing and return them to a stylistic unity (Forsyth 2008, 3; Hassard 2009a, 274). For the latter – the ‘adding to’ – which is particularly relevant in the case of decaying buildings, this

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[5] Hence the nineteenth century ‘Anti-Scrape Movement’.

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naturally must involve the practice of copying (or imitation) – ranging from the copying of minor details, through to more extreme cases of imitation like at the city of Warsaw, Poland[6], or the Frauenkirche in Dresden (see Figure 03).

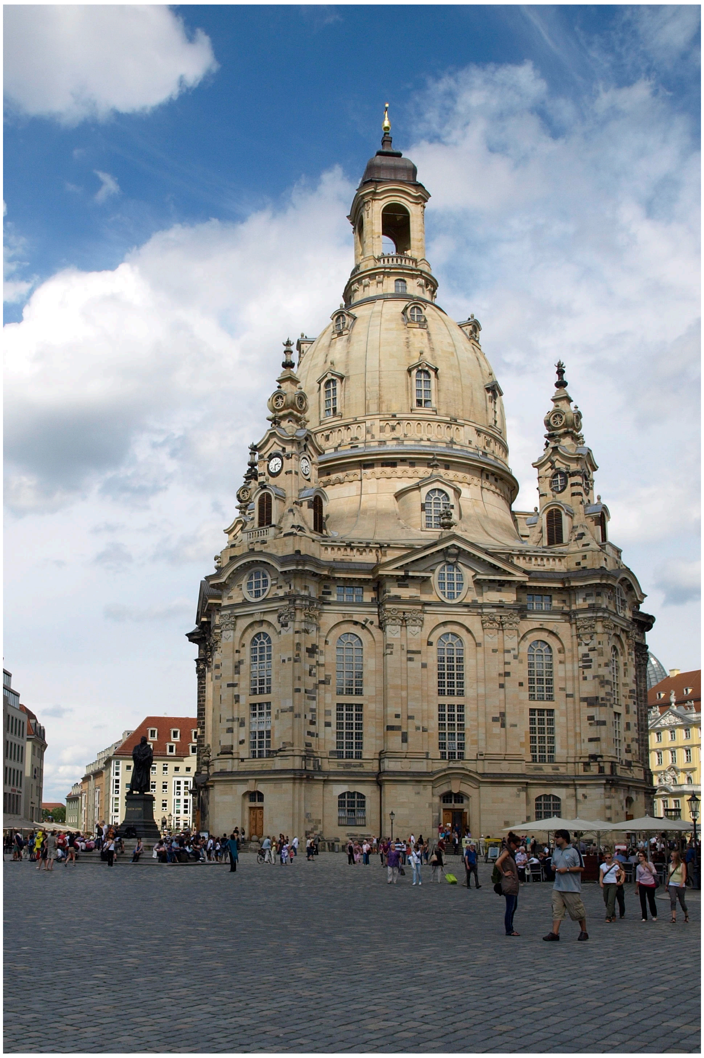

Figure 03. The large-scale reconstruction of the Frauenkirche in Dresden.
Image courtesy of Sally Stone. All rights reserved.

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[6] This example could also be classified as 'reconstruction', which is often used interchangeably with restoration (Orbaşli 2008, 50; Stanley-Price 2009, 33).

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Copying and reproducing things has long been an integral aspect of human learning and development (Benjamin 1969, 2; Lowenthal 2015, 156; Jokilehto 2018, 424). For objects in museum settings, the production of replicas through copying can have both a utilitarian and aesthetic function (Barassi 2007, 2). Yet for historic buildings, copying can further lend itself as a tactic for intervention strategies (Plevoets and Cleempoel 2019, 31), as well as a means to learn relevant craft skills through ‘imitation of procedure’ (Sennett 2008, 58). Even Ruskin acknowledged that imitation has its merits in relation to documentary evidence (see Vaccaro 1996, 310)[7].

Applying an intangible outlook

Imitation can also assist in transmitting the cultural values of ‘tradition-based creations’ to future generations (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, 54). This could be in relation to the re-enactment of skills through the physical act of copying (Hassard 2009b, 156); sustaining values and standards that reflect a particular social identity (Lenzerini 2011, 105); or supporting the reproduction of specific social practices (see Askew 2010, 36)[8]. Expounding this view, Hassard (2009b, 151) suggests the restoration of buildings should be redefined as a ‘dynamic cultural practice’, which means alterations to the building fabric are undertaken to support an experience or expression of the past in the present through contemporary practices. Similarly, Jones and Yarrow (2013, 24) describe the authenticity of historic buildings as ‘…a distributed property that emerges

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[7] Ruskin specifically acknowledged the reconstruction of St. Paul’s Basilica Outside the Walls as a respectable example (Jokilehto 2009, 130).

[8] Some well-known non-Western examples of cultural value transmission through imitation include the restoration of mosques in Timbuktu (Djingareyber, Sankoré and Sidi Yahia Mosques), and the reconstruction of temples in Japan (Ise Jingū).

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through the interaction between people and things’. What these fresh perspectives on authenticity have in common is how they challenge the notion of the historic building as the source of value – instead redefining it as a present-day cultural construct (Jones and Yarrow 2013, 6). Put simply, the value of physical heritage and its perceived authenticity is a creation of contemporary society (Glendinning 2013, 424).

This is best understood through the lens of the UNESCO ‘Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’ (hereafter the 2003 Convention), which defines heritage as being ‘…constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment. . . and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity…’ (UNESCO 2003, 2). When understanding heritage exclusively from the perspective of the 2003 Convention, heritage as a practice shifts focus from buildings to processes by acknowledging it as a product of various economic, political and societal factors (Harvey 2001, 320; Skounti 2009, 75). It is perhaps unsurprising then that Glendinning (2013, 424) describes intangible heritage as ‘radical’, as at its core it disrupts the idea that authenticity only relates to originality. This builds on the Nara Document’s (1994) earlier assertion that themes of authenticity and truth are dependent upon both the specific case and culture within which they are situated (Barassi 2007, 4; Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman 2009, 5; Lenzerini 2011, 113; García-Esparza 2019, 132). As Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman (2009, 6) explain:

> The Nara Document also permitted authenticity to be judged not simply in terms of an original, from which later states were understood to be mere copies (and thus inauthentic), but measured instead by the meaning attributed to an object or monument.

Despite critique of the Nara Document being underpinned by traditional criteria in relation to authenticity (see Jones 2010, 186), it nonetheless enforces a postmodern

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idea that '...the meaning and value of an object, even if it is "inauthentic", a copy or a replica, will depend on public perception' (Jokilehto 2009, 133). For example, Michael Petzet (quoted in Falser 2008, 129) posits a reconstruction of a monument can become authentic simply by transmitting an 'authentic message'. The trajectory of this idea is that a copy *could* be just as authentic – or perhaps even *more* authentic – than the original from which it was copied. This is especially potent within a postmodern heritage paradigm, where distinctions between original/ copy; representation/ reality; can legitimately break down (Cohen 2007, 77; Steiner 2010, 245); and copies are free to accumulate their own value across time (Barassi 2007, 3).

It is an attractive task to consider this more dynamic conception of heritage, restoration and authenticity in relation to the traditional restoration ideology of the instrumental nineteenth century architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (hereafter Viollet-le-Duc), who was a key individual in relation to the methodological development of historic building restoration and reconstruction (Cocola-Gant 2019). Viollet-le-Duc described the key principles of building restoration as: retention of valued features; increasing the lifespan of the building; strengthening the building by use of contemporary materials or processes; and keeping the building in active use (Viollet-le-Duc 1996a, 316–17). Whilst at the other end of the binary nineteenth century debate, the act of preservation disconnected buildings from contemporary societal needs (F. Scott 2008, 54; Kamel-Ahmed 2015, 69), what is clear from Viollet-le-Duc's description of restoration is the desire to *engage* with contemporary life through the restoration process – both in terms of utilising modern technologies/ materials (Hassard 2009a, 282), as well as seeking to ensure the building is practically useful for contemporary

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society[9] (Plevoets and Cleempoel 2019, 10). Perhaps more critical within this philosophy is the idea that a restoration project does *not* necessarily seek a historically accurate original state. Instead, it seeks an idealised ‘essence’ or ‘atmosphere’ of authenticity for the benefit of present-day societies (Lewi 2008, 150; Glendinning 2013, 91). By focussing on an authentic essence, restoration therefore bypasses the binary views of traditional/ modern; real/ fake; authentic/ inauthentic, as it becomes inconsequential as to whether the final restored state is historically accurate or not (see Viollet-le-Duc 1996b, 314)[10].

Hyperreality and the authentic copy

Baudrillard’s (1994) [1981] theory of hyperreality is highly applicable in relation to restoration. Though there is no definitive agreement on its exact meaning, this study takes it to refer to a lack of distinction between what is original and what is copy, which results in an indistinguishable hotchpotch of real and fake phenomena[11] (see Goulding 1998, 848; Labadi 2010, 79; Steiner 2010, 245; Proto 2020, 69). Connected to this is the concept of simulacra, which refers to three levels of copying (or three versions of imitation), which become increasingly hyperreal (Rickly-Boyd 2012, 273; Lovell 2018, 181). These are: first-order simulacrum (imitation), second-order simulacrum

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[9] This was subsequently reflected in the Athens Charter (ICOMOS 1931) and its preceding 1904 Madrid Conference, both of which advocated for the functional use of historic buildings in contemporary life (Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman 2009, 1).

[10] A famous example of this is Viollet-le-Duc’s controversial restoration of Notre Dame’s Western façade, which received heavy criticism at the time for introducing imagined features (see Reiff 1971, 17).

[11] An early example of this concept in practice are the landscape ‘follies’ of the eighteenth century, which were built to entertain and move the viewer by pretending to be something authentic from the past (Darlington 2020, 94; Sadler 1999, 75).

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(reproduction) and third-order simulacrum (hyperreal) (Steiner 2010, 245; Lovell 2018, 184). There is a body of work that explores hyperreality and simulacra in relation to the restoration of architectural heritage (Lewi 2008; Labadi 2010; Steiner 2010; Lovell 2018; Cocola-Gant 2019); and within this, further links have been made specifically between the theory of hyperreality and Viollet-le-Duc's 'total restoration' philosophy (see Lewi 2008; Cocola-Gant 2019). For Example, Lewi (2008, 158) suggests the closeness of original and copy that is achieved via the practice of restoration defines restored buildings as 'hyperreal simulacrum':

> Jean Baudrillard defines hyper-reality as this very condition in which the real has been engulfed [by] its very simulation; the two become one and the same, as simulation threatens the detection of the differences between "the true and the false," "the real and the imaginary," "the authentic and the inauthentic". Can it be concluded that this state of contemporary hyper-reality as exemplified in major heritage sites is the direct legacy of Viollet-le-Duc's conservation ideals? No not directly however the simulacrum becomes all the more palpable when the real and its copy ultimately come too close to each other.

In relation to the adaptation of architectural heritage, Plevoets and Cleempoel (2019, 32) similarly refer to three strategies of intervention called *translatio, imitatio, and aemulatio*[12] (after Pigman III (1980) and Lowenthal (2015, 157) [1985]). Though they make no direct link to Baudrillard, there is a resemblance between the tripartite classifications in terms of a spectrum that demonstrates an increasing blurring of boundaries between original and copy (see Table 1).

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[12] Looking further afield, a similar tripartite classification of 'emulation, competition and homage' has also been applied to music studies (H. M. Brown 1982).

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Table 01. Comparison between Baudrillard's three orders of simulacra (or hyper-realities) and Plevoets and Cleempoel's (2019) tripartite classification of historic building intervention strategies.

Type	Description
First-order (imitation) *Translatio*	A direct copy that is distinguishable as a copy Imitation with licence (creativity)
Second-order (reproduction) *Imitatio*	Identical reproduction that is hard to distinguish Subtle and selective copying, with harmony between orignal and copy
Third-order (hyperreality) *Aemulatio*	Radical imitation of reality that blurs original (authentic) and copy (inauthentic) Improving the original, hard to distinguish between old and new

Moving across the three levels from first- to third-order, legibility weakens and the boundary between fact and fantasy becomes increasingly vague. In one sense, the 'third-order/ aemulatio' is *too* authentic – a version of the past that becomes superior to reality through the re-creation of an idealised essence[13] (Cohen 2007, 78; Falser 2008, 130). In another sense, the copy becomes more real than the original, as it not only supersedes it but offers a new 'reality' rooted in the boundless realms of idealisation and fantasy (Lovell 2018, 183; Cocola-Gant 2019, 124) – hence why scholars state this degree of imitation 'precedes reality' (Steiner 2010, 245; Lovell 2018, 184; Proto 2020, 88); and hence the paradoxical terms 'genuine fake' and 'authentic reproduction' (see Cohen 2007, 77). Thus, despite these hyperreal copies having no actual origin or archetype (see Baudrillard 1994, 1), they nonetheless have the ability to manufacture a greater public fascination of built heritage sites by decreasing reliance on factual representation and offering a more intense emotional experience of essence and aura (Wells 2007, 5; Jokilehto 2009, 133; Rickly-Boyd 2012, 273; Harrison 2013, 88; Pearce and Mohammadi 2018, 72; Rickly and Vidon 2018, 5).

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[13] Boughey (2013) refers to this as the evocation of a 'golden age'.

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The Hill House

Restoration project overview

The Hill House is located near the coast of Helensburgh, Scotland, and is now owned by the National Trust for Scotland. It was originally designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh and built between 1902-04, in what is now considered to be a 'proto-modern' style. At the turn of the century, Mackintosh was experimenting at the frontiers of architectural design, with the Hill House noted as an important project that helped define the forthcoming Modernist style (Wright 2012, 86). Two aspects of the design were critical in this respect: the use of (then) contemporary materials (namely Portland cement render); and the novel architectural design methods employed (most notably the removal of hoods, cills and copings from the façade designs). However, these ideas were executed prior to the construction industry acquiring an accurate understanding of their impact on the ongoing condition of buildings. Consequently, these bold and innovative design decisions led to consistent water ingress over many years that has resulted in exponential decay of the original building fabric (Douglas-Jones et al. 2016). After many years and failed attempts to repair the building, a temporary encasement was installed in 2019, which completely encloses and protects the building within a stainless-steel chain-mail mesh structure (see Figure 04).

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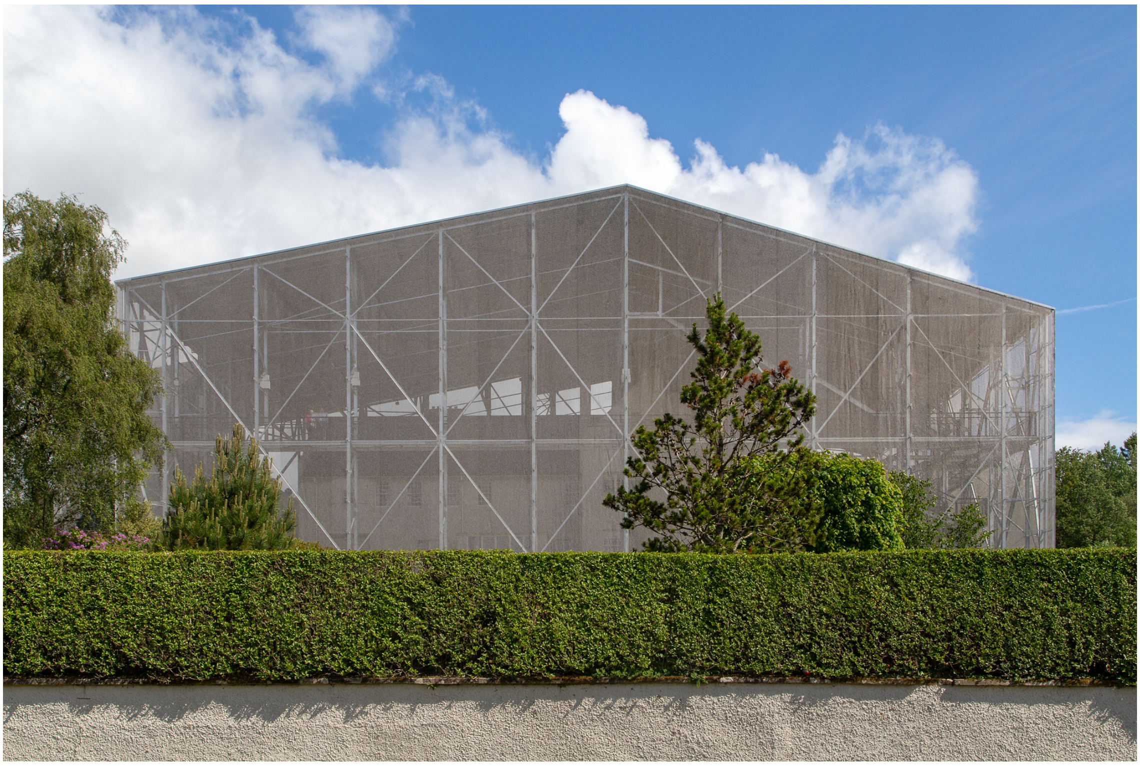

Figure 04. The Hill House encapsulated by the ‘Hill House Box’.

Photo: Tom Parnell (CC BY-SA 2.0).

Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/itmpa/48672523318/in/album-72157710676927421/

Authentic aesthetic

The significance of the building as an important proto-modern design resulted in a complexity over its authenticity in relation to traditional tenets underpinned by the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964). More specifically, the safeguarding of the building as ‘historical evidence’ and the need to respect ‘original material’ and ‘contributions of all periods’ were contested during its significance assessment. This issue is clearly outlined in the heritage statement:

> …the notion of preserving the designer’s intentions is heavily compromised by the notion that the work of all ages is worthy of being preserved, as “unity of style is

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> not the aim of restoration" (Article 11). For a building which is an icon of the International Style, "unity of style" might, with every justification, be considered as the primary value to be preserved.
>
> (Wright 2012, 94)

The position on authenticity within the heritage statement is clear – it recommends a unity of style based on a hypothetical point of completion, rather than acknowledging the broader historical development of the building as represented by accretions, patina and/ or weathering. Indeed, this position can also find support from Historic England (2008, 45), which does state that '[r]etaining the authenticity of a place is not always achieved by retaining as much of the existing fabric as is technically possible'. In considering the significance of the building as its unity of style, a conservation approach has subsequently been employed that focuses on the restoration of a concept – the design concept. Thus, what is restored is in fact an idealised or hypothetical essence – or what Baudrillard calls, a 'simulation':

> The real does not efface itself in favour of the imaginary; it effaces itself in favour of the more real than real: the hyperreal. The truer than true: this is simulation.
>
> (Baudrillard 1990, 11)

By determining that the building's authenticity resides within a design concept (or style), the resulting restoration cannot be anything but a 'genuine fake', because the restoration methodology by definition requires a meticulous and creative approach towards imitation that results in the building becoming an improved version of itself (Cocola-Gant 2019, 134; Proto 2020, 86). Thus, the result will achieve both an impression of authenticity whilst still remaining an obvious counterfeit (Cohen 2007,

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78). Consequently, what is actually created is a '…simulated experience that fulfils the desire for the "real"…' (Rickly and Vidon 2018, 5; Proto 2020, 75) – an approach that becomes increasingly complex when factoring in the encapsulation of the house within the Box.

The Hill House Box

The encapsulation of built heritage is an intriguing topic, with many reasons as to why such a project may be undertaken. Examples range from the very pragmatic intentions of making a building watertight (e.g. the temporary tented scaffold constructed over Castle Drogo, Devon); to the creation of artwork (e.g. the temporary wrapping of the Reichstag, Germany); or to offer a new programmatic function (e.g. the permanent glass housing over the Old Hamar Cathedral, Norway)[14]. For the Hill House, the purpose of its temporary encapsulation is to facilitate the restoration of the building by: protecting it from the harsh Helensburgh climate; slowing down the process of decay; and allowing the building to dry out (see Carmody Groarke 2019). However, far from these pragmatic intentions, the installation of the Box and the subsequent site experience that it affords is quite radical and unique. Whilst it may be a temporary structure, it is also a habitable one – with the transitory qualities associated with construction scaffolding or temporary coverings combined with the programmatic and utilitarian virtues of more permanent coverings. This amalgamation of qualities results in a unique visitor experience with the Hill House and its ongoing restoration project.

The Box offers various external walkways, staircases and viewing platforms that gives visitors a novel autonomy in how they wish to engage with the Hill House (see

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[14] Other examples of encapsulation include Rossyln Chapel, Scotland; Les Fresnoy Art Center, France; and the Suenos Stone, Scotland (the latter being a monument, rather than a building).

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Figure 05). Visitors can look down on the various roofs of the building (see Figure 06); walk alongside upper storey windows (see Figure 07); touch the building at heights previously unimaginable; experience an alternative view of the surrounding Clyde Estuary (see Figure 08); as well as gain insight into the evolution of the ongoing conservation project (National Trust for Scotland 2019). Viewed from surrounding vistas, it also creates a bold, multi-layered view of the building set within the landscape (Figure 09).

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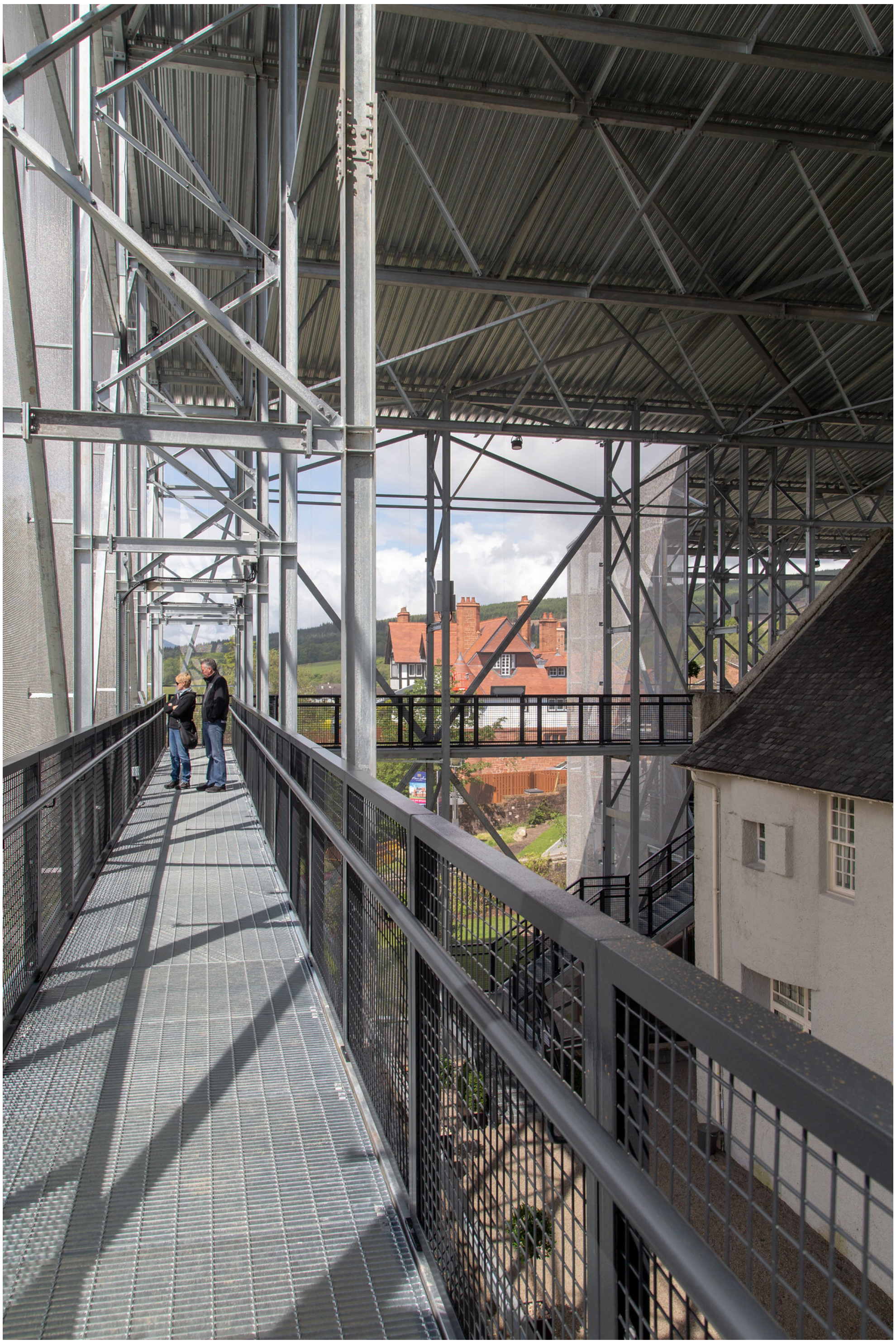

Figure 05. Photographing the Hill House roof from the external walkway.

Photo: Tom Parnell (CC BY-SA 2.0).

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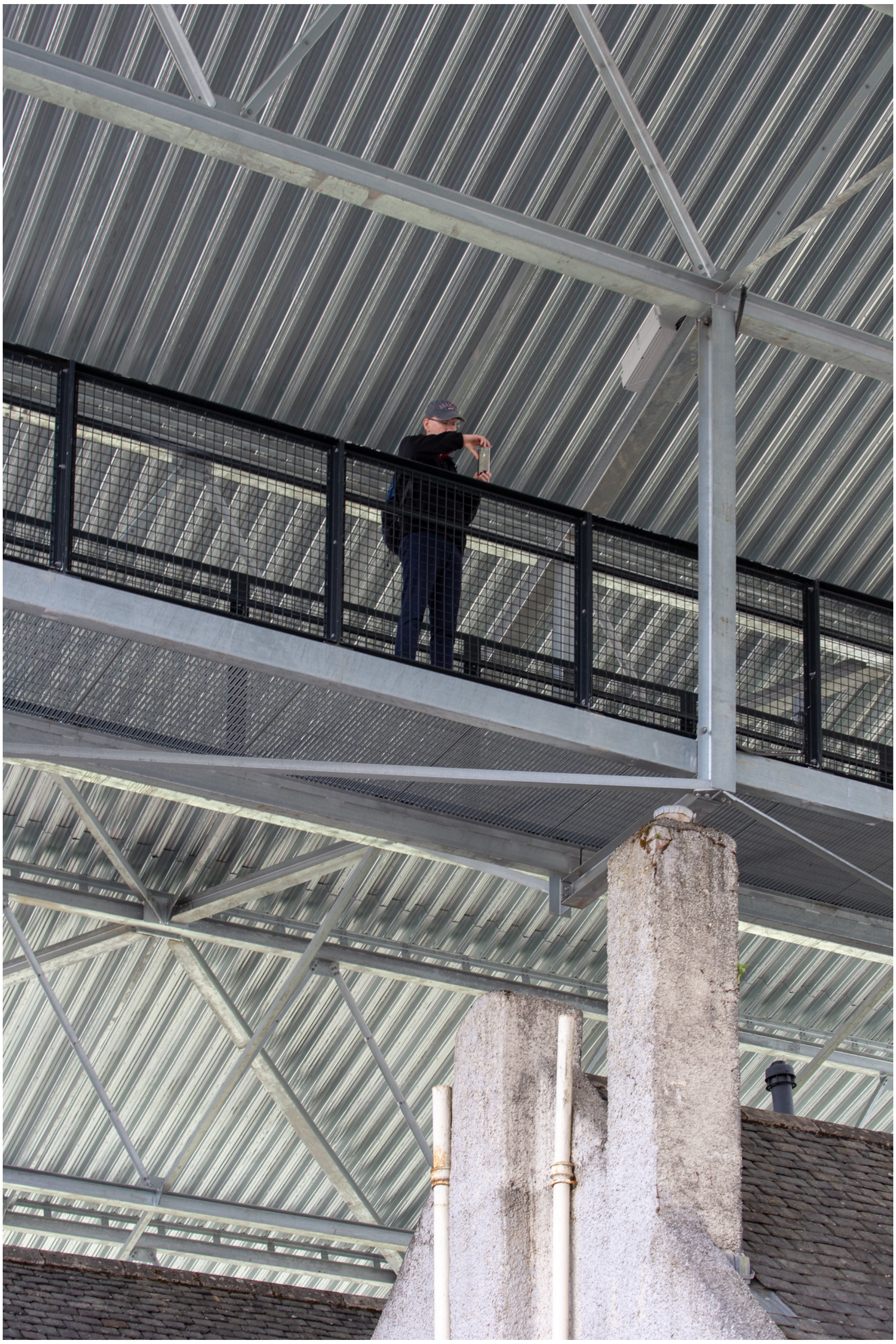

Figure 06. A visitor photographs the roof of the Hill House from the external walkway.

Photo: Tom Parnell (CC BY-SA 2.0).

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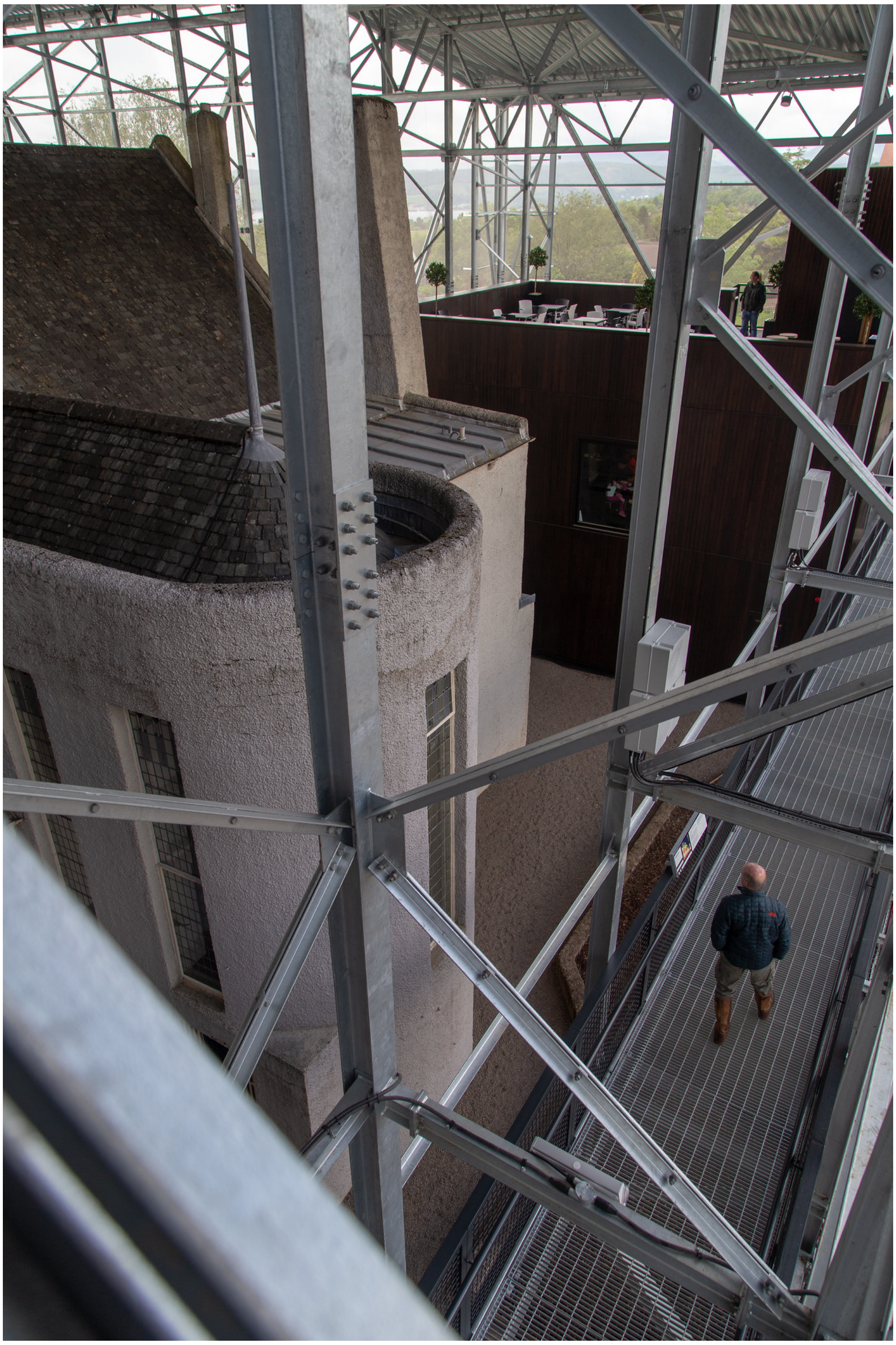

Figure 07. A visitor walks alongside upper storey windows.

