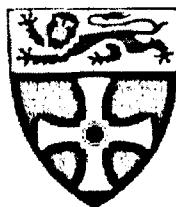# The Built Heritage Conservation Movement: Landscapes of Englishness and Social class

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE

September 2004

Word count:

Thesis excluding Contents, Acknowledgements, Lists of Plates, Tables, Appendix, and References	121, 140
Contents, Acknowledgements, Lists of Plates, Tables, Appendix, and References	18, 046
Total	139, 213

Abstract

This study will investigate the Built Heritage Conservation Movement in Britain.
Including archival analysis, I build a comparative study of conservationists in York
and Leeds through sixty-three semi-structured interviews, participant observation and
visual research. Through history and contemporary issues I argue that
conservationists, in the production of 'townscape aesthetics' and 'nostalgia for a pre-
intellectual spirit of creativity', construct an organic Englishness. Moreover I suggest
that the formation of this Englishness rests on the construction of 'inorganic others'
enabling a normalisation of an organic identity. Thus, conservationists discuss
'modernist others' (landscapes and agents) as symptoms of an increasingly devolved
world which lacks taste, style and is a threat to 'natural English identities'. In this
positioning conservationists enforce nostalgia for 'organic landscapes' and the idea of
an 'organic community' aware of its own 'creativity' and 'independence'.
Furthermore, I assert that an organic discourse of Englishness is established through
cultural capital and symbolic violence. Thus through capitals of populism and
symbolic performances of outrage, conservationists position the 'industrial' and the
'modern' with the intention of constructing an image of self-authority and patriotism.
By positioning these landscapes and cultures as spaces and identities of bad taste and
vandalism, conservationists enact a construction of a 'moralistic and patriotic self'
which legitimises their organic vision. Furthermore, through the forging of this 'self'
conservationists deliver their vision, not simply as an expression of their own views,
but as the 'aesthetic tastes and identities of the people'. In this way I understand that
the construction of power is forged through processes of disidentification where
conservationists understand themselves simultaneously as both authorities and
populists.

LITTLE BOXES

Words and music by Malvina Reynolds

Little boxes on the hillside,
Little boxes made of ticky-tacky
Little boxes on the hillside,
Little boxes all the same,

There's a green one and a pink one
And a blue one and a yellow one
And they're all made out of ticky-tacky
And they all look just the same.

And the people in the houses
All went to the university
Where they were put in boxes
And they came out all the same

And there's doctors and lawyers
And business executives
And they're all made out of ticky-tacky
And they all look just the same.

And they all play on the golf course
And drink their martinis dry
And they all have pretty children
And the children go to school,

And the children go to summer camp
And then to the university

Where they are put in boxes

And they come out all the same.

And the boys go into business

And marry and raise a family

In boxes made of ticky-tacky

And they all look just the same,

There's a green one and a pink one

And a blue one and a yellow one

And they're all made out of ticky-tacky

And they all look just the same.

Words and music by Malvina Reynolds.

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Victor - You see the conservation movement, which spawned our Civic Society was a product of the early 1970s. We were looking back at the destruction from the Second World War of all the major cities, which was followed by a desire to rebuild as quickly as possible. It was about restoring peoples feeling of well being and confidence...

...And some of the stuff that was built was horrible (after the war) and it was a reaction to that (the development of the civic societies). When rationing ended, when the time of austerity ended, when there was money ... people began to develop an idea of environmental consciousness. They looked at the ghastly concrete and glass, which had been incoherently put up after the war, in the 1950s and early 1960s and decided to do something about it.

*...And that's when many civic societies came into existence (**Victor, Horsforth Civic Society**).*

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INTRODUCTION: The built heritage conservation movement

1- Aim of the thesis

The aim of this thesis will be to develop an understanding of the role of the Built Heritage Conservation Movement in the construction of an organic Englishness. I will investigate the idea that conservationists have forged an organic Englishness through their conception of urban landscapes and the built heritage and the people that reside within them. With this aim in mind, this thesis shall follow four main points of inquiry. Firstly this project will look at the idea that conservationists have constructed certain aesthetics of urban landscapes, which tie these spaces back to notions of regionalism and an *organic vision of place*. In short this thesis will look at the way in which aesthetics of variety, harmony, spirit and uniqueness are said to lie at the heart of an authentic aesthetic of England's urban landscapes.

Secondly, I will investigate the way conservationists have constructed certain aesthetics of the people who live in the urban landscapes of England, which tie these 'people' back to notions of an *organic vision of English identity*. In short rather than landscapes alone, this thesis will look at the way in which conservationists point to an authentic notion of a *'pre-intellectual spirit of creativity'*, which has developed in the face of modern and post-modern culture. In particular nostalgia for this creativity takes place through *a spirit of buildings and landscapes and* conceptualisations of *craftsmanship* and *self-sufficient communities*. More specifically I will research the way in which themes on this pre-intellectual spirit of creativity, are entwined with notions of space and landscape. Drawing on examples from York and Leeds, I will look at the way in which this pre-intellectual spirit has been connected to the social construction of these landscapes. In this respect, I examine the conservationist notion that York has been an authentic example of this spirit, through its well-crafted landscapes, and its 'disassociation' with post-war modernism. Moreover, I will also explore conservationist assertions that Leeds is now in a process of rediscovery having suffered the ravages of industrialisation and post-war modernism. In this respect, whilst Leeds does not carry with it the same level of authenticity, I will look at the way in which conservationists are constructing a vision of Leeds within a spirit of 'renewal' which points to a spirit of creativity and independence.

Thirdly this project will investigate the idea that conservationists have constructed ideas of an organic Englishness against the rise of modernist and post-modern landscapes and cultures. In this respect, this thesis will examine three points of crisis, in conservation history, the crisis of the industrial, the crisis of post-war landscapes and more recently the 'crisis' of a surge in modernist development in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. In short the way in which conservationists associate these landscapes and their cultures with the idea of the inorganic, devolution and a notion of decline and the loss of English identity will be explored. Moreover in micrological terms, I will examine the way conservationists position a spirit of Utilitarianism and Brutalism which they see as have been enforced on 'the people' by the post-war architects of welfarism and a culture of consumption. I explore the way in which conservationists link these twin forces to a dependency culture, which separates the people from a 'natural' spirit of creativity architecturally, aesthetically and economically. In conservationists attempts to reject the new landscapes and cultures of the modern and post-modern, I look at the way in which they attempt to situate these spaces and their cultures in a language of evolution. In this respect, I will explore how the landscapes and cultures of the modern and post-modern become devolved and 'cancerous sites of identity' that must be pruned if English landscapes, cultures and 'the people' are to be returned to their 'organic state'.

Finally I will investigate the notion that conservationists have also enforced the power of an organic Englishness through the construction of identities of self-authority. Looking at the structure of conservationist texts, speech and action, I will research the way conservationists seek situate their own discourses within appeals to populism and textual performances of outrage to enforce the reasonableness of their own argumentation. In the setting up of industrial ideals and modernist agents, as overly intellectual, bureaucratic and politically correct I will explore the way conservationists reify their discourses through populist narratives of being down to earth practical and reasonably minded. Moreover, as well as constructing narratives of populism I will also look at the way conservationists reify their discourses through textual and linguistic performances of patriotism, outrage and emotion. By producing a performance of horror, disgust and rage at a generally philistinic and tasteless modernist culture I will delve into the ways conservationists construct themselves as

spokespersons of 'the people'. In the building of organic links between conservationist and the people I will explore the idea that this connection serves to reify an organic narrative of Englishness as an identity of the masses. In this way this thesis explores both the ideas of conservationists and the way they are delivered in text, speech and action in the normalisation of an organic Englishness.

Having defined the main aim of this thesis, and four sub aims, I will now provide the reader with a breakdown of the key themes that run throughout this work. Firstly I want to look at the relationship between the work of Patrick Geddes and an organic Englishness. Rather than contend that these two themes are intricately tied I want look at Geddes role in metaphoric and emblematic terms. Secondly I examine the relationality of the Built Heritage Conservation Movement and an Organic Englishness. Rather than suggest that the movement is a cultural dupe, I propose that the movement both constructs and reconstructs an Organic Englishness. Having defined the nature of this theory this work seeks to extrapolate on these ideas in greater detail through four sub-discourses that I will discuss as both separate and interlocking themes. In outlining these key themes I want to discuss these three sub-discourses through the language of both theory and practice. Thus, sections 2: 2, 2: 3 and 2: 4 look at that the notions of evolution, citizenship, the organic and the idea of the region through their actual relation to both the historical and the experiential work in this thesis.

