

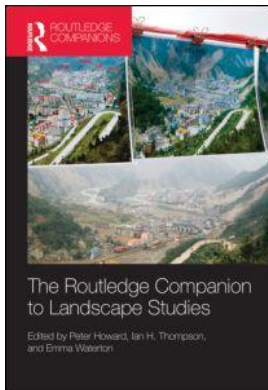
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Emerging landscapes of heritage

David Harvey

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

Parallel lines

Recent years have witnessed a growing interest in both heritage and landscape; as categories of scholarship and education, of experience and performance, of entertainment and commerce, of policy engagement, and as markers of identity. Indeed, the two often fit nicely together, tagged as being cultural and/or natural; tangible and/or intangible; personal and/or collective, and especially national; as mutual reference points within popular, policy and scientific narratives. Not surprisingly, therefore, the recent histories of heritage and landscape studies have been closely intertwined, with their epistemological, ideological and methodological twists and turns progressing amid a common, broad and interdisciplinary intellectual space. This has not been a co-dependent evolution as such, although their trans-disciplinary connections would seem to relate to a common theoretical resource. Rather, our enquiry into landscape and heritage would appear to be a mutually supporting and sometimes parallel endeavour of intellectual effort, which explores their significance as meaningful categories of emergence and process. Furthermore, this recognition of both heritage and landscape as dynamic processes would seem to be at odds with a commonly cited (and often reactionary) aspiration to fix; to preserve; to stabilize and otherwise monopolize the meaning of both categories. While other chapters in this collection implicitly cover the emerging heritage of landscape studies from a variety of perspectives, therefore, this chapter reviews the terrain of a dynamic relationship *between* these categories. Rather than seeking to reify a series of dualities, the chapter traces the co-ordinates of how such relations can be blurred, what consequences this line of thinking has, and what opportunities heritage and landscape scholars have.

Reflecting a wider 'postmodern turn' in academia, the pursuit of intellectual questions surrounding both landscape and heritage has transformed over the last couple of decades.¹ Interestingly, however, while there appears to be much commonality in these developments, very few texts have sought specifically to review this disciplinary evolution in parallel.² Recent work in landscape studies has emphasized the subjective nature of the term, with new questions being asked, novel approaches utilized, and a much more sophisticated commitment to social theory on the research agenda (see Wylie 2007, and other chapters within this collection). Research in heritage studies has witnessed a similar practice of destabilization and increasing

engagement with social theory (see, for instance, Graham et al. 2000, Harvey 2001, 2008; Howard, 2003; Smith 2006; Ashworth et al. 2007). As a result, both fields of research have now tended to emphasize the contingent and processual nature of their subjects. While Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and David Lowenthal (1998) emphasize the dissonance and conflict that lie at the heart of heritage, Gunhild Setten (2006: 73) articulates this dissonance bound up within landscape heritage as a series of tensions – between nature and culture, past and present, public and private. Resonating with these sentiments, Wylie (2007: 1) simply notes that ‘landscape is tension’.

A further parallel theme in the trajectory of heritage and landscape studies is the notion of ‘becoming’; that both landscape and heritage are in a constant state of ‘cultural construction, deconstruction and reconstruction’ (Kelly and Norman 2007: 173). Drawing from earlier work by Barbara Bender (1998, 2001) that landscapes are never inert or passive, this more dynamic understanding of heritage and landscape has been a powerful and resonant idea. Lee (2007: 88) for instance, notes that a processual approach provides the ‘locus for the active “becoming” or “re-imagining” of social relations, land-use and identity’. This dynamic understanding is invoked in the work of Werner Krauss (2006, 2008: 427) as he explores landscape and heritage not as entities that are simply ‘there’, but which are ‘poly-semantic, processual and relational’. Work suggesting that heritage is not a ‘thing’ nor a ‘site’, but a ‘cultural process of engaging and experiencing’ (Smith 2006: 44), draws attention towards ‘being in the world’; with heritage as a verb, related to human action and experience (Harvey 2001: 327). In this respect, the question is less about what heritage is, and more about what it *does*. As Setten (2006: 74) notes, heritage is acted out in a ‘situated contextual and narrative mode of knowing in certain pasts and presents’.