Photo: Tom Parnell (CC BY-SA 2.0).

Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/itmpa/48672757131/in/album-72157710676927421/

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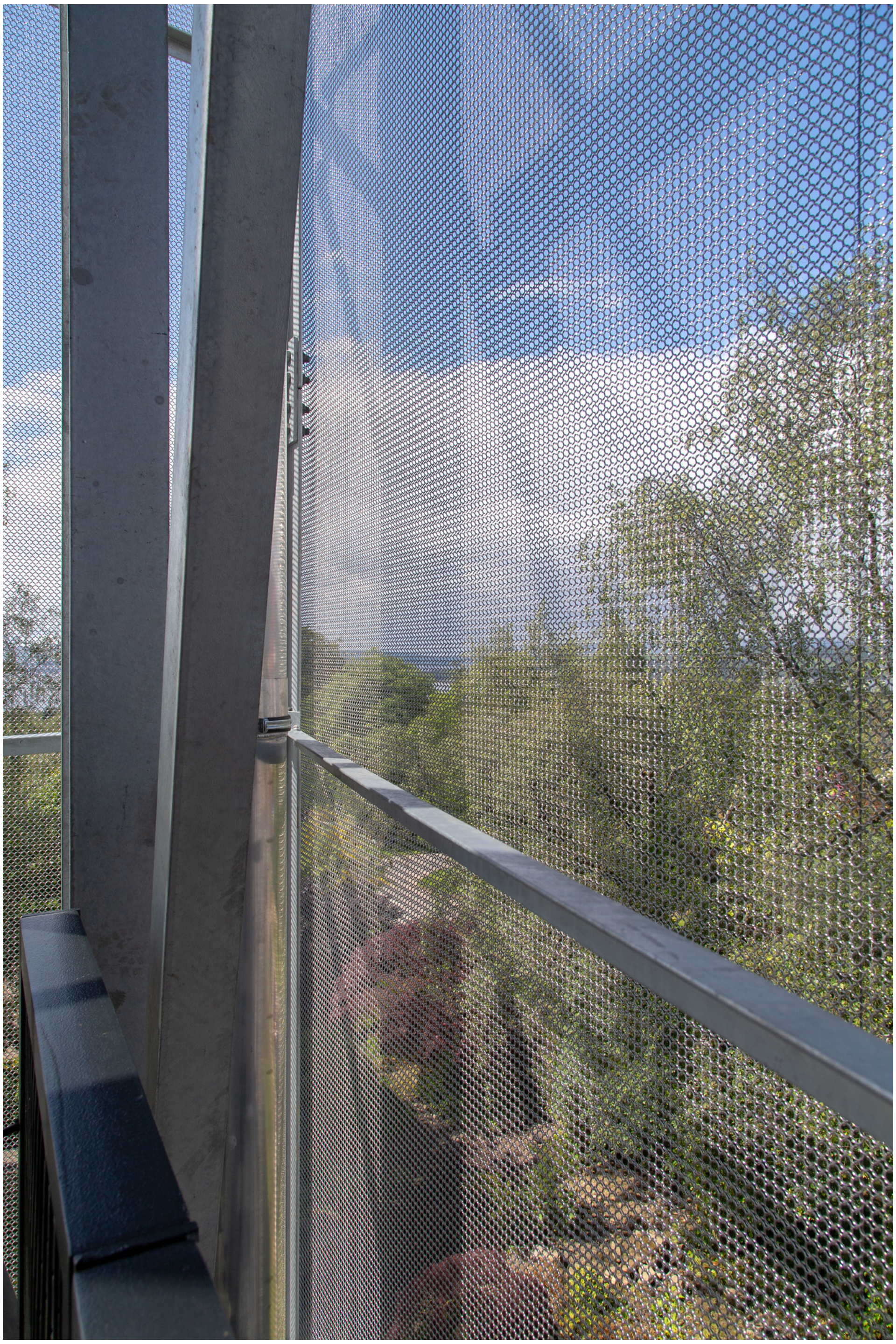

Figure 08. Augmented views of the surrounding Helensburgh landscape.

Photo: Tom Parnell (CC BY-SA 2.0).

Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/itmpa/48672818031/in/album-72157710676927421/

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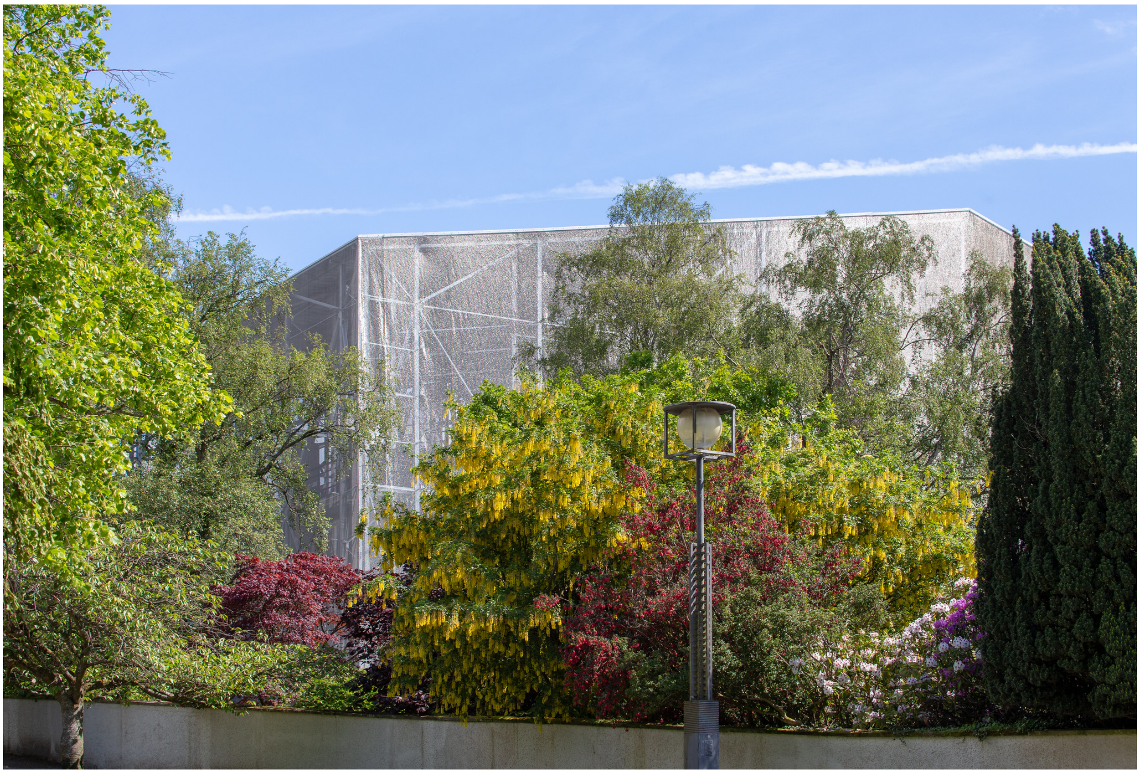

Figure 09. A view from the surrounding site.
Photo: Tom Parnell (CC BY-SA 2.0).
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/itmpa/48673045312/in/album-72157710676927421/

Accordingly, whilst the installation of the Box was initially a subordinate add-on to the Hill House itself – and conceived very much in the spirit of a museological outlook (i.e. building as 'artefact') (Carmody Groarke 2019) – its architectural presence actually contributes towards the authenticity of the house by supporting new visitor experiences and autonomy (Pallasmaa 2011, 23). The Box acts as a mediator between the original house and the formation of new traditions at the site, which are realised through the creation of new contemporary 'life patterns' (Kamel-Ahmed 2015, 69). So whilst the Hill House itself is being restored as a representation of the past, it is equally brought into the present through the spatial and experiential social practices that the Box

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supports (Abdelmonem and Selim 2012, 163). The novel use of the Box accordingly becomes part of the ‘everyday’ experience of the site, by supporting the formation of a new social memory of the house (Harrison and Rose 2010, 240). This is very much in the aforementioned ‘adding to’ sense; but of the intangible, rather than the tangible. Not only does this align with the postmodern conception of intangible heritage as an experiential and ritualistic practice (Littler 2014, 95), but also supports a further two ideas. Firstly, that historic buildings can be altered in such a way that maintains a dynamic continuity of traditions, practices and rituals (Abdelmonem and Selim 2012; Kamel-Ahmed 2015); and secondly, that a connection to (and reverence for) the past can be represented by the creation of something new in the present[15] (for example, see Pallasmaa 2012b, 15; Jencks 2016; Frost 2017, 263; Plevoets and Cleempoel 2019, 99).

The resulting heritage practices at the site facilitate novel and intimate contact with the ongoing restored essence and atmosphere of the building’s original design concept. In turn, this enables an experience of aura, in that users are engaging in a unique, embodied and affective experience which subsequently *becomes* authentic (Rickly-Boyd 2012, 271; Lovell 2018, 182). The Box, as a new entity, can thus be regarded as an abstracted simulacrum, in that the experience of the Box and the original house become entangled and indistinguishable, as do what is past and what is present.

Hyperreality at the Hill House

The restoration project at the Hill House is misinterpreted if conceived purely within the nineteenth century preservation-restoration dichotomy. It is also misrepresented if

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[15] Hence the 2003 Convention’s notion of heritage being ‘constantly recreated’ (UNESCO 2003, 2).

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considered a mere copy, imitation or 'pseudo experience' of authenticity that society seeks out (see Goulding 1998, 837; Chhabra 2012, 499; Rickly-Boyd 2012, 272). Instead, it is best understood as a complex relationship between the idealised essence of the past – as represented by the tangible heritage (the building); and the contemporary practices of the present – as represented by the intangible heritage (the personal and social practices facilitated by the Box). Consequently, the combination of building and Box creates a dynamic performance between people and the restored building which results in *new* authenticity and aura (Rickly-Boyd 2012, 271). The authenticity of the Hill House therefore becomes defined not only by an essence of an authentic aesthetic; but by the Box structure as a catalyst for 'negotiations' between this restored 'reality' and society (see Jones 2009, 136). This effect is described by Cohen (2007, 78) as 'emergent authenticity' or 'de-framing', in which the Box has now become engulfed by the perceived authenticity of the building. This is a process that will likely intensify over time (Rickly-Boyd 2012, 273), which is an important factor to consider, as the Box is anticipated to encapsulate the house for up to fifteen years (Carmody Groarke 2019) – a forecast which only raises more questions in relation to the ongoing development of authenticity at the site.

Reflections and future projections: restoring the past, ritualising the present

This study has attempted to destabilise common 'truths' in relation to historic building restoration and authenticity, by applying a postmodern Baudrillardian outlook to the Hill House and the Box which encapsulates it. It has demonstrated how this perspective can overcome the dominant scientific and visual disciplinary understandings of restoration and authenticity, which are often tolerated and propagated within the built heritage paradigm. What has become apparent within this study is how it is actually the

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amalgamation of imitation and intangibility – of restoring the past and ritualising the present – that can overcome binary views of original/ copy; authentic/ inauthentic, and results in the creation of emergent authenticity and aura that the Box has both created and been engulfed within.

As this is a relatively new restoration project and the Box a relatively new installation, the full impact of its presence on the authenticity of the site is yet to be fully realised. However, based on the likely intensification of its emergent authenticity at the site over the next decade or so, its temporary nature already provokes questions concerning its legacy and impact on the perceived authenticity of the Hill House, when such a time comes that it should be removed. For instance, when it is time to remove the Box, what happens to the new life patterns, everyday experiences, social memory and emergent authenticity that it created and sustained? Is it conceivable that these new ways of perceiving, experiencing and valuing the Hill House may support an argument for the retention of the Box? Or will a prevailing desire to remove the Box motivate a post-rationalisation of these qualities as inconsequential economic by-products of decay prevention? Perhaps the Box may have even accumulated enough authenticity (the fifteen year reflective glow of the Hill House) to be celebrated on its own merit and to justify its permanent relocation elsewhere – a heritage by-product of the original building? Whilst it is exciting to speculate over its ultimate fate, one thing remains certain – the contemporary yearning to engage with the aura of the original Mackintosh design has inspired a radical conservation method at the site, alongside a timely broadening of perspectives relating to the restoration and authenticity of historic buildings.

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'The lively development of tradition': Edgar Wood, restoration and intangible heritage

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ABSTRACT: Edgar Wood, notable Middleton architect, emphasised the importance of balancing a reverence for the past with a desire to create something original in the present – what he described as the true meaning of 'tradition'. In applying Wood's conception of tradition to the broader notion of heritage, it becomes a 'tradition-based creation' in a state of constant recreation – traits commonly associated with intangible cultural heritage. Using Wood's grade II* Long Street Methodist Church and Sunday Schools, this paper is concerned with exploring the contemporary practices and activities that Edgar Wood and Long Street are central to. It explores how the restoration approach chosen for the building relates to the dynamic conception of tradition that Wood supported, facilitating the synthesis of tangible and intangible heritage. An idealised version of both the building and its associated collective memory are restored, in order to transmit Wood's past progressiveness and present legacy into the future.

KEYWORDS: Tradition, Intangible Heritage, Restoration, Collective Memory, Edgar Wood.

1. INTRODUCTION

In 1911, Edgar Wood, notable Middleton architect and designer of the grade II* listed Long Street Methodist Church and Schools, delivered a lecture to the Manchester Society of Architects which captured his views on the relationship between tradition and originality. In it, he advocated for the natural progression of development alongside a profound reverence for the past:

> *True originality is to be found by those who, standing on the limits of the sphere of the unknown, reach out naturally to some apprehension and understanding of what is beyond [...] [The future is] the next step in an orderly development – the true men of progress are those whose point of departure is a deep respect for the past.* (Edgar wood lecture transcript from 1911, as cited in Morris, 2012:157)

The underlying message of this lecture has more recently been described as a "…synthesis of tradition and originality", or, "…the lively development of tradition" (Morris, 2012:158). Speaking of Wood some fourteen years prior to this lecture, Davison (1897:101) described how Wood "…claims to try for an Art which will be practical and meet modern requirements, and adapt itself to them". This is an interesting account of Wood, considering he was also so invested in reviving traditional architectural forms within his work (Seddon, 1975:863). It is this balance between

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pastness and progress; between tradition and originality; that is of primary concern here, and indeed, is what defines Wood's architectural approach as one that "…dismantled traditional architecture and reformed it into new combinations…" (Morris, 2012:141). It is also highly reflective of the context that Wood developed within, with Middleton's industrialised context an assortment of medieval vernacular and modern factories (Ruskin's description of Rochdale in his lecture 'Modern Manufacture and Design' being a partial testament to this) (Ruskin, 1998:224).

Wood's lecture was seventeen years before the release of T. S. Eliot's often-cited essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent'; a highly influential piece of literature within architectural theory that communicates a message with regards to tradition that is highly comparable to Wood's earlier views. In his essay, Eliot begins by outlining the scope of tradition as being more than just a historical record of the past:

> *Yet if the only form of tradition, of handing down, consisted in following the ways of the immediate generation before us in a blind or timid adherence to its successes, 'tradition' should be positively discouraged.* (Eliot, 1928:48)

Moving on to what tradition is, he describes a complex concept that is underpinned by a duality – the pastness of the past, and the presence of the past (Eliot, 1928:49) – or "the timeless and the temporal" (Frost, 2017:263). To be explicit, this is a *different* kind of tradition than that of the 'traditionalists' (Lowenthal, 2015:92-93). This is not a presumption that things should remain as they are, or that progress distances society from its roots. Nor is it a form of "regressive traditionalism" that is defined by practices of conservatism or nostalgia (Pallasmaa, 2012:15). Instead, it is the understanding of tradition as a tool to create something new in the present that is enhanced by a position within a rich continuity of historicity (Pallasmaa, 2012:15; Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019:99). As Jencks (2016) remarks, this conception of tradition allows "…the novel variation to be introduced, in order to keep the past alive and revalued". More broadly speaking, Wood and Eliot's conception of tradition defines it as a *temporal* concept. It enables the past to have a presence in the present, whilst simultaneously encouraging a processual and developmental approach towards culture, making it also something equally of the future (Frost, 2017:263).

2. 'A COMPASS FOR THE FUTURE'

Eliot's essay has been utilised as a compass for exploring the nature of tradition in relation to architecture for many decades (for example, see Venturi, 1977:13; Ballantyne, 2002:33; Pallasmaa, 2012:18; Frost, 2017:262; Grafe, 2018:49). More recently, it is also proving to be an equally inspirational source when considering the conservation and adaptation of historic buildings (Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019:99). Giedion (1971:30) described an active relationship with the past as "…a prerequisite for the appearance of a new and self-confident tradition". This is similarly how Plevoets & Van Cleempoel (2019:99) interpret Eliot's essay, describing how his approach to tradition can "…result in a historical condition operating as a compass for the future". This is an exceptionally powerful sentiment for those who work with historic buildings, primarily due to the essential fact that historic buildings proudly exhibit tremendous staying power. They often outlive societies, meaning there exists the potential to *transmit* the traditions of our time – and of the past – into the future (Abdelmonem & Selim, 2012:163-164). Eliot's 'pastness of the past' and 'presence of the past' can accordingly be updated (or at least appended) to include what Harvey (2008:21) has already described as 'future pasts' and 'past futures' – the *prospective* memory that links present and future together.

To ensure an historic building continues on its trajectory into the future and across a multiplicity of times and generations, the most reliable strategy is to ensure it remains in active use (Department of the Environment, 1994:15) – an approach that almost always requires ongoing changes to the building (Historic England, 2008:43). For listed buildings, the notion of change is acceptable because whilst they may be representations of culture, they are also highly useful commodities that have the potential to accommodate the needs of contemporary society (Earl, 2003:9).

The act of building conservation is consequently "…one of the few heritage processes by which heritage is deliberately modified and changed, thereby facilitating selected future uses" (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016:469). If, as already noted, tradition is a temporal concept, then the conservation (or adaptation) of built heritage is a *spatio*-temporal phenomenon, creating physical connections across time (Brooker & Stone, 2018:1). From this outlook, historic buildings that society bestows listed status over – such as those designed by Edgar Wood – have the capacity to simultaneously represent a variety of times and tenses, creating an overlapping dialogue between past, present and future (Whyte, 2006:170; Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019:99). This understanding of historic buildings as dynamic entities is a far cry from their prevailing interpretation as conceptually static material things, and consequently integrates them within the much broader ontological shift in heritage from "… fixed, authoritative monuments towards the amorphous territory of intangible heritage" (Glendinning, 2013:418).

3. 'THE PRESENT-DAY HOST CULTURE'

The concept of tradition as described by Wood and penned by Eliot is highly comparable to the intangible qualities of historic buildings, with both being described as very much in a state of constant recreation through ongoing and ever-changing contemporary events and practices (see Pallasmaa, 2012:18; Grafe, 2018:49). More broadly speaking, these intangible qualities are referred to as 'intangible cultural heritage' (hereafter ICH), which is formally defined by UNESCO within their 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage' (hereafter 'The Convention') as:

> *...the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.* (UNESCO, 2003:2)

ICH encourages a critical approach to heritage, by reinterpreting it as something that is produced through dynamic social processes (Harvey, 2001; Skounti, 2009; Yarrow, 2018). In particular, a key aspect of ICH is how "…the value attributed to any heritage object […] depend[s] entirely on the present-day host culture" (Glendinning, 2013:424). For both ICH and tradition, there is a need then for society to consider how tradition impacts contemporary life, which places an emphasis as much on the conservation of social activities as it does the physical heritage itself, by carefully analysing "existing life patterns" (Kamel-Ahmed, 2015:74). As Kamel-Ahmed (2015:70) explains:

> *...if cultures are realized [sic] as routines of habitual memory [...] this would clarify that cultural heritage is actually conserved through preserving the traditional social performances in the first place, not just as folkloric arts, but more as a part of the social life patterns.*

4. LONG STREET METHODIST CHURCH AND SCHOOLS

4.1 *Approach*

A whole host of these "life patterns" are evident at Long Street Methodist Church and Schools (hereafter 'Long Street'), one of Wood's most celebrated listed historic buildings. Yet how does its conservation as a physical historical record – a deliberate change to enable ongoing use – integrate with these intangible life patterns in the present? Which philosophical point of departure for its conservation is most appropriate in this regard? It is the intention of this paper to explore the relationship between these intangible representations of culture and the decision made to restore the building back to its original Wood design. Located in Middleton, a locality to the North

East of Greater Manchester, the purpose of Wood's original design for Long Street was to accommodate the relocation of the Wesleyan Methodists, who were early reformers of working-class education (Greater Manchester Building Preservation Trust, 2015). Designed in 1899 and listed grade II* in 1969, the building is not only described as a "…unique, forward-thinking design…" (Historic England, 2014) but also Wood's most potent amalgamation of tradition and originality:

> *If the synthesis of tradition and originality lies at the heart of Wood's philosophy, then long street Methodist church and schools must be its finest expression.* (Morris, 2012:158)

It is because of architectural contributions such as this that Wood has been firmly interwoven within the history of architecture as a significant contributor towards the development of Modernism (Manchester City Art Gallery, 1975:4; Jensen & Thorogood-Page, 2009:273; Morris, 2012:159). Wood's success can be attributed to his capacity to engineer innovation through the reuse of existing legacies – an ability born out of the late Victorian boredom and frustration of architectural imitation and reiteration (Lowenthal, 2015:180). At Long Street, Wood played with materials, form and structure in a way that was particularly progressive. However, this paper is not specifically concerned with defining the architectural qualities of Long Street that make it such a fine fusion of tradition and originality (this exercise has already been completed in great detail by Morris (2012)). Instead, this paper is concerned with the contemporary practices and activities that Edgar Wood and Long Street are entangled in and central to; and how these utilise the past in a way that helps to "…(re)animate a collective memory, a local atmosphere, or even a genius loci" (Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2019:99). In particular, it will explore how the choice of restoration as a conservation approach at Long Street interacts with these practices and sits within the broader dynamic conception of tradition that Wood, like Eliot, endorsed.

4.2 *Edgar Wood Renaissance*

Despite Wood's architectural mastery, for decades he remained a fairly obscure architect (Morris, 2012:130), both locally and within international architectural narratives. There was a momentary acknowledgement of the broader significance of his work in 1975 as part of the European Architectural Heritage Year (where the work of Wood and his partner Henry Sellers was attributed to the development of the Modern style in Europe). However, an extended phase of low valuation for Wood and his oeuvre resulted in Long Street being added to the Historic England 'Heritage at Risk Register' and assigned "*Category A - immediate risk of further rapid deterioration or loss of fabric; no solution agreed*" (Historic England, 2014). It is this threat of decay (and ultimately destruction) that subsequently spurred the acquisition of a Heritage Lottery Fund grant by Rochdale Council, with funds being channelled into the building in 2017 to facilitate its restoration.

There has perhaps been no observable intensity of fascination and appreciation for Wood that rivals that of the last decade. Fuelled by both funding and passion in equal measure, this recent Edgar Wood Renaissance includes the lottery funded 'Edgar Wood & Middleton Townscape Heritage Initiative'; the formation of the 'Edgar Wood Society'; the release of an Edgar Wood documentary film ('Edgar Wood: A Painted Veil', The Heritage Film Group/ Anthony Dolan.); the creation and installation of commemorative Edgar Wood 'green plaques'; an Edgar Wood 'Heritage Trail'; various 'heritage open day' tours of Wood-designed buildings; various commissioned reports and research that builds on the significance of Wood and his oeuvre (see Morris (2008, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2018) advancing earlier research by Archer (1963, 1968, 1975)); and of particular importance to this paper, the restoration of a number of Edgar Wood buildings (one of which being Long Street).

Whilst these contemporary activities and practices draw on the history of Wood and his buildings, they are very much tailored for consumption in the present – counteracting Wood's relative obscurity by generating a series of narratives that result in a digestible and relevant story for contemporary society. Particularly in the post-industrial context of Long Street's restoration, Wood's architecture is therefore not only utilised both as a means to reinforce and fix particular historic meanings in place (Abdelmonem & Selim, 2012:172), but also as a means to develop narratives/ stories that tap into the socio-economic potential of Middleton as the *ancestral home* of Wood (Timothy, 2018:179). Restoration, after all, is only ever about people in the present (Muñoz Viñas, 2002:30).

4.3 *Tradition-based creations*

Restoration is a process of attaining "…a hypothetical original artistic integrity, an ideal essence, which must be deduced and recovered from the present…" (Glendinning, 2013:78). Viollet-le-Duc himself said restoration means "…to re-establish it [the building] in a finished state, which may in fact never have actually existed at any given time" (Viollet-le-Duc, 2006:314). Restoration can therefore be understood as a process that seeks an 'original-contemporary' state, whereby the original 'essence' of the building is restored for the benefit of contemporary society (Glendinning, 2013:91). Naturally, some level of copying and reproduction is involved in this exercise, and whilst there are issues of 'authenticity' and 'aura' in relation to this approach (themes which extend beyond the scope of this paper), it is worth noting how copying or reproducing things has long been an inherent part of the learning process for humans (Jokilehto, 2018:424). This is particularly relevant as imitation can also facilitate the transmission of cultural values of "tradition-based creations" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004:54). A restoration approach can therefore restore a hypothetical collective memory, as well as a hypothetical building state – unifying and carrying both tangible and intangible heritage into the future:

> *...in restoration the intangible 'adheres' itself to the tangible and becomes the historical document of the future.* (Hassard, 2009:162)

At Long Street, it was deemed necessary to revert the building to its 'original' state, which was conceived as being at its original point of completion. The building therefore acts as the blueprint of 'artistic integrity' in representing the constructed Edgar Wood design. The integration of the restored building within the various aforementioned community practices, activities and events facilitates the transmission of knowledge concerning Wood and his design(s). To achieve this, various building tours, research and media work in tandem with the restored building to ensure this narrative is clearly communicated. A new collective memory is consequently created – one that never actually existed at the time of the building's design or construction – one of progressiveness, legacy and experimentation.

The restorative approach serves to enhance the potency of the building's use (and therefore relevance) in the present. Its restoration reaffirms back to both the local and wider community the significance of the design, allowing for the present-day consumption of a building that represents the original design. The changed building – restored, yes, but altered nonetheless – is therefore representative not only of the age it was constructed (Whyte, 2006:163); but also of the contemporary societal desire to celebrate Edgar Wood and his oeuvre, as part of both the local heritage of Middleton and the broader architectural narrative of Modernism.

5. CONCLUSION

> *Was it fruitless to borrow? Victorian artists and architects faced anew the dilemma of originality [...] But for them, as for their humanist precursors, to innovate still meant reusing the legacy.* (Lowenthal, 2015:180)

The respect for historicity and drive for creativity at Long Street offers perhaps no better manifestation of Wood and Eliot's novel conception of tradition. Designed within a historical continuum rather than a secluded past, the building has been able to withstand periods of neglect and low social valuation, rising once again as a restored symbol of ‘tradition-based creation’. A restoration approach has entangled the tangible historical residue of the past with the intangible contemporary practices in the present, recreating both the physical building and its associated collective memory in an idealised narrative. It is this narrative that facilitates the transmission of Wood’s progressiveness and legacy into the future. Whilst we will never know what Wood himself may think of the intense contemporary interest in him and his works, or the attempt to restore Long Street to his original design, it is possible that he may appreciate the ‘original-contemporary’ state achieved by uniting the reuse of his original design from the past with the creation of his legacy in the present.

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Listed buildings as socio-material hybrids: assessing tangible and intangible heritage using social network analysis

Abstract

Immaterial manifestations of culture have received increasing attention over the past two decades. This is of particular relevance to the contemporary built heritage professional, who must not only consider intangible heritage within assessments but attempt to understand its relationship with the physical building fabric. Underpinned by a 'Practice Theory' ontology, this research explores how Social Network Analysis (SNA) can reveal entanglements between tangible and intangible heritage by focussing on practices and relationships. Using the grade II* Long Street Methodist Church and Sunday School, Greater Manchester, UK, the study demonstrates how a basic use of SNA for built heritage assessment can offer a deeper insight into the significance of a listed building. The study demonstrates how SNA can support: an equality of visibility across heritage domains; a better understanding of tangible-intangible relationships; and the illumination of underlying practices that sustains these relationships. Perhaps most importantly, it emphasizes the dynamic and unpredictable nature of heritage by de-emphasising the centrality of the building within heritage assessment processes and reconceptualising it as an inherent part of social phenomena. In doing so, it suggests one must accept the notion that socio-material practices should be considered for conservation and safeguarding, alongside the physical building itself.

Keywords

Intangible heritage; architectural heritage; heritage professional; heritage assessment; social network analysis; practice theory

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1.0 Introduction

Since the origins of the UK conservation movement in the mid-nineteenth century, the value of historic buildings has been dominated by historic, scientific and aesthetic considerations, that place an emphasis specifically on their physical fabric and emphasize notions of permanence (Smith & Waterton, 2009, p. 290; Jones, 2017, p. 23). This results in the conservation sector maintaining '…an epistemological bias towards scientific materialism' (Winter, 2013, p. 533); which is structured upon 'exclusion and resistance', rather than 'inclusion, negotiation and transcendence' (Winter, 2014, p. 8). In reaction to this dominant heritage discourse, it is proposed instead that '…heritage only becomes "heritage" when it is recognisable within a particular set of cultural or social values…' (Smith & Akagawa, 2009, p. 6). This is more broadly captured within the 'postmodern' turn in heritage studies (Muñoz Viñas, 2002, p. 26; Fairchild Ruggles & Silverman, 2010, p. 11; Walter, 2014, p. 637), which places an emphasis on the 'intangible' heritage domain and is composed of immaterial manifestations of cultural representation. These broader developments within critical heritage studies are consequently adding additional complexity to the role of built heritage professionals, who must now consider the complex relationship between these two heritage domains within assessments (Kearney, 2009, p. 220). For example, Douglas-Jones et al. (2016:824) have more recently described the conservation and management of built heritage as '…a complex process involving not only physical fabric, but also cultural, aesthetic, spiritual, social and economic values'. This is particularly problematic especially when considering the built heritage industry is *already* a complex sector involving many professionals with different perceptions and priorities (Djabarouti & O'Flaherty, 2020; Jones, 2009, p. 11; Mısırlısoy & Gan Günç, 2016, p. 92).