2 – Key themes: Theories and practice

2: 1 Geddes and Englishness

In the previous section I contended that I will look at the way the Built Heritage Conservation Movement has constructed an organic Englishness. Whilst I do not want to detract from this statement, I want to be more specific about the way I am using the work of Patrick Geddes and an organic Englishness. Firstly I want to put forward that the relationship between Geddes and this Englishness should be read in

metaphoric terms, rather than stipulations which dictate that this organicism should be described as Geddesian. In this way I have refrained from using the phrase – Geddesian Englishness – because I understand that there are a number of epistemological problems that come with this expression. The reason for this epistemic hesitation, then, is that I want to advocate that the work of Patrick Geddes – and therefore a Geddesian Englishness – be read more as a *metaphor* or an *emblem* for the kind of Englishness that I am describing in this thesis. In this respect like Foucault's notion of the panopticon (Foucault, 1977b)[1] I want to propose that the structure and logic of Geddes's work gives us metaphoric insight into a form of urban academic discourse that was developing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Particularly I want to suggest that Geddes be located within an urban discourse that has its roots (and developed) within the disciplines of town planning, architecture and conservation. Indeed, these ideas are not new since writers such as Meller, (1990), Matless, (1992a, 1992b), Harrod, (1999), Pendlebury, (1999) and Welter, (2002) have all contended that there are many literal connections between Geddes and growing twentieth century movements involving townscape and conservation studies. Particularly, then, Matless has suggested that Geddes's 'evolutionary narrative' of the city was often taken up by the work of Lewis Mumford who was a major figure in the development of the Town Planning Movement. Like Geddes Mumford can be credited with a particular view of human life and the city in terms of a metaphor of a 'modern stream' a 'discourse of energy, progress, and ever ongoing orderly flow' (Matless, 1992a: 574). Indeed, the aim of Mumford's Town planning was to recognise the ongoing movement and progression of cities in an evolutionary stream-like way, rather than as an entity that needed to be perfected and made static. Furthermore Geddes's debt to the Town Planning Movement can also be attributed, more generally to the republication of his major work *Cities in Evolution*, (1915) in 1949 which was edited by *The Association For Planning and Regional*

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[1] In his work *Discipline and Punish* (1977b) Foucault argues that the panopticon - a circular prison which was never built – that enables a guard to watch all the prisoners from a tower in the middle of the prison. Here in this prison the windows of the tower are covered by blinds which means that the tower produces the effect of being watched even if a guard is not watching any of the cells in the prison. Foucault therefore argues that the notion of the panopticon should be regarded as a metaphor for an emerging kind of punitive society that stresses self-surveillance rather than actual surveillance by authorities of the general population (For more details see Foucault, 1977).

Reconstruction (Geddes, 1949). Whilst these debts are clear however in material terms – such as the production of ideas and books – I want to contend that Geddesian discourse has also a major part to play in the formation of identity and as I am suggesting the notion of English identity. In this respect this work takes a Foucauldian stance that argues that Geddes's work cannot be simply read as a 'man' or an author – or a contributor to the history of town planning, architectural studies and conservation – but rather as a collection of discourses.

Indeed, this would therefore ignore the status of Geddes as a collection of discourses that are reflected in. Geddes is therefore a moment in time and space, a product of a web of discourses, wider power relations and net works of relations and actors that have allowed his work to exist so as to replicate certain ideas of knowledge and identity. Thus my choice of Geddes is that as a scholar he represents a 'moment in thinking' that draws many themes together through a wide range of mediums and ideas. Moreover, to treat Geddes as a central figure in this text I do want to maintain that his work be viewed as an origin of the 'Englishness' I am describing. Secondly, as well as understanding Geddes as a collection of discourses, I also do not want him to be read as an authority on the notion of Englishness in a traditional scholarly sense – that he wrote or had a position on the notion of Englishness. Indeed, whilst a Scottish identity does not mean that he was not a contributor to the formation of Englishness, Geddes had more to say on the subject of Scottish as opposed to English heritage and identity. Thus as my initial research indicated Geddes had very little if anything to say on the notion of Englishness and, as Macmillan has suggested, his work might be read more in connection to notions of Scottish Nationalism (Macmillan, 1993).

In this respect, and in sum, I am using the work of Geddes to define the version of an organic Englishness I will be using. However as I have implied I do not want Geddes to be read as an author but a collection of discourses. Moreover I do not want Geddes relationship to notions of Englishness to be read as Geddesian Englishness or a Geddesian Organic Englishness since this would ignore the metaphoric status of Geddes in this thesis. In this respect throughout the thesis, to acknowledge the discursive use of Geddes's work, the signifier *Organic Englishness* will be used.

2: 2 Geddes and the Built Heritage Conservation Movement

I want also to be specific about the way I understand the *relationality* of the Built Heritage Conservation Movement to an Organic Englishness. There are five issues that reside here with the way I understand this relationality. Firstly I want to contend that a Geddesian Organic Englishness exists *prior* to the production of the Built Heritage Conservation Movement. This means I do not see the Built Heritage Conservation Movement as a specific origin of this Englishness although it can be regarded as a bridge or translating mechanism for this identity. In this respect, I want to suggest that a Organic Englishness constructs an identity of the Built Heritage Conservation Movement in the maintenance of itself. Secondly, however, rather than viewing the Built Heritage Conservation Movement as a mere cultural dupe I want to imply that the movement be viewed as an agent that has a specific way of *reconstructing* the notion of a Organic Englishness. In this way whilst I do not want to propose that the Built Heritage Conservation Movement be read as stable and well-defined I want to imply that there are series of cultural ideas, practices and philosophies that have given the movement a certain identity or reference point. Particularly as the reader will notice I have defined this cultural legacy to academic townscape movements that emerged in the early and mid twentieth century. Moreover, I have also defined this cultural legacy in terms of what traditional writers have referred to as a culture of preservationist ideas that were emerging in the mid and late nineteenth century (Cumming and Kaplan, 1991, Harrod, 1999). In this respect the reader will notice throughout the text that the legacy of Built Heritage Conservation is defined by the writings of John Ruskin, William Morris and references to another non-straightforward identity the Arts and Crafts Movement (Cumming and Kaplan, 1991, Harrod, 1999). Because of these various identities and positions I want to reason that notions of townscape, the legacy of Ruskin, Morris and The Arts and Crafts Movement become crucial to the reconstruction of a Geddesian Organic Englishness.

However, thirdly, whilst conservation identity plays a part in the production of discourse in the spirit of the work of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu – theorists

that guide this thesis – I want to propose that Geddesian discourse should always retain a certain epistemic primacy[2]. Thus, whilst conservationists are agents in this work, this agency is always/already enabled by Organic Englishness. The legacy of the townscape movement, Ruskin, Morris and the Arts and Crafts is therefore given meaning by an organic Englishness. Fourthly I want to contend that the relation between an Organic Englishness and the Built Heritage Conservation Movement must not be read as a conscious relationship. Indeed, I do not want to imply that conservationists wrote, spoke or make symbolic reference to the work of Patrick Geddes in the formation of their identities. The relationship between Geddesian discourse and the production of Built Heritage Conservation Identity is something that I regard in this work as a less than conscious process or a socialised subjectivity that is taken for granted or well-understood[3]. The social construction of a Geddesian language is therefore that something that does not rest in subjects and cannot be located back to specific origins or starting points. Rather it my suggestion that Geddesian discourse be read as transparent, opaque and ghostly that defines and makes real identities, legacies and practices without ever being directly referred to in written text or speech.

Finally whilst I give epistemic primacy to Geddesian discourse I want to claim that notions of the Built Heritage Conservation Movement and therefore a Geddesian Organic Englishness are inseparable and mutually reinforcing. Because of this epistemic vision I maintain throughout the thesis that Geddesian discourse and the Built Heritage Conservation Movement therefore culminate in the production of *Geddesian-Conservation identities* (which in turn reproduce an Organic Englishness). Throughout this thesis I will therefore examine this Geddesian Conservation Identity through four sub-discourses. Firstly a Geddesian Conservation Identity can be

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[2] Indeed, throughout the work of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu whilst the notions of self-modification, self-fashioning and epistemic struggles are sites of social change these seemingly individual moments are always filtered through the lens of either discursive (in Foucauldian terms) or social relations (in Bourdieuian terms). Whilst I would like to discuss these ideas further there is not room in this thesis to discuss the relationships between Foucault and Bourdieu's work. Indeed, I believe that a discussion of these ideas would merit a thesis in itself.

[3] This of course does not mean that there are absolutely no explicit or *conscious* links between the work of Geddes and the Built Heritage Conservation Movement; or that during this work I found no direct references between Built Heritage Conservationist texts – both written and spoken – and the work of Geddes. However, in the main I felt that conservationists were generally unaware of the work of Patrick Geddes or of a body of ideas that could be directly related to the field of town planning.

associated with late nineteenth and early twentieth century ideas on evolution and the city. Secondly a Geddesian Conservation narrative constructs discourses of citizenship and particularly conservation based for citizenship. Thirdly a Geddesian-Conservation discursive structure is also a meeting point between a growing number of ideas in the late nineteenth century on a theory of the organic. Specifically Geddes work on the organic brings together a number of themes encapsulated in ideas of evolution, history/memory and spirituality. Fourthly then a Geddesian Conservation identity is also crucial to the production of a sub-discourse of the region – or more specifically a region-city. Particularly this Geddesian Conservation discourse can be associated with a narrative of the region that weaves together notions of the physical, the cultural and the sustainable together.