It is this ‘narrative mode of knowing’ that is bound up with the contextual and dynamic reading of heritage, which can help us more fully understand the contested arena of landscape studies. In other words, moving beyond the recognition of a series of parallels within the intellectual terrains of landscape and heritage studies, I would argue that these mutually supporting conceptual developments have consequences for the study and understanding of both landscape and heritage.

Consequences: rethinking landscape-heritage and heritage-landscape

Having outlined some parallel ontological thoughts on heritage and landscape, I now turn to the epistemological consequences of such developments. The emphasis on the processual implies a new set of questions, different frames of analysis and some methodological innovation in order to understand more fully our subject matter and, indeed, ourselves. In terms of the lines of questioning, the undermining of the presumption of categorical stability has resulted in a blurring of organizational dualities – of nature and culture; the past and present; the global and local; expert and lay; tangible and intangible; stasis and movement. The suspicion of such dualities is a hallmark of the work of Setten (2004, 2006) for instance, and has started to shift the terms of debate more broadly. West and Ndlovu (2010: 202) for instance, point to how the ‘relationship between nature and culture is a defining problem for recent debates over the meanings of heritage landscapes’, while both academic and policy attention has recently been drawn away from ‘fabric-heavy’ enquiry and practice towards an analysis of the intangible and relational (see, for instance, Byrne 2003; Waterton 2010a). In many ways, these developments reflect a broader turn in the social sciences that brings to the fore notions of hybridity (see Bhabha 1994). Reminiscent of work focussing on the *hyphen* of nation-*hyphen*-state (see, for instance, Sparke 2005, and Antonsich 2010), our attention should be drawn to the spaces

between natural and cultural heritage; the tangible and the intangible; the hyphens of landscape–heritage and heritage–landscape. Perhaps this is the ‘thirdspace’ through which the mutable categories of landscape and heritage become present.³ Indeed, with the national branding so prominent in much previous literature on both landscape and heritage, it is perhaps not surprising that work that calls into question the fixity of the nation-state should act as a prompt for our thinking about landscape and heritage.

With attention drawn away from the supposedly innate, the process of how values are assigned and meanings attributed to heritage (or landscape) comes to the fore (Smith 2009: 34). For Laurajane Smith (2006, 2009) and Emma Waterton (2010a), this activity leads them to think through how such an ‘Authorized Heritage Discourse’ becomes implicated through a multitude of heritage representations. More broadly, such analyses should also prompt us to reach beyond the understanding of representational practice and engage with the ways in which the world is not merely a discursive phenomenon (see, for instance, Wylie 2007, and this volume). Following Brace and Johns-Putra’s (2010) work on creative writing, therefore, perhaps heritage can be a vehicle through which the epistemological separation of representation and non-representation can be avoided? Either way, such an emphasis on how decisions are made, meanings constructed and values derived has placed a greater emphasis on self-scrutiny on the part of academics, policy-makers and public alike. Work in Australia, in particular, has clearly articulated this need for reflexive awareness of how understandings of land and heritage have emerged (Ireland 2003; De Cunzo and Ernstein 2006: 261; Byrne 2009).