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Responding to this context, this research aims to address the problematization of immaterial manifestations of culture within the built heritage paradigm, by offering a novel approach for built heritage assessment using Social Network Analysis (hereafter SNA). This alternative approach seeks to illuminate how an enhanced immaterial focus might impact heritage assessment and management, by addressing the following questions: how can a built heritage professional consolidate immaterial and ephemeral notions of heritage within their material-focussed role? How might the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage impact built heritage assessment? And lastly, what might the impact of these considerations be on the overall assessment of built heritage significance?

The application of SNA to this growing complexity concerning what heritage is and how it should be measured is largely understudied. However, the ability for SNA to both simplify and represent complex social data, as well as reveal its underlying qualities, is particularly applicable to this matter (see Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p. 347, 445). This is especially the case when considering the increasing demand in the heritage sector for methods that can assist in rationalising increasingly complex cultural information (Cuomo et al., 2015, p. 539). It is hypothesized that by focussing on the relationships that underpin what heritage *is* and *does* (as opposed to its heritage domain classifications), it will reveal a better understanding of how heritage significance is created, structured and sustained. This hypothesis is explored using Long Street Methodist Church and Sunday School (hereafter Long Street), a Grade II* listed[1] building located in Middleton, approximately 5 miles North East of Greater Manchester, UK. The building was designed by Edgar Wood in 1899, a notable Manchester architect who is considered a significant contributor towards the development of European Modernism (Jensen & Thorogood-Page, 2009, p. 273; Morris, 2012, p. 159). Having up until recently been listed on the Heritage at Risk register due to its

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poor condition, a conservation project in 2017 (as part of a Heritage Lottery Funded project) has facilitated its restoration, adaptation and ongoing use by the local community. It is this conservation project that is the primary focus of this case study, and in particular, the ensuing Edgar Wood Renaissance that it has prompted.

By utilising various primary and secondary research methods related to the site and the conservation project, an inter-heritage-domain relationship model was constructed using SNA – with both tangible and intangible heritage assessed in relation to the various practices that entangled them together. This study focuses on three particular heritage entanglements uncovered from this analysis, namely: society and fundraising activities; the building design and its association with Edgar Wood; and the memories of building events and window memorialization. It posits that the strength of these practices (as revealed by the SNA) – along with their socio-material hybridity – warrants their consideration for conservation and safeguarding, alongside the physical building itself. As will be demonstrated, this proposition has broader implications for heritage assessment, especially from the perspective of an epistemological broadening within the discipline of heritage management that decentres materialism and works towards the conception of buildings as socio-material hybrids.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 From tangible to intangible heritage

Standard approaches towards heritage assessment and management are increasingly being criticized as part of an overarching classification system that renders built heritage (particularly listed buildings) as containers of immutable value and authenticity (Jones & Yarrow, 2013, p. 6; Walter, 2014, p. 635). From this perspective, buildings are both the producers and possessors of objective value and significance, which encourages the process

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of heritage management to be led by the material site and the values extracted directly from it (Pocock et al., 2015, p. 962). There are some key factors that make this a preferable approach for built heritage professionals: it supports a static interpretation of buildings (Tait and While, 2009, p. 734); it makes heritage both visible and recognisable (Kearney, 2009, p. 210); and it promotes the idea that an assessment of heritage can be an impartial and 'value neutral' scientific exercise (Winter, 2013:539).

In more recent times, contemporary understandings of heritage challenge the notion of value being inherent within material sites, and instead redefines it as a construct of contemporary society and its context (Glendinning, 2013, p. 424; Jones & Yarrow, 2013, p. 6). As Smith and Akagawa state:

> …any item or place of tangible heritage can only be recognised and understood as heritage through the values people and organisations like UNESCO give it – it [built heritage] possesses no inherent value that 'makes' it heritage.
>
> (Smith & Akagawa, 2009, p. 7)

This conceptual relocation of 'value' away from material sites and towards people and culture is evidence of a more flexible, broader and people-focussed approach towards identifying, narrating and measuring the value of built heritage (Glendinning, 2013, p. 431; Jokilehto, 2018, p. 2). More specifically, this understanding of heritage is perhaps most definitely captured under the term 'intangible cultural heritage' (hereafter referred to as ICH) – a heritage domain that is extraneous to any form of built heritage. UNESCO formally define it within their 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage' (hereafter the '2003 Convention') as:

> the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as objects, artefacts and cultural spaces. . . that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize [sic] as part of their cultural heritage.
>
> (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2).

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The 2003 Convention promotes an immaterial concept of heritage that is comprised of community-centred practices, activities, participations and contributions (ICOMOS, 2013, p. 8; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015, p. 69); and whilst it is heavily focused on the empowerment of indigenous societies and their participation in the heritage process (Marrie, 2009, p. 169), it also has utility within a Western context in relation to heritage use (Delle & Levine, 2011, p. 52). Nonetheless, the notion of heritage as a cultural 'practice' remains largely understudied and outside standard perceptions in heritage management – no doubt due to its overarching position within the planning system (Glendinning, 2013: 285).

2.2 Society and historic buildings

Despite prevailing understandings of heritage as physical assets, contemporary heritage policy and guidance in England is becoming increasingly concerned with '…the positive contribution that conservation of heritage assets can make to sustainable communities…' (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019, p. 55); as well as becoming more openly interested in engaging communities at a local level (The National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019, p. 10). When appraising architectural heritage, this manifests as 'communal value', which Historic England (2008, p. 31) describe as '…the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it…'; and more specifically 'social value', which Jones (2017, p. 21) describes as '…the significance of the historic environment to contemporary communities'. Literature highlights communal and social value as being less reliant on the physical fabric of material sites (Historic England, 2008, p. 32; Jones, 2017, p. 26), and focussed more on the participation of communities that are impacted by the conservation of heritage (Muñoz Viñas, 2002, p. 30). However, there is a body of literature that highlights the practical difficulties of consolidating these understandings of heritage within the heritage

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sector (Aikawa-Faure, 2009, p. 36; Seeger, 2009, p. 122); as well as literature that emphasizes the conflicting views between local and 'official' authorities (Aikawa-Faure, 2009, p. 28; Mydland & Grahn, 2012). Other literature poses potential solutions to the tension between community involvement and official mechanisms, such as: a wholesale rejection/ reappraisal of the current formalized heritage system (Byrne, 2009, p. 249; Mydland & Grahn, 2012); integrating professional practices and performances that integrate communities (Buckley & Graves, 2016, p. 153; Longley & Duxbury, 2016, p. 1; Jones, 2017, p. 25); and the reinterpretation of communities as the 'link' between tangible and intangible practices (Kamel-Ahmed, 2015, p. 69).

2.3 The relationship between tangible and intangible heritage

Despite an implicit growth in concern for intangible heritage in policy and guidance, the relationship between the two heritage domains remains complex. There is a body of literature that states tangible and intangible heritage are wholeheartedly interlinked and inseparable – forming 'two sides of the same coin' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004, p. 60; Byrne, 2009, p. 230; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015, p. 67). Kearney (2009, p. 211) describes the relationship through a phenomenological lens, stating 'being' is at once both tangible and intangible. Conversely, other literature describes the tangible as a 'contact point' or 'memory marker' for the intangible (Byrne, 2009, p. 246; Kamel-Ahmed, 2015, p. 68). Taylor (2015, p. 73) takes the relationship between tangible and intangible a step further, stating a distinction must first be made between the *values* (message) of heritage and the *embodiment* (medium) of heritage, with both able to be either tangible or intangible. The variety of interpretations available make evident the need to more succinctly understand how these heritage domains may

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interact and influence one another, and in particular how this interaction may influence heritage assessment and management in practice.

2.4 Alternative ontological approaches

As contemporary heritage practices shift from a sole concern with material preservation to a more dynamic understanding of intangible heritage, alternative approaches are undoubtedly required that can accommodate buildings as changing, dynamic entities (DeSilvey, 2017, p. 50). A variety of ontological shifts have already been suggested in order to achieve this, such as: a 'managed decline' approach (DeSilvey, 2017); conceiving buildings as events (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004); perceiving buildings as containers of intangible heritage (Skounti, 2009, p. 83); a 'null ontology' (Tait & While, 2009); and the reinterpretation of buildings as stories (Hollis, 2009; Walter, 2014; Djabarouti, 2020). What these theoretical works have in common is their ability to transform listed buildings into what DeSilvey (2017, p. 29) describes as '...processual events, continually formed and transformed by their movement through a field of social and physical relations'. Looking slightly further afield, the social theory of Theodore Schatzki is particularly applicable in this regard. Schatzski's version of 'Practice Theory' (see Schatzki, 2010) entangles humans and non-human materials together as '…nexuses of human practices and material arrangements' (Schatzki, 2010, p. 123). For Schatzki, it is about how 'material arrangements' (specifically 'humans' and 'artefacts' as relevant to this study) become connected with 'practices' (comprised of 'understandings', 'rules', and 'normative teleologies') in order to explain and understand the social and cultural world (Schatzki, 2010) (refer to Figure 01).

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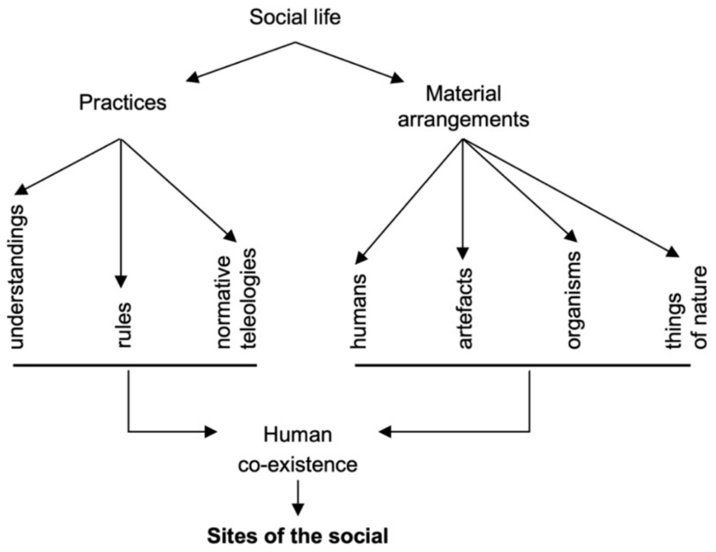
Social life
Practices
Material arrangements
understandings
rules
normative teleologies
humans
artefacts
organisms
things of nature
Human co-existence
Sites of the social

Figure 01 – The structure of Schatzki's Practice Theory. Author original diagram of Schatzki's theory.

Whilst Practice Theory offers an applicable ontological approach towards the consolidation of tangible and intangible heritage at material sites, it does not necessarily confirm *how* the heritage professional should interpret listed buildings (beyond them being a material 'things' that are embroiled in social life). The work of Tait and While (2009) is particularly useful in this regard. Their research describes the existence and status of historic buildings as collections of 'things' – physical objects that can decay; be removed; replaced; relocated; and so on. For them, the building becomes a fluctuating assemblage of various elements across space and time (Tait & While, 2009, p. 724). This viewpoint embeds itself well within Schatzki's overarching ontology, by encouraging a spatio-temporal understanding of historic buildings as material and social hybrids – as opposed to static, solid objects (Tait & While, 2009, p. 721) (refer to Figure 02). The elements of a building thus become considered as part of a socio-material practice that not only determines the ongoing changes to their physical form, condition and location; but equally their value and significance at any given moment in time.

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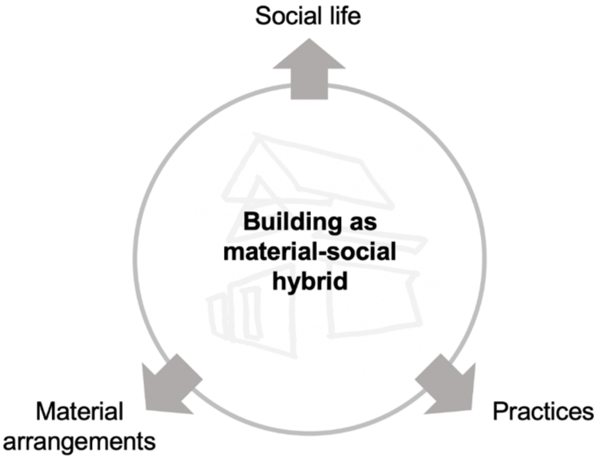

Figure 02 – Buildings as hybrids of materials, society and practices – an amalgamation of key concepts from Schatzki (2010) and Tait and While (2009). Author original diagram.

3.0 Methodology

The dominant assessment method for listed buildings in England is reliant upon the identification of 'values' (Walter, 2014, p. 634). Once identified, they are consolidated and organised into a written statement that formally represents the 'significance' of the built heritage asset within the planning system. This approach originates from the Burra Charter (ICOMOS, 2013) [originally 1979], which, along with the Nara Document (ICOMOS, 1994), are cited as blueprints for Historic England's assessment model (see Historic England, 2008, p. 71). Where this current model falls short in relation to this research project, is its inability to overcome the 'nature-culture split' that Hill (2018) describes as fundamental in the formation of heritage 'domains'. Put simply, the values that are utilised to assess tangible heritage (e.g. aesthetic, artistic, architectural), are segregated from those values that are used to assess intangible heritage (e.g. social, symbolic or spiritual). Indeed, in practice, the latter are often noted as subsidiary and separated in relation to the former (Pendlebury, 2013, p. 715; Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016, p. 474; Jones, 2017, p. 24). So, whilst a values-based approach may be more democratic and more open to pluralistic conceptions of heritage

(Wells, 2007, p. 10; McClelland et al., 2013, p. 593-594), it is nonetheless conceptually incapable of accommodating a true inter-domain assessment of heritage *practices* and *relationships*. This is not so much a criticism, rather an intentional consequence of its design – it is a typologies-based methodology (McClelland et al., 2013, p. 589).

By contrast, SNA is an interdisciplinary approach that places an emphasis on relationships *between* things, allowing social concepts to be defined and theories developed from this (see Wasserman and Faust, 1994). It removes focus from individuals, and places focus instead on the interweaving of social relationships and interactions (Scott, 1988, p. 109; Freeman, 2004, p. 1). Rather than simply a tool for processing data, it is better utilized as a theory for interpreting social structures (Mische, 2011, p. 80). Hence, for interdisciplinary use of SNA, it is advantageous to employ discipline-specific perspectives that can conceptually accommodate the emphasis on relationships and knowledge flows (Serrat, 2017). For Mische (2011, p. 80), SNA offers an opportunity for those within the Social Sciences to engage in 'relational thinking' by focussing on '…the dynamics of social interactions in different kinds of social settings'. More specifically, Mirshe (2011) offers four ways in which culture and social networks are interlinked: networks as cultural conduits; networks and culture as omnidirectional influencers; cultural forms as pre-existing conceptual networks; and networks as cultural interactions. The similarities between how intangible heritage is defined and how Mirshe describes the culture-network relationship is clearly evident. For example, Mirshe notes how SNA can offer '…a more dynamic, processual account of the culture-network link'. Perhaps then, SNA may be able to conceptually accommodate the changing nature of cultural heritage and better address the inherent dualities between immaterial manifestations of culture and monumental heritage?

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There have already been attempts to utilize network analysis within heritage studies more generally, including: the analysis of heritage to improve its digital application and consumption (Capodieci et al., 2019); the use of SNA to enhance management processes of cultural heritage from a cultural tourism perspective (Moretti et al., 2016); to enhance cultural heritage experiences by analysing user perceptions/ personalities (Antoniou, 2017); as well as to both enhance and explore visitor interactions with heritage collections that are both physical (Cuomo et al., 2015) and digital (Hampson et al., 2012). Others have concentrated more specifically on the relationship between SNA and intangible heritage, by using it to analyse the global actors and institutional networks concerned with intangible heritage (Severo & Venturini, 2016); as well as to understand how intangible heritage is transmitted through specific community relationships (Oh, 2019).

Despite this varied use of SNA within heritage studies (ranging from a tool to enhance a methodology to a more integrated conceptual approach), there have been no studies that attempt to explore its potential application towards the assessment of listed buildings – particularly as a means to illuminate significance through an analysis of the *relationship(s)* between tangible and intangible heritage. This is surprising when considering the frontiers of critical heritage studies are engaging in related research themes concerning flat ontologies and the problematization of heritage domains (Harrison, 2015; Hill, 2018); as well as the role of digitization in relation to the interpretation of heritage and its participatory function (Rahaman & Tan, 2011; Taylor & Gibson, 2017). In an attempt to address the shortcomings of a values-based approach in relation to the interests of this study, as well as address the clear gap in the SNA literature concerning its use during listed building assessment, this study utilises a case study method in order to test the validity of SNA as an analytical approach for built heritage assessment.

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3.1 Case study: Long Street Methodist Church and Sunday Schools

Long Street is a listed building located within the locality of Middleton, which lies within the borough of Rochdale to the North East of Greater Manchester, UK. The building was designed by notable architect Edgar Wood in 1899 and in 1969 it was listed Grade II*. It is described as a unique and forward-thinking chapel design of interconnected buildings, which encloses a courtyard garden (Morris, 2012, p. 142; Historic England, 2014) (refer to Figure 03).

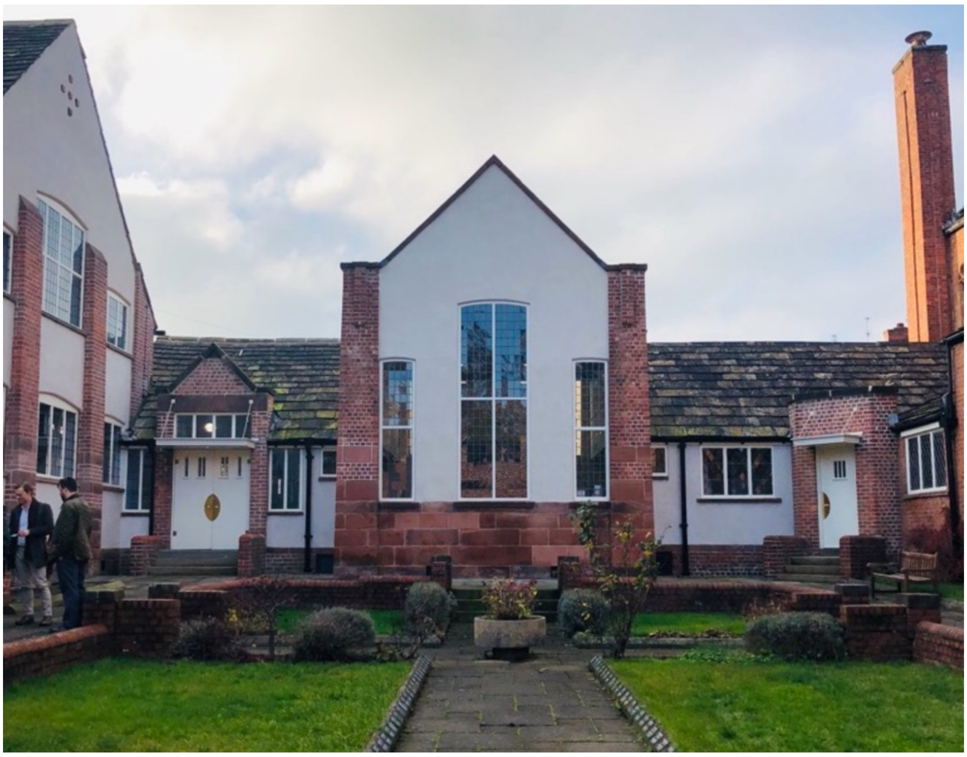

Figure 03 – The restored Long Street internal courtyard, 2018. Author original image.

In 2014, Long Street was added to the Historic England 'Heritage at Risk Register' and assigned 'Category A - immediate risk of further rapid deterioration or loss of fabric; no solution agreed' (Historic England, 2014). Subsequently, the Heritage Trust for the North West acquired the building, and, coupled with a Heritage Lottery Fund grant obtained by

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Rochdale Council, funds were channelled into the building in 2017 to facilitate its repair, conservation and restoration. The completed restoration project has enabled the ongoing use of the building by the Methodist Church, as well as the now former Sunday School being adapted to allow for a mixture of programmatic functions (such as weddings, conferences, as well as other smaller-scale community-based uses).

The formal significance of the building is of an 'historic' and 'architectural' nature, which places it within the interests of the principal 1990 Act (HM Government, 1990). The building is also perceived as stylistically significant – the pinnacle of Wood's approach to the Arts and Crafts architectural style (Morris, 2012, p. 127). Following a sustained period of obscurity throughout the majority of the twentieth century (Morris, 2012, p. 130), the last decade has witnessed a kind of Edgar Wood Renaissance, with both his buildings and himself being observed with a renewed sense of fascination and wonder. This, combined with the aforementioned heritage funding, has led to the formation of a number of significant organizations, events and activities, not limited to: the lottery funded 'Edgar Wood & Middleton Townscape Heritage Initiative'; the release of an Edgar Wood documentary film[2]; the formation of the 'Edgar Wood Society'; the creation of Edgar Wood 'green plaques' (refer to Figure 04); an Edgar Wood 'Heritage Trail' (refer to Figure 05); and various 'Heritage Open Day' tours of his buildings. In addition, this renaissance has also inspired a host of new research and reports that builds on the significance of Long Street, Wood and his broader architectural oeuvre[3]. In particular, it offers an improved perspective of Wood's impact on Modernism. Interestingly, at the heart of most of these activities is Long Street, which, aside from being a focal point of Wood's legacy (Morris, 2012, p. 158), is also now intensely entwined within these numerous contemporary events and practices.

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How then, might heritage professionals consider these contemporary events and practices when assessing the significance of a listed building? How do these intangible, community-based considerations relate to the physical building itself? And might SNA be an appropriate approach for heritage professionals to utilise when assessing the significance of built heritage (both locally and nationally)?

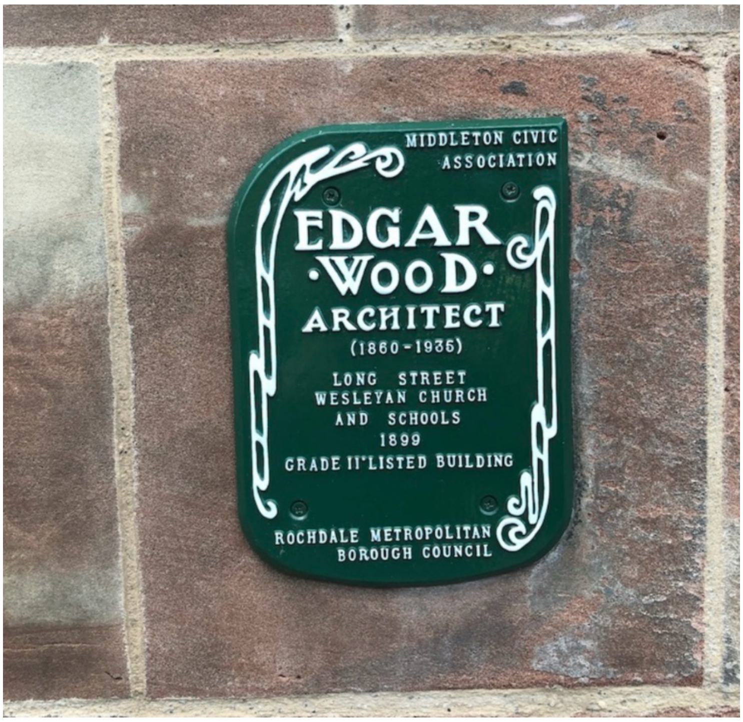
MIDDLETON CIVIC
ASSOCIATION
EDGAR
·WOOD·
ARCHITECT
(1860-1935)
LONG STREET
WESLEYAN CHURCH
AND SCHOOLS
1899
GRADE II* LISTED BUILDING
ROCHDALE METROPOLITAN
BOROUGH COUNCIL

Figure 04 – Edgar Wood ‘green plaque’ at Long Street, 2018. Author original image.

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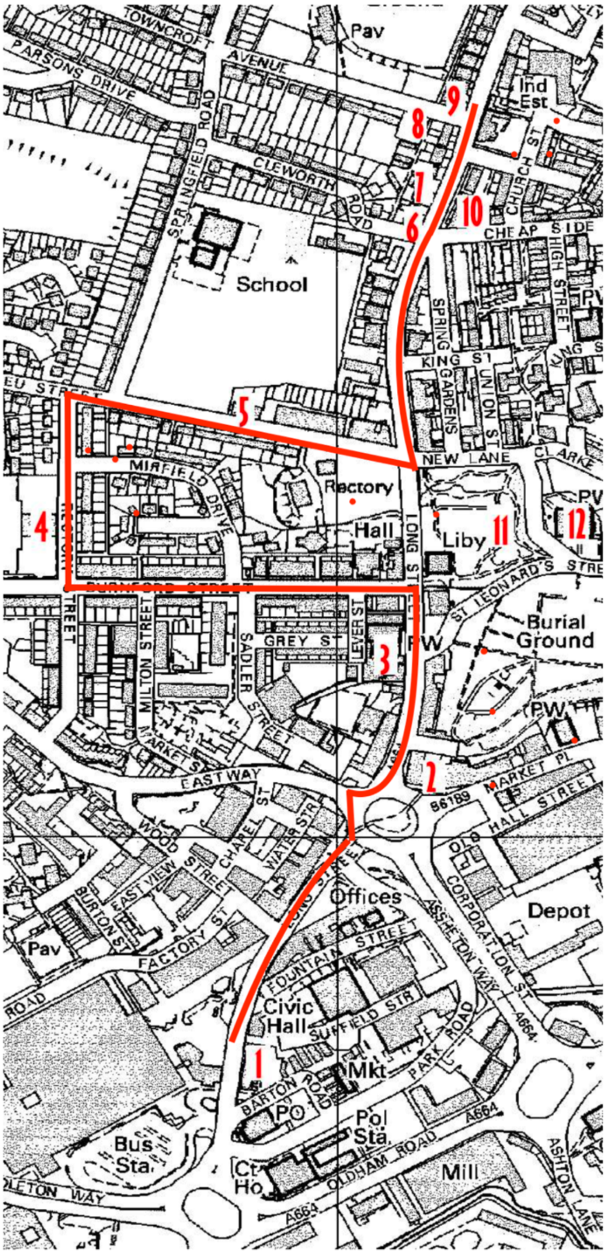
TOWNCROFT
AVENUE
PARSONS DRIVE
Pav
SPRINGFIELD ROAD
CLEWORTH ROAD
School
Ind Est
CHURCH ST
CHEAPSIDE
HIGH STREET
SPRING GARDENS
KING ST
UNION ST
NEW LANE
CLARKE
Rectory
Hall
LONG ST
Liby
MIRFIELD DRIVE
ST LEONARD'S STREET
Burial Ground
PW
GREY ST
LEVER ST
SADLER STREET
MILTON STREET
MARKET ST
EAST WAY
WOOD STREET
CHAPEL ST
WATER STR
EAST VIEW
BURTON ST
FACTORY ST
Offices
FOUNTAIN STREET
Civic Hall
SUFFIELD STR
Mkt
BARTON ROAD
PO
Pol Sta
PARK ROAD
OLD CORPORATION ST
ASSHETON WAY
A664
Depot
MARKET PL
HALL STREET
B6189
Bus Sta
Ct Ho
OLDHAM ROAD
Mill
ASHTON LANE
Pav
ROAD
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12

Figure 05 – Edgar Wood 'heritage trail', with Long Street at number 3. Red line added by author to emphasize the route. Source, p. 'The Buildings of Edgar Wood', Rochdale Council.

3.2 A social network analysis of Long Street

The SNA relationship model was constructed from data obtained from both primary and secondary research related to the building. This included qualitative interviews, surveys, archival data and site visits. Whilst the interviews conducted by the researcher were with

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built heritage professionals, the relationship model did make use of a large body of existing interview data with local residents that was undertaken by the Greater Manchester Building Preservation Trust[4]. These were primarily 'recollections' about the building and its importance to those who care about it. Despite the researcher being unable to liaise directly with local community groups (due to project constraints), the use of existing interview data does highlight the capacity for this approach to utilise first-hand qualitative data acquired from community engagement (e.g. semi-structured interviews, focus groups, ethnographic studies) – methods that may better capture the elusive, dynamic and intangible nature of social value (Jones, 2017, p. 26). Following data collection, a basic relationship model of all uncovered tangible and intangible heritage related to the building was created using a free open-source tool for social network data analysis. The approach was to utilize the basic features of network analysis to understand whether it was a viable assessment method that could offer insight into alternative conceptions of the building's heritage.

At its very basic, SNA consists of two elements – 'nodes' and 'edges'. Nodes can represent people, places, things, feelings – so can be both tangible and intangible. Edges are the defined connections (or relationships) between nodes. This basic model was used to map the various physical and non-physical heritage of the building as per Table 01. The nodes inputted into the network capture a wide range of tangible and intangible heritage – from missing original roof slates, to local memories of the building; from original architectural drawings to recent fundraising activities (refer to Table 02). Similarly, a wide variety of edges were also inputted into the network. For example, if a local member of the community had a particular memory of an event at a particular location, a 'memories' node was linked to the relevant community, event and room nodes; or if a particular heritage organization had a relationship with another organization, these nodes were also connected.

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Table 01 – The translation of key concepts between heritage and social networks used for Long Street analysis.

Heritage	SNA Element
Tangible elements	
Building elements (conserved, restored, additive, demolished)	Node
Peripheral elements (objects, furniture, plans, media)	Node
Intangible elements	
Activities, events, uses, skills, practices	Node
Societies, parties, institutions	Node
Memories	Node
Design, knowledge, history	Node
Interactions, relationships, conflicts, exchanges	
Professional relationships	Edge
Community relationships	Edge
Heritage interactions	Edge
Tangible and intangible heritage relationships	Edge

Table 02 – Extract example of the nodes inputted.

ID	**Label**	**Keyword**	**Location**
27	missing roof slates	building component	external
36	coping stones	building component	external
41	gates	building component	external
60	kitchen service door	building component	external
61	external steps	building component	landscaping
62	memories	intangible association	immaterial
63	Middleton Civic Association	intangible artefact	immaterial
112	fundraising	intangible association	immaterial
119	contract drawings 1894/5	peripheral artefact	architectural drawings
132	window tracery	building component	external

4.0 Results and Discussion

4.1 Heritage entanglements

The resulting SNA model for the building is comprised of 144 nodes that are interconnected via a total of 486 edges. Figure 06 illustrates the overall network model – what can be

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conceived as the 'heritage entanglements' of Long Street. The overall model serves to illustrate the variety and complexity of relationships between the various actors (human or non-human) and practices that the building is situated amongst. Whilst the elucidation of this overarching network model is illuminating in itself, particular visual characteristics of the model (node size, location, colour and grouping) will now be discussed in more detail.