In what follows I will now explore the structure of these four sub-discourses in more detail. Starting firstly with Geddesian theory I therefore explore the narratives of evolution, citizenship, the organic and the region to tease out many of the propositions and essentialisms that exist within these positions. However, as I have suggested in this epistemic introduction these sub-discourses are always/already produced in relation to conservation identities. Thus having outlined the theoretical components of these notions I look at the way they are translated through conservation positions and identities that are discussed in this text. Whilst this writing wants to give epistemic primacy to Geddes the role of these themes in the actual processes of social action is therefore illustrated in these epistemic definitions. Thus, although I privilege the status of social structure in this thesis I do not want to contend that we can never talk about the power of social action and moments of conservationist self-production (or something that is often crudely defined as agency). Rather as I have tried to shown in this section this conservationist self-production is always/already a product of discourse.

2: 3 Evolution and citizenship

Geddes's notions of evolution and citizenship are two useful tools to elucidate on the way I understand the production of conservation identity (and consequently an organic Englishness). Firstly, then, Geddes' discussion of the idea of 'evolution' and an 'evolutionary language' has had been central in the production of a vision of the city (Matless, 1992a, 1992b Welter, 2002, Osborne and Rose, 2004). Thus, as Welter argues

The city is for Geddes the most distinct form that human life can take; even more, it is the form human life should take, especially in its highest development as cooperative and communal life (Welter, 2002: 11).

Particularly, then, as Welter has suggested what is important about Geddes's evolutionary language is the way it moves beyond any simple connection between biology, Darwinism and the city. Rather it is the way Geddes views the construction of an evolutionary language in terms of the role of the human. In this way rather than some simple conception of socio-biology Welter reports that Geddes had a dialectical view of the relationship between the environment and human beings. Drawing upon the work of the French Sociologist Frederic Le Play, Geddes understood that

Man, although still an example of organic life, nevertheless distinguishes himself from animals and plants through his ability to change the environment consciously with his own labour, according to his needs (Welter, 2002: 12).

In these terms then a central part of Geddes work is the idea that both academics and everyday citizens must find *themselves* in the *evolutionary development of their cities.* As I will propose, in later Chapters, there are many facets of these ideas that culminate in scientific, aesthetic and spiritual narratives. However, for now it is enough to say that Geddes understood that social actors could achieve these ends by a close visual analysis of cities. Thus, Geddes argues that a process of observation[4] -

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[4] I discuss the idea of observation in more detail in relation to the idea of citizenship in Chapter One.

which he described as Outlook Geography – should involve an examination, recording and a celebration of the greatest parts of the city so as to draw a mental picture and a map of how the 'health' of the city should be maintained. Thus, in terms of the role of everyday laymen in this process Geddes wrote that

> *his impressions and recollections can become an orderly politography, only as*
> *each sees the city in terms of its characteristic social formations, and as he*
> *utilises the best examples from each phase towards building up a complete*
> *picture of the greatest products of civic evolution, temporal and spiritual*
> *(Geddes, 1905: 82).*

For Geddes then in these discourses the citizen should play an important part in reading the history of her/his cityscape and thus where necessary to 'cleanse' or 'lance off' those devolved or degenerate parts of the city in the furthering of the 'urban organism'.[5]

Thus as I will make clear throughout this thesis these Geddesian concepts of evolution and citizenship have a powerful relation to the way the Built Heritage Conservation Movement constructed and is constructing an imaginary of Englishness. *Section One* then is particularly concerned with a translation of the idea of evolution, where urban landscapes are read objectively as things to be understood and read as having both natural and unnatural qualities. *Section One* therefore delivers a body of ideas on the townscape that sees it as something in process as something developing and something that must be contemplated as a living entity through certain ideas of the organic (as I will explore in the next section 2: 3). *Section Three* is therefore more concerned with the notion of citizenship and the role that everyday people can play in the evolutionary process of the urban landscape. However, in turning to my position

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[5] In his lectures on applied civics, Geddes makes this explicit in the following passage:

> *Viewed again from the practical side, that of applied science, Civics must develop through*
> *experimental endeavour into the more and more effective Art of enhancing the life of the city*
> *and of advancing its evolution ...*
> *... For in this there is the perpetual clash of all the forces of good heredity and evil atavism, of*
> *all the new variations also, healthy or diseases ... The city and its children thus historically*
> *present a thoroughly parallel accumulation of survivals or recapitulations of the past and the*
> *present ... (Geddes, 1905: 83-85).*

above (see section 2: 1) I want to suggest that this Geddesian concept is reconstructed more explicitly through narratives of the Arts and Crafts. Particularly then I look at the way Geddesian citizenship is translated and reconstructed through a spirit of creativity in conservationist narrative. Here for conservationists a spirit of creativity is constructed with reference to a conservationist ideology of organic aesthetics and self-reliance that exists within an innate instinct of the English peoples. Looking at York and Leeds conservationists within these cities see the townscapes and their peoples as biological entities that need to be nurtured and worked upon to release and encourage their innate sense of aesthetics and a language of local self-dependence. Here part of the spirit of creativity is tied to notions of the inorganic to discourage, isolate and even cleanse those uncreative aspects of the urban environment and community that work against these two innate and related spirits.

2: 4 The organic

Geddes's notion of the organic is also an extremely important sub-discourse in the production of conservation identity. Geddes's version of the organic (and therefore the version of the organic I am using in this thesis) should not be confused with those organic traditions that have their roots in what scholars have described as an Anglican Christian legacy. Indeed, Geddes's use of the term is not to be understood as something intricately tied to the work of organic spiritualists such as Von Goethe or Rudolph Steiner (Conford, 2001, Frost, 2002). Moreover, Geddes's version of the organic is not to be confused with those writers who have located ideas of the organic to agriculture and farming and food (Rose, 1998, Scruton, 1998, Matless, 1998, DuPuis, 2002, Guthman, 2002, 2003, 2004). This term is not therefore concerned with that version of the organic that has been associated with inter-war (Second World War) discourses of organic agriculture, farming and food (Matless, 1998)[6].

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[6] In this work, specifically, Matless has suggested that narratives of food and health became combined with inter war fears for the loss of an authentic way of performing agricultural methods that carry a deep link to a spirit and culture of English identity. In these inter-war years Matless suggests that by positioning a New World of agriculture where new technologies and fertilisers are encouraged in the production of mass farms consumption, a spirit and culture of English identity is reinforced. Particularly then Matless' is suggesting that it is in these times of crisis that notions of an organic agricultural method become explicit and are reinforced by a fear of loss, racial-English degeneration and cultural consequence. It was within these metaphors of agriculture and loss that Matless suggests a

Thirdly my understanding of Geddes's use of the term organic should not be linked with those discourses that have located ideas of the organic to a narrative of the countryside and the rural landscape (Wright, 1985, Matless, 1998 Brace, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, Derby, 2000, Palmer, 2001).

Again (and following the claims of 2: 1) I want to suggest that a Geddesian narrative of the organic has its roots (and developed) within an urban tradition of town planning and architecture. Firstly, a Geddesian discourse of the urban-organic can be connected to 'alternative scientific' notions of evolution, Darwinism, biology and the city. In his *Cities in Evolution*, (1915) Geddes therefore pronounces that a new 'organic science' of the city must be viewed in terms of seeing the city not simply as a product of mankind but rather an outcome of Mankind's evolution. The city in this new organic science as Geddes was to put it becomes a living organism worthy of study as one would look at other biological matters.

> *In short then, to decipher the origins of cities in the past, and to unravel their*
> *life-processes in the present, are not only legitimate and attractive inquires, but*
> *indispensable ones for every student of civics ... For him surely, of all men,*
> *evolution is most plainly, swiftly, in progress, most manifest, yet most*
> *mysterious ... Blind or seeing, inventive or unthinking, joyous or unwilling –*
> *each has still to weave in, ill or well, and for better or for worse if not for*
> *better, the whole thread of his life (Geddes, 1915, 1949: 2)*

Viewed through these discourses a narrative of the organic becomes particularly tied up with Geddes notion of citizenship 'conservative surgery'[7] where actors become

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new and powerful organic Englishness becomes visual, visible and omnipotent[6] (Matless, 1998: 103-170).

[7] Moreover Geddes' notion of 'Conservative surgery' may also be defined as an early concept that links the role of the citizen into the evolutionary process. Thus, Welter writes that

> *Conservative surgery [meant] amending and improving an urban quarter by minimizing the*
> *destruction of existing buildings, let alone the demolition of whole areas, for the sake of new*
> *houses and structures.*
> *... Geddes's interest is not in keeping romantic ruins for the amusement of tourists or as inspiration*
> *for artists. Instead of finding a contradiction between preserving an old, dilapidated house and*

implicated in the evolution of cities. In this first Geddesian narrative of the organic then the idea of viewing the city as an organism becomes a useful way for citizens to distinguish between the 'organic' and consequently the 'inorganic' or artificial places, spaces, communities and landscapes within the city. In this way by taking an overview of the city in these biological and scientific terms Geddes suggests that the citizen can evolve by making alterations to the structure of the city and lancing off those features that are unnecessary to its survival.