In terms of formulating research agendas, such a reflexive attitude has encouraged a greater critical awareness of the role of disciplinary structures in the formulation of the heritage–landscape relationship. Far from the apolitical search for objective truth or unproblematical management practice, the very postulation of a relationship between heritage and landscape carries a burden; often one of colonized and colonizer. As Croucher (2007: 61) notes, ‘western notions of “landscape” are intimately tied in with the historical processes of European colonialism’. When viewed alongside a reactionary invocation of heritage, as outlined by Robert Hewison (1987), or channelled through an Authorized Heritage Discourse without being challenged by critical analysis, therefore, the heritage–landscape relationship would appear to be both troublesome and complicit in processes of exclusion. Such a stultifying relationship certainly lies at the heart of many renditions of ‘national landscape’; the proverbial ‘bread and butter’ of many conscious and unconscious acts of exclusion and self-referential practices of preservation. Enshrined within the core of a western perspective of heritage ‘are a series of assumptions regarding expertise, authenticity, integrity and value, all of which are cemented within a technical process of management that aims to safeguard and render “permanent” a very specific set of cultural symbols’ (Waterton, 2010a: 70). As Byrne (2003: 188) notes, however, such hegemonic practice offers a *fantasy* of containment (my italics): it might be powerful, but it is never complete, and may provide critical opportunity. Indeed, a series of feminist-inspired and postcolonial work appears to show that heritage processes provide the means through which more nuanced, situated and fluid understandings of landscape can be championed (see, for instance, Croucher 2007, and Keitumetse et al. 2007). For Denis Cosgrove (2003: 113), therefore, heritage forces an engagement with the ‘realities of a post-colonial, polyvocal and globalized world. ... [Heritage] signifies the decolonisation of the past’.

Such a process of decolonization has seen an increasingly fluid notion of temporality being utilized to understand the heritage–landscape relationship. Rather than a palimpsestual approach, in which the present is merely the sum of past episodes, notions of heritage allow the past to become active in a ‘present and future orientated engagement with the environment’ (Lee 2007: 88). Rather than the *retrospective* memory of the palimpsest, therefore, the ‘immanence’ of

heritage process suggests a *prospective* memory; an unfolding and on-going relationship between past, present and future (see Holtorf and Williams 2006: 237). Such theoretical work has prompted the recognition of a non-linear temporality to be recognized in accounts that move beyond the notion of a simple landscape, with a uniform and inevitable chronological narrative (Kelly and Norman 2007: 176–77. See also Harvey 2003a, 2010; Edmonds 2006).⁴ This break up of chronology (as linear, orderly, smooth and predictable) prompts us to understand ‘not only our own practices as part of the stories of landscapes we wish to document, but [also] recast material pasts as having action, as having a stake, as being co-present, co-creative and co-constitutive in contemporary landscape processes’ (Witmore 2007: 220).

Understanding and developing such reconceptualizations of the relationship between landscape and heritage has necessarily brought into focus the issue of method and source material. For academics such as Smith (2006) and Waterton (2010a), not accepting the face value of policy documents lies at the heart of their use of critical discourse analysis in order to reveal what ‘lies between the lines’ of such representations. This is clearly articulated in Waterton et al.’s (2006) work on the Burra Charter, which questions the apolitical and disinterested nature of the ‘universal world heritage’ of groups such as UNESCO and ICOMOS. On the whole, however, rather than the adoption of a specific methodological approach, it is the diversity of sources and the application of novel methods that has most characterized approaches to landscape–heritage in recent years (Hicks and McAtackney 2007). For instance, many scholars have used a more rigorous textual analysis (of policy documents, tourist brochures, guidebooks, and scientific reports), together with an iconographic approach, which seeks to reveal the values and meanings that have been written into landscapes, as a useful means through which to analyze some of the ‘sacred cows’ of heritage; that of the national (or regional) landscape (see, for instance, Graham 1996; Crang 1999; Olwig 2002; Harvey 2003b; Whelan 2003; Johnson 2004; Germundsson 2006).