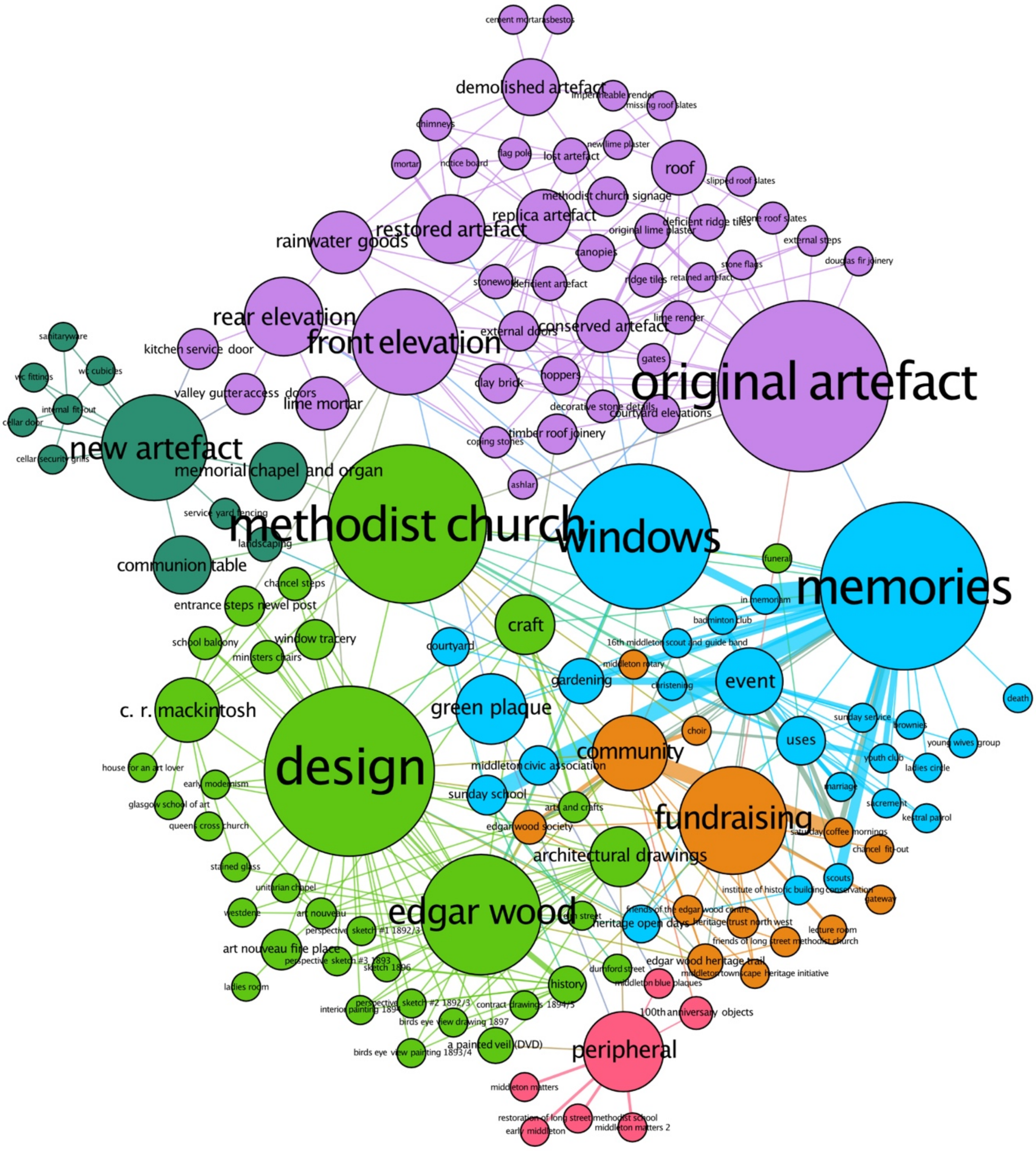
cement mortar
asbestos
demolished artefact
impermeable render
missing roof slates
chimneys
mortar
notice board
flag pole
lost artefact
new lime plaster
roof
slipped roof slates
methodist church signage
replica artefact
restored artefact
rainwater goods
original lime plaster
deficient ridge tiles
stone roof slates
external steps
douglas fir joinery
canopies
stone flags
stonework
deficient artefact
ridge tiles
retained artefact
rear elevation
front elevation
external doors
conserved artefact
lime render
kitchen service door
gates
sanitaryware
wc fittings
wc cubicles
clay brick
hoppers
original artefact
valley gutter
access doors
lime mortar
decorative stone details
courtyard elevations
internal fit-out
cellar door
timber roof joinery
coping stones
cellar security grills
new artefact
memorial chapel and organ
ashlar
service yard fencing
methodist church
windows
landscaping
funeral
communion table
memories
chancel steps
in memoriam
entrance steps
newel post
badminton club
craft
16th middleton scout and guide band
school balcony
window tracery
courtyard
ministers chairs
middleton rotary
gardening
christening
event
c. r. mackintosh
green plaque
death
sunday service
choir
brownies
uses
young wives group
community
house for an art lover
middleton civic association
youth club
ladies circle
early modernism
design
marriage
sunday school
glasgow school of art
arts and crafts
sacrement
fundraising
kestral patrol
queens cross church
edgar wood society
saturday coffee mornings
chancel fit-out
architectural drawings
stained glass
scouts
unitarian chapel
institute of historic building conservation
gateway
westdene
art nouveau
friends of the edgar wood centre
edgar wood
long street
heritage open days
heritage trust north west
lecture room
perspective sketch #1 1892/3
friends of long street methodist church
art nouveau fire place
perspective sketch #3 1893
sketch 1896
durnford street
edgar wood heritage trail
middleton townscape heritage initiative
ladies room
middleton blue plaques
history
perspective sketch #2 1892/3
contract drawings 1894/5
interior painting 1894
100th anniversary objects
birds eye view drawing 1897
a painted veil (DVD)
peripheral
birds eye view painting 1893/4
middleton matters
restoration of long street methodist school
early middleton
middleton matters 2

Figure 06 – The heritage entanglements of Long Street. Relationships and practices of material and immaterial heritage. Author original image.

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Two visual characteristics of the heritage network will immediately be obvious – the variation in node size, as well as the various colours used to articulate particular groups of nodes. Firstly, the size of each node is relative to the number of connections the node has. This reveals the most connected (or ‘entangled’) nodes being ‘design’, ‘Edgar Wood’, ‘memories’, ‘fundraising’, ‘Methodist church’, ‘windows’, and the building as an ‘original artefact’. Secondly, the colour-coding represents clusters of nodes that have a high number of internal connections with one another – or put simply, a highly connected group of nodes. By visualising these two characteristics together, it is possible to not only see which nodes are most influential within the network; but also what nodes they are influencing and entangling. This makes it possible to not only determine the connections between tangible and intangible heritage, but also to determine what practices are bringing them together.

A total of six groups have been identified from the network analysis, which can be interpreted from a Practice Theory perspective as ‘…intercalated constellations of practices, technology, and materiality’ (Schatzki, 2010, p. 123) (refer to Table 03). This study will further explore groups 3, 4, and 5 (‘society’, ‘building design’ and ‘memories’ respectively).

Table 03 – Communities identified by network analysis, as demonstrated in Figure 06.

Group ID No.	**Colour**	**Description**
1	Dark green	New building artefacts
2	Pink	Peripheral building artefacts
3	Orange	Society and fundraising activities
4	Light green	The building design and its association with Edgar Wood
5	Blue	Memories of building events and window memorialization
6	Purple	The building as an ‘original’ artefact

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4.2 Heritage practices: memory, design and community

4.2.1. Memorial practice

During the 2017 restoration works for Long Street, a fundraising initiative was devised that allowed members of the local community to dedicate a restored window to a friend, family member or loved one, in exchange for a donation towards the window restoration process (refer to Figure 07).

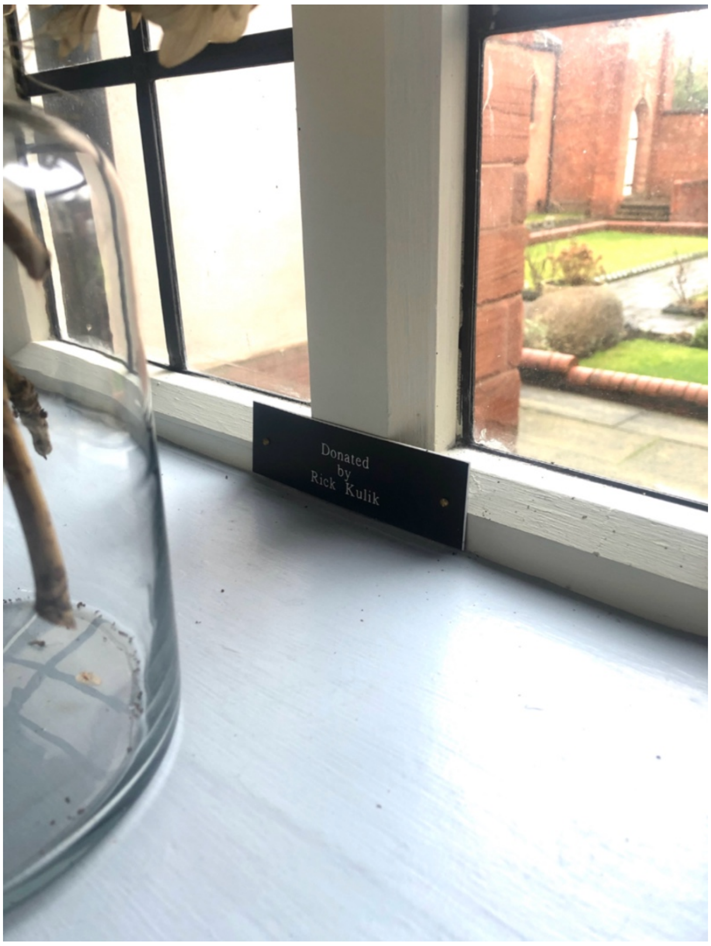

Figure 07 – One of many windows funded by a community member in memoriam to another. This is represented physically by a small plaque. An entanglement of people, physical building elements, fundraising activities and memories. Author original photograph.

Some donations came from individuals, whilst others came from local clubs/ groups through various incentives and charity work. In striving towards a replication of the original

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Edgar Wood design (an expensive task involving research, craftsmanship and high-quality materials), a ‘memory practice’ was employed that not only instigated various fundraising activities/ events within the local community but also nurtured a contemporary relationship between the memories of the local community and the restoration of the building (see Figure 08).

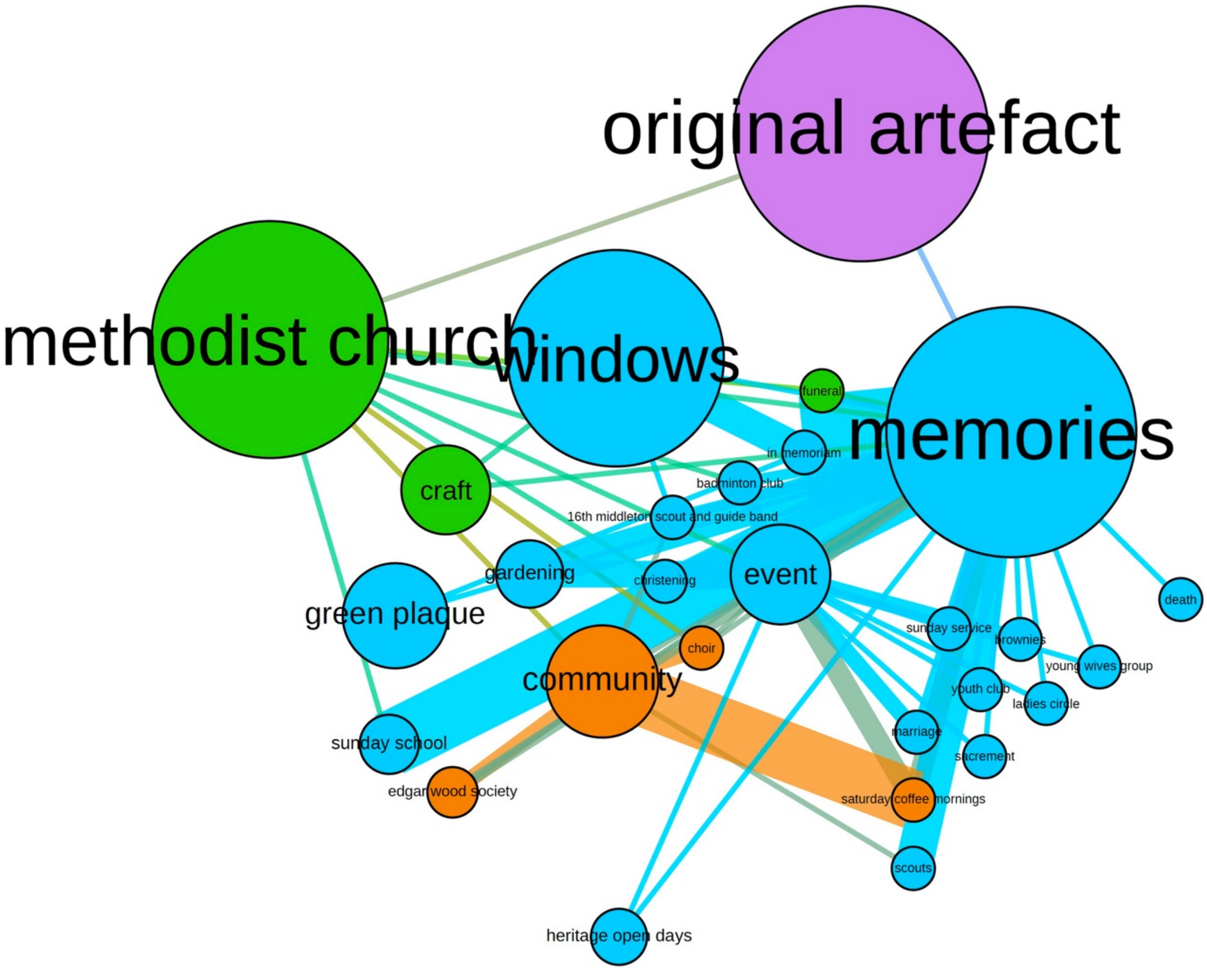
original artefact
methodist church
windows
memories
funeral
in memoriam
badminton club
craft
16th middleton scout and guide band
event
gardening
christening
green plaque
death
sunday service
brownies
choir
young wives group
community
youth club
ladies circle
marriage
sunday school
sacrement
edgar wood society
saturday coffee mornings
scouts
heritage open days

Figure 08 – Memory practice at Long Street, intimately tied in to community activities and embodied within the original building. Author original image.

This new relationship between living memory and the physical building fabric has not only helped to safeguard the building fabric – it has also contributed towards bringing the

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building back into viable use as a space for contemporary community practices – and subsequently, a space for the creation of new memories. The memory practice therefore enhances the memorial efficacy of the building, which now not only represents the broader narratives of Edgar Wood, but also the meanings of the building to the local community in the early twenty-first century.

4.2.2. Design practice

Unsurprisingly the SNA calculated a group of highly connected nodes that reflect the building design and its association with Edgar Wood (refer to Figure 09). It also highlights the close relationship between the original building design and the recent community fundraising activities that have supported its protection and subsequent restoration back to Wood's originally conceived design.

Various peripheral artefacts have helped to achieve this, such as key architectural design drawings across the building's design evolution. However, more significant to the original design is the continued use of the building as a Methodist church. This has been sustained by a continuity of events and activities by the church community that support the safeguarding of the original Edgar Wood design as per the original design drawings. Activities in the present-day are therefore very much interested in the building acting as a symbolic site of inscription of Wood's artistic integrity (Glendinning, 2013, p. 78; Olsen, 2010, p. 3).

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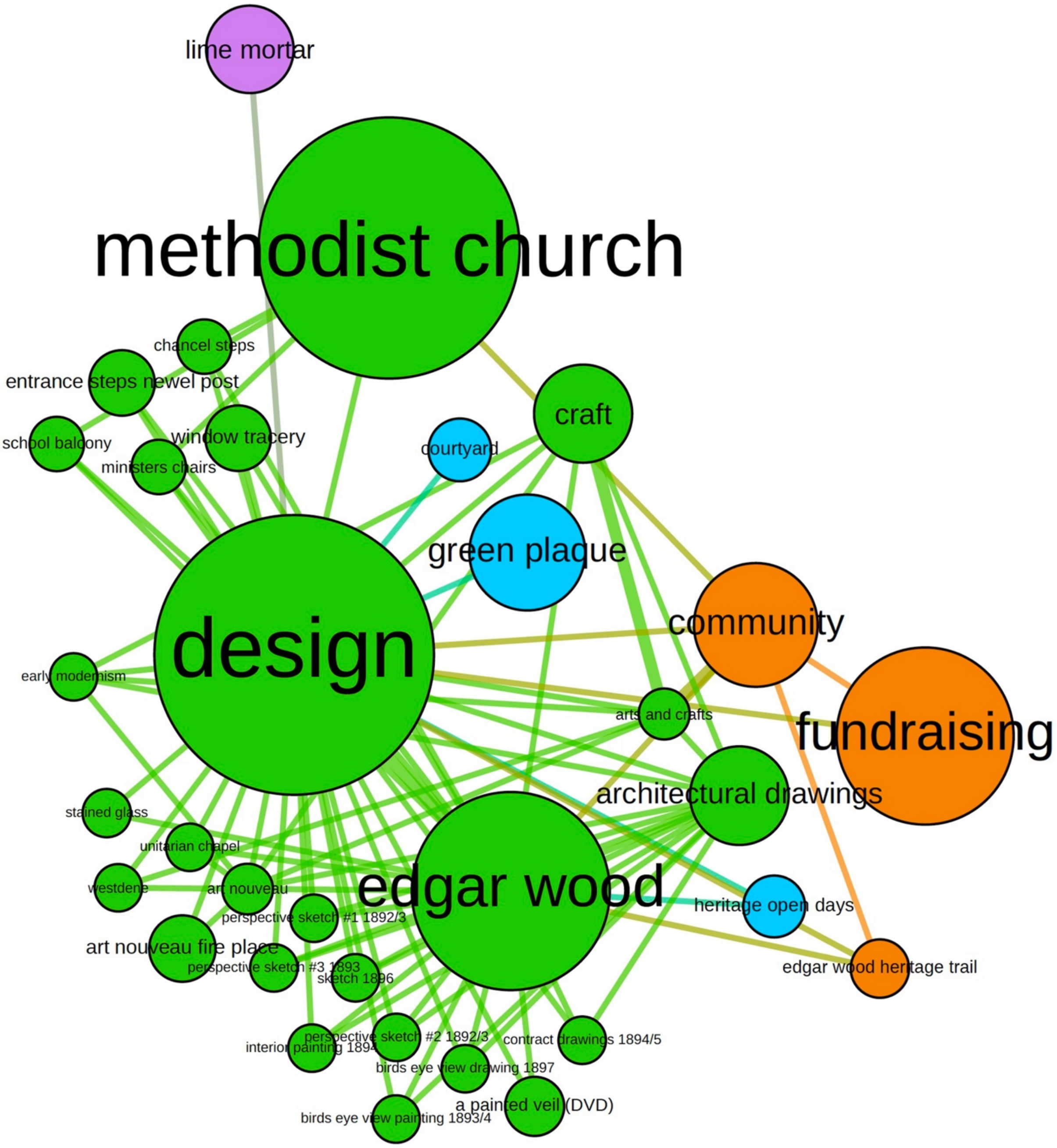
lime mortar
methodist church
chancel steps
entrance steps newel post
school balcony
window tracery
ministers chairs
courtyard
craft
green plaque
design
community
fundraising
early modernism
arts and crafts
architectural drawings
stained glass
unitarian chapel
westdene
art nouveau
edgar wood
heritage open days
perspective sketch #1 1892/3
art nouveau fire place
perspective sketch #3 1893
sketch 1896
edgar wood heritage trail
interior painting 1894
perspective sketch #2 1892/3
contract drawings 1894/5
birds eye view drawing 1897
a painted veil (DVD)
birds eye view painting 1893/4

Figure 09 – Design practice at Long Street, heavily connected to community-based fundraising events and the expression of Edgar Wood concepts, including himself. Author original image.

4.3 The relationship between tangible and intangible heritage

Using SNA as an approach to generate a network model for a listed building clearly has its merits in relation to understanding the relationship between its tangible and intangible heritage. It also has a noticeable capacity to amalgamate contemporary themes in heritage

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surrounding digitization and the problematization of heritage domains (Harrison, 2015; Hill, 2018; Rahaman & Tan, 2011; Taylor & Gibson, 2017). Firstly, an SNA approach offers an equality of visibility across heritage domains that helps to address the difficulties associated with assessing and managing immaterial heritage (Smith & Waterton, 2009, p. 298). Windows can sit alongside memories and reciprocal relationships can be established on equal terms. Secondly, it offers an opportunity to *understand* these various tangible-intangible relationships, which can work towards supporting the built heritage professional's evolving role in defining what is significant and what values have more prominence than others (de la Torre, 2013:163). For example, by illuminating the importance of 'memory work' undertaken at the building and its ability to merge broader narratives within local narratives, the significance of the building as a symbol of community practices in Middleton is intensified. Thirdly, it offers an opportunity for heritage professionals to uncover the underlying processes that keeps heritage *as heritage*. This is achieved by looking beyond established 'cultural activities' and emphasising the ordinary, everyday practices that contribute towards its significance – what Kamel-Ahmed (2015, p. 74) describes as the analysis of "life patterns". Choir, youth club, and coffee mornings sit alongside the more notable use of the building as a place of worship; and the daily mechanisms of various organizations are revealed as vitally important in maintaining a continuity of these life patterns. Lastly, and perhaps most noteworthy, an SNA approach emphasizes the dynamic and unpredictable nature of heritage by de-emphasising the centrality of the building within assessment and management processes, and instead reconceptualising it as an inherent part of social phenomena (Schatzki, 2010, p. 141). The network model therefore encourages an assessment of socio-material histories and an appraisal of how best these histories can be managed and sustained for the future.

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5.0 Concluding remarks

This study has demonstrated how a rudimentary use of Social Network Analysis can offer a deeper insight into the heritage significance of a historic or listed building. It has shown how it can encourage parity across tangible and intangible heritage domains during assessment; as well as foster a re-aligned professional focus that concentrates more on the various practices that sustain and give meaning to built heritage assets – rather than a materialistic point of departure for assessment. Critical to this is the adoption of a renewed sense of what a building *is*, or *could be*, in order to utilize SNA to its full potential. This requires an ontological realignment that reconceptualizes buildings as ever-changing material and social hybrids. In this instance, Practice Theory was utilized as the broader ontology to achieve this. Perhaps most importantly, the use of SNA in assessing the significance of a listed building has demonstrated that whilst guidance and policy for built heritage professionals often compartmentalizes heritage into ‘domains’, it is perhaps more illuminating and essential to understand the socio-material structures in place that entangle the various material and immaterial heritage; and in doing so, one must accept the notion that these socio-material practices should be considered for conservation and safeguarding, alongside the physical building itself.

6.0 Limitations and further research

This study used only the basic principles of SNA in assessing the heritage of its case study building. The researcher does not have a background in SNA, so its potential as an analytical tool has been vastly underused. Future research would benefit from an interdisciplinary team of researchers from both heritage and SNA fields (e.g. computer science, mathematics, statistics) to explore a fuller and richer range of heritage assessment and interpretation

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possibilities. How a real-world use of SNA might be integrated within the role of the heritage professional when assessing the significance of listed buildings is unclear at this stage. However, it is possible that the key concepts reinforced by this study (i.e. a mindfulness of parity across heritage domains; an openness towards ontological redefinitions of buildings; and the consideration of heritage 'practices') are already capable of being integrated within individual professional approaches towards the assessment and management of built heritage assets, without the need to utilize SNA-specific software.

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Endnotes

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1 For context, only 5.8% of all listed buildings in England are considered significant enough to warrant this grading. Source: Historic England, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/what-is-designation/listed-buildings/

2 'Edgar Wood, p. A Painted Veil'. A film by the Heritage Film Group/ Anthony Dolan.

3 For example, see Morris (2008, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2018), who builds primarily on the work of Archer (1963, 1968, 1975).

4 'The Restoration of Long Street Methodist Former Schools', 2018. Interviews with locals that '…tell the story about the importance of this building in each individuals life.'

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Stories of feelings and things: intangible heritage from within the built heritage paradigm in the UK

The changing nature of heritage over recent decades has stimulated a focus on intangible heritage – the understanding of which specifically from within the UK built heritage paradigm remains inconclusive. This is problematic when considering developments in policy and practice that demonstrate a steady dismantling of a material focus. To gain sector-specific insight into how the intangible heritage of buildings is conceptualised, a series of 16 semi-structured interviews were conducted with built heritage professionals. Data was collated into eight themes (stories; history; events; memory; use; discord; craft; emotion) and an explanatory model developed, revealing the understanding of intangible heritage as a collection of 'narratives' that contribute towards an overarching building 'story'. Both 'buildings' and 'people' were acknowledged as co-authors of this story; however, professionals did not acknowledge their own role within the storytelling process. This downplays their role as curator of heritage, as well as their personal experiences that inevitably shape the storytelling process. Findings suggest built heritage practice should be reconceptualised as a storytelling activity. This will offer greater opportunities for intangible heritage to be consolidated within the built heritage paradigm, by encouraging professionals to see themselves as translators of intangible heritage as well as custodians of physical heritage.

Keywords: built heritage, intangible heritage, building conservation, heritage management, heritage assessment, heritage policy

Introduction

Heritage is increasingly understood as an intangible concept in both policy and practice (Smith 2006, 3; Smith and Akagawa 2009, 6; Pocock, Collett, and Baulch 2015, 964; Pétursdóttir 2013, 31; Vecco 2010, 323). This represents a major turning point in how society deals with cultural assets, and is considered to be part of the postmodern turn in

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heritage studies (Fairchild Ruggles and Silverman 2010; Muñoz Viñas 2002; Walter 2014). Formalised conceptions of the intangible heritage domain have been stimulated by the UNESCO (2003) 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage'. This convention charts the following shifts in understanding: static to dynamic interpretations of authenticity (Labadi 2013, 117); expert to community processes (Blake 2009, 45; Lenzerini 2011, 111); fixed interpretations to the acknowledgement of 'multiple temporal affiliations' (Dolff-Bonekämper and Blower 2012, 276); objective to subjective perspectives (Lenzerini 2011, 108); and global to local interests (Blake 2014, 46).

For built heritage professionals, these shifts challenge traditional educational and training objectives (Wain 2014, 54), which puts ephemeral notions of heritage out of step with prevailing professional views (Smith 2006, 2). The legislation that underpins these views has a history of promoting heritage as a series of constrained categories exclusively devised for material sites (DeSilvey 2017, 81), which places intangible heritage largely outside the scope of built heritage practice.

Yet as this paper will explore, there is a rising influence of an intangible conception of heritage within the built heritage sector, which implies a need to understand how those who work with historic buildings situate *themselves* within contemporary dialogues concerning the foregrounding of immaterial manifestations of culture. A series of 16 semi-structured interviews with built heritage professionals explores the following research questions: how do those who are tasked with assessing the significance of physical heritage define, perceive and understand intangible heritage? How do they accommodate a conception of intangible heritage within their role? Indeed, if they believe they consider intangible heritage, what exactly *is* it from

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their standpoint? And lastly, can a sector-specific definition or model be generated that elucidates their understanding(s) in relation to the existing literature on intangible heritage?

Tangible heritage in the UK

'Anxieties about impermanence'

The societal view of historic buildings as finite and fragile is a critical concept that underpins the UK emphasis on physical heritage sites and their conservation. Holtorfand and Högberg (2015, 513) suggest this view may relate to "…a strong human desire to obtain a sense of purpose by caring for something profound…". Lowenthal (2015, 352) states it may relate to the Western understanding of time as linear and unrepeatable, as it is through the passing of time that the majority of things deteriorate, grow old and disappear. It may also have a connection with the inherent mortality of human existence, with both Glendinning (2013, 17) and DeSilvey (2017, 158) noting the parallel between the decay of buildings and the vulnerability of human life. If, as Riegl (2006, 73) [originally 1903] states, we recognise ourselves in buildings, then it is likely we will impose our own living state on them and see them as 'living entities' that possess a 'social life' (DeSilvey 2017, 167; Walter 2014, 644).

It is this 'anxiety about impermanence' that has underpinned Western conservation practices to date (DeSilvey 2017, 166), which makes sense when considering the origin of the conservation movement itself emerged from the 'existential reflection' of antiquarianism (Kobialka 2014, 358–59; Delafons 1997, 9). Antiquarianism was broadened during the destructive Industrial Revolution in England

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(Glendinning 2013, 41) to include not just historic objects but also historic buildings (H. Silverman 2015, 71). Consequently, modes of building conservation emerged from the 'antiquarian approach' (Mydland and Grahn 2012), eventually manifesting as nineteenth century preservationist ideals centred around material authenticity, permanence, continuity and inherent value (de la Torre 2013; Jones 2017; Yarrow 2018; Smith and Waterton 2009). Ergo, building conservation practice is generally associated with the prevention of decay (Feilden 2003, 3),which encourages the process of changing (conserving or adapting) built heritage to be led by the material site and the values extracted directly from it (Pocock, Collett, and Baulch 2015, 962) – the quintessential point of departure for contemporary built heritage practice in the UK.

'Conservation-planning assemblage'

A focus on material sites in the UK positions heritage firmly within the confines of the planning system (Glendinning 2013, 285), creating a legal emphasis on physical heritage. Pendlebury (2013, 709) refers to this as the 'conservation-planning assemblage', which is designed to value and make decisions from the perspective of land-use planning (McClelland et al. 2013, 583). This assemblage reinforces an emphasis on physical sites, which the planning system is specifically calibrated to control (including the heritage listing system itself). The characteristics of this assemblage are convenient for built heritage professionals for a number of reasons: 1) the physical building fabric gives values a tangible, recognisable quality, allowing them to be clearly demarcated (Kearney 2009, 201); 2) it affords a static interpretation of buildings being most valued when in their original form (Tait and While 2009, 734); and 3) perceiving value as an *inherent* quality of a historic building means any

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assessment of this value will (at least in theoretical terms) yield the same results, regardless of who is assessing it. These characteristics are contra the aforementioned shifts in understanding that characterise an intangible conception of heritage.

Whilst the formalisation of intangible heritage in policy is heavily applicable to non-Western indigenous communities (Marrie 2009, 169; UNESCO 2003, 1), it can also be applied to Western communities, societies and their cultural practices – particularly in relation to the 'consumption' of heritage things (Delle and Levine 2011, 52–53). This is perhaps why in the UK – despite a deeply rooted preoccupation with physical heritage – a steady dismantling of both the conservation-planning assemblage and the anxieties that underpin it, is not only feasible, but can also be demonstrated in developments across policy and practice.