Secondly the discourse of the organic and the city can be read in terms of history, heritage and memory. Indeed, where notions of the organic are read as relatively transcendental issues in the work of Patrick Geddes, and other late nineteenth and early twentieth century writers on the city, they can be seen to take a different format. In this definition of the organic, the city is not simply a non-thinking organism but like humans it has stored memories and experiences within its parts – or, as Geddes claims, organs. The city is therefore corporeal in that like the human mind and body it has internalised memories, characteristics and, as Geddes sometimes claims, a personality that can be understood and read if one wishes to address the city holistically (Welter, 2002: 82-105). Finally a Geddesian discourse of the organic and the city can be read through notions of aesthetics and spirituality. In this respect rather than just a science and historical social science a Geddes discourse of the organic-city suggests that to exploit the true evolutionary character of the organism we must be sensitive to the more spiritual nature of its subtle character. Thus Geddes writes:

We must not too simply begin, as do too many, with fundamentals as of

communications ... but above all things, seek to enter into the spirit of our city,

its historic essence and continuous life (Geddes, 1915, 1949: xxx)[8].

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raising the level condition of its inhabitants to a modern hygienic level – which might require a choice between keeping the old or erecting a new building – Geddes seeks to achieve both at the same time (Welter, 2002: 119-120).

[8] Whilst these narratives might be read as throw away comments, writers such as Welter indicate they point to a deeply spiritually organic narrative of the city. Thus, Welter comments that Geddes version of the organic-city spirit was tied specifically to a new way of looking at the evolution of the city. As well as developing the city through locating the organic and the inorganic Welter argues that Geddes organic-city could also be improved upon through the acknowledgement of cultural centres, spots and sites of character in the city that could not be neatly captured in to words. Rather than a biological body alone, the conservation of the organic city in these narratives is intricately tied to a spiritual

However, whilst these three narratives are constructing I want to talk about the way these narratives are also reconstructed by the Built Heritage Conservation Movement. Firstly throughout *Section One* the reader will notice the development of a particularly kind of 'objective and pseudo-scientific gaze' that takes place in the construction of the urban environment. Rather than a landscape to be eternally experimented with however, this objective organic gaze has a view of the townscape as something transcendental and living that has a natural state and a particular direction that is not open to limitless interpretation. Here then Chapter's One, Two and Three point to the way conservationists are continually looking for objective transcendental aesthetic absolutes of the townscape. Secondly in relation to the notion of history and memory Chapter's Two and Three explore these ideas in greater detail paying attention to the idea of the city as an organism with a past. Here in this version of the organic the city and its buildings become roots and a cultural 'top-soil', an 'architectural humus' that cannot be simply scraped away. The organicism of the city is therefore exemplified in these ideas since a removal of these buildings is akin to an erasure of memory and a form of cerebral brain damage that should not be inflicted on any living creature. Finally in relation to Geddes's concept of spirituality, Chapter's Three, Five and Six deal with these ideas through the idea that the aesthetic viewer and citizen has a special connection to the townscape. In Chapter Three I look at these ideas through the aesthetic lens and explore the way conservationists point to an emotional link between man and correct forms of building and design. Chapter's Five and Six deal with these themes in more complex terms where conservationists locate spirit within

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understanding of the city that sees its health as something that cannot be achieved by simple town planning and conservative surgery alone. More specifically then in several passages then Geddes suggests that the organic-city can also understood through its hidden presence and character that cannot simply be understood by meticulous scientific method but can be found almost hidden under the landscape of the city

> *This life-movement proceeds in changing rhythm initiated by the genius of the place, continued by a spirit of the times, and accompanied by their good and evil influences. How else should we hear within our survey as we go, at one moment the muses' song, at another the shriek of furies!*
> ...
> *... Without such increasing, deepening, and generally diffusing realisation of the character and spirit of our city, our town planning and improvement schemes are at best but repeating those 'by-law streets' with which the past generation was too easily content (Geddes, 1915: 136-139).*

creative subjects whose job it is to not only recognise the spirit emerging from landscapes but their place in the formation of this spirit. In the last part of this thesis, a Geddesian conservation discourse of spirit is therefore tied into the discussions of citizenship and innate agency that does not simply fit into the boxes of human biology but rather an evolutionary theology.

2: 5 The region-city

I now want to maintain that a third Geddesian sub-discourse of the 'region-city' is a further narrative through which conservation identities are produced. Firstly Geddesian discourses of the region-city can be understood through an imaginary of scale. Thus whilst these narratives are always ambiguous within the works of Geddes and his followers the idea of region-cities spreading across nations and the face of the earth amounts to a particular organic imaginary of nationhood and the globe. In particular Geddes paints an image of the citizen, the local, the regional and the national as interwoven and inseparable. Moreover in these terms the region-city is not simply a theory of the inner workings of national spaces rather it is a theory of nationhood and particularly a theory of race. As Geddes proposes in the following text (along with his ideas of organic history/memory) the region-city is a site of corporeal memory of the biological essence of citizens, the local, the regional and the national. In Geddes' discourse the natural landscapes of region-cities are therefore different in different countries representing the 'real' and 'racial differences' of people. Thus, Geddes in these corporeal discourses the region-city is the memory but also the body of racial nations.

[The city is a] [s]pecialized organ of social transmission. It is the vehicle of acquired inheritance ... It accumulates and embodies the cultural heritage of a region and combines it ... with the cultural heritage of larger units, national, racial, religious, human ...The city receives the experiences of each passing generation and hands the record on to the next ... it is the instrument primarily

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Each place has a true personality; and with this shows some unique elements – a personality too much asleep it may be, but which it is the task of the planner, as master-artist to awaken (Geddes, 1915: 157).

of the regional memory, but serves also as the memory of larger groups
(Branford and Geddes, 1917: 154 in Welter, 2002: 62-63).

Thus in this Geddesian discourse the notion of a region-city is also understood as a naturally occurring physical entity with its own specific types of people. Particularly then writers such as Lewis Mumford a discipline of Geddes can be seen to have distinctly contributed to the development of these ideas (Matless, 1992a). In his *Culture of Cities*, (1940) Mumford therefore argued that the region-city must be considered as a geographic unit but a biological entity with a specific social reality. Rather than just the nature of the landscape alone, Mumford implies that the idea of the region-city prescribes particular forms of cultural life. Moreover, like Geddes, Mumford understood that the physical and cultural interacted in a symbiotic way with the production of higher forms of urban society.

As soon as one adds man to the picture the difference between areas becomes
multifarious and subtle: for laws, manners, customs, the patterns of communal
living the forms of architecture, the village types and city types, the
transformation of the original landscape into the humanly modified landscape
of agriculture, with its orderly patterns and deliberate culture – all these are
fresh factors of differentiation, marking off one region from another (Mumford,
1940: 310).

Secondly in this Geddesian discourse I would like to contend that the notion of a region-city is also constructed through narratives of sustainability. Particularly then both in the work of Geddes and his disciple Lewis Mumford, the notion of a region-city as a physical entity is also maintained through the idea that people living in these spaces have an active relationship to its maintenance. In this respect Geddesian and Mumfordian narratives are developed through the idea that the health of a region-city can only be maintained by a full appreciation of the character and the resources that exist within its boundaries. Thus, for Geddes and Mumford a healthy future of the 'region-city' is produced by an appreciation of local materials that might exist on the

outskirts of the city or within it (Geddes, 1915, 1949: 156-157). Thus, a region-city is that entity that can be described as such because the work-folk community within its bounds not only *belong* to the place, *they construct* it through their pioneering use of its natural elements and their own organically developed skills of survival. Thus, Mumford, in his *Culture of Cities* (1940) Mumford therefore talks about the importance of human conurbation's that have recognised (and currently recognise) the resources in regional-landscapes that can be used by local communities:

> *[Another] type of ... region is that which has usually characterized advanced cultures: it is partly self-sufficing and partly specialised. It contains within its area a varied and representative range of resources; and out of its specialized products and individualized skills it obtains from other regions the elements that are needed for a many sided human culture (Mumford, 1940: 337).*

In sum, then, with these two Geddesian (and Mumfordian) discourses in mind I want to put forward that these narratives have been reconstructed through Built Heritage Conservation identities. Firstly in relation to the Geddesian idea of a physical region-city I propose in *Section One* that conservationists also have this idea in mind when they come to interpret notions of the twentieth century city. In *Section Three* in particular I will explore the way conservationists explore the idea of the city as distinct, unique and having its own life. Indeed, whilst this can be translated through the idea of the organic again I want to claim that this uniqueness is also understood through an imaginary of place/space. Thus, whilst the City's of York and Leeds are understood as organic entities they are also understood to be particular landscapes that fit in with their surroundings autonomously. In this way like the Geddesian notion of regions as patches over the landscape conservationists were imply that the surface of England was made up of distinct urban townscapes that fit into their own surroundings independently. In this discourse then I also want to make the case that conservationists produce a particular regional-city of urban types. Particularly then in Chapter Six the reader will notice the way conservationists draw attention to organic communities in York and Leeds that have a particular nature or species being. Secondly the Geddesian-Mumford discourse of regional-cities and sustainability is also heavily explored throughout this work. *In Section Three* in particular I look at

these details with specific reference to the construction of York and Leeds. Specifically I look at the way conservationists within these spaces construct their communities as not only unique but also creative (or potentially creative). Chapter's Five and Six explore these ideas through the idea of well-knit local communities that work with local materials for the sake of human boundaries, shelter and even economic resources. In this respect conservationists reconstruct a notion of the regional city as not simply a physical component, but a space that is always/already in relation to people who within these spaces and give them their 'natural and organic' meaning.