As Brace and Johns-Putra (2010: 403), drawing on McCormack (2005), note, however, we should be wary of prioritizing textual representations as the primary epistemological vehicle through which knowledge is extracted from the world. Moving beyond the analysis of ‘standard’ representations, therefore, McAtackney (2007) combines the oral history of prison inmates with the analysis of a range of external representations (such as planning and policy documents) to complicate the heritage of the ‘objective’ survey at the Long Kesh/Maze Prison site in Northern Ireland. Further oral historical work by Riley and Harvey (2005), Setten (2006) and Keitumetse et al. (2007), for instance, have underlined this more fluid invocation of the landscape and heritage relationship. For Keitumetse et al. (2007: 107), oral history, allied with a postcolonial theoretical framework that contests notions of authorship and authority, allowed them to expose the processes through which landscape–heritage management plans were produced through ‘academic and expert cultures, [which acted to] exclude the ideas and value of local communities’. Such a celebration of the subjective and non-expert raises the possibility of other ways of knowing. For authors such as John Wylie (2002, 2005 and Chapter 4), an answer can be found using phenomenological approaches, while Pearson (2006: 11) ‘urges a shift from the *optic* to the *haptic* in the apprehension of landscape’ (italics in the original). Such a manoeuvre is important for heritage studies since, on the one hand it tends to foreground material culture as a tactile and resonant entity within the experience of landscape–heritage. On the other hand, such an embodied sense of landscape is suggestive of an analytical shift towards the performative and practised, and thus towards the use of (auto)ethnography. The fleshy interaction of people and things, therefore, has made space for an understanding of landscape–heritage that acknowledges the materiality of being in the landscape. Indeed, much work on the life history of monuments has underlined its instability of meaning and form (see Whelan

2003; Holtorf 2000–2008, Harvey 2007, 2010). As Cosgrove (2003: 115) notes, the ‘fragmentary nature of heritage is essential to its definition’, thus acknowledging the importance of actual experience, the uncanny and even the absent presence of ghosts, which has become one of the key motifs through which such phenomena have been studied in recent years (see, for instance, Edensor 2005, DeSilvey 2006). Such an apprehension of the landscape, which brings forth a notion of heritage, thus acknowledges the (subjective) importance of history, mythology, genealogy and memory for those people in both past and present, who inhabit these landscapes (see Holtorf and Williams, 2006: 236).

Turning to issues of performance, Pearson (2006: 11) notes that landscape is ‘something to be lived in’, and I would argue that it is this practising and performance of life – of living in the world – through which heritage is invoked. As Cosgrove (2003: 123) notes, heritage is ‘always and inevitably performative. ... [H]eritage artefact or performance does not offer a sort of objective/scientific “autopsy”. ... Rather, it opens space for imagination, for mapping the fragment into a contemporary space made up of many such fragments, authentic or fake, reworked through the creative powers of memory’. This suggests that there is room within our exploration of the landscape–heritage relationship, for both the bounded, artefact-based and representational, and the relational, fluid and phenomenological. Indeed, their co-existence and contradiction may produce an energizing space.

Practicalities: doing landscape–heritage

With the landscape–heritage relationship undergoing theoretical development, epistemological innovation and consequent methodological diversity, it now behoves us to think through the practicalities of what the study of landscape–heritage entails. Scholars have new questions to ask, new material (and non-material) entities to utilize, and a processual understanding to frame their analyses. In many ways, the injection of a landscape sensibility ought to break up what Byrne (2003: 188) calls the ‘continued hegemony of the site’ concept that has so debilitated much heritage studies. Ideally, therefore, such an approach should broaden our attention to look beyond the monument, the artefact, and the fabric of a site-based case study and make room for more open and contextual work (cf. Harvey 2001; Creighton 2002). In practice, however, the key arena in which landscape–heritage has tended to solidify has been that of the nation. Indeed, even the naming of most official bodies that are tasked with managing and interpreting landscape heritage has tended to have a national (or quasi-national) frame of reference.⁵

The apparent eclipse of the nation-state as a primary unit within which things happen automatically implies the complication and re-articulation of what a national landscape heritage might entail (see, for instance, Jones, 2007 or Jessop 2008). Furthermore, the actual process through which elements of landscape heritage are labelled as *national* become subject to scrutiny (see, for instance, Waterton 2010b). The recognition, for instance, of Koli (see Figure 13.1) as *The Finnish National Landscape*, invoking a national cultural and natural heritage should be undermined as an essentialized phenomenon. The Koli website⁶ notes that ‘Finland has 156 scenic areas defined by governmental decree as of national importance. Of these, 27 of the most valued have been selected as “national landscapes”. Koli is at the top of this list. Koli has a particularly powerful symbolic value, a generally recognized place in the nation’s culture, history, and nature’. Such simple ‘national branding’ needs to be critically analyzed. Represented through art, music and literature, Koli symbolized a certain version of Finnishness that acted as an effective rallying point for a vulnerable emergent national community in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Arguably, however, the landscape heritage of Koli might be seen as perhaps too backward-looking, exclusive and essentialized.