Intangible heritage in the UK

Some developments in policy

The National Planning Policy Framework (2019) (hereafter the NPPF) and The National Lottery Heritage Fund (2019) (hereafter the NLHF) are two documents that best exhibit a decline in material focus in policy and guidance. The NPPF was originally introduced in 2012 and supersedes a host of prescriptive guidance notes for built heritage professionals within Planning Policy Guidance 15 (1994) (hereafter PPG 15). PPG 15 was a guidance document of circa 100 pages, with a heavy focus on the physical fabric of buildings. Some examples of this include:

> C.40 As a rule, windows in historic buildings should be repaired, or if beyond repair should be replaced 'like for like'.

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> C.20 Parapets (solid or balustraded), pediments, parapeted or coped gables and saddlestones, eaves, cornices and moulded cappings are essential terminal features in the articulation of an elevation. If they have to be replaced, it should be in facsimile and in the same materials.
>
> (Department of the Environment 1994)

By comparison, the NPPF (Chapter 16: Conserving and Enhancing the Historic Environment) has removed all prescriptive building-specific instruction, replacing it with a mere three and a half pages of guidance that emphasises the importance of community enjoyment, social and cultural benefits, and viable uses of heritage (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government 2019, 54–55).

Similarly, the NLHF's more recent 'Strategic Funding Framework' (The National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019) not only makes explicit the importance of people/ communities within funding applications, but also defines a more inclusive understanding of heritage, as well as making *explicit* reference to intangible heritage in the UK:

> Our understanding of the ways in which heritage might be considered at risk is broad. It includes. . . intangible heritage and cultural practices that might be lost.
>
> (The National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019, 16)

It also clarifies that there is no statutory agency responsible for intangible heritage in the UK (The National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019, 51), which explains the lack of UK funding for intangible heritage since 1994 (4%) in comparison to the funding for historic buildings and monuments (37%) (Historic England 2008, 13).

Historic England's 'Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance' (2008) must also be noted alongside these documents. Whilst having long offered implicit

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recognition of intangible heritage under its heading 'communal value' ('symbolic', 'social', and 'spiritual') (Historic England 2008, 31), its position within the overarching 1990 Act means these values lack formal prominence and are often overlooked in practice (Jones 2017, 22; Chitty and Smith 2019, 284). Furthermore, a more recent 'Consultation Draft' of an updated *Conservation Principles* has removed 'communal value' as a category in its own right – instead shoehorning 'communal value' within 'historic interest' (Historic England 2017, 7). Unsurprisingly, the draft also now explicitly states that "[i]t does not directly address intangible heritage" (Historic England 2017, 1).

Some developments in practice

Reinterpretations of existing listed buildings and the listing of new buildings also demonstrates a broadening of approaches. There are many recent listing examples that appear to contradict the traditional Western perspectives on what a listed building is and why it should be listed. Petrol stations, bus shelters, huts and bike sheds all now formally represent the tangible heritage domain with their listed representatives[1]. For example, the Bletchley Park Huts in Milton Keynes were listed Grade II in 2005, and each described within their listing description as an '…undistinguished building architecturally' (Historic England 2005). Instead of concerns of an architectural or aesthetic nature they are instead listed for their past uses and atmosphere (Lake and Hutchings 2009, 94). Any attention given to their physical fabric is concerned with their

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[1] For example, see: Esso Station, Birstall, Leicester (Grade II); bus shelter, Osmington, Dorset (Grade II); Hut 11, Bletchley Park, Milton Keynes (Grade II); bike shed, St. Catherine's College, Oxford (Grade I).

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use – a physical tribute to both the people who worked there and the codebreaking work undertaken (Monckton 2006, 294).

Other examples include the Wake Green Road Prefabs in Birmingham, listed Grade II in 1998. Whilst originally listed due to their historic associations with WWII and their physical rarity, a more recent conservation management plan prepared for Birmingham City Council in 2019 heavily acknowledges the collective memories of the people who lived in or around them, as well as the '…memories of those who didn't survive the war…' (Robson 2019, 40). It is subsequently becoming more common that prefabs such as these are celebrated as a testement to the 'ordinary', and celebrated primarily because of their intangible qualities. These qualities are often centred on 'communicative memory', a non-institutional 'informal generational memory' that is part of everyday processes and rituals (Assmann 2008). This scheme in particular has paved the way for further designations of a similar nature (Blanchet and Zhuravlyova 2018, 84), increasing focus on everyday living memory within the heritage assessment process. This is all despite there being no formalised approaches established to accomplish this.

Postmodern problems and affective things

An emphasis on the intangible heritage domain has sought to destabilise the notion of intrinsic material authenticity (Smith and Campbell 2017, 29; Smith 2006, 5–6), which in turn counteracts historically positivist, objective and quasi-scientific approaches towards heritage and conservation (Jones and Yarrow 2013, 6; Walter 2014, 635; Hassard 2009, 278). These are key tenets that form part of what Olsen (2010, 3) describes as a "…dominant antimaterial conception of culture and society within the

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human and social sciences". Whilst this overarching antimaterial approach has encouraged a multiplicity of meanings through subjective and ever-changing perceptions (Dolff-Bonekämper and Blower 2012, 276; Kamel-Ahmed 2015, 73; Taylor 2015, 75), for some it has only served to heighten the theoretical detachment between materials and meanings:

> But where does it lead us to claim that all heritage is intangible, that there are no such things as heritage? . . . where does it leave things, in heritage, to deny them their tangibility or 'thingness'? And where does it leave heritage to ignore things' role, or to assign them innocence, in the discourse and construction of heritage conceptions?
>
> (Pétursdóttir 2013, 33)

Skrede and Hølleland (2018, 89) believe the rejection of 'thingness' in critical conceptions of heritage ignores the affecting presence that material 'things' can have, as well as serving to reinforce the 'nature-culture split' that is at the root of UNESCO guidance (Witcomb and Buckley 2013; Hill 2018).

In the UK, the theoretical tension between acknowledging subjective human accounts (intangible) and objective nonhuman material things (tangible) creates a series of complexities for built heritage practice. Firstly, there is the overarching 'conceptual confusion' highlighted by Smith and Campbell (2017, 39), which they evidence through professional use of the contradictory terms 'tangible value' and 'intangible value'. Secondly, the acknowledgment of a multiplicity of subjective viewpoints results in an inability to regulate 'significance' (Labadi 2013, 13). Walter (2014, 638) warns this new broadening of heritage could 'devolve into a sort of 'heritage X-Factor'' and similarly Glendinning (2013, 425) highlights how subjectivity could support 'false recollection or

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simple fiction'. Thirdly, the broadening of meanings and values of heritage is at odds with the overarching Parliamentary Act that determines the remit of the built heritage professional to be the physical 'architectural' and 'historic' qualities of things (HM Government 1990, 1). And lastly, if the value of heritage things is a product of society and thus subject to change across time (Smith and Campbell 2017, 31), then listed buildings – with their slow-moving and resource-heavy transformations – struggle to keep up with constantly shifting value judgements.

Summary

If the built heritage sector is still unable to consolidate well-known postmodern heritage matters within its day-to-day practices, then unsurprisingly, it will be ill-equipped to grapple with more recent ideas developed at the frontier of heritage studies. Whilst there are implicit developments taking place within built heritage policy and practice that brings the sector in closer alignment to the UNESCO declarations and charters – these changes are mostly implicit, fairly ambiguous, and do not actually hold professionals accountable for safeguarding immaterial manifestations of culture. This creates a confusing landscape for built heritage practice, with little clarity offered in relation to what intangible heritage actually means within their specific remit. A lack of detailed empirical studies on this matter that engage with those on the frontline of built heritage assessment, conservation and management is no doubt part of this complex issue. This clarity can only be achieved through understanding how these individuals conceptualise heritage domains, feelings and things within their day-to-day activities.

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Empirical research

Sample, data collection and analysis

Sixteen semi-structured interviews with UK-based built heritage professionals were conducted in 2019. This method generated 'narrative accounts' that illuminated understandings of intangible heritage from within the 'social world' of built heritage practice (Miller and Glassner 2004, 137). In an attempt to reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the sector and avoid the restricted views from any one specific profession, a variety of professionals were approached; however, the final sample consisted of 50% architects – no doubt a partial consequence of the researcher's own profession within the sector (refer to Table 1).

Table 1 - Interviewee roles across the sample.

Heritage role	Number of interviewees
Accredited conservation architect	6
Architect (not conservation accredited)	2
Historic building surveyor	2
Heritage planner	1
Heritage consultant	3
Archaeologist	1
Governmental heritage role	1
Total participants	**16**

Interviews were structured around three thematic topics: 1) understanding intangible heritage (perception, definition, identification and meaning); 2) intangible heritage in policy; and 3) intangible heritage and community engagement. The responses given for the first topic are the primary concern of this paper (refer to Table 2 for interview questions). Interviews were transcribed and then analysed using 'thematic synthesis' within qualitative data analysis software.

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Table 2 – Extract from interview script for Topic 1, 'Understanding intangible heritage'.

No.	Question
1	Have you heard of intangible heritage?
1a	If yes, what do you believe it means?
1b	If no, what do you think it may mean or refer to?
2	Do you think professionals within the built heritage sector in general are aware of intangible heritage?
3	What do you think the main difference is between tangible and intangible heritage
4	From your experience, is intangible heritage something that people within the built heritage sector consider when working with listed buildings?
4a	Do you think this approach is correct?
4b	What do you think the approach should be?
4c	Are there any other changes you would make?
5	If the built heritage sector were to increase awareness and importance of intangible heritage when working with listed buildings, how would this impact:
5a	Your role?
5b	The built heritage sector in general?
5c	The conservation and/or adaptation of listed buildings?

Results

Overview

The thematic analysis revealed eight primary themes that built heritage professionals discussed when considering the intangible heritage of buildings. In order of repetition frequency, these were: stories; history; events; memory; building use; discord; building craft; and emotion[2] (refer to Table 3). The results for each theme will be discussed in this order, followed by a detailed discussion that consolidates the findings.

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[2] Other themes generated that had a significantly lower frequency count were: 'tradition', 'legacy', 'culture', 'customs' and 'meanings'.

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Table 3 – Eight key themes extracted from data analysis.

Order	Coded theme	Sample descriptor quote
1	Stories	'It's social thing that's linked to storytelling'
2	History	'The human history of a place'
3	Events	'It is an event that maybe happened there'
4	Memory	'You are playing with memories'
5	Use	'Can you put more importance on a specific use?'
6	Discord	'It is not always positive'
7	Craft	'A craft skill is an intangible thing'
8	Emotion	'It gets me in my heart'

Stories: 'it's a social thing that's linked to storytelling'

Intangible heritage was most commonly described as a story; relating either to a building, or to people associated with a building. Stories relating to a building fell into three categories: 1) stories of a building as a complete assemblage; 2) stories relating to the individual building materials; and 3) stories surrounding the methods of construction. Stories relating to people were generally associated with building users and 'the stories and recollections of what happened' (Interviewee 421225). For example, one interviewee stated intangible heritage 'is linked to [the] working class… it's a social thing that's linked to storytelling' (Interviewee 901781).

Buildings and people were seen as co-narrators of these stories, with both contributing to the wider understandings of the conception of a building (its past) and 'how the building is changed to adapt to new uses and new technology' (its future) (Interviewee 870507). Overall, the context of a building story was often framed by interviewees as 'community centred' and relating to 'communal values', with its purpose to convey memory and emotion – not necessarily hard facts. As one interviewee explained about a current project:

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> It is more about the community. . . it's about the stories and recollections of what happened there. The building probably comes secondary to that – to those stories.
> (Interviewee 421225)

History: 'the human history of a place'

The importance of history and 'historic significance' in relation to heritage assets was emphasised, with one interviewee explaining how it 'gives you a sense of what the building is about and what it means – even if that isn't entirely about what is still there' (Interviewee 334986). 'History' was used as a general term to capture ideas relating to both 'the use of buildings, how they function in the past' (Interviewee 552297) and 'the human history of a place' (Interviewee 870507). Two aspects of history were noted as being particularly important: 'historic personalities', such as 'a connection to Emeline Pankhurst' (Interviewee 421225) and 'historic milestones', like at Bletchley Park, where 'what happened there was so unbelievably important and changed the course of all our futures' (Interviewee 487627).

History was explicitly noted as having both a tangible and intangible quality – manifesting as either a value that can impact meaning (e.g. historic *value*), or a physical record that can be interrogated (e.g. the building *as* a historic record). Unlike 'stories', 'history' was described as 'the objective fact about the place' (Interviewee 334986), and because of this was understood to have a different relationship with the 'memory' and 'emotion' of a building.

Events: 'it is an event that maybe happened there'

Events were defined as activities and/ or traditions that have a connection with a building, and fell into cultural, political and communal/ social categories. Larger scale

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events with a collective social impact were described, like 'when the Sex Pistols played at the Free Trade Hall. . . that's definitely still intangible but culturally for Manchester it was so important' (Interviewee 901781); as well as smaller, personal scale events, such as the reflections of one interviewee regarding Rochdale Town Hall:

> The intangible heritage there [Rochdale Town hall] might be completely different for different people. So, part of the heritage of that place for me is that my mum and dad got married there, and I played the violin there when I was little.
>
> (Interviewee 509240)

Overall, interviewees described events as tied in with 'history' and 'memory' at varying scales – national, communal, personal – and acknowledged how they could be either positive or negative (e.g. the Peterloo Massacre was described as a negative event).

Memory: 'you are playing with memories'

Memories were believed to capture the spirit of a place, and professionals primarily talked about personal 'everyday' heritage narratives, comprised of 'social elements' and 'personal experiences'. As one interviewee explained:

> It may be that building or behind that building I met my girlfriend, or I smoked my first cigarette, or I listened to this really great story or something like that. Who knows? But buildings have got these layers of meaning for people and they can be very mundane but they are equally important.
>
> (Interviewee 214600)

Memories therefore 'might not be [about] a historical figure, [rather] it's people in the real-life day that have an association with the project' (Interviewee 509240).

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However, the potentially infinite spectrum of these building memories made this a highly subjective theme:

> Everyone has got a slightly different perspective on whether – you're a person who used to work in the building, a person who has walked past it every day, a person in another part of the country who has seen the building on television and sees it differently. Like the spirit of place is unique to every individual.
>
> (Interviewee 477549)

In particular, it was felt that memories have the capacity to 'make something that traditionally might be regarded as insignificant, significant' (Interviewee 870507). However, interviewees noted that memories were not often considered by built heritage professionals when assessing significance. The elusive and ephemeral nature of memory is a likely reason for this, with the ability of memories to outlast the physical fabric adding conceptual confusion to the assessment process:

> There is nothing left of Peterloo – St. Peters church and churchyard are gone. . . So where is the physical thing? It isn't there. But all of that non-physical heritage – the memories, the associations – are still there and still very strong.
>
> (Interviewee 214600)

This perceived lack of integration and interaction with the memories of buildings was met with caution by some, with one interviewee stating 'you have to be careful when you are playing with buildings because you are playing with memories, you're playing with those associations' (Interviewee 214600).

Use: 'can you put more importance on a specific use?'

The previous uses of a building were highlighted as intangible contributions to the

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'history' and overall 'story' of the building:

> The intangible sort of gives it a sense of place – what a building is; what it represents; how it used to be used; how it is used now; is that the right change of use.
>
> (Interviewee 477549)

Building 'use' was considered to be comprised of physical evidence (the material site) and non-physical evidence (histories, stories, the lives of people who used the building). Interviewees noted how this particular theme required the correct balance of tangible and intangible qualities to uncover previous uses:

> it is just sort of finding that balance. . . you can tell where a wall has been removed or an opening has been infilled. . . you can also start to trace back how the building was used and the story of the building, so you have got the intangible and the tangible working together.
>
> (Interviewee 477549)

Similar to 'memories', building use was perceived to be a subjective and variable quality, with one interviewee giving an example of an adapted church:

> Can you put more importance on a specific use? And if you think about the people again, is there more importance to say church worshippers using a church, compared to an adaptive version of the church and it is now housing residents? In time, they will all have their own significance.
>
> (Interviewee 550931)

As a result of this subjectivity, different building uses were described as being hard to prioritise. However, there was a general consensus that the original use/ function of a building was more likely to be its most important use.

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Discord: 'it is not always positive'

Intangible heritage was also discussed in relation to dissonant (dark/ contested/ negative) values/ significance:

> Part of the intangible heritage is sometimes experiential, how people relate to the building, and it is not always positive.
>
> (Interviewee 477549)

Interviewees felt there was inherent complexity in conserving any type of heritage with a negative association. Some examples of working with dissonant heritage included: slavery in Liverpool; the Pendle witch ghosts; the Moors Murders; Victorian mental asylums; graveyards; the Peterloo Massacre and holocaust memorials. Uncertainties regarding the interpretation and dissemination of dissonant heritage extended into concerns as to whether it should be conserved for future generations or not. Only one interviewee was optimistic regarding the potential value in conserving dissonant heritage:

> Would you want to save it because it is the site of some atrocity, but then equally, do you not need to remember some of those atrocities to make sure things don't happen there after?
>
> (Interviewee 487627)

The subjectivity of this theme was exemplified by one interviewee, who would 'buy a church and have a graveyard as [their] garden' but on the conversion of Victorian asylums into housing, stated:

> That seems a bit weird to me, because to me the heritage there is pain. . . I perceive that heritage – that intangible – but some other people don't, so I don't know?
>
> (Interviewee 901781)

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Regardless of this confusion, there was a sensitivity towards the need to develop a narrative that would be thoughtful, appealing and accommodating to everyone. As one interviewee neatly summarised:

> Do you still promote it because at the end of the day you want to tell the story about how bad it was. . . but how do you go about it and how do you preserve it for future generations. . . you want to keep those memories going. And it is very difficult.
>
> (Interviewee 647876)

Craft: 'a craft skill is an intangible thing'

Traditional craft skills were perceived as part of a building's intangible heritage primarily because of the relationship with technique, memory and thought:

> It is skill isn't it, so a craft skill is an intangible thing. It is muscle memory and thought. It is intangible.
>
> (Interviewee 373838)

Also noted was the overall connection between craft skills and human, social and political histories, with a particular emphasis being placed on those individuals who 'transmit' the skills. As one interviewee stated, 'it comes down to individuals who have learned it either through it being passed on or individuals who have taught it' (Interviewee 613193). Relationships of dependence and reliance were discussed, with interviewees noting the dependence of built heritage on craft skills and the reliance of craft skills on people. A reciprocal relationship was therefore perceived between buildings (tangible) and craft skills (intangible), with their union promoting a greater chance of inter-generational transmission and longevity of the heritage asset.

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Emotion: 'it gets me in my heart'

Intangible heritage was consistently associated with people's emotions towards a building. This was communicated using professional phrases such as 'personal value'; 'emotional value'; and 'emotional connection'. These concepts were generally understood to be autonomous to the building, having 'nothing to do with the architecture or the building itself, the fabric, or the building techniques.' (Interviewee 421225). In this sense, interviewees felt emotional associations were all-embracing, non-scientific and highly subjective. Referring to a professional colleague, one interviewee offered a short but powerful anecdote that captures the complexity in representing the emotions of people within built heritage practice:

> We went to a consultation event at another site in Wales, and they're quite passionate about their history which is just great. And there is a woman who came up to my colleague at the end of it, and he asked her, 'oh, did you find it interesting talking about significance, what do you think is significant about this place?' And she just said, "it gets me in my heart". You know, which is just brilliant, but at the same time he walked away and came back to me and he said, "how do we attribute that to the built fabric?"
>
> (Interviewee 234834)

Discussion

The building story

From the perspective of the built heritage professionals who contributed to this study, the intangible heritage of buildings is understood as a complex landscape of building 'narratives' that collectively contribute towards an overarching building 'story' (see Figure 01). The building story was portrayed as a co-authorship between the building

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fabric (social production) and human epiphenomena (social construction), with various narratives extracted from both people and buildings.

Buildings were described as being able to tell their own unique stories and participate in the storytelling of heritage places (Ingold 2007, 14; similar to DeSilvey 2006, 318); as well as having the ability to affect and animate the world around them (Pétursdóttir 2013, 47; see Bennett 2010, xx). The historic building itself was therefore most commonly conceived as a manifestation of objective cultural memory (Müller-Funk 2003, 216), and best represented by the themes that were described as reliant on the physical building fabric – 'uses', 'events' and 'craft'. By comparison, themes that were described as subjective and often autonomous to the building fabric – 'memory', 'discord' and 'emotion' – were explained in relation to the *interpretation* of buildings and the creation of contemporary cultural memories (Müller-Funk 2003, 218). These themes were discussed across a variety of scales: positive-negative (e.g. 'discord'); personal-communal (e.g. 'memory'); fact-fiction (e.g. 'stories'); and historic-everyday (e.g. 'events').

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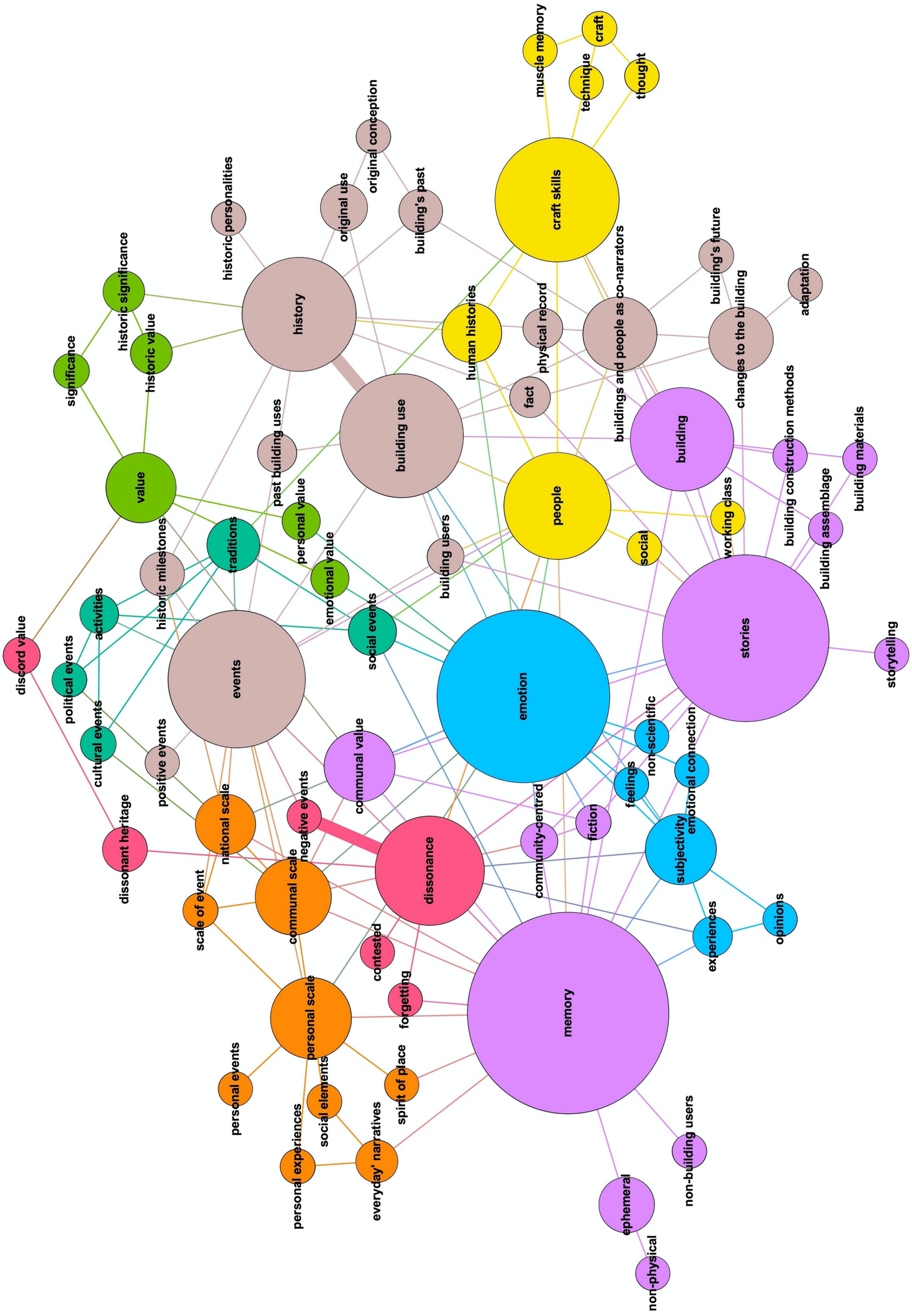
muscle memory
craft
technique
thought
craft skills
original conception
original use
building's past
historic personalities
history
historic significance
historic value
significance
value
human histories
physical record
buildings and people as co-narrators
building's future
adaptation
changes to the building
fact
building use
past building uses
building
building construction methods
building materials
building assemblage
people
working class
social
personal value
emotional value
traditions
historic milestones
activities
building users
social events
stories
storytelling
discord value
political events
events
emotion
cultural events
positive events
communal value
non-scientific
emotional connection
feelings
negative events
national scale
dissonant heritage
community-centred
fiction
subjectivity
dissonance
communal scale
scale of event
opinions
experiences
contested
forgetting
memory
personal scale
personal events
spirit of place
social elements
personal experiences
everyday' narratives
non-building users
ephemeral
non-physical

Figure 01 – The complex conceptual landscape of the building story. Author original image.

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By using stories to conceptualise intangible heritage within their material focussed sector, the interviewees were able to overcome the complexities of the perceived 'nature-culture split' (Hill 2018) and instead work towards a definition of heritage as an entanglement of feelings and things. Stories are particularly useful in this regard, as they are more than capable of expressing and organising a variety of conflicts and contradictions (Cameron 2012, 574) – enabling the interviewees to conceptualise the story as either the building (like Walter 2014, 645), or something other than building (similar to Pocock, Collett, and Baulch 2015, 966). The use of stories can therefore be understood as a reactionary method that was employed by the interviewees to overcome the perceived tangible-intangible duality; resonating with contemporary ontological developments in heritage studies that conceptualises heritage as assemblages and/or networks of various material and immaterial 'actors' (Harrison 2015; Hill 2018; Skrede and Hølleland 2018; Hamilakis 2017).

The storyteller

Stories are ultimately a reflection of the storytellers' personal and cultural perspectives (Whyte 2006, 155; see Stone 2019, 79). This makes storytelling a moving and affective act of interpretation – evoking personal experiences, expressions and emotions (Cameron 2012, 574). If stories are what built heritage professionals use to conceptualise the intangible heritage of buildings, then what of the storyteller? The professionals did not explore their own position in relation to the building story – depicting instead a fairly passive role that objectively mediates between social and material worlds to uncover an impartial story. This perspective overlooks the significance of their role as curator of heritage values (see de la Torre 2013, 163); as

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well as their personal experiences that will inevitably shape the storytelling process (Cameron 2012, 575).

Conversely, if the role of the built heritage professional was more explicitly acknowledged as 'storyteller', it would not only be the historic building that assumes a mnemonic role (Stone 2019, 50), but also those responsible for conserving and adapting it (Rigney 2008, 347). The intangible heritage of buildings would accordingly be understood as a part-reflection of the professional's way of seeing the world – entangling built heritage practice with the human and non-human narratives that the interviewees highlighted as inherent aspects of the building story (see Figure 02).

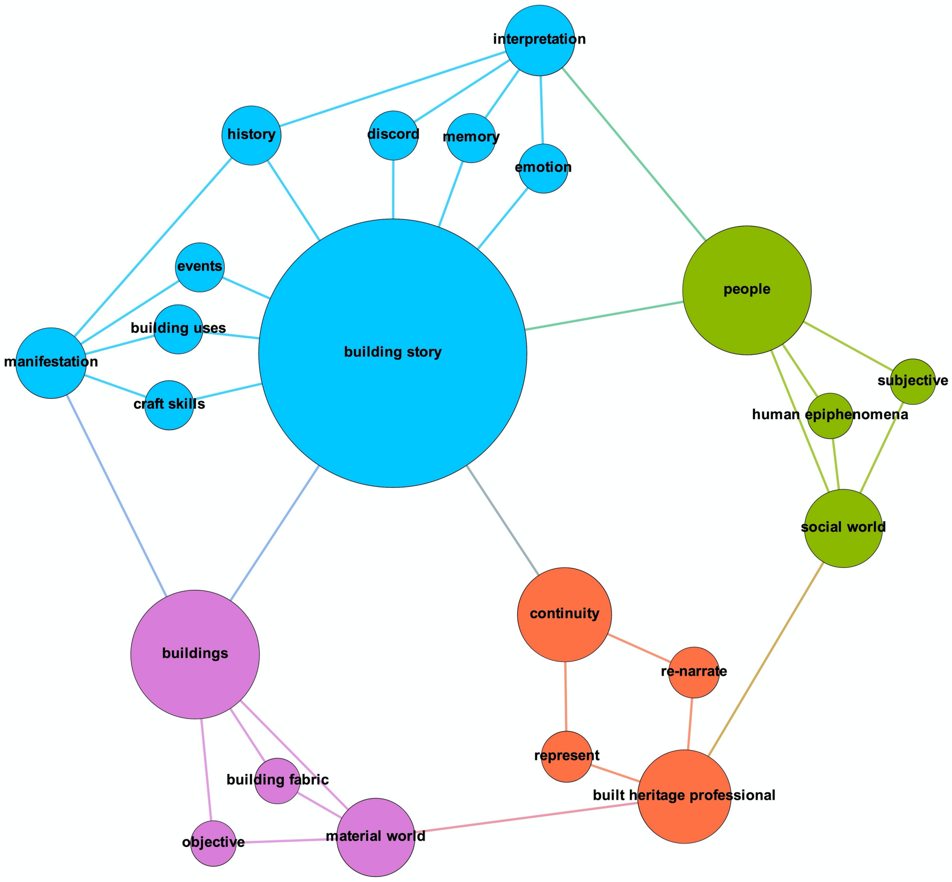
interpretation
history
discord
memory
emotion
events
building uses
manifestation
craft skills
building story
people
subjective
human epiphenomena
social world
continuity
re-narrate
represent
built heritage professional
buildings
building fabric
objective
material world

Figure 02 – The intangible heritage construct of the built heritage professional. A conceptual model derived from the primary research analysis. Author original image.

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The conceptualisation of intangible heritage within the built heritage paradigm therefore lies not so much in elucidating the relationship *between* tangible and intangible heritage; but in the ability for built heritage practice to re-evaluate its role as one that recreates, translates and transmits stories across generations (for example, see Scott 2008, 11; Plevoets and Cleempoel 2019, 16, 33; Stone 2019, 33). This not only requires support from sector-specific guidance and policy; but also, a self-awareness from professionals of their own personal involvement in narrative development – including their own cultural and personal perspectives that inevitably form a part of this.