3 – Chapter Summaries – The organic spirit

Section one – Organic Townscapes

Section One looks at the arrival of the notion of townscape within a web of discourses of Architecture, Planning and Conservation within the mid-twentieth century. Specifically, this section focuses on the way notions of townscape have been tied to the development of the built conservation movement. In this regard this section looks at discourses of townscape through key texts and figures surrounding the movement and within it to investigate the influence of this discourse. Moreover, as well as an identification of key writings and writers, this work also explores the way the role of certain historical moments and crisis in the movement were also a rich site for the production of this discourse and its performative moments. Through the employment of the notion of townscape both as an 'aesthetic' and 'spiritual' signifier I suggest that conservationists normalise a concept and identity of the organic.

Chapter One

In this Chapter I assert that ideas of the organic are constructed through a *townscape movement* which emerged in the mid-1940s and which sought to offer ways in which

Britain's urban landscapes could be understood aesthetically. In looking at the townscape movement, which is mostly centred on writers from *the Architectural Review*, I seek in this chapter to provide the reader with a background to the way in which notions of the organic urban landscape were at the height of their construction. In particular I look at the solidification of a notion of the organic urban landscape through two themes aesthetic uniqueness and the role of citizens in new forms of social observation. However, with the birth of the post-war period, I suggest that the *townscape movement* is increasing critical of new agents, which have constructed an inorganic and devolved urban landscape or townscape. In particular as well as finding these agents –architects, town planners and local councillors – as aesthetically wrong, proponents in the townscape movement argue that these new social actors are damaging a national aesthetic and a sense of identity. In creating these figures as scapegoats, the *townscape movement* simultaneously constructs itself as a spokesperson of the people and naturalises its own aesthetics and ideas as legitimate. Thus, rather than simply projecting an essentialised view of the landscape, I suggest the *townscape movement* sees its aesthetics as being in line with the wants of the 'people'

Chapter Two

In this Chapter I assert that ideas of the organic are constructed through the early developments of the built heritage conservation movement. Starting with the works of Ruskin and moving on through other key figures in the built heritage conservation movement I also look at the way in which notions of a real organic landscape have been essentialised. In particular I look at the solidification of a notion of the organic urban landscape through two themes of temporal spaces in the city and the role of citizens in creating harmony. Again I assert that these narratives cannot be viewed without recourse to architects local councillors and town planners, which have constructed an inorganic and devolved urban landscape or townscape. In positioning these people as responsible for the loss of temporal roots in cities, I suggest that the authors of these narratives, the conservationists champion themselves as moral authorities and champions of the aesthetics of the people.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three deals with the rise of a conservation crisis or 'Heritage in Danger'
period in mid 1960s to the late 1970s in the history of the built heritage conservation
movement. In this chapter I look at many of the 'coffee table' texts which emerged in
this period, works which include 'devastating pictures' of uncompromising
development. However to situate this 'crisis' in a wider discursive project, I turn to
writers from the early part of the built heritage conservation movement such as J M
Richards and Bruce Allsopp. In this chapter, then, I examine the solidification of a
notion of an organic urban landscape through notions of a 'spiritual nexus' between
man and the landscape. Again, I suggest that conservationists find architects, town
planners and local councillors guilty of producing an inorganic reversal of these
themes. Turning to narratives of crisis I point to the way in which the loss of old
buildings for new modern buildings is viewed in terms of a language of an attack on
the 'body of the landscape'. If the new planners and local councillors are the culprits
of these narratives, conservationists reinforce their image as not just spokespersons of
the people but action takers for the people. The link between conservationist and the
people is patriotic, sensual, and most of all, organic.

Section Two – 'Organic' Methodologies

This section contains one Chapter. Having addressed the historical development of an
organic discourse, this section asks the reader to consider the way notions of identity
are constructed in the present. Rather than looking at conservationists as a
homogenised entity, this section calls for a more complex examination of the
movement in qualitative terms that will identify key agents and players. This section
is consequently the foundation for the Chapters that follow, with its methodological
divulgence into the way key agents are to be identified and the way more ethical
questions surrounding the process of identification is to be dealt with and understood.
If this section has a central theme it is the way processes of (dis)identification are
central to an understanding of key agents.

Chapter Four

Chapter Four turns its sights to the methodological decision making processes, which developed in this study. In particular this section addresses the notion of York and Leeds as areas of study because they have been defined as key sites by conservationists in these areas. Moreover, I suggest that York and Leeds are worthy of study because these areas contain key elements of the conservation movement in Britain. In devising a comparative methodology, this chapter develops a method of broad internal variation, to gain an overview of the movements in York and Leeds whilst also allowing for a more qualitative understanding of identity production inside these movements. Having developed the methodology this chapter focuses on the processes involved in choosing key agents in these areas as well as the processes of ethics and layers of access that were involved in meeting these respondents. Finally this chapter ends with a discussion of method focusing on particularly my use of the semi-structured interview.

Section Three – The Organic Spirit of Creativity

Section Three now turns to the way key agents construct a 'spirit of creativity'. Specifically conservationists build an identity of creativity through the production of inorganic others. Thus, conservationists, against a modernist culture of 'utilitarianism' and 'political correctness' point to a creative identity of 'craftsmanship' in objects and buildings that have been increasingly lost. Moreover against a modernist culture of 'decadent materialism' and 'dependency' conservationists construct a spirit of creativity through the idea of an essence of 'frugality, self-reliance and local sustainability'. In the development of these themes I suggest that conservationists use the landscapes of York and Leeds to negotiate these identities of the inorganic and the organic. Conservationists therefore point to York, by its 'avoidance' of modernism, as a place of organic creativity and growth with its roots to the local, the arts and crafts, and a spirit of financial humility. However, these environmentalists suggest that Leeds, with its 'debt to modernism', is a desecrated landscape were a spirit of organic creativity is seen as something which must be rescued from the smouldering ashes of the city. Rather than the celebration of the organic, conservationists call for a process of inorganic demolition to reveal the authentic foundations of the city and its 'natural community'.

Chapter Five

In Chapter Five, I look at the way in which conservationists in York and Leeds discuss the way in which the post-war modern movement has brought with it a culture of *utilitarianism* and *Brutalism* through welfarism and consumption. In this chapter I explore the theme of utilitarianism through the idea of bland and poor quality architecture, and the rise of a tacky consumption where the importance of 'high culture' – art, music and architecture has been negated. Secondly then I explore the theme of post-war modernist Brutalism through the notions of planning and economy. More specifically I point to the way in which conservationists resent the way in which post-war planning has negated the spirit of the people in the development of building. Secondly I examine the way in which conservationists are antagonistic to a post-war culture of welfare which is seen to create a culture of dependence which has destroyed a more 'natural' spirit of subsistence and self-reliance. Having set up a myopic 'imaginary of modernism', I suggest that conservationists call for a politics of 'organic cultural rejuvenation' *through a pre-intellectual spirit of creativity* (and a spirit of the arts and crafts). In opposition to the issue of utilitarianism conservationists call for a spirit of craftsmanship to bring about reform to the blandness of architecture, and the encouragement of a spirit of individuality, detail and quality. Secondly in disassociating themselves from the lowering of art, conservationists call for a spirit of craftsmanship in the way in which people relate to objects. Here hand crafted materials and the act of craftsmanship is defined as having a rejuvenating effect on the self and is seen as a way of bringing about a spirit of aesthetic and visual appreciation amongst its practitioners and the whole of society. In conflict with the post-war system of 'Brutalist planning' conservationists argue that a more inclusive system can be achieved via a spirit of local creativity where people drew upon local spaces for building inspiration and a sense of dwelling. Finally in terms of the 'Brutalism of the welfare state' conservationists point to the significance of pre-war senses of economic independence and a spirit of local community which was defined as self-reliant. In these four reactions to post-war modernism I am suggesting that conservationists wish to rejuvenate a spirit of creativity once again against the twin problems of utilitarianism and Brutalism.