Figure 13.1 Koli, Finland. The view across Lake Pielinen from the heights at Koli is widely regarded as being one of the most important ‘national views’ in Finland.

Alongside such a questioning of the nation as a meaningful unit, the issue is raised of which scale might be appropriate for viewing the landscape–heritage relationship. Indeed, the apparent rise of both the local and personal on the one hand, and the global and universal on the other has acted to cement the eclipse of the nation as a bounded container through which to experience the world. This expansion in the importance of both the local and the global has become a defining characteristic of much recent work on landscape–heritage.

While a focus on the local might seem to correspond to an inward-looking practice, its proponents have sought to give their work a far broader resonance. Partly, this stems from a theoretical sophistication such that their subject matter becomes an explication of a broader point rather than an end in itself. Furthermore, while the epistemological and methodological language of phenomenology and deep (auto)ethnography might appear to be very recent in its provenance, a contextualization within the heritage literature reveals a debt to such authors as Raphael Samuel and his championing of everyday experiences (see, for instance, Samuel 1995: 259–73). As Cheape et al. (2009: 104) note, ‘nowhere do notions of landscape, identity and material culture come together more vividly as within the discourses of heritage’, and it is through engaging with this process at a local and personal scale that the landscape can become more dynamic and lively. For Atkinson (2008: 381), such a focus on the local represents a process of democratization; a shift from ‘great stories’ to more commonplace, ordinary and everyday spaces. Such a reconceptualization of heritage–landscapes away from the national and the privileged towards the more local and personal ‘steers attention away from high-profile heritage sites towards the less spectacular, quotidian and mundane places where social memory is produced and mobilized’ (Atkinson, 2008: 382; see also Robertson 2008). Such an endeavour to broaden and democratize the heritage base is increasingly being recognized within policy

frameworks with the UK's Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) committed to develop a wider constituency for heritage, noting that '[w]e believe that everybody should have the opportunity to identify, care for and enjoy heritage, and want to help new people and groups take an active part' (see also Riley and Harvey 2005: 279).⁷

Contrasting examples of how Atkinson's (2008: 287) 'microscale subjectivities of everyday life' are drawn out to invoke such broad and dynamic understandings of landscape–heritage at an intimate scale include work by Pearson (2006) and Lichtenstein (2007). Through Lichtenstein's (2007) deep ethnography, the landscape of Brick Lane in East London is articulated through a series of personal and retrospective memories; at once both intimate and placed firmly within a global network. The work of Pearson (2006), on the other hand, invokes what he calls a 'deep map', as he seeks to break down simple chronologies in an autobiographical narrative of place. In some ways, such a personalized approach might appear to be difficult to employ in any wide-ranging sense without seeming to be relativist in the extreme. In practice, however, the importance that I would place on the (personal) heritage of certain landscapes is both inescapable and powerful. Flatten the walls of the most ancient cathedral or tear up the ground of the most 'pristine' landscape before anyone touches 'my' beach in Mousehole (Cornwall), with its memories that are so carefully re-enacted whenever I pay a visit, either in person or in my thoughts (see Figure 13.2)

Such a dynamic and overtly subjective understanding of the world is very much suggested in the suffix '-scape' that has long been habitually attached by those who talk, think or write about



Figure 13.2 The beach at Mousehole, Cornwall, UK. My personal connection to each rock on this beach, informed by childhood memories (both good and bad), outweighs any sense of objective heritage value.

the land. It is, perhaps, not surprising that this suffix has begun to be used in reference to heritage matters. For Garden (2006: 394–5), the notion of *heritagescape* (with no hyphen) provides a flexible, transparent and replicable means of analyzing heritage sites. For Di Giovine (2009) the *heritage-scape* (with hyphen) offers an opportunity for tackling issues that could be considered as universal; most obviously through the UNESCO frame of reference, to which we will now turn.