By way of a conclusion

An intangible conception of built heritage is a complex and somewhat paradoxical idea that must inevitably do battle with established sector-specific understandings and processes. Whilst built heritage practice is not yet formally structured to accommodate intangible conceptions of heritage, immaterial considerations are emergent and evident, which makes it essential that a more nuanced approach is developed in relation to its understanding from within the built heritage paradigm. By engaging with those who work with historic buildings, it was clear that whilst intangible heritage was hard to articulate, it was generally conceived as the building 'story' – a collaborative effort between buildings and people; material and social worlds. Within this model, the professional role as 'storyteller' was largely unacknowledged, despite the significant and persuasive curatorial role that they must adopt in the remembering/ forgetting of cultural memories and the spatial narration of the building story. Reconceptualising built heritage practice as a storytelling activity will offer greater opportunities for intangible heritage to be consolidated within the built heritage paradigm, by encouraging professionals to see themselves as translators of intangible heritage as well as custodians of physical heritage. An emphasis on 'storytelling' is therefore particularly relevant to the evolution of built heritage practice, evolving as it must to accommodate ever-changing conceptions of what heritage is and how it is understood.

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Appendix 2. Interview materials

INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR RESEARCH IN 'INTANGIBLE BUILDING VALUES'

We are looking for volunteers to take part in a study of Intangible Buildings Values. The aim of the study is to investigate safeguarding opportunities for intangible values during the building adaptation process.

As a participant in this study, you would be asked to take part in an **interview** on this topic. Interview participants will be anonymous within the research, but your professional role (e.g. 'architect') and your responses will be recorded and transcribed to facilitate data analysis at a later stage.

Your participation is **entirely voluntary** and would take up approximately 1 hour of your time. By participating in this study you will help us to understand professional opinions regarding the nature of intangible building values.

To learn more about this study, or to participate in this study, please contact:

Principal Investigator:
Johnathan Djabarouti
j.djabarouti@mmu.ac.uk

All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and will be purely for use of the researcher to aid in transcribing and/ or data analysis.

All participants are free to withdraw at any time. If you do choose to withdraw from the study, all identifiable information will be destroyed but we will need to use the data collected up to your withdrawal.

All personal data is processed under the legal basis in Article 6 of the GDPR.

This study is supervised by: Eamonn Canniffe, Principal Lecturer, Manchester School of Architecture, e.canniffe@mmu.ac.uk

Manchester Metropolitan University Ethical Approval Reference: 2945.

Participant Information Sheet

Safeguarding Intangible Heritage Values during the Building Adaptation Process

1. Invitation to research

I would like you to take part in an informal interview. My name is Johnathan Djabarouti and I am an NWCDTP funded PhD candidate at Manchester Metropolitan University, within the Department of Architecture. My research is looking at the nature of tangible and intangible heritage values within building conservation.

2. Why have I been invited?

I would like to speak with a variety of heritage professionals regarding their views on the nature of tangible and intangible heritage. You have been chosen because you work as a heritage professional within the heritage sector of the built environment.

I hope to use this information to understand how we could potentially develop guidance or recommendations for the heritage industry based on this. There will be approximately 18 heritage professionals being interviewed as part of this study.

3. Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide. We will describe the study and go through the information sheet, which we will give to you. We will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you agreed to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

4. What will I be asked to do?

As a participant in this study, you would be asked to take part in an interview on the topic of tangible and intangible heritage. This will be an informal semi-structured interview and will take approximately 1 hour of your time. As well as this Participant Information Sheet, you will also be given a consent form to sign. Your consent will be requested to allow me to record the audio of your interview, transcribe it and use the data from it for analysis. This information will only be used within the scope of the research project. Your personal information will not be included within the research project but I will request consent from you to use your job title within the research (e.g. ‘architect’).

5. Are there any risks if I participate?

There are no participant risks to disclose as part of this research project.

6. Are there any advantages if I participate?

There are no direct advantages to taking part, however, your contribution will help in generating greater understanding surrounding tangible and intangible heritage.

8. What will happen with the data I provide?

When you agree to participate in this research, we will collect from you personally-identifiable information.

The Manchester Metropolitan University ('the University') is the Data Controller in respect of this research and any personal data that you provide as a research participant.

The University is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO), and manages personal data in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and the University's Data Protection Policy.

We collect personal data as part of this research (such as name, telephone numbers or age). As a public authority acting in the public interest we rely upon the 'public task' lawful basis. When we collect special category data (such as medical information or ethnicity) we rely upon the research and archiving purposes in the public interest lawful basis.

Your rights to access, change or move your information are limited, as we need to manage your information in specific ways in order for the research to be reliable and accurate. If you withdraw from the study, we will keep the information about you that we have already obtained.

We will not share your personal data collected in this form with any third parties.

If your data is shared this will be under the terms of a Research Collaboration Agreement which defines use, and agrees confidentiality and information security provisions. It is the University's policy to only publish anonymised data unless you have given your explicit written consent to be identified in the research. **The University never sells personal data to third parties.**

We will only retain your personal data for as long as is necessary to achieve the research purpose. Participant confidentiality will be achieved through assignment of a random code to each participant for the purposes of documentation, transcription and analysis. All consented data gathered will be securely stored by the researcher during the research project.

For further information about use of your personal data and your data protection rights please see the University's Data Protection Pages.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The research results will be featured within the final PhD thesis as well as any peer-reviewed academic papers resulting from the study.

Who has reviewed this research project?

Funder: AHRC NWCDTP (North West Consortium Doctoral Training Partnership)
Supervisor: Eamonn Canniffe (Director of Studies)
Ethics: MMU Arts and Humanities Research Ethics and Governance Committee

Who do I contact if I have concerns about this study or I wish to complain?

The researcher (principal investigator):
Johnathan Djabarouti
j.djabarouti@mmu.ac.uk
Manchester School of Architecture, Chatham Building, Cavendish St, Manchester, M156BR

The researcher's supervisor:
Eamonn Canniffe, Principal Lecturer
e.canniffe@mmu.ac.uk
Manchester School of Architecture, Chatham Building, Cavendish St, Manchester, M156BR
0161 247 6956

Faculty Ethics:
Susan Baines, Professor (Arts and Humanities)
s.baines@mmu.ac.uk
0161 247 2511

If you have any concerns regarding the personal data collected from you, our Data Protection Officer can be contacted using the legal@mmu.ac.uk e-mail address, by calling 0161 247 3331 or in writing to: Data Protection Officer, Legal Services, All Saints Building, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, M15 6BH. You also have a right to lodge a complaint in respect of the processing of your personal data with the Information Commissioner's Office as the supervisory authority. Please see: https://ico.org.uk/global/contact-us/

THANK YOU FOR CONSIDERING PARTICIPATING IN THIS PROJECT

MANCHESTER SCHOOL
OF ARCHITECTURE

Arts & Humanities
Research Council

North
West
Consortium
Doctoral
Training
Partnership

Manchester
Metropolitan
University

Date……………………….
Johnathan Djabarouti
PhD Architecture
School of Architecture, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Chatham Building
Manchester Metropolitan University

Consent Form – Interview

Title of Project: Secret Significance: Safeguarding Intangible Values during the Building Adaptation Process

Name of Researcher: Johnathan Djabarouti

Participant Identification Code for this project ……………………….

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated …………………... for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the interview process. ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason to the named researcher. ☐
3. I understand that my responses will be sound recorded and transcribed, to be used for analysis for this research project. ☐
4. I understand that my identity will remain anonymous but my professional position will be published for context, e.g. 'architect', 'consultant', etc... ☐
5. I agree to take part in the above research project. ☐
6. I understand that at my request a transcript of the interview can be made available to me. ☐

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
Researcher	Date	Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Once this has been signed, you will receive a copy of your signed and dated consent form via email

Version: 1.0 Date: 02/12/2018

Heritage Professionals – Interview Discussion Guide

I. Opening

(Confirm participant is happy for the interview to be recorded)

A. *(Establish Rapport and Purpose)* My name is Johnathan Djabarouti. I am an architect and funded PhD candidate at Manchester Metropolitan University within the Department of Architecture, currently researching the nature of tangible and intangible heritage values with building conservation.

B. *(Motivation)* I hope to use this information to understand how we could potentially develop guidance or recommendations for the heritage industry based on this.

C. *(Time Line)* The interview should take no longer than 1 hour.

(*Transition:* Let me begin by asking you some questions about you if that is OK)

II. Body

A. *(Topic)* General demographic information
A1. Could you describe your role within the heritage sector?

(Transition to the next topic: Thanks a lot. Lets move on to talk more about Intangible Heritage.)

B. *(Topic)* Intangible Heritage
B1. Have you heard of intangible heritage?
- **B1-1.** If yes: what do you think it means?
- **B1-2.** If no: what do you think it means?

B2. Would you say professionals within the heritage sector in general are aware of intangible heritage?

B3. What would you say the main difference is between tangible heritage and intangible heritage?

B4. From your experience is intangible heritage something that people within the heritage sector consider when working with listed buildings?

- **B4-1.** Do you think this general approach is right?
- **B4-2.** What do you think the approach should be?
- **B4-3.** Are there any other changes you would make?

B5. If the heritage sector were to increase the awareness and importance of intangible heritage when working with listed buildings, how would this impact:

- **B5-1.** Your role?
- **B5-2.** The heritage sector in general?
- **B5-3.** The conservation and adaptation of listed buildings?

(*Transition to the next topic:* Thanks a lot for your time so far. Let's move on to talk about Heritage Policy and Guidance.)

C. *(Topic)* Heritage Policy and Guidance

C1. We've talked about how professionals perceive and consider intangible heritage – do you think these views are influenced or reflected in any heritage policy or guidance?

- **C1-1.** What aspects of intangible heritage are reflected?
- **C1-2.** What aspects of intangible heritage are not reflected?
- **C1-3.** What do you feel would be the ideal approach to recognising intangible heritage within policy and guidance?

C2. Do you feel the guidance currently available to you, as a professional within the heritage sector, makes it explicitly clear how to *identify* intangible values of buildings?

- **C2-1.** What about the *interpretation* of intangible values of buildings?
- **C2-2.** What about the *safeguarding* of intangible values of buildings?

(*Transition to the next topic:* Thanks a lot for your time so far. Let's move on to talk about the Identification and Importance of Intangible Values.)

D. *(Topic)* Identification and Importance of Intangible Values

D1. Could you list any examples of intangible values? *[keep prompting]*

D1-1. How could these relate to buildings? *[keep prompting]*

D1-2. Do you think it is possible to rank these intangible values in terms of importance?

D1-3. Are there any intangible values that you feel are not overly considered at the moment and should be?

(*Transition to the next topic:* Thanks. Finally, let's move on to the final topic.)

E. ***(Topic)*** **Community Engagement**

E1. How involved would you say local people/ communities/ community groups are in the initial stages of a heritage project? For example, in the initial assessment period for the conservation or adaptation of a building?

E1-1. How involved do you feel they should be?

E1-2. What do you think their involvement should include?

E1-3. What aspects of a heritage project would this be? *[Prompt on identification, assessment, safeguarding and design].*

E2. How do you think local communities could be better engaged during the process of building conservation or adaptation?

(Researcher *tables the draft 'Community Engagement Toolkit'*. This is a basic idea for a 'Community Engagement Toolkit' that would allow local community groups to *define* relevant intangible values in relation to a building, *prioritise* them against one another, and to think about how much each intangible value might be impacted by a change to the building.)

E4. What can you see being the main *advantages* of utilising such a toolkit within the early stages of a heritage project?

E5. What can you see being the main *disadvantages* of utilising such a toolkit within the early stages of a heritage project?

E6. Are there any improvements that you would make to this kind of concept?

III Closing

(Well, it has been a pleasure speaking to you today.)

E. *(Maintain Rapport)* Is there anything else you feel you would like to say on any of the topics discussed but haven't had the chance to?

F. *(Action to be taken)* Thank you for taking part in this research. You are welcome to a copy of the results upon request.

Appendix 3. Example interviews analysis

SEMI-STRUCTURED _ INTERVIEWS _ SAMPLE _ DATA _ NODES

Name	Files	References
[Approaches to engaging communities & understanding intangibility]	1	1
Aesthetic could be intangible	3	3
Barriers to professionals when considering intangible values	1	1
Clients do not value intangible heritage	3	6
Commercial constraints	6	9
Considering intangibility is expensive	5	8
Considering intangibility is time consuming	6	8
Intangibility is too complex to consider	6	16
We still struggle with tangible heritage, so how can we deal with intangibles	3	5
You cannot have a blanket approach to dealing with intangible heritage	1	1
Building adaptation impacts intangibles	3	3
Ignorance of significance could cause damage	2	2
Building conservation and adaptation should sustain intangible heritage	2	2
Building conservation can learn from museums	2	2
Built heritage relies on intangible craft skills	1	3
Communal value is intangible	7	15
Communal value is subjective intangibility	1	1
Communities can be engaged by increasing access to buildings	3	7
Communities can be engaged via involvement in the construction process	3	5
communities can be ostracised by jargon	2	4
Communities can value the practical over heritage	1	1
communities care about history	1	1
Communities get more involved with public buildings	3	4
Communities more likely to be involved in contentious projects	2	2
Communities would benefit from raised awareness of intangible values	5	9
Community engagement is an afterthought	5	7
Community engagement is intangible	5	5
Community engagement should adapt to end user of building	1	1
Community engagement should be in legislation	2	2
Considering intangibility requires community input	4	4
Communities help understand intangible values	4	7
Considering intangibility will change how we conserve buildings	4	6

Name	Files	References
Considering intangibility will positively impact the tangible	2	2
Current considerations of intangibility impacts what is listed	1	2
Increasing awareness of intangibility leads to more protection for buildings	5	6
Policy identifies intangibles to protect the built fabric	1	1
Construction workers don't understand or consider intangible heritage	1	2
Construction workers are involved too late to engage with intangible heritage	1	1
Difficulty in objectifying subjectivity	10	19
Difficult to prioritise subjective experiences of different uses	1	1
Intangible values are hard to rank	7	9
We need non-scientific methods to identify subjectivity	1	1
Easier to lose intangible values	1	1
Engage communities before design stage	4	6
Engaging communities can make a project more commercially successful	6	6
English conservation lacks representation	2	6
Focussing too much on the intangible can lead to neglect of buildings	1	1
Hard to quantify intangibility due to changing cultural contexts	2	4
Heritage professionals push for community engagement	6	6
heritage professionals should support community groups	3	5
Heritage significance resources should include intangible descriptions	1	1
History has traits of tangibility and intangibility	2	2
Historic value is objective intangibility	1	1
Historic value touches on intangibility	5	12
History gives places meaning to people	3	5
intangible heritage exists in records & archives	6	9
Identification of intangibility comes from experience, not policy	1	1
If communities are involved they want to be in control	4	10
Increased awareness of intangibility expands professionals roles	4	7
increased focus on intangibility will increase workload for professionals	5	7
Intangibility becomes important when measuring significance	1	1
intangibility can be past or present	1	1
Intangibility cannot be seen	4	8
Intangibility is non-physical	12	27
Intangibility is not scientific or quantifiable	8	19
Intangibility is subjective	7	19

Name	Files	References
Intangibility is unexplainable feelings	4	7
Intangibility cannot exist without tangibility	5	14
Building Design is about tangibility and intangibility	1	1
Building materials can have intangible significance	7	9
Intangibility provides the meaning to tangibility	5	12
Intangiblity and tangibility are both important	5	13
Place is tangible and intangible	3	3
There is a crossover between tangible and intangible	4	12
Intangibility encourages greater recognition of traditional skills	3	3
Intangibility encourages people to care about the tangible	1	2
Intangibility is academic	3	4
Intangibility is associations with a building	4	13
Building use	7	17
Craft skills	4	9
Craftspeople	1	1
Cultural associations	3	3
Customs	2	2
Dark Heritage	4	12
Emotion	6	9
Events	10	25
Historic Milestones	3	6
Historic Personalities	10	21
History	11	32
Legacy	3	3
Meaning	2	3
Memories	9	30
Personal experiences	5	9
Relationships	1	1
Social elements	8	10
Stories	12	36
The everyday	8	20
Tradition	3	5
Intangibility is hard to define	5	7
Intangibility is hard to include in policy	2	3
Hard to legislate things you cannot see	1	1
Inaccessibility of intangible heritage in policy	1	1
Intangibility is less important in England	3	4
Intangibility is maintaining original use (or legibility of original use)	4	7
Intangibility is not fully considered in policy	8	20

Name	Files	References
intangibility needs a legal definition	3	3
New policy less focussed on intangibility	2	5
Not clear how to identify intangible values in policy	4	5
Physical building must be insignificant to prioritise the intangible	1	1
Policy does not protect heritage of minority groups	2	5
Policy does not safeguard intangibility	3	4
Policy prioritises the built fabric	3	5
Intangible can be quantifiable	4	7
Intangibility does not have to be subjective	1	1
Intangibility is valued more if made objective	4	7
Should intangibility be ranked and objectified	2	2
There are methods for quantifying intangibility	4	5
Intangible heritage is considered on a case-by-case basis	2	4
Intangible heritage is implicitly understood	10	11
Intangible heritage is taught in some courses	3	3
Intangible value can be important beyond local communities	3	3
Intangible value is not dependent on the tangible	15	31
Buildings or places don't need designation to have intangible value	2	2
Intangible adds importance to the tangible	4	10
Interpretation needs to be modernised	3	5
Involving communities through craft skills	5	6
Involving communities through personal connections	2	2
It depends on your role whether you consider intangible heritage	5	13
Building design roles focus on intangibility less	1	2
Professionals with heritage expertise consider intangibility	8	11
It takes time to see the impact of policy in professional practice	1	1
Lack of physicality causes problems	1	1
Hard to believe something you cannot see	3	5
Lack of trust in things you cannot see	1	2
Subjective nature of intangibility can lead to misuse	1	1
Latest policy encourages public role in heritage	1	1
Making building conservation process more accessible for communities	4	4
Making intangibility visible through 'interpretation'	11	25
Need more focus on education of intangibility	1	1
Considering intangibility requries more learning	1	2
Intangibility is not taught often	2	3
Intangible heritage is not taught	1	4

Name	Files	References
NLFH is more community and people focussed	5	6
Objects related to built fabric can enhance intangibilty	3	7
People and communities are difficult to involve	5	5
Communities need opportunities to get involved	5	6
Community groups have limited representation	3	3
Disconnect between professionals and public	2	5
Hard to engage a community if there is no sense of community	2	2
People can understand heritage through performance	1	2
People make the tangible intangible	1	3
Philosophical approach determines focus on intangibility	1	2
Building conservation philosophy can damage intangible values	1	1
Policy beginning to focus more on intangibility	0	0
Attempts in policy to balance tangible and intangible	2	3
New policy is more focussed on intangibility	4	6
Policy is not interested in communities	4	4
Disconnect between policy & communities	2	2
Policy does not demand community engagement	2	2
Professionals do not consider intangible heritage	6	7
Building associations not valued	1	2
Is intangibility the primary concern for architects	1	3
Professionals focus on the built fabric	7	11
The everyday is not considered by professionals	2	5
Professionals job to prioritise	1	1
Professionals should serve and listen to people and communities	4	12
Educating communities encourages involvement	4	8
Involving communities encourages ownership	7	9
Listening to people allows understanding of associations	3	3
Professionals and public can have a complimentary relationship	1	1
Professionals should teach a variety of stakeholders about intangibility	1	1
Professionals should teach clients	3	4
Professionals should teach construction workers	1	1
Professionals should teach people and communities	5	8
Public buildings hold more intangible value	1	1
Ranking intangible values can justify destruction	1	1
Scales of project impacts community engagement	6	7
Should dark heritage be protected	3	5

Name	Files	References
Complexity in conserving dark heritage sites	2	3
Some buildings do not have intangible value	2	3
Tangible can overshadow intangible	1	1
The difficulties of non-local professionals	3	6
The everyday is often not recorded	2	4
Idea	0	0
The greater the protection, the more intangibility is considered	1	1
Time impacts intangible values	7	12
intangibility allows for forward thinking	2	2
Intangibility can degrade at different rates	1	1
Too difficult to involve communities	7	15
Clients do not want community engagement	4	5
Some Communities do not want to get involved	2	4
Value in understanding the everyday	4	4
We need different policies for tangible and intangible	1	1

Appendix 4. Final case study materials

MANCHESTER SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE

Arts & Humanities Research Council

North West Consortium Doctoral Training Partnership

Manchester Metropolitan University

TELEPHONE INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR RESEARCH CONCERNING THE INTANGIBLE HERITAGE OF BUILDINGS

We are looking for volunteers to take part in a study concerning the Intangible Heritage of buildings. The aim of the study is to investigate safeguarding opportunities for intangible values during the building adaptation process.

As a participant in this study, you would be asked to take part in a semi-structured **telephone interview** on this topic. Participants will be anonymous within the research, but your interview will be recorded and transcribed to facilitate data analysis at a later stage.

Your participation is **entirely voluntary** and would take up approximately 1 hour of your time. By participating in this study you will help us to understand the intangible heritage of buildings and how its definition and understanding could impact built heritage professional practice.

To learn more about this study, or to participate in this study,
please contact:

Principal Investigator:
Johnathan Djabarouti
j.djabarouti@mmu.ac.uk

All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and will be purely for use of the researcher to aid in transcribing and/ or data analysis.

All participants are free to withdraw at any time. If you do choose to withdraw from the study, all identifiable information will be destroyed but we will need to use the data collected up to your withdrawal.

All personal data is processed under the legal basis in Article 6 of the GDPR.

This study is supervised by: Eamonn Canniffe, Principal Lecturer, Manchester School of Architecture, e.canniffe@mmu.ac.uk

Manchester Metropolitan University Ethical Approval Reference: 2945.

Version: 1.0

Date: 20/03/2020

Participant Information Sheet

Safeguarding Intangible Heritage Values during the Building Adaptation Process

1. Invitation to research

I would like you to take part in a telephone interview. My name is Johnathan Djabarouti and I am an AHRC (NWCDTP) funded PhD candidate at Manchester Metropolitan University, within the Department of Architecture. My research is exploring the phenomenon of intangible heritage and how it is understood and utilised within building conservation.

2. Why have I been invited?

I would like to speak with individuals who are involved in and/or knowledgeable about particular listed buildings, to get their views on the tangible and intangible aspects of the building's heritage. You have been chosen because you are either involved in or have knowledge about a building that is of interest to this research.

I hope to use this information to understand how we could potentially develop guidance or recommendations for the built heritage industry.

3. Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide. Prior to the telephone interview I will ensure you are comfortable with the information contained within this Project Information Sheet (PIS), and that you are clear about the study and your involvement. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

4. What will I be asked to do?

As a participant in this study, you would be asked to take part in a telephone interview covering three themes in relation to the tangible and intangible heritage of the building/site you are involved in – these three themes are: 1) 'activities, practices and uses' of the building(s)/site; 2) the conservation approach of the building(s)/site; and 3) the 'interpretation' of the building(s)/site. This will be an informal semi-structured interview that will last approximately 1 hour.

Along with this Participant Information Sheet (PIS) I have also emailed you a project Consent Form to sign and request that you email this back to me prior to the telephone interview. Your consent will be requested to allow me to record the audio of the telephone interview, transcribe it and use the data from it for analysis at a later stage. This information will only be used within the scope of the research project. Your personal information/details will not be included within the transcription or research project write-up.

5. Are there any risks if I participate?

There are no participant risks to disclose as part of this research project.

6. Are there any advantages if I participate?

There are no direct advantages to taking part, however, your contribution will help in generating greater understanding surrounding the impact of intangible heritage within built heritage schemes.

8. What will happen with the data I provide?

When you agree to participate in this research, we will collect from you personally-identifiable information.

The Manchester Metropolitan University ('the University') is the Data Controller in respect of this research and any personal data that you provide as a research participant.

The University is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO), and manages personal data in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and the University's Data Protection Policy.

We collect personal data as part of this research (such as name, telephone numbers or age). As a public authority acting in the public interest we rely upon the 'public task' lawful basis. When we collect special category data (such as medical information or ethnicity) we rely upon the research and archiving purposes in the public interest lawful basis.

Your rights to access, change or move your information are limited, as we need to manage your information in specific ways in order for the research to be reliable and accurate. If you withdraw from the study, we will keep the information about you that we have already obtained.

We will not share your personal data collected in this form with any third parties.

If your data is shared this will be under the terms of a Research Collaboration Agreement which defines use, and agrees confidentiality and information security provisions. It is the University's policy to only publish anonymised data unless you have given your explicit written consent to be identified in the research. **The University never sells personal data to third parties.**

We will only retain your personal data for as long as is necessary to achieve the research purpose. Participant confidentiality will be achieved through assignment of a random code to each participant for the purposes of documentation, transcription and analysis. All consented data gathered will be securely stored by the researcher during the research project.

For further information about use of your personal data and your data protection rights please see the University's Data Protection Pages.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The research results will be featured within the final PhD thesis as well as any peer-reviewed academic papers that result from the study.

Who has reviewed this research project?

Funder: AHRC NWCDTP (North West Consortium Doctoral Training Partnership)
Supervisor: Eamonn Canniffe (Director of Studies, Principal Lecturer)
Ethics: MMU Arts and Humanities Research Ethics and Governance Committee

Who do I contact if I have concerns about this study or I wish to complain?

The researcher (principal investigator):
Johnathan Djabarouti
j.djabarouti@mmu.ac.uk
Manchester School of Architecture, Chatham Building, Cavendish St, Manchester, M156BR

The researcher's supervisor:
Eamonn Canniffe, Principal Lecturer
e.canniffe@mmu.ac.uk
Manchester School of Architecture, Chatham Building, Cavendish St, Manchester, M156BR
0161 247 6956

Faculty Ethics:
Susan Baines, Professor (Arts and Humanities)
s.baines@mmu.ac.uk
0161 247 2511

If you have any concerns regarding the personal data collected from you, our Data Protection Officer can be contacted using the legal@mmu.ac.uk e-mail address, by calling 0161 247 3331 or in writing to: Data Protection Officer, Legal Services, All Saints Building, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, M15 6BH. You also have a right to lodge a complaint in respect of the processing of your personal data with the Information Commissioner's Office as the supervisory authority. Please see: https://ico.org.uk/global/contact-us/

THANK YOU FOR CONSIDERING PARTICIPATING IN THIS PROJECT

We will not share your personal data collected in this form with any third parties.

If your data is shared this will be under the terms of a Research Collaboration Agreement which defines use, and agrees confidentiality and information security provisions. It is the University's policy to only publish anonymised data unless you have given your explicit written consent to be identified in the research. **The University never sells personal data to third parties.**

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The researcher (principal investigator):
Johnathan Djabarouti
j.djabarouti@mmu.ac.uk
Manchester School of Architecture, Chatham Building, Cavendish St, Manchester, M156BR

The researcher's supervisor:
Eamonn Canniffe, Principal Lecturer
e.canniffe@mmu.ac.uk
Manchester School of Architecture, Chatham Building, Cavendish St, Manchester, M156BR
0161 247 6956

MANCHESTER SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE

Arts & Humanities Research Council

North West Consortium Doctoral Training Partnership

Manchester Metropolitan University

Date……………………….
Johnathan Djabarouti
PhD Architecture
School of Architecture, Faculty of Arts and Humanities
Chatham Building
Manchester Metropolitan University

Consent Form – Telephone Interview

Title of Project: Safeguarding Intangible Heritage during the Building Adaptation Process

Name of Researcher: Johnathan Djabarouti

Participant Identification Code for this project ……………………….

…. **Please initial box**

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the Project Information Sheet (PIS) dated ………………….. for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the telephone interview. ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason to the named researcher. ☐
3. I understand that my responses will be sound recorded and transcribed, to be used for analysis for this research project. ☐
4. I understand that my identity will remain anonymous ☐
5. I agree to take part in the above research project. ☐
6. I understand that at my request a transcript of the telephone interview can be made available to me. ☐

Name of Participant	Date	Signature

Electronic signature by the participant due to the COVID-19 global emergency

Researcher	Date	Signature

Cannot be signed and dated in the presence of the participant due to the COVID-19 global emergency

Once this has been signed, please keep a copy for your own record.

Case Studies – Interview Discussion Guide

I. Opening

(Confirm participant is happy for the interview to be recorded)

A. *(Establish Rapport and Purpose)* My name is Johnathan Djabarouti. I am an architect and funded PhD candidate at Manchester Metropolitan University within the Department of Architecture, currently researching the nature of intangible heritage and how it impacts built heritage and building conservation.

B. *(Motivation)* I hope to use this information to understand how we could potentially develop guidance or recommendations for the heritage industry based on this.

C. *(Time Line)* This telephone interview should take no longer than 1 hour.

(*Transition:* General themes I'd like to discuss with you today are the 'activities and uses' of the building/site; the 'conservation approaches' used; and the 'interpretation' of the building/site. But firstly, let me begin by asking you some questions about you if that is OK)

II. Body

A. *(Topic)* General demographic information
A1. So what is it you do at the site?
A2. It's such a shame that I couldn't visit you in person and see the site, due to the COVID-19 global emergency and social distancing measures introduced. Just out of interest, what would you have shown me and where would you have taken me around the building/site?

(Transition to the next topic: Thanks a lot. Let's move on to talk more about Practices, Activities and Uses.)

B. *(Topic)* Practices, Activities and Uses

B1. How was the building/site used originally?

    B1-1. Prompt – practices, activities and uses

B2. Thinking about the original uses and activities, do any of these still occur?

B3. How is the building/site used now?

    B3-1. Prompt – practices, activities and uses

B4. Thinking more specifically, are there any new uses or activities that happen at the building/site, that didn't originally?

B5. We have discussed what the original and the new uses of the building/site is – how would you describe this evolution the building/site across time?

    B5-1. Prompt – gradual changes, evolution, transition; etc

B6. Do you feel anything physical or non-physical (i.e. social, spiritual, etc) has been lost over the course of this evolution?

(*Transition to the next topic:* Thanks a lot for your time so far. Let's move on to talk about the Conservation Approach.)

C. *(Topic)* Conservation Approach

C1. So how would you describe the overall conservation approach for the site/building?

C2. Thinking about what we have just discussed concerning the use and activities of the building/site historically and in contemporary society – what you say any of these activities and practices have a direct influence on the conservation approach of the building/site?

C3. When considering and thinking about the conservation approach towards the building/site, how much do you consider the physical qualities of the building/site (e.g. the way it looks, the physical materials, the physical features, etc)?

C4. The listing of the huts describes them as "undistinguished architecturally" – how do you feel about this?

    C4-1. Does the fact that the listing describes them in this way have any impact on your conservation approach?

(*Transition to the next topic:* Thanks. Finally, let's move on to the final topic - interpretation)

D. ***(Topic)*** **Interpretation**

D1. When people visit the building/site, what are the messages or stories you want them to take home?

D2. What feelings or emotions do you want people to take home from their visit?

D3. What strategies do you use to communicate these messages/stories?

D4. Do these strategies impact the building itself?

D5. Are there any stories about this building/site that are not told?

  D5.1 If yes, why are these not told?

  D5.2 How do you feel about this?

III Closing

(Well, it has been a pleasure speaking to you today.)

E. *(Maintain Rapport)* Is there anything else you feel you would like to say on any of the topics discussed but haven't had the chance to?

F. *(Action to be taken)* Thank you for taking part in this research. You are welcome to a copy of the results upon request.