Chapter Six

In Chapter Six, I explore the way conservationists are located in 'space' and, therefore, construct their own cities in terms of notions of the organic townscape and a pre-intellectual spirit of creativity. In turning to the construction of York and Leeds, I suggest that conservationists position these landscapes as being more or less representative of the language of the organic townscape and the spirit of creativity. In this respect, I interpret conservationist understandings of York through a Medieval landscapes of organic workmanship which is intricately detailed and uniquely complex. In opposition whilst Leeds is said to have an industrial heritage, its landscapes have been viewed as essentially inorganic since the post-war period and thus the city has been viewed aesthetically as being in decline. In this respect, I suggest that whilst the Victorian architecture of Leeds is essential to an aesthetic vision, conservationists are more interested in the development of new buildings and a spirit of aesthetic renewal. Having defined the cities in terms of landscape I look at the way in which conservationists also construct these cities through a notion of identity. In this respect, I suggest that as with its architecture York is defined as having an authentic relation to a spirit of creativity by the way, in which the city has 'escaped' mass industrialisation and more appropriately modernism. Where modernism both architecturally and culturally has touched York I look at the way in which conservationists police these boundaries. Secondly then as well as missing modernism I point to the way in which conservationists affirm York's status as an arts and crafts city where the people are unique in their characteristics of 'non-affluence, their love of beauty and their exceptional pride'. In this description I therefore look at the way in which York's connection to the arts and crafts and a spirit of financial humility is related to the spirit of creative independence and ideas of uniqueness. Leeds on the other hand is defined in terms of a loss of community and a sense of sprawl, which has meant that its identity has been seen to have, lost in suburban sprawl and the loss of a sustainable identity. In opposition to these processes then conservationists call for a revitalisation of Leeds as a cultural centre and a process of 'inorganic demolition' which they see as central to the recovery of the buildings and the cultures beneath the city. In this respect as well as advocating the new Leeds is also advocating the old to build links between the rising fortunes of the city and a spirit of creativity which is seen to be buried in the ruins of the cities architectural and cultural labyrinths. In these discourses then conservationists position Leeds as a

victim of development, but rather than being beyond hope the references to a pioneering industrial 'worker spirit of craft', and a community bent on re-establishing itself, suggest that the city is on the way to recovery in an evolutionary way. In this respect, after a period of decline Leeds is viewed as a place, once again which can recover the organic spirit of creativity and craftsmanship in its landscapes and community.

Conclusion

The final chapter of this thesis contains a summary of the main argument of this thesis and the findings. In sum the conclusion provides an overview of the key thread of this thesis that the built heritage conservation movement has constructed an organic Englishness. In developing this argument I therefore turn to the four main sub themes of the thesis and examine them in turn. Firstly I suggest that the notion of an organic Englishness is constructed through the notion of townscape. Drawing upon the evidence in the thesis firstly I contend that the idea of a 'natural organic urban landscape' which is intuitive to 'our' aesthetic senses is connected to a construction of an aesthetic and spiritual landscape order. Secondly, I suggest that the notion of a pre-intellectual spirit of creativity seal's the idea of an organic Englishness. By looking at data on the urban townscapes of York and Leeds I assert that the organic is constructed through the idea of a spirit of craftsmanship in building, and a spirit of self-reliance which permeated notions of local building and community. In this conclusion I maintain that an organic Englishness is produced through both organic traditions and the idea of there being an organic English identity which was locally self-sufficient. Thirdly I propose that the production of this Englishness is maintained through the construction of an 'inorganic other'. Drawing upon the evidence of the thesis an inorganic other is discussed mainly through the idea of a modernist other which is seen to have impinged upon the natural landscapes and identity of the English peoples. In this production of the inorganic conservationists therefore seal the idea of an organic Englishness through the ideas of crisis and the need for a social and cultural restoration of the 'people's townscapes and identity'. Finally I conclude that an organic Englishness is reinforced through the construction of cultural capital and symbolic violence by conservationists. Thus through the production of inverted cultural capital of nature and morality conservationists position the 'industrial' and

the 'modern' with the intention of constructing an image of 'pre-intellectual knowing' and self-righteousness. Moreover by textual and spoken performances of outrage, conservationists position the industrial and modern through identities of philistinism and vandalism. In this rejection of the modern conservationists therefore enact a return to ideas of 'taste and patriotism' in the maintenance of their organic vision. The production of reflexive structures of populism and performances therefore serve as textual, linguistic and spoken strategies to legitimise an organic Englishness.

SECTION ONE – THE ORGANIC TOWNSCAPE

[9] Plate 1

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[9] MITCHELL, I. (No Date) 'Geddesian Motif' byleavesbw.gif 252 x 249 pixels, ROYAL DEESIDE INTERNET, (1996-2004): www.ballaterscotland.com/geddes/ page accessed February 2004.

1 - CHAPTER ONE

THE 'TOWNSCAPE APPROACH' AS CULTURAL AND SYMBOLIC CAPITAL.

[10] Plate 2

[10] BREAZEAL, S. (1998-2003) 'Picture of Oxford, England, UK'. UK-ENG-Oxford2.jpg Salt Lake City, Utah BREAZEAL, S. (1998-2003) www.worldcityphotos.org, page accessed February 2004.

1 – Part One - Introduction

Discussions of the architectural-planning-conservation movement have often located its historical developments within a language of Englishness (Hall, 1988, Hardy, 1991, Matless, 1998, Meacham, 1999). Here the development of the architectural-planning-conservation movement has been met with various criticisms over the descriptions it has provided of urban landscapes and the normative assumptions of identity that rest within their symbolic codes. On the one hand, from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the architectural-planning-conservation movement has been related to an anti-urbanism, which results in the application of a rural imaginary on the urban form (Fishman, 1977, Hall, 1988, Hardy, 1991; Meacham, 1999). Moreover, with the development of what was seen to be 'urban sprawl' in the early twentieth century, the architectural-planning-conservation movement has also been associated with a progressive 'English' valorisation of the hiatus between the urban and the rural (Matless, 1998).

However, I wish to argue that the architectural-planning-conservation movement has been involved in the construction of a regional discourse of Englishness, which has had a significant part to play in the construction of a language of the urban landscape. In rejecting a specifically 'rural imaginary', I describe the way in which the architectural-planning-conservation movement has perpetuated a discourse of an organic Englishness. Examining the organic-poetics of the Nineteenth century of the regional geographer Patrick Geddes, I look at the notions of 'landscape pockets' and 'inhabitants'. In particular whilst previous approaches to the architectural-planning-conservation movement may account for the development of a pre-industrial and a pre-war discourse, the rise of a post-war language of the *townscape* points to the development of a different understanding of the urban landscape. Having examined the *Architectural Review* and texts which have been associated with the idea of a townscape approach, I investigate the idea that the architectural-planning-conservation movement has constructed normative poetics of urban landscapes and

the people that reside within them. Whilst the architectural-planning-conservation movement can be seen to be steeped in a nostalgia for a regional Englishness, this discourse must be viewed through the lens of a relational and symbolic class analysis. Thus, the final part of this chapter turns to the work of Pierre Bourdieu and his exploration of the notions of cultural and symbolic capital. In developing these terms through work in the interpretative sides of the sociology of sociology, these narratives can be read through the work of textual critics including Van Maanen, (1988) Atkinson (1990) and Reed-Danahay. In taking these textual criticisms to architectural writing, I apply these notions to the instigators of the narratives of the urban landscape and the people who are seen to reside within it. Turning to architectural-planning-conservation movement texts, I examine the way in which rhetorical tropes which position the urban landscape as a known are key to the construction of an elite aesthetics. Moreover I investigate the way in which these rhetorical tropes help to construct the architectural-planning-conservation movement itself. The advancement by the townscape movement of a 'hidden aesthetic' of the landscape is therefore interpreted as a by which these groups can construct new elite cultural and symbolic capitals in the wider field of the English class system.

1: 1 Urban landscapes and Englishness

The construction of urban landscapes has been viewed as central to the production of Englishness (Samuel, 1989, 1994; Daniels, 1993; Jacobs, 1996; Matless, 1998; Baucom, 1999; Meacham, 1999). Whilst these commentators have offered differing stances on this notion, Englishness may be collectively defined as a nostalgic discourse which has served to hold a monolithic definition of identity together. Englishness is that identity which is built around a discourse of normativity which hides the potential for alternative ways of viewing the people who live in the physical spaces described as 'England' (Chen and Wright, 2000). Rather than a long-standing identity, Colls and Dodd argue that

> *The English are an old nation and that there were (and are) critical phases in the long history of national consciousness is clear, but that these phases simply flowed one into another, or that the Englishness they produced stood for the same things, or that the English were (and are) a people with a resolved*

identity, is not. Englishness has had to be made and re-made in and through

history, within available practices and relationships, and existing symbols and

ideas. That symbols and ideas recur does not ensure that their meaning is the

same (Colls and Dodd, 1986: preface).