The Jurassic Coast World Heritage Site

As Cooney (2007) notes, the adoption of the World Heritage Convention in 1972 acknowledged the idea that heritage can be *universal*. For much of its history, however, UNESCO status has tended to carry much political baggage, fetishizing the site, the tangible and the material, reflecting a national rhetoric and western orientation of power and value systems (see Waterton, 2010a: 36–71). From 1994 a laudable decision to make World Heritage Site status more representative has also tended to highlight the tensions and contradictions over the meaning of ‘outstanding heritage value’ (Hazen and Anthamatten 2007: 256). Despite a more inclusive and open-ended definition, which has allowed both tangible and intangible qualities to be recognized (Cooney 2007: 302), the World Heritage listing remains very site-centred and focussed on ‘monumentality’ (Creighton 2007: 340). Furthermore, while it is all very well for UNESCO to push a notion of ‘enhancing sustainable cultural landscapes’, Keitumetse et al. (2007) wonder what lies beyond the rhetoric for people who live in socially invested ‘heritage–landscapes’. I would argue that while opportunities exist, some thorny issues need to be dealt with, and a processual approach to landscape–heritage provides the means through which we can usefully frame an analysis.

The Jurassic Coast World Heritage Site was chartered in 2001 (Figure 13.3). While it is branded as ‘England’s first natural world heritage site’,⁸ each of these terms contains a level of ambiguity that would seem to provide an interesting segue towards a more fluid meaning of heritage. The role that this coast has had in developing an understanding of earth sciences and Darwinian evolution, in particular, would seem to render its supposed ‘Englishness’ meaningless,⁹ while its definition not as a ‘stable site’, but as an eroding cliff line, which must be allowed to continue eroding for any heritage value to be recognized would seem to herald a fresh approach to notions of stability; we must preserve the dynamic processes of destruction and wholesale change. In this case, ‘conservation’ means the celebration of the ephemeral – even the very bounds of the ‘site’ will change with each tide and winter storm. In many ways, therefore, the Jurassic Coast World Heritage Site is an example of landscape–heritage ‘imagined as an uncompleted process rather than a bounded and static *thing*’ (Thomas 2001: 181, original italics).

As well as undermining the ‘natural’ heritage tagline, these processual components that would seem to reflect a cultural and social investment, have been championed within the world heritage site itself, particularly through its arts programme, *Creative Coast*, which seeks to make critical interventions through a variety of means.¹⁰ These endeavours are suggestive of the present and future orientated ‘transformational qualities’ of heritage that McAtackney (2007: 50) cites, whereby a heritage understanding can help to animate a landscape. Such a plural and dynamic understanding of the Jurassic Coast would seem to justify its heritage status, not in terms of stability and scientific certainty, but through its participatory and open-ended construction (see Krauss 2008: 428). There are traps within this celebration, however, with such inclusive heritage in danger of being mere sound bites easily packaged as a marketable and instrumentalist commodity. As Hicks and McAtackney (2007: 18) intimate, we need to be wary



Figure 13.3 The Jurassic Coast World Heritage Site, UK. England's only natural WHS requires constant and ongoing coastal erosion to be maintained, representing a heritage of destruction and change.

of heritage being ‘extracted’ and used simply for policy ends. While and Short (2011: 4–6) note that, however heterogeneous heritage landscapes might seem, certain objects and meanings are too often privileged over others, as regulatory regimes and policy frameworks seek to bind what heritage does and how it is interpreted.