Bletchley Park huts – Case Study Questionnaire

I. Opening

(Introduction) Hello. My name is Johnathan Djabarouti. I am an architect and funded PhD candidate at Manchester Metropolitan University within the Department of Architecture, currently researching the nature of intangible heritage and how it impacts built heritage and building conservation practices.

(Motivation) I would like to use the huts at Bletchley Park as a case study for my PhD project and develop further research in relation to them. I hope to use this information to understand how heritage policy and guidance can be improved to better account for the intangible domain of heritage.

(*Themes)* There are three general themes I would like to explore with you within this questionnaire: 1) the 'practices, activities and uses' of the huts across time; 2) the 'conservation approaches' used for the huts; and 3) the 'interpretation' of the huts in contemporary society.

(*Questions)* The questions are at times purposely ambiguous and flexible, meaning there is potential to interpret them in different ways. This research technique has been used to allow you to interpret the questions in a way that best makes sense to you and has been shown to foster more authentic accounts of experiences and knowledge.

II. *(Topic)* Practices, Activities and Uses

A1. How would you describe the *original* practices, activities and uses of the huts?

For example, you may wish to touch upon the general activities/practices that took place in them; the people who conducted these activities, or the purpose of these activities within the broader site.

Participant answer:

A2. Do any of these original practices, activities and/or uses still occur in any manner?

Participant answer:

A3. How would you describe the *contemporary* practices, activities and uses of the huts?

Participant answer:

A4. What practices, activities and uses would you say are completely new to the huts?

Participant answer:

A5. With regards to the *original* and *contemporary* practices, activities and uses of the huts, how would you best describe this *evolution* of practices/activities/use(s) across time?

Participant answer:

A6. Do you feel there has been any significant heritage that has been lost over the course of this evolution?

Participant answer:

(*Transition to the next topic:* Thanks a lot for your time so far. Let’s move on to talk about the Conservation Approach.)

III. *(Topic)* Conservation Approach

B1. How would you describe the general conservation approach for the huts?

For example, you may wish to touch upon the general conservation philosophy, or technical conservation approaches, or any guiding principles that help shape/define the conservation approach taken.

Participant answer:

B2. Thinking about what you stated in the previous section regarding the practices/activities/use(s) of the huts across time – would you say any of these have a direct influence or impact on this conservation approach?

Participant answer:

B3. When considering and thinking about the conservation approach towards the huts, how much would you say the physical qualities of the huts are considered (e.g. the way they look, their physical materials, their physical features, their physical design, etc)?

Participant answer:

B4. The Historic England listing of the huts describes them as “undistinguished architecturally” – how do you feel about this?

Participant answer:

B5. Does the fact that the listing describes them in this way have any impact on your conservation approach?

Participant answer:

(*Transition to the next topic:* Thanks. Finally, let’s move on to the last topic - interpretation)

IV. *(Topic)* Interpretation

C1. When people visit the huts, what are the messages or stories you want them to take home with them after their visit?

Participant answer:

C2. Are there any specific *feelings* or *emotions* that want people to feel following their visit to the huts?

Participant answer:

C3. What strategies do you use to communicate these messages/stories?

Participant answer:

C4. Thinking more about the strategies you employ to communicate these messages/stories, how would you describe their general impact on the physical fabric of the huts?

Participant answer:

C5. Are there any stories about the huts that are not told?

If yes, why are these not told? And how do you feel about this?

Participant answer:

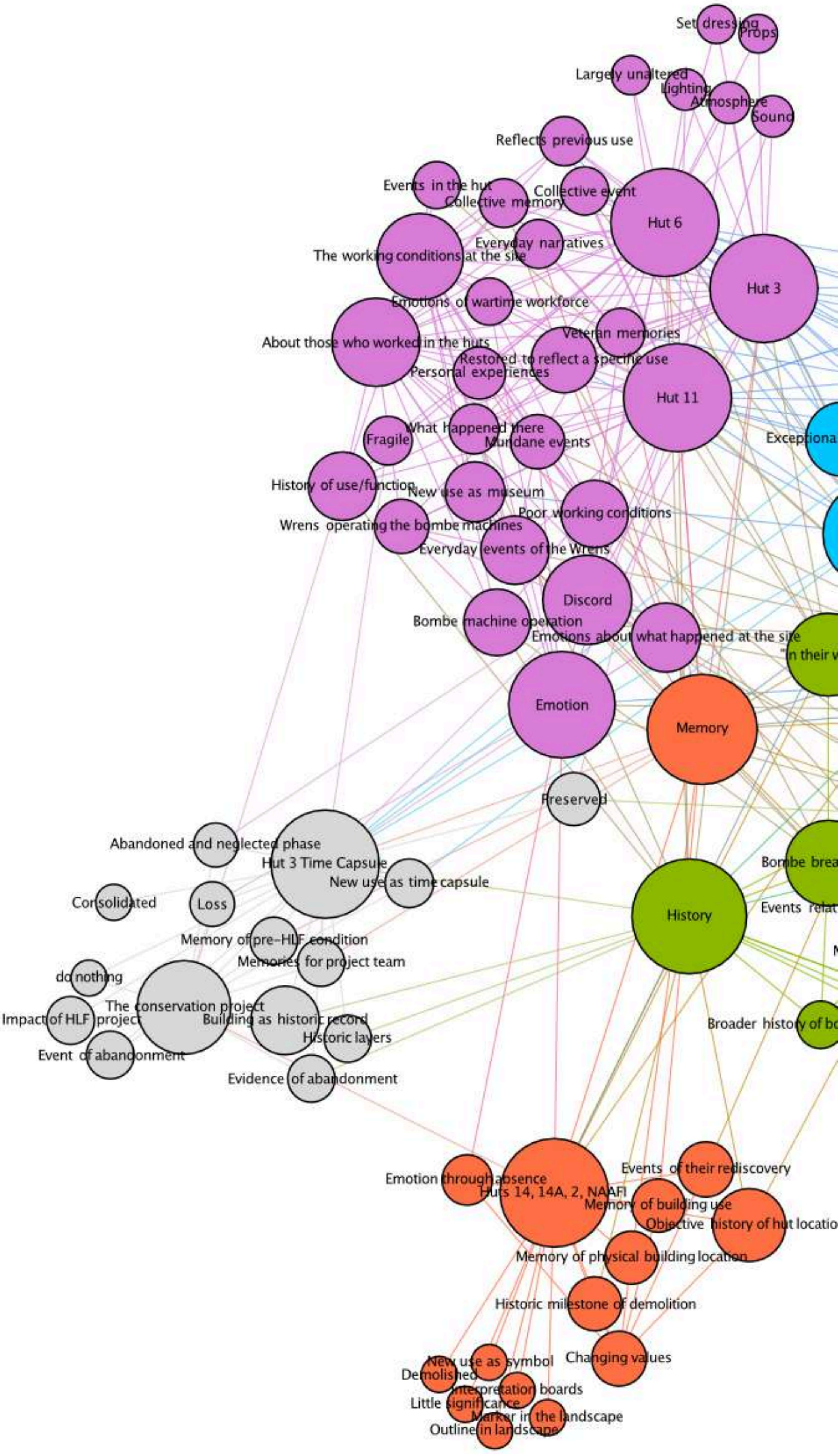
V. Closing

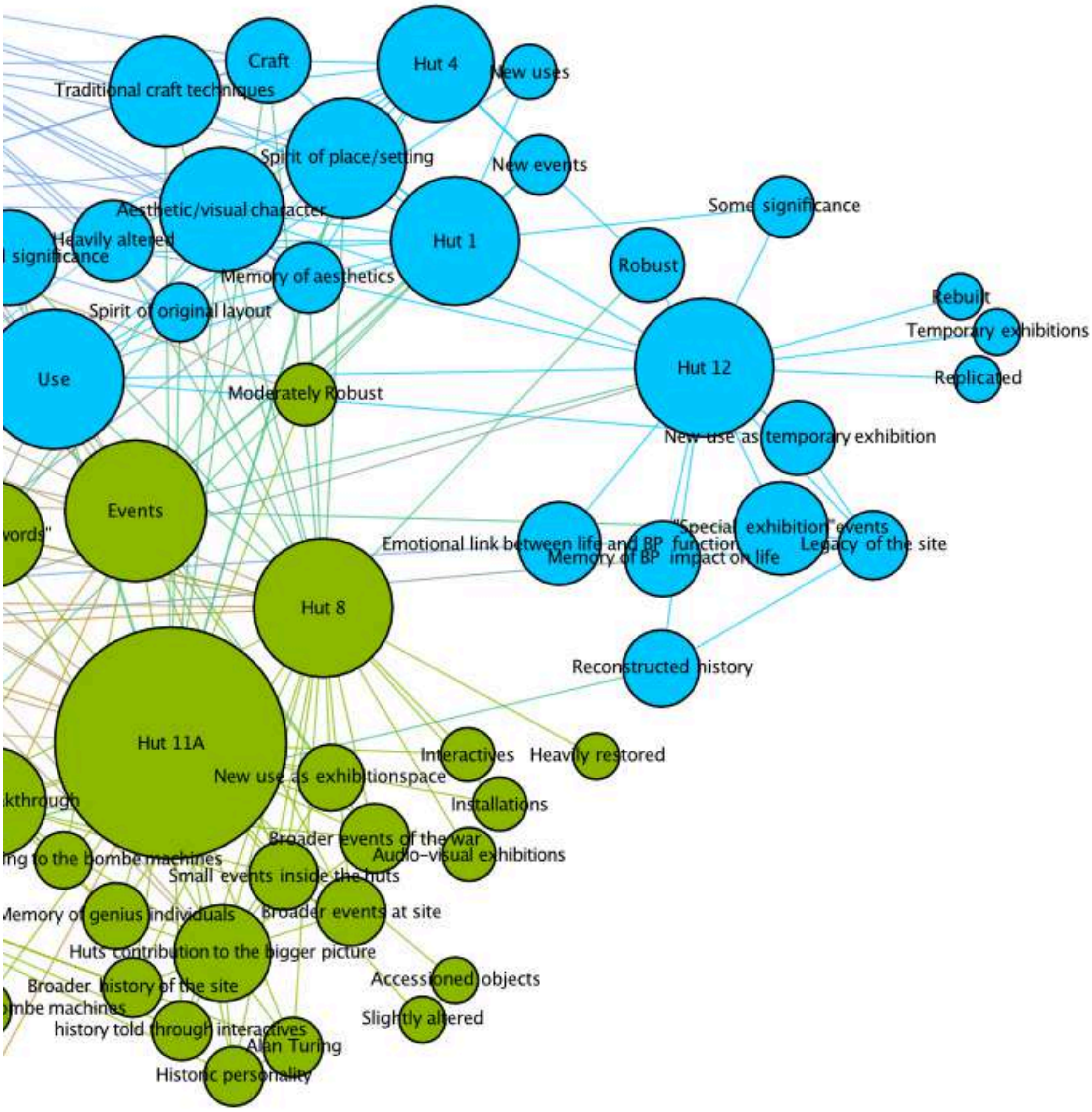
Thank you for taking part in this research. You are more than welcome to a copy of the results once completed.

D1. If there is anything else you would like to mention that you feel the questions have not touched upon, then please feel free to add this in below if so.

Participant answer:

Appendix 5. Final case study example data and analysis


Set dressing
Props
Largely unaltered
Lighting
Atmosphere
Sound
Reflects previous use
Events in the hut
Collective memory
Collective event
Hut 6
Everyday narratives
The working conditions at the site
Hut 3
Emotions of wartime workforce
Veteran memories
About those who worked in the huts
Restored to reflect a specific use
Personal experiences
Hut 11
Fragile
What happened there
Mundane events
Exceptiona
History of use/function
New use as museum
Poor working conditions
Wrens operating the bombe machines
Everyday events of the Wrens
Discord
Bombe machine operation
Emotions about what happened at the site
"In their w
Emotion
Memory
Preserved
Abandoned and neglected phase
Hut 3 Time Capsule
New use as time capsule
Bombe brea
Consolidated
Loss
History
Events relat
Memory of pre-HLF condition
Memories for project team
do nothing
The conservation project
Impact of HLF project
Building as historic record
Historic layers
Broader history of bc
Event of abandonment
Evidence of abandonment
Events of their rediscovery
Emotion through absence
Huts 14, 14A, 2, NAAFI
Memory of building use
Objective history of hut locatio
Memory of physical building location
Historic milestone of demolition
Changing values
New use as symbol
Demolished
Interpretation boards
Little significance
Marker in the landscape
Outline in landscape


Craft
Hut 4
New uses
Traditional craft techniques
Spirit of place/setting
New events
Aesthetic/visual character
Some significance
Heavily altered
l significance
Hut 1
Robust
Memory of aesthetics
Rebuilt
Spirit of original layout
Temporary exhibitions
Hut 12
Use
Replicated
Moderately Robust
New use as temporary exhibition
Events
vords"
"Special exhibition" events
Emotional link between life and BP function
Memory of BP impact on life
Legacy of the site
Hut 8
Reconstructed history
Hut 11A
Interactives
Heavily restored
New use as exhibitionspace
kthrough
Installations
Broader events of the war
Audio-visual exhibitions
ng to the bombe machines
Small events inside the huts
Memory of genius individuals
Broader events at site
Huts contribution to the bigger picture
Accessioned objects
Broader history of the site
mbe machines
Slightly altered
history told through interactives
Alan Turing
Historic personality

ns

BLETCHLEY PARK HUTS _ ANALYSIS _ SNA _ NODES

Id	Label	keyword	Eccentricity	closness centrality	harmonic closness centrality	betweeness centrality	modularity class	component number
1	Hut 1	Hut Name	3	0.423664	0.481982	135.061937	3	0
2	Hut 4	Hut Name	3	0.397849	0.45045	53.995995	3	0
3	Hut 3	Hut Name	3	0.518692	0.614114	474.95081	0	0
4	Hut 3 Time Capsule	Hut Name	4	0.45122	0.530781	604.891121	4	0
5	Hut 6	Hut Name	3	0.518692	0.614114	488.478526	0	0
6	Hut 8	Hut Name	3	0.493333	0.588589	570.465944	1	0
7	Hut 11	Hut Name	3	0.523585	0.626126	550.303013	0	0
8	Hut 11A	Hut Name	3	0.526066	0.627628	914.807815	1	0
9	Huts 14, 14A, 2, NAAFI	Hut Name	3	0.474359	0.542042	895.525033	2	0
10	Hut 12	Hut Name	3	0.426923	0.493994	536.817219	3	0
12	Demolished	Condition	4	0.322674	0.343844	0	2	0
13	Fragile	Condition	4	0.371237	0.408408	5.865334	0	0
14	Moderately Robust	Condition	4	0.389474	0.428679	2.883803	1	0
15	Robust	Condition	4	0.361564	0.398649	8.739796	3	0
18	Largely unaltered	Modifications	4	0.353503	0.385886	0.163186	0	0
19	Slightly altered	Modifications	4	0.345794	0.373874	0	1	0
20	Heavily altered	Modifications	4	0.412639	0.454955	24.134454	3	0
21	Rebuilt	Modifications	4	0.3	0.322072	0	3	0
24	Little significance	Significance	4	0.322674	0.343844	0	2	0
25	Some significance	Significance	4	0.323615	0.352853	1.889884	3	0
26	Exceptional significance	Significance	4	0.447581	0.492492	49.935138	3	0
28	Atmosphere	Interpretation	4	0.358065	0.394144	0.432981	0	0
29	Set dressing	Interpretation	4	0.346875	0.377628	0.067708	0	0
30	Props	Interpretation	4	0.346875	0.377628	0.067708	0	0
31	Lighting	Interpretation	4	0.358065	0.394144	0.432981	0	0
32	Sound	Interpretation	4	0.358065	0.394144	0.432981	0	0
33	Audio-visual exhibitions	Interpretation	4	0.354633	0.386637	0.487661	1	0
34	Interactives	Interpretation	4	0.354633	0.386637	0.487661	1	0
35	Accessioned objects	Interpretation	4	0.345794	0.373874	0	1	0
36	Installations	Interpretation	4	0.354633	0.386637	0.487661	1	0
37	Outline in landscape	Interpretation	4	0.322674	0.343844	0	2	0
38	Interpretation boards	Interpretation	4	0.322674	0.343844	0	2	0
39	Temporary exhibitions	Interpretation	4	0.3	0.322072	0	3	0
42	Heavily restored	Conservation Approach	4	0.331343	0.358859	0	1	0
43	Preserved	Conservation Approach	4	0.411111	0.448198	10.426817	4	0
46	Consolidated	Conservation Approach	5	0.311798	0.336637	0	4	0
47	History	Intangible Themes	3	0.5311	0.585586	754.182362	1	0
48	Events	Intangible Themes	4	0.511521	0.568318	626.958675	1	0
49	Memory	Intangible Themes	3	0.544118	0.59009	727.655884	2	0
50	Use	Intangible Themes	3	0.541463	0.57958	601.282147	3	0
51	Discord	Intangible Themes	4	0.438735	0.488739	98.226071	0	0
52	Craft	Intangible Themes	4	0.417293	0.468468	18.176943	3	0
53	Emotion	Intangible Themes	3	0.504545	0.548048	370.406992	0	0
55	New events	events	4	0.362745	0.38964	0.252707	3	0
56	Memory of aesthetics	memory	3	0.478448	0.521021	61.192249	3	0
57	New uses	uses	3	0.371237	0.393393	0.252707	3	0
58	Traditional craft techniques	craft	4	0.417293	0.468468	18.176943	3	0
59	Building as historic record	history	4	0.376271	0.403153	1.902037	4	0
60	History of use/function	history	4	0.430233	0.469219	48.667405	0	0
61	What happened there	history	4	0.420455	0.46021	6.47713	0	0
62	Collective event	events	4	0.405109	0.443694	2.817833	0	0
63	Events in the hut	events	5	0.358065	0.388438	2.384853	0	0
64	Mundane events	discord	3	0.431907	0.477477	17.786232	0	0
65	Everyday narratives	memory	3	0.411111	0.445946	3.154557	0	0
66	Personal experiences	emotion	3	0.420455	0.460961	9.680763	0	0
67	Collective memory	memory	3	0.411111	0.445946	3.154557	0	0
68	Veteran memories	memory	3	0.422053	0.465465	10.714317	0	0
69	Reflects previous use	uses	3	0.411111	0.445946	3.044894	0	0
71	Emotions of wartime workforce	emotion	4	0.402174	0.442943	4.692644	0	0
72	Historic layers	history	4	0.376271	0.403153	1.902037	4	0
73	Evidence of abandonment	history	4	0.376271	0.403153	1.902037	4	0

74	Event of abandonment	events	4	0.325513	0.352853	0	4	0
75	Impact of HLF project	events	4	0.325513	0.352853	0	4	0
76	Memory of pre-HLF condition	memory	4	0.381443	0.406907	2.472592	4	0
77	Memories for project team	memory	4	0.381443	0.406907	2.472592	4	0
78	New use as time capsule	uses	4	0.380137	0.404655	3.270608	4	0
79	Abandoned and neglected phase	discord	4	0.361564	0.387387	1.415728	4	0
81	Loss	emotion	4	0.368771	0.395646	1.667946	4	0
82	Broader history of the site	history	4	0.400722	0.431682	1.897863	1	0
83	Historic personality	history	4	0.402174	0.436186	1.897863	1	0
84	Alan Turing	history	4	0.402174	0.436186	1.897863	1	0
85	history told through interactives	history	4	0.400722	0.431682	1.897863	1	0
86	Broader events at site	events	4	0.405109	0.43994	5.321294	1	0
87	Broader events of the war	events	4	0.405109	0.43994	5.321294	1	0
88	Small events inside the huts	events	4	0.405109	0.43994	5.321294	1	0
89	"in their words"	memory	3	0.478448	0.521021	110.295315	1	0
90	Memory of genius individuals	memory	3	0.414179	0.445946	5.302121	1	0
92	New use as exhibition space	uses	3	0.409594	0.441441	4.892196	1	0
93	Poor working conditions	discord	4	0.412639	0.470721	58.623133	0	0
94	Emotions about what happened at the site	emotion	4	0.422053	0.462462	31.592966	0	0
95	Bombe machine operation	history	3	0.435294	0.471471	23.312601	0	0
96	Everyday events of the Wrens	events	3	0.428571	0.468468	23.669862	0	0
97	Restored to reflect a specific use	uses	3	0.426923	0.466967	19.090258	0	0
98	New use as museum	uses	3	0.417293	0.451952	11.739023	0	0
99	Broader history of bombe machines	history	4	0.399281	0.427177	2.43128	1	0
100	Events relating to the bombe machines	events	4	0.395018	0.424174	1.074853	1	0
101	Spirit of original layout	uses	3	0.447581	0.487988	9.016916	3	0
102	Objective history of hut locations	history	4	0.414179	0.445195	32.145631	2	0
103	Historic milestone of demolition	history	4	0.377551	0.403153	5.223278	2	0
104	Events of their rediscovery	events	4	0.377551	0.402402	7.212622	2	0
105	Memory of physical building location	memory	3	0.37884	0.402402	5.522986	2	0
106	Memory of building use	memory	3	0.37884	0.402402	5.522986	2	0
107	New use as symbol	uses	4	0.322674	0.343844	0	2	0
108	Marker in the landscape	uses	4	0.322674	0.343844	0	2	0
109	Emotion through absence	emotion	4	0.368771	0.393393	4.494864	2	0
110	Reconstructed history	history	3	0.381443	0.405405	31.087574	3	0
111	"Special exhibition" events	events	4	0.363934	0.391892	9.270325	3	0
112	Memory of BP impact on life	memory	3	0.376271	0.399399	10.358193	3	0
113	New use as temporary exhibition	uses	3	0.373737	0.396396	8.991179	3	0
114	Emotional link between life and BP function	emotion	3	0.372483	0.394895	20.562969	3	0
115	Aesthetic/visual character	Stories	4	0.458678	0.506006	68.534206	3	0
116	Spirit of place/setting	Stories	4	0.444	0.495495	53.272101	3	0
117	About those who worked in the huts	Stories	4	0.405109	0.494745	73.563977	0	0
118	The working conditions at the site	Stories	4	0.403636	0.49024	64.863977	0	0
119	The conservation project	Stories	4	0.38676	0.453453	158.289825	4	0
120	Huts contribution to the bigger picture	Stories	4	0.409594	0.478228	33.999716	1	0
121	Wrens operating the bombe machines	Stories	4	0.376271	0.426426	4.904221	0	0
122	Bombe breakthrough	Stories	4	0.400722	0.466216	59.640002	1	0
123	Changing values	Stories	4	0.342593	0.382132	7.166667	2	0
124	Legacy of the site	Stories	4	0.319885	0.35961	6.199242	3	0
126	Replicated	Conservation Approach	4	0.3	0.322072	0	3	0
127	do nothing	Interpretation	4	0.325513	0.352853	0	4	0

BLETCHLEY PARK HUTS _ ANALYSIS _ SNA _ EDGES

Source	Target	Type	Id	Label	timeset	Weight
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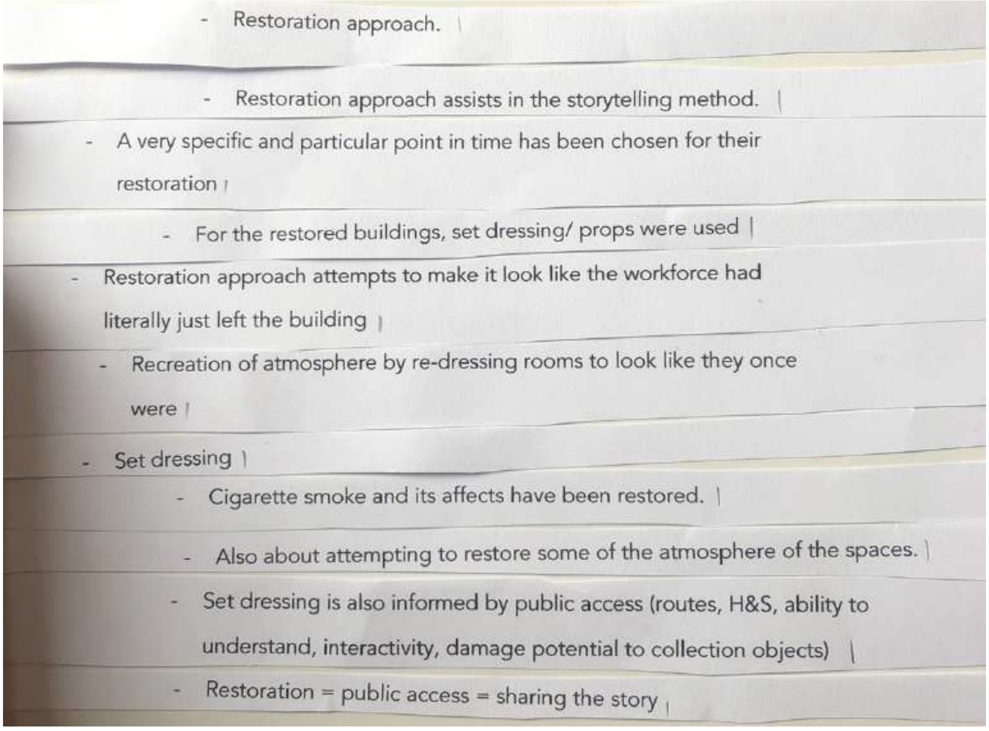
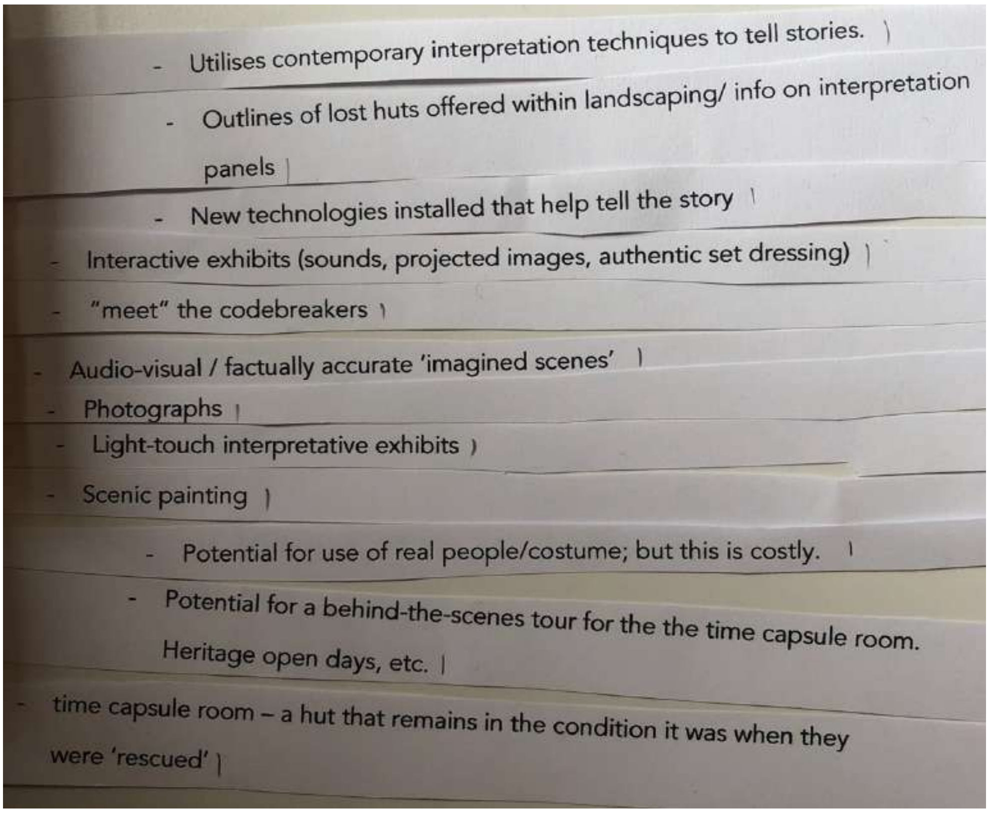
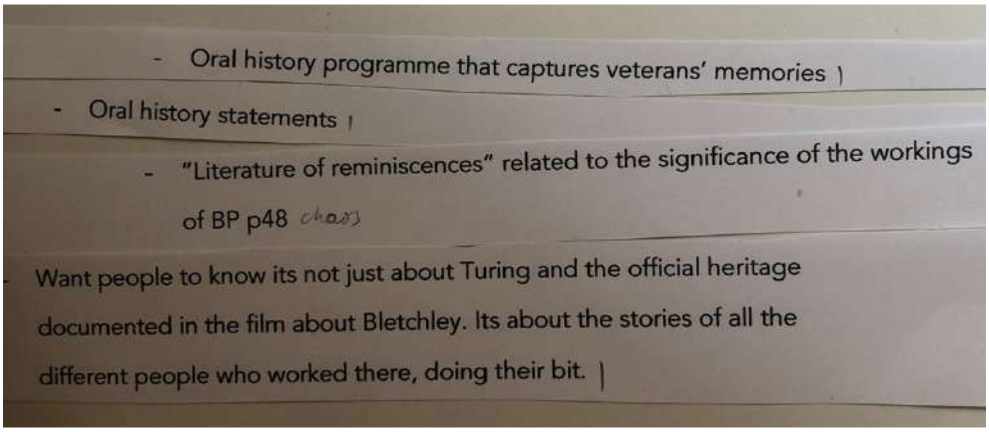


        - Restoration approach.
        - Restoration approach assists in the storytelling method.
  - A very specific and particular point in time has been chosen for their restoration
      - For the restored buildings, set dressing/ props were used
  - Restoration approach attempts to make it look like the workforce had literally just left the building
    - Recreation of atmosphere by re-dressing rooms to look like they once were
  - Set dressing
      - Cigarette smoke and its affects have been restored.
      - Also about attempting to restore some of the atmosphere of the spaces.
      - Set dressing is also informed by public access (routes, H&S, ability to understand, interactivity, damage potential to collection objects)
      - Restoration = public access = sharing the story



      - Utilises contemporary interpretation techniques to tell stories.
      - Outlines of lost huts offered within landscaping/ info on interpretation panels
      - New technologies installed that help tell the story
  - Interactive exhibits (sounds, projected images, authentic set dressing)
  - "meet" the codebreakers
- Audio-visual / factually accurate 'imagined scenes'
  - Photographs
  - Light-touch interpretative exhibits
  - Scenic painting
      - Potential for use of real people/costume; but this is costly.
      - Potential for a behind-the-scenes tour for the the time capsule room. Heritage open days, etc.
- time capsule room – a hut that remains in the condition it was when they were 'rescued'

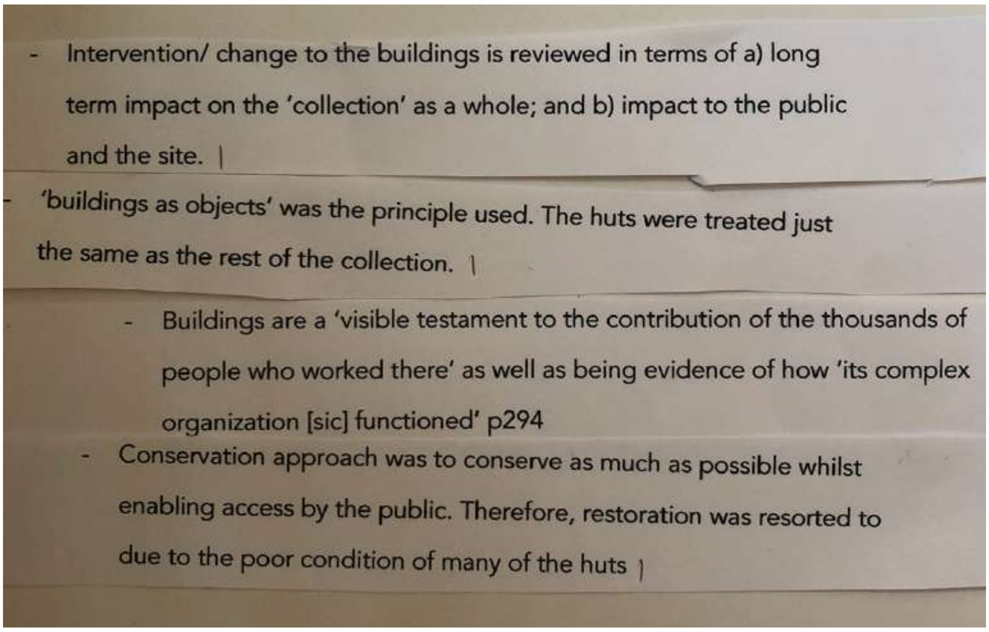


- Oral history programme that captures veterans' memories |

- Oral history statements |

- "Literature of reminiscences" related to the significance of the workings of BP p48 chars)

- Want people to know its not just about Turing and the official heritage documented in the film about Bletchley. Its about the stories of all the different people who worked there, doing their bit. |

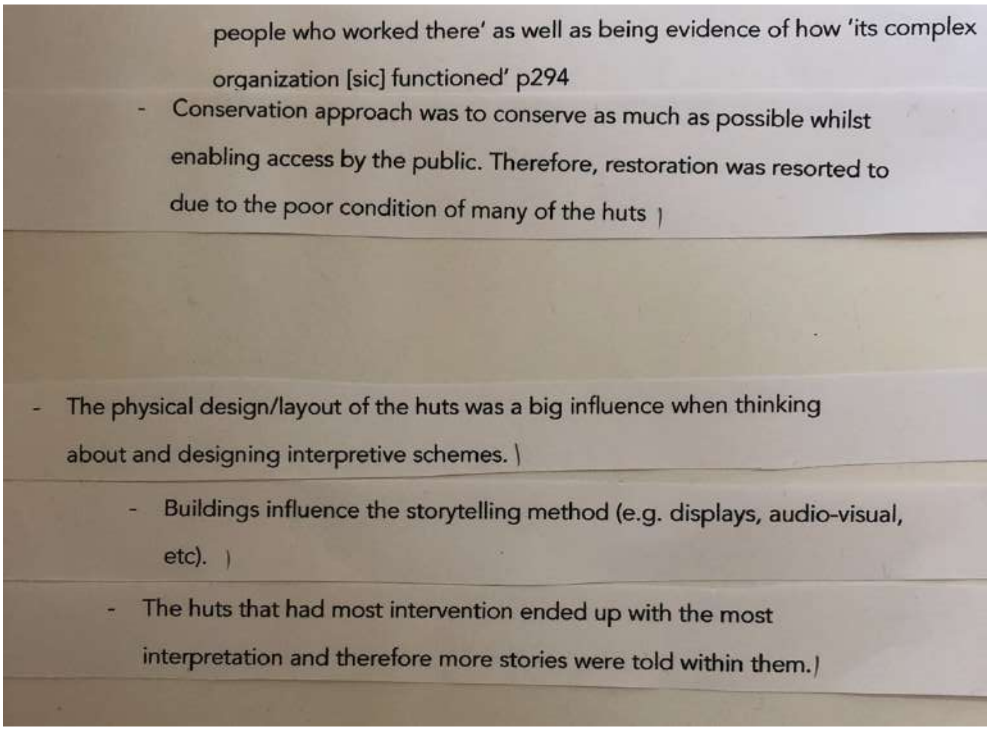


- Intervention/ change to the buildings is reviewed in terms of a) long term impact on the 'collection' as a whole; and b) impact to the public and the site. |

- 'buildings as objects' was the principle used. The huts were treated just the same as the rest of the collection. |

- Buildings are a 'visible testament to the contribution of the thousands of people who worked there' as well as being evidence of how 'its complex organization [sic] functioned' p294

- Conservation approach was to conserve as much as possible whilst enabling access by the public. Therefore, restoration was resorted to due to the poor condition of many of the huts |



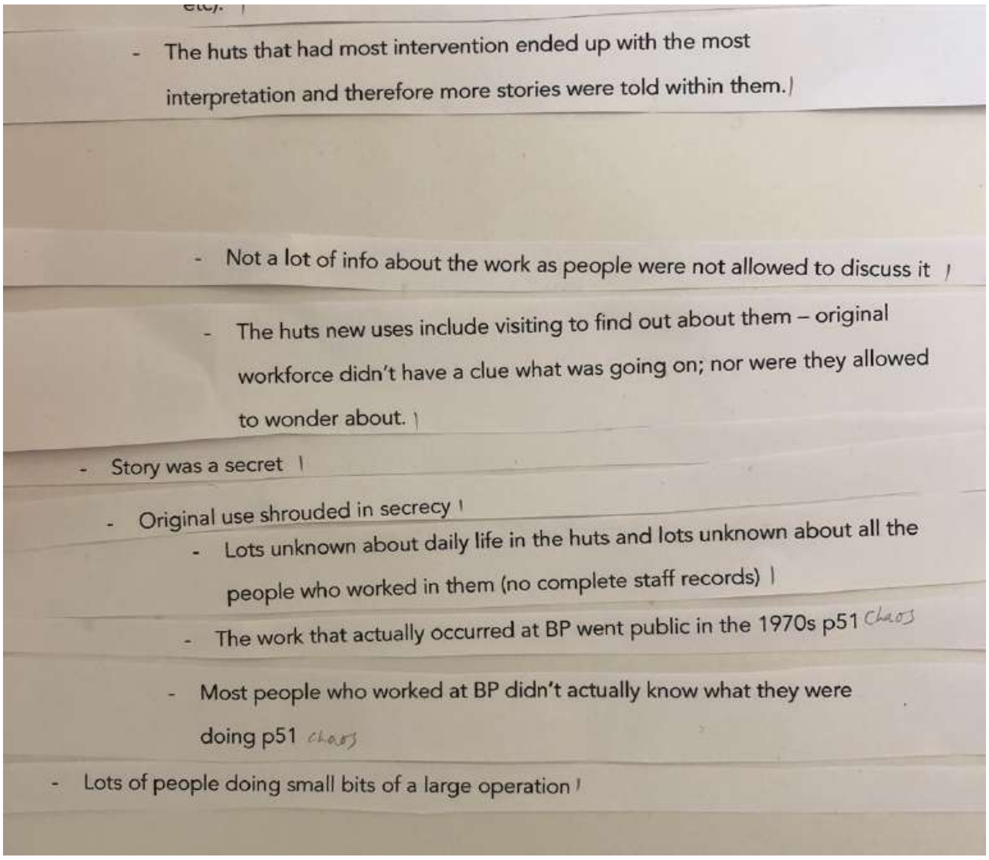
people who worked there' as well as being evidence of how 'its complex organization [sic] functioned' p294

- Conservation approach was to conserve as much as possible whilst enabling access by the public. Therefore, restoration was resorted to due to the poor condition of many of the huts |

- The physical design/layout of the huts was a big influence when thinking about and designing interpretive schemes. |

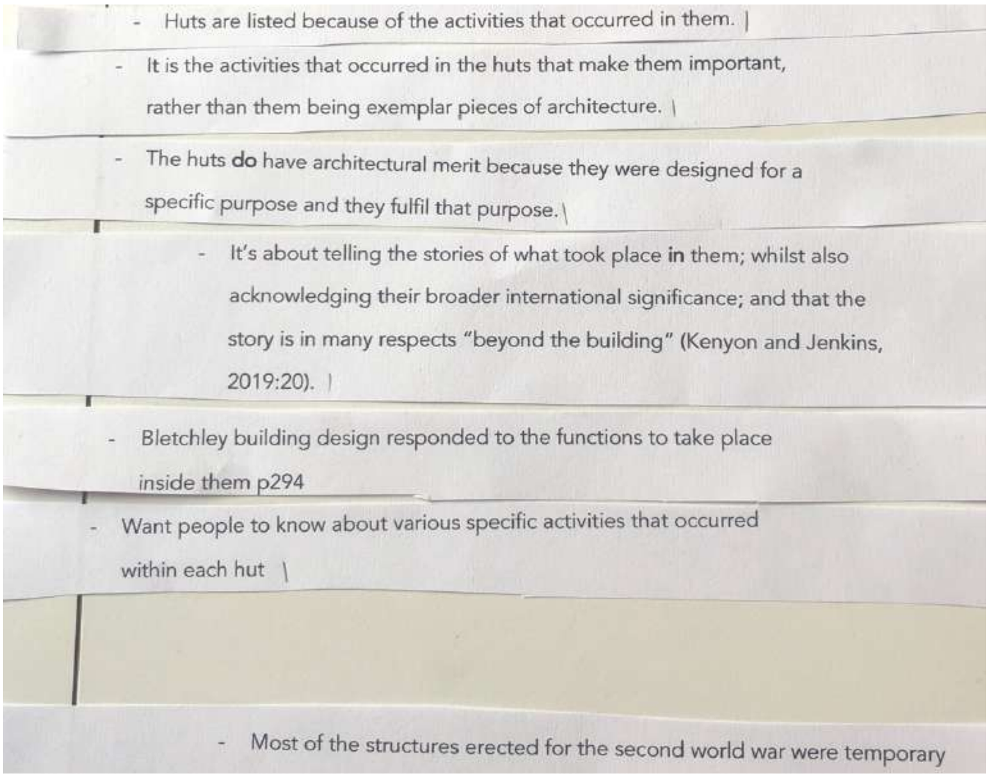
- Buildings influence the storytelling method (e.g. displays, audio-visual, etc). |

- The huts that had most intervention ended up with the most interpretation and therefore more stories were told within them. |

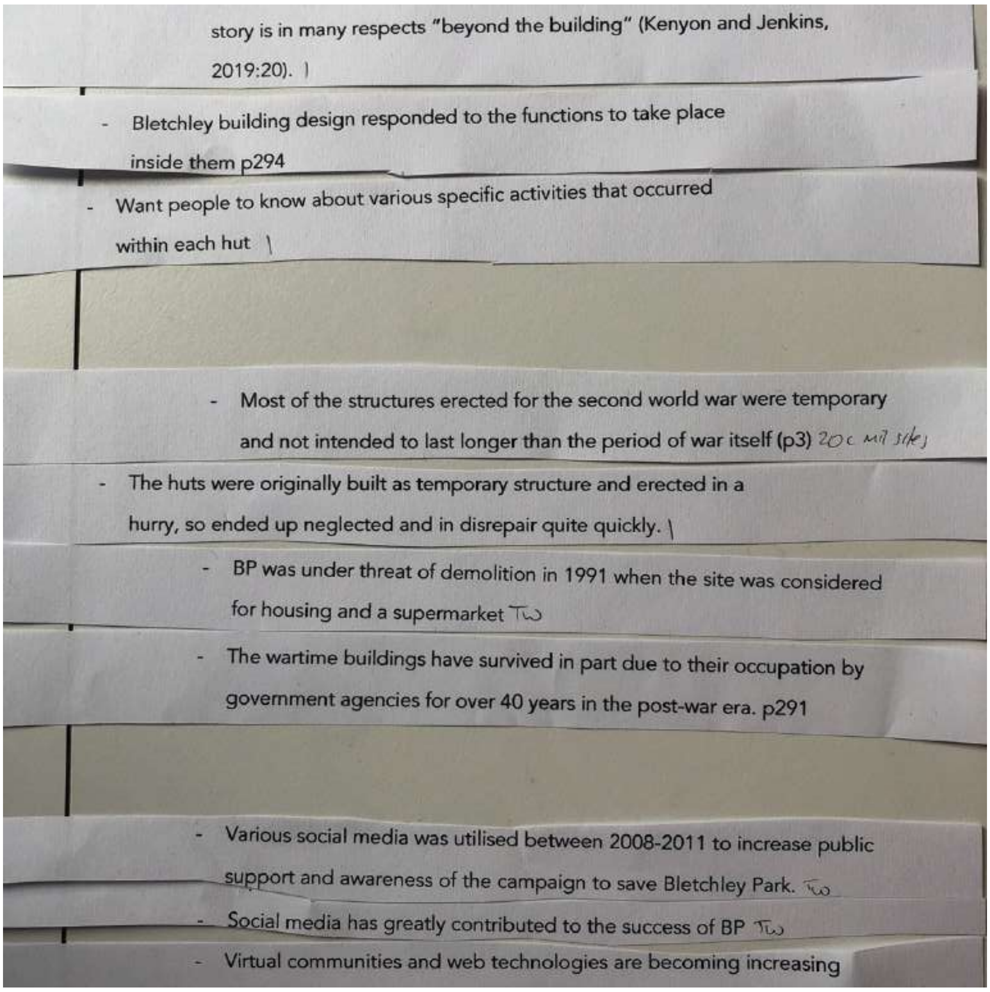


etc).

- The huts that had most intervention ended up with the most interpretation and therefore more stories were told within them.
    - Not a lot of info about the work as people were not allowed to discuss it
    - The huts new uses include visiting to find out about them – original workforce didn't have a clue what was going on; nor were they allowed to wonder about.
- Story was a secret
  - Original use shrouded in secrecy
    - Lots unknown about daily life in the huts and lots unknown about all the people who worked in them (no complete staff records)
    - The work that actually occurred at BP went public in the 1970s p51 Chaos
    - Most people who worked at BP didn't actually know what they were doing p51 Chaos
- Lots of people doing small bits of a large operation



- Huts are listed because of the activities that occurred in them.
- It is the activities that occurred in the huts that make them important, rather than them being exemplar pieces of architecture.
- The huts **do** have architectural merit because they were designed for a specific purpose and they fulfil that purpose.
    - It's about telling the stories of what took place **in** them; whilst also acknowledging their broader international significance; and that the story is in many respects "beyond the building" (Kenyon and Jenkins, 2019:20).
- Bletchley building design responded to the functions to take place inside them p294
- Want people to know about various specific activities that occurred within each hut
    - Most of the structures erected for the second world war were temporary

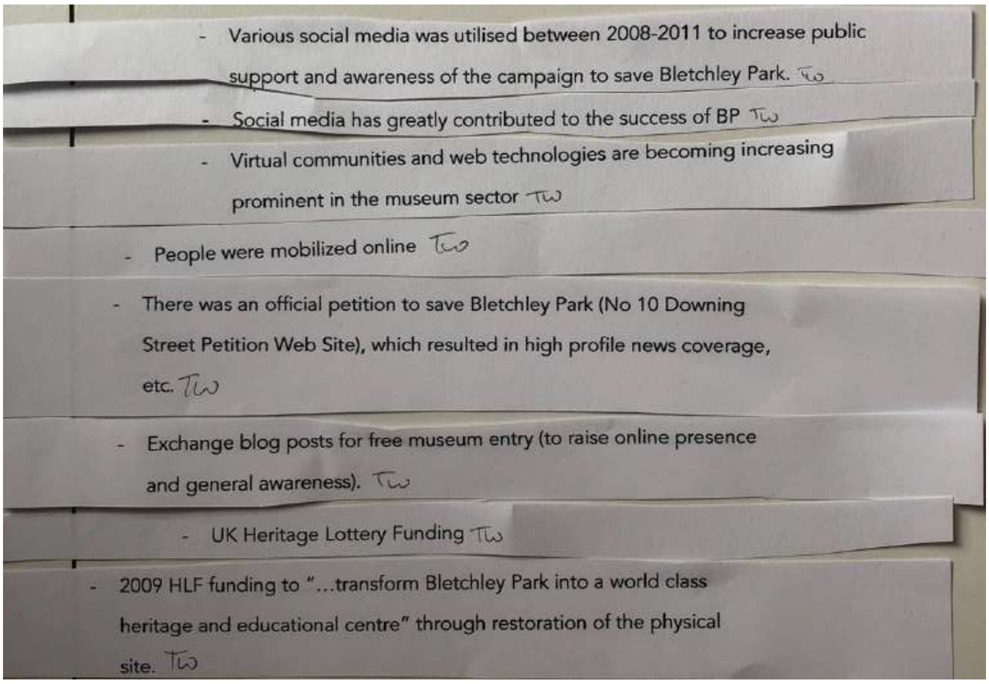


story is in many respects "beyond the building" (Kenyon and Jenkins, 2019:20).

- Bletchley building design responded to the functions to take place inside them p294
- Want people to know about various specific activities that occurred within each hut

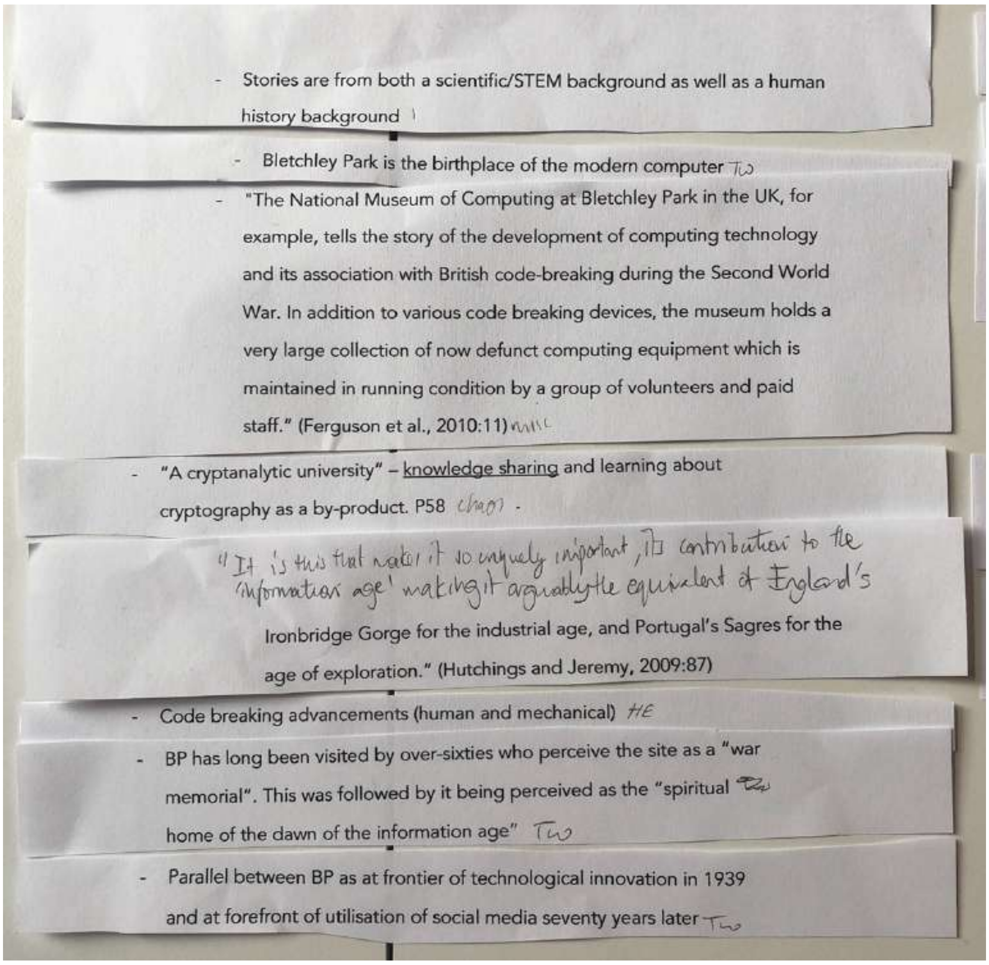
  - Most of the structures erected for the second world war were temporary and not intended to last longer than the period of war itself (p3) 20c mil sites
- The huts were originally built as temporary structure and erected in a hurry, so ended up neglected and in disrepair quite quickly.
  - BP was under threat of demolition in 1991 when the site was considered for housing and a supermarket TW
  - The wartime buildings have survived in part due to their occupation by government agencies for over 40 years in the post-war era. p291

  - Various social media was utilised between 2008-2011 to increase public support and awareness of the campaign to save Bletchley Park. TW
  - Social media has greatly contributed to the success of BP TW
  - Virtual communities and web technologies are becoming increasing



  - Various social media was utilised between 2008-2011 to increase public support and awareness of the campaign to save Bletchley Park. TW
  - Social media has greatly contributed to the success of BP TW

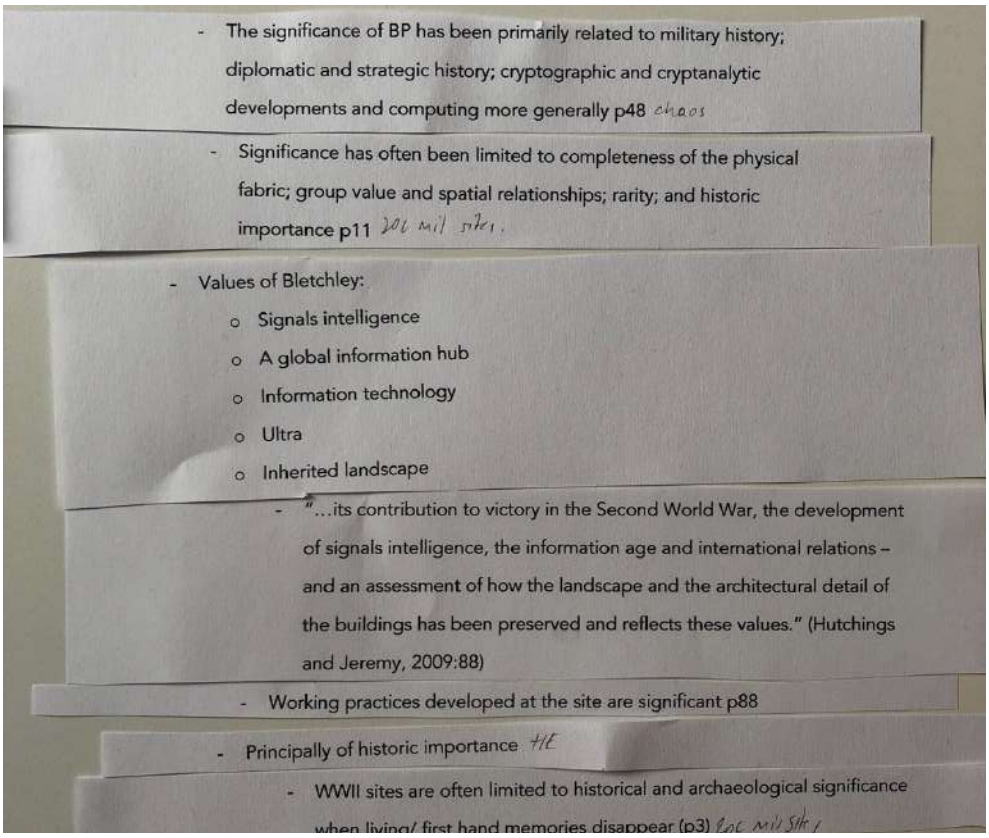
  - Virtual communities and web technologies are becoming increasing prominent in the museum sector TW
- People were mobilized online TW
- There was an official petition to save Bletchley Park (No 10 Downing Street Petition Web Site), which resulted in high profile news coverage, etc. TW
- Exchange blog posts for free museum entry (to raise online presence and general awareness). TW
  - UK Heritage Lottery Funding TW
- 2009 HLF funding to "…transform Bletchley Park into a world class heritage and educational centre" through restoration of the physical site. TW



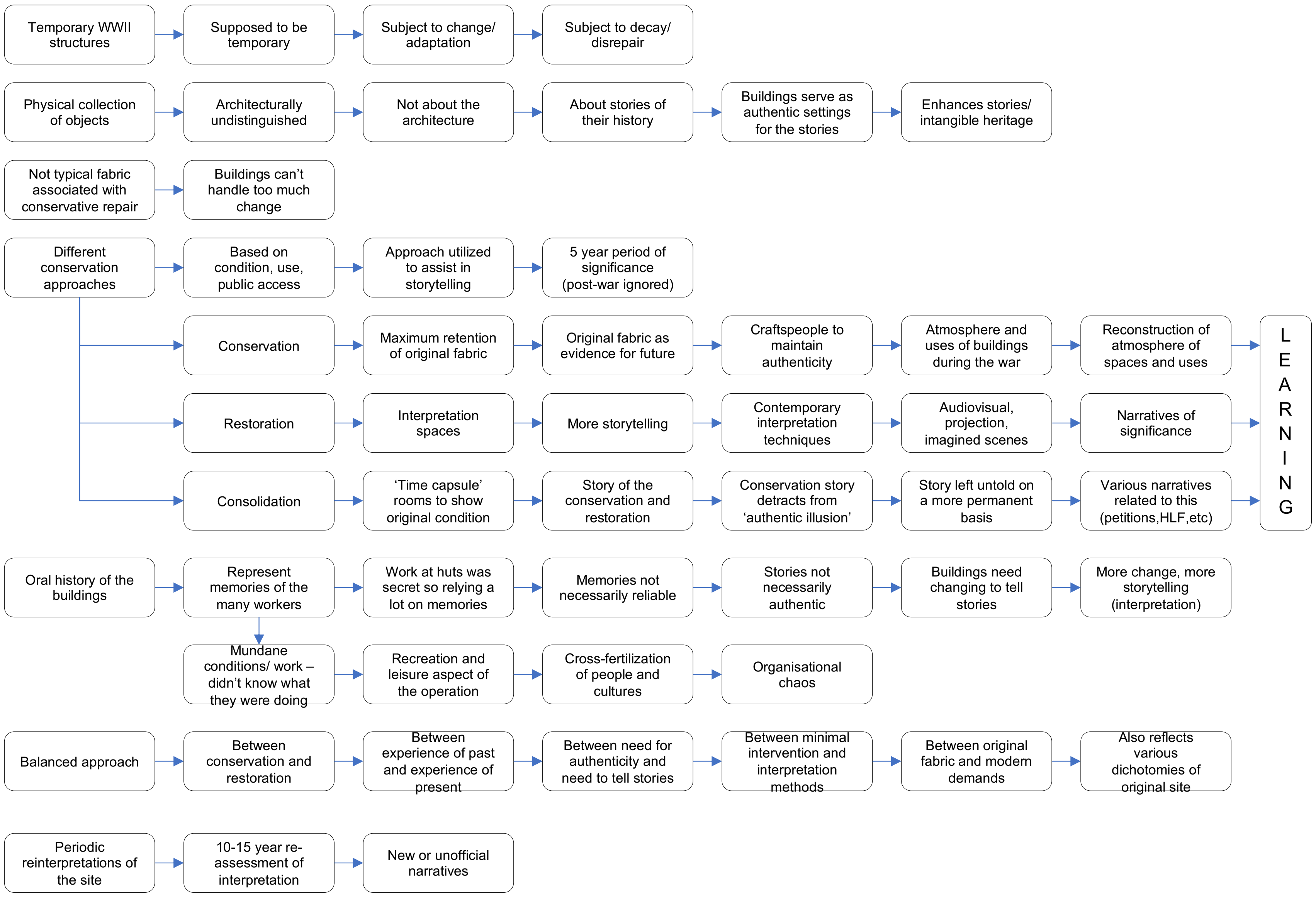
- Stories are from both a scientific/STEM background as well as a human history background
- Bletchley Park is the birthplace of the modern computer Tw
- "The National Museum of Computing at Bletchley Park in the UK, for example, tells the story of the development of computing technology and its association with British code-breaking during the Second World War. In addition to various code breaking devices, the museum holds a very large collection of now defunct computing equipment which is maintained in running condition by a group of volunteers and paid staff." (Ferguson et al., 2010:11) misc
- "A cryptanalytic university" – knowledge sharing and learning about cryptography as a by-product. P58 chaos -

"It is this that makes it so uniquely important, its contribution to the 'information age' making it arguably the equivalent of England's Ironbridge Gorge for the industrial age, and Portugal's Sagres for the age of exploration." (Hutchings and Jeremy, 2009:87)

- Code breaking advancements (human and mechanical) HE
- BP has long been visited by over-sixties who perceive the site as a "war memorial". This was followed by it being perceived as the "spiritual Tw home of the dawn of the information age" Tw
- Parallel between BP as at frontier of technological innovation in 1939 and at forefront of utilisation of social media seventy years later Tw



- The significance of BP has been primarily related to military history; diplomatic and strategic history; cryptographic and cryptanalytic developments and computing more generally p48 chaos
- Significance has often been limited to completeness of the physical fabric; group value and spatial relationships; rarity; and historic importance p11 20c mil sites.
- Values of Bletchley:
  - Signals intelligence
  - A global information hub
  - Information technology
  - Ultra
  - Inherited landscape
    - "…its contribution to victory in the Second World War, the development of signals intelligence, the information age and international relations – and an assessment of how the landscape and the architectural detail of the buildings has been preserved and reflects these values." (Hutchings and Jeremy, 2009:88)
  - Working practices developed at the site are significant p88
- Principally of historic importance HE
  - WWII sites are often limited to historical and archaeological significance when living/ first hand memories disappear (p3) 20c mil sites


Temporary WWII structures
Supposed to be temporary
Subject to change/ adaptation
Subject to decay/ disrepair
Physical collection of objects
Architecturally undistinguished
Not about the architecture
About stories of their history
Buildings serve as authentic settings for the stories
Enhances stories/ intangible heritage
Not typical fabric associated with conservative repair
Buildings can't handle too much change
Different conservation approaches
Based on condition, use, public access
Approach utilized to assist in storytelling
5 year period of significance (post-war ignored)
Conservation
Maximum retention of original fabric
Original fabric as evidence for future
Craftspeople to maintain authenticity
Atmosphere and uses of buildings during the war
Reconstruction of atmosphere of spaces and uses
Restoration
Interpretation spaces
More storytelling
Contemporary interpretation techniques
Audiovisual, projection, imagined scenes
Narratives of significance
Consolidation
'Time capsule' rooms to show original condition
Story of the conservation and restoration
Conservation story detracts from 'authentic illusion'
Story left untold on a more permanent basis
Various narratives related to this (petitions,HLF,etc)
L E A R N I N G
Oral history of the buildings
Represent memories of the many workers
Work at huts was secret so relying a lot on memories
Memories not necessarily reliable
Stories not necessarily authentic
Buildings need changing to tell stories
More change, more storytelling (interpretation)
Mundane conditions/ work – didn't know what they were doing
Recreation and leisure aspect of the operation
Cross-fertilization of people and cultures
Organisational chaos
Balanced approach
Between conservation and restoration
Between experience of past and experience of present
Between need for authenticity and need to tell stories
Between minimal intervention and interpretation methods
Between original fabric and modern demands
Also reflects various dichotomies of original site
Periodic reinterpretations of the site
10-15 year re-assessment of interpretation
New or unofficial narratives