This does not mean, as Nayak has argued, that Englishness cannot be reconstructed in different social states (as described by Nayak, 1999, Chen and Wright, 2000). However, as writers on Englishness have jointly argued, the dominant conception of Englishness has been based on the notion of a shared consciousness, which draws 'English peoples' to nostalgically consider a 'collected past' (Colls and Dodd, 1986, Corner and Harvey, 1991, Baucom, 1999, and Meacham, 1999). For Corner and Harvey the idea of 'Englishness' itself is based upon the notion that 'the English have [had] certain responsibilities and delights in common' (Corner and Harvey, 1991: 50). More specifically Baucom has suggested that the notion of Englishness is used in times of 'economic' or 'social decline'. With respect to the latter, Baucom has argued that Englishness becomes particularly strengthened through the notion that identities are fluid or epistemologically unstable. For Baucom and others the fall of the English (usually defined as British) empire is therefore one instance where English identities are in need of reinforcement. For Meacham and others English identities and imaginaries offer an image of 'stable times', or a well-defined notion of community to cope with the present. Meacham has argued that

Englishness is not history, although it does derive in part from what Raphael

Samuel calls popular memory: the very antithesis of written history. Such

memory, Samuel observes, has no developmental sense of time but assigns

events to the mythicized good old days of work place lore, or the once upon a

time of the story teller. The inventors of Englishness employ history as they

make and remake the past; but Englishness is myth in that it obscures or

ignores whatever does not respond to present need. It serves as a therapeutic

purpose by using the past in such a way as to mitigate fears and perceived

dangers. It represents, in Linda Colley's words, the 'search for an attractive

useable and above all profoundly reinforcing past' (Meacham, 1999: 3)

However, despite the merits of these definitions, Englishness is still viewed primarily as a construct of an elite upon the masses (Baucom, 1999, Meacham, 1999). The problem with this approach is that ignores the way in which non-elites contribute and partake in wider processes of power as a source of their identity (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990). Thus, in a more critical look at 'heritage' and national identity, Jacobs has argued that

> *It is not simply that heritage places symbolise certain values and beliefs, but that the very transformation of these places into heritage is a process whereby identity is defined, debated and contested and where social orders are challenged or reproduced (Karp, 1992: 5). Heritage is not in any simple sense the reproduction and the imposition of dominant values. It is a dynamic process of creation in which a multiplicity of pasts jostles for the present purpose of being sanctified as heritage (Bommes and Wright, 1982: 265; Wright, 1985) (Jacobs, 1996: 34).*

This quote illustrates the way in which symbols of unity are not simply about the reproduction of power, but rather they are about the spaces *in which identities are defined*. Whilst I would not like to assert that the construction of Englishness is *not a* mechanism of power, it needs to be defined more in relation to the way in which people seek to actively use and struggle with their identities on an everyday basis. The nub of this argument is that, rather than the imposition of power from the above, an understanding of any identity must begin through an understanding of action or everyday practices (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990, 1992). Furthermore, this argument also illustrates the point that rather than a clear identity of Englishness, which is reproduced in relations of power, the construction of Englishness itself is a contested space. In this respect a second aspect of this quote is that rather than there being a clear discourse of Englishness, there are rather discourses of Englishness – or Englishnesses. To understand a position of the everyday taking up of normative

processes in less than conscious ways means that work on the components of power itself must illustrate the way in which normative processes are divided and overlapping. To state that power simply arises from one source may therefore seal a hegemonic identity of Englishness as singular and uncomplicated.

2- Part Two

Theories of the architectural-conservation movement and Englishness

2: 1 Ruralising the city

As a starting point, for an analysis of the city, Englishness has often been conceived as emerging out of a resistance to the processes of urbanisation (Williams, 1973, Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991, Daniels, 1993). Here discussions of Englishness and the urban landscape have found a central place in a critical analysis of the movement attributed to Ebenezer Howard (Hardy, 1991). A major commentator has been Standish Meacham whose recent work, *Regaining Paradise, Englishness and the Early Garden-City Movement,* (1999), outlines the development of a suburban discourse. In short Meacham argues that the construction of Englishness is not something which can be linked to the work of Howard himself. In focusing on the narratives of pioneering industrialists, such as Joseph Rowntree and George Cadbury, Meacham argues that the construction of Englishness was something that developed in the interpretation of Howard's work. Further commentators on the discourse of the Garden city and Englishness have included Fishman (1977) Peter Hall (1988) Dennis Hardy (1991) and Rogers and Power (2000), who have examined the development of a particularly anti-urban suburban discourse. For Rogers and Power, anti-urbanism is depicted in the development of new towns, urban villages and middle-class gardens (Roger and Power, 2000).

However, whilst these writers develop a particular understanding of the urban, some general criticisms may be applied here. Firstly, whilst Samuel, (1989) and Meacham, (1998) acknowledge the presence of an anti-urban discourse, this position ignores the popularity of living in the urban environment in Britain. Whilst this theory of Englishness may explain to a certain extent an interest in the popularity of gardens and parks, it still does not explain the reasons why actors have increasingly developed a nostalgia for urban places. As the gentrification model demonstrated, the landscapes of cities have been defined through new nostalgia for urban industrial solidarity which docklands or disused warehouses represent.

Moreover, the urban landscape has been often defined through a variety of languages, which are multi-textual and multi-thematic in nature. With the development of so many different landscapes, it is hard to see how a discourse of Englishness may be translated to all urban environments. Indeed, rather than a particular trend, Rogers and Power note the rich variety of different forms and styles of city which have developed over the course of English urbanisation. Instead of a garden city, they point to England as a collection of Medieval, Renaissance and industrial cities (Rogers and Power, 2000: 70). The way in which these different forms of 'landscapes' are experienced and understood, is therefore not addressed by an approach which gives weight to an inherent anti-urbanism.

2: 2 Working with modernism and afterwards

Another key commentator on the notion of landscapes and Englishness has been David Matless. Despite a focus on the rural, Matless work can be associated with an understanding of the urban landscape and Englishness. Here his work may be viewed as an extension upon the narratives of architectural conservation developed by Williams (1973) Daniels (1993) and Meacham (1999). In the first place Matless argues that, rather than a simple anti-urbanism, the development of notions of the urban landscape in discourse has developed alongside Modernism.

Matless turns to planner-preservationist discourse to demonstrate the way in which notions of progress and the urban were tied with a language of Englishness and the rural. Here the concern for planners and preservationists was not that the urban would destroy the soul of the 'English', but that the spread of the urban in the countryside (or an overspill) would result in the destruction of the English landscape and the essence of Englishness. Thus, Matless suggests that, rather than a programme to ruralise the urban, the mission of planners and preservationists has been to construct an image of the urban landscape which is based on the small and the compact. Matless argues that many of the propagators of this new Englishness deplored the development of Garden-cities and suburbs since this would result in the 'overspill' of the urban into the rural. In discussing post-war development in modernism, Matless points to the way in which visionaries wanted to eradicate the suburbs and develop green belts. For Matless, Patrick Abercrombie's Greater London Plan is the epitome of these movements where

> *the planner appears as a regional gardener, planting New Towns, trimming pre-war housing sites 'these slabs of housing should be welded into real communities, their ragged edges rounded off, social and shopping centres properly planned, and local green belts provided.' For Abercrombie this regionalism went hand in hand with his CPRE ruralism, for good agricultural land was to be maintained, and pleasant and lively country living and recreation provided. Regional planning and rural Englishness are interwoven (Matless, 1998: 205).*

However, despite these narratives of the modern, Matless is also aware of the limits of his theory of the landscape and Englishness. In an early article, Matless concedes that his own discussion of landscapes and Englishness may not describe the way in which discourses of Englishness have developed in the present (Matless, 1990). Since the majority of his analysis ends in the 1950s, Matless argues that the link between modernism and Englishness has more recently been severed with a growing disregard for the 'authority of the architect and the planner' (Matless, 1990: 189). Within these notions, Matless argues that the perception of the individual is crucial to the renewed developments of the aesthetic and the vernacular, where the heart of Englishness lies

in the idea of a 'deep or vague England' (Matless, 1990 on Wright, 1985). In this respect, rather than heritage or the landscape as a whole, individual landscapes of diversity and peculiarity are essential to the idea of defending a deep local England. However, despite these definitions, Matless acknowledges the 'preliminary nature' of these ideas and the need for more research (Matless, 1990: 187). Given the absence of more indicative approaches to these ideas, the following explores these notions in further detail.

3 - Part Three

Regional Englishness: Landscape individuality and the citizen

A less well understood version of Englishness may be defined with the development of the vernacular in contemporary architectural-planning and conservation discourse (Law, 2004). As a starting point I would now like to turn to the rise of notions of regional geography in order to chart the way in which notions of a regional Englishness have developed. More specifically I want to now focus on the work of the Scottish Geographer Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) to define the development of this regional Englishness. As a major figure in the development of regional geography, Patrick Geddes has been defined as a 'biologist, sociologist, planner, educationalist, and dramatist, amongst other things' (Matless, 1992: 569). In what follows, I will explore the development of what I understand to be an application of his work to a growing theory and imaginary of a urban regional Englishness, by turning to various aspects of planning-architectural and conservation discourse. In seeking to develop these arguments I turn firstly to the development of the architectural conservation movement in the *Architectural Review*. Moving through the various small strands of this literature, I scrutinise the development of the notion of townscape in this work, as part of the construction of an *urban landscape of Englishness*.

3: 1 Patrick Geddes individual and unique regions

The work of Patrick Geddes can be regarded as one major influence behind what be described as a growing discourse of a regional geography in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. As an approach to regional studies, Geddes work has been related to the earliest phases of the history of human geography an ideographic era. In short the notion of ideograph and geography was based on the idea that the main role of Geography was to look at the way in which the world is made up of individual or distinct regions, which are unique and which say something about the people who live there. This philosophy can be directly related to Geddes own project for sociological studies when he argued that any study of civilisation should firstly begin with an analysis of the regional uniqueness of physical areas:

> *Let us look for the moment at the rhythms of the land masses of the earth and watch the movement in each, from snow to sea, from highland to lowland. Broadly speaking the world is built in this way, whether we take tiny Scotland, or a section across Wales and England, or across Ireland or Norway and Sweden, or even across mountainous Europe and the Siberian Plain, or North America and Canada with the Rockies, or South America with the Andes...*
>
> *...This is no mere political image of a coloured space on a flat map, but a geographers region and an anthropologists region and also the region of an evolutionary economist (Geddes, 1915: xviii).*

If Geddes has a distinguishing feature within a school of ideographic geographers it is his focus on the idea of evolution as a central way to analyse notions of the region. As well as arguing that regions had their own characteristics, he also suggested that the people within these areas are subject to the laws of environment within each of these regions. What emerges from Geddes philosophy is an environmental and ethnic determinism where people are seen to be the products of landscape, ultimately shaped by the environmental resources and vegetation that is available within them. Thus a major characteristic of Geddes work is an analysis of regions which focuses on the idea that landscapes can be divided by regions which are individual and unique in their physical and sociological make up.

A second important characteristic of Geddes work is his discussion of methodology.
Indeed, as his early lectures suggest (Geddes, 1905), Geddes saw himself as an
'applied sociologist' with a wish to develop the economic, social and spiritual life of
cities. In this respect, as well as being committed to academic discovery, Geddes also
saw himself as part of a movement to bring academia to 'the people' and, moreover,
to bring ideas of healthier cities to 'the people'. To develop these ideas, a second
major theme in the work of Geddes was the role that education and his regional
approach to cities can play in the lives of people living in cities. Particularly his
Outlook Geography, or his idea that good social science and geography must begin
via observation and watching, was a key part of this applied sociology. Thus, Geddes
argues in regard to the notion of sociology that watching should be the highest form
of study:

> *The abstract economist or legalist, the moral or political philosopher may also*
> *resent the proposed mode of treatment as an attempt to materialise sociology by*
> *reducing it to concrete terms alone. But I would reply that observation, so far*
> *from excluding interpretation is the very means of preparing for it. It is the*
> *observant naturalist, the travelled zoologist and botanist, who later becomes the*
> *productive writer on evolution (Geddes, 1905: 82).*

In taking the breakdown of academic and practical layman, Geddes argues that the
idea of the regional survey becomes one of citizenship where a development of an
understanding of the city and the perfect city should begin with an analysis of the
urban place with fresh eyes. Thus, in his essay Civics as applied Sociology, Geddes
argues that for the progress of cities by looking at our landscapes like 'tourists' we
need to shake off our habits and our taken for granted view of local sites. In taking
this view, Geddes suggested that this fresh sighted observation would allow us to
recognise the regional characteristics of our area and, moreover, we would
consequently recognise the highest and most civilised aspects of our spaces. In this
respect Geddes was suggesting, and developing the theory of regions and evolution,

that it is the job of the social scientist, and indeed the everyday layman, to recognise the beauty of their places and to preserve the highest architectures if man is to evolve. As I shall discuss in the next chapters, whilst Geddes views men as a product of their region, they are not simply the automatons of nature but rather they can see themselves as evolutionists. Thus, Geddes call to citizenship, both within the academy and outside it, is a further appeal to citizens to understand their responsibility to the urban evolutionary process. Indeed, Geddes suggests that citizens should look for the highest and lowest points in urban areas for social development.

> *Of course, in all this I am but recalling what every tourist in some measure knows; yet his impressions and recollections can become an orderly politography, only as he sees each city in terms of its characteristic social formations, and as he utilises he best examples from each phase towards building up a complete picture of the greatest products of civic evolution, temporal and spiritual, of all places and times up to the present. Such a parallel of the historic survey of the city to that of its underlying geological area is this in no wise a metaphoric one, but one which may be worked out upon maps, sections and diagrams almost completely in the same way...*
>
> *The attempt to express the characteristic essential life and thought of a given region in each period upon a series of maps is in fact the best method of understanding the everyday map at which we commonly look so unthinkingly (Geddes, 1905: 82).*

As I will go on to discuss in later chapters, sometimes these notions are understood in terms of organic and biological metaphors where the citizen is understood to be a gardener which looks for the best flowers whilst removing the weeds of urban heritage. However, for now I want to focus on the way in which notions of regional individuality and a further language of the observer, viewer and evolutionist citizen has been translated through regional discourses of Englishness. Here, as I have suggested above, Geddes cannot be found to discuss the notion of Englishness or even the notion of a regional Englishness. Moreover, as suggested in the work of his biographers (Meller, 1990, Matless, 1992, Macmillan, 1993) Geddes has been a key

figure in the development of the ideas surrounding notions of Scottish heritage and identity.

In what follows I claim that rather than being abstract notions which have been confined to a rural imaginary, these narratives can be understood in relation to the development of the urban landscape. As a starting point I turn to the development of the idea of 'townscape' in the *Architectural Review* in order to chart the way in which notions of a regional Englishness have developed. After looking at the role of the townscape in formal architectural narrative, I turn to the work of Ewart Johns, who takes the notion of townscape into a new language of Geography. In the writing that follows, I therefore contend again that rather than a theoretical proposition alone, these ideas have been worked out by various urban architectural and conservation writers. In this respect, it is my argument that the works of Geddes and writers associated with regional geography have been instrumental in the production of an *urban regional Englishness*.

4 - Part Four: The role of contrast in the notion of townscape

4: 1 The physical townscape

Commentators have usually pointed to the *Architectural Review* and its early editor Hurbert de Cronin Hastings as having an essential role in the construction of the notion of 'townscape' (Ellin, 1996). Hastings, in discussing the urban, has been credited for applying a distinctly picturesque approach to the notion of the urban landscape. Jacobs and Baucom in scrutinising his work have argued that Hastings aimed to develop notions of urban architecture and space through a methodology inspired by 18th century English landscape painters, such as Lund. For Jacobs and Baucom, the role of this approach was to reproduce a distinctly rural aesthetic in the urban. The development of the picturesque was aimed at producing a sense of the

disorder, which could be found in nature, thereby producing a distinctly rural aesthetic in the urban. As well as defending a rural version of Englishness, these writers argue that the principle of the townscape could be related to a less than conscious urge to preserve a sense of the imperial in the present. For Baucom this idea of townscape was therefore buried in the notion that

The urban picturesque could thus signify not only the metropolitan survival of the rural English locale but the relationship of that locale to the imperial territory which it regulated and which sustained it (Baucom, 1999: 175).

However, read in another perspective, Hastings picturesque style develops a certain 'natural' and 'organic' quality to the idea of the urban landscape. Thus, in his discussion of the English city, Hastings argued that it is characterised by its 'infinite variety', and it is therefore the task of the architect and planner to bring to light the 'irregular' and 'incongruous' features of the urban environment. The approach taken by Hastings is one aimed at recognising the townscape sporadic and growing in variety, like the plants and animals of nature. In one statement, Hastings can be found to argue that urban architecture shares a resemblance to the growth of trees from the earth:

So does the lively earth go on pushing up a host of highly incompatible trees. Great men our forefathers of the eighteenth century made a virtue of that very incompatibility. They encouraged trees to be themselves, combed jungles for rugged individualists. Not a shape so unlikely but it could gain membership of this unplanned democracy of trees. It remains for this generation to apply this principle to the urban scene (Hastings, January 1944: 8).

However, rather than just a philosophy which rested in a visual imagination, it can be claimed that the work of Hastings was taken further by the variety of writers who called for a new way of looking at development in cities. Here it was not enough to simply discuss the re-planning of cities; rather the problem of architects and planners

was to create new manifestos of action and creation. A central figure in the creation of a new philosophy of architecture and planning was John Piper. In particular, in his polemical text *Buildings and Prospects* (1948), John Piper explicitly saw problems with what he described as a new modernist approach to the development of post-war planning. In his discussion of inland and seaside buildings the tensions between these philosophies are consequently illustrated:

> *It is an inland ideal to attempt to make buildings 'harmonize' with their surroundings - an inland attempt at superior sensibility...*
> *You cannot harmonize with the sea, when it is calm and blue one day and dark grey and dangerous the next. What you can do is a make a virtue of not harmonizing. People think of the contrast among others when they say 'I'm going to the sea for a change,' or 'for a breath of fresh air' (Piper, 1948: 12).*

In these small statements it can be implied that Hastings' philosophy of nature and the organic began to take shape. For Piper, rather than a new philosophy of harmony as advocated by the new uniform aesthetics of development, the aesthetic of place must be seen through the notion of not harmonising. Whilst these initial ideas were unclear, it can be claimed that Hastings colleagues and predecessors in the *Architectural Review* sought to develop these narratives even further. A major figure in this work was Gordon Cullen, whose regular feature on 'townscapes' in the journal inspired a development of Hastings original philosophy. In short, Cullen called