In their critique of the World Heritage Site approach, Keitumetse et al. (2007: 115) worry that the privileging of ‘universal’ values might act to perpetuate communities’ dependence on experts and state actors to manage and interpret heritage resources. What is required, therefore, is an approach that places ordinary people’s feelings towards a delineated ‘World Heritage Site’ at the centre of interpretation. Ethnographic work by McClanahan (2006) at the Orkney World Heritage Site has paved the way for such an approach (see also Card et al. 2007), which suggests that a processual understanding of landscape heritage can find support through an ephemeral, mobile and relational notion of place (see Massey 1996). Viewing place as a woven-together and dynamic constellation of social and material relations, the Jurassic Coast World Heritage Site becomes the locus of a much more fluid sense of heritage; one that can both speak to wider policy ambition, but which can also resonate with the people who might have always been part of such landscapes (see Keitumetse et al. 2007: 117). On the Jurassic Coast, work is presently underway that explores the degree to which such community-orientated initiatives are either enlivening and plural, or tacitly directing the engagement and interpretation of landscape heritage along the coast (Croose, 2011). Whether empowering or instrumentally enrolling local people, however, the landscape heritage of the Jurassic Coast can certainly not be stabilized as a dead container or museum artefact.

Conclusions

The case study of the Jurassic Coast has shown that the parallel trajectories of research into landscape and heritage can bear fruit. The ‘un-pin-downable’ nature of landscape heritage is demonstrated in the instability and ephemerality of this dynamic coastline, where, as Hicks and McAtackney (2007: 25) note, ‘scales co-exist simultaneously’. Such an approach underlines how oppositions between public and private, or site-bound and universal, are a fallacy (see Setten 2006: 74). In outlining how these approaches to landscape and heritage have such resonance, however, a further question is raised about the connection between the two: what can those working within the field of landscape studies learn from work in heritage studies and vice versa?

While Cosgrove (2003: 115) notes that ‘landscapes have a special significance within heritage debates’, he also argues (*ibid.*: 113) that it is heritage which forces an engagement with the ‘realities of a postcolonial, polyvocal and globalized world’. While a ‘landscape approach’ has aided heritage scholars to move beyond what was a site-based engagement with their subject matter, therefore (see Byrne 2003: 188), an increased recognition of heritage – both tangible and intangible – has encouraged landscape scholars to heed the importance of the affective qualities of how, as Holtorf and Williams (2006: 236) note, memories and mythologies, community and personal histories were ‘inherited, inhabited, invented and imagined through the landscape’. With its focus on the present and future, I would argue that a heritage sensibility would appear to provide a sense of hope and engagement.

Notes

- 1 While not entirely happy with the tagging of this development simply as ‘postmodern’, this phrase suffices for what different disciplines refer to as a cultural, post-structural, linguistic, or post-processual turn.

- 2 Work that has done this, to a certain extent, includes Bender (1998), Cosgrove (2003), Hicks et al. (2007) and, implicitly, Olwig and Lowenthal (2006). While it is difficult, and perhaps not helpful, to pin down a date for this shift in research endeavour, the publication of seminal texts by Lowenthal (1985) for heritage studies, and Cosgrove (1985) for landscape studies, provides a neat bookend.
- 3 See Soja (1999) for work on ‘thirdspace’.
- 4 This is resonant with *histoire croisée*, or ‘entangled history’, a relational approach to history that promotes reflexivity and a crossing of spatial and temporal scales, thereby challenging pre-given brackets of time (see Harvey 2011: 189, and Werner and Zimmerman 2006).
- 5 For instance, see *English Heritage*, *CADW* and *Historic Scotland* to name just a few – albeit anglocentric – examples (see Riley and Harvey 2005 and Waterton 2010b). Even such things as the European Landscape Convention presuppose the existence of national containers.
- 6 See http://www.koli.fi/In_English/Koli-info/Nature-attractions (accessed 22 October 2012).
- 7 See <http://www.hlf.org.uk/Pages/Home.aspx> (accessed 22 October 2012).
- 8 See <http://www.jurassiccoast.com> (accessed 22 October 2012).
- 9 With the Giant’s Causeway, in Northern Ireland, also recognized as a ‘natural world heritage site’ and St Kilda, in Scotland, recognized as a mixed ‘cultural and natural world heritage site’, the Jurassic Coast is the third ‘natural’ site within the UK.
- 10 See <http://www.jurassiccoast.com/393/category/creative-coast-246.html> (accessed 22 October 2012).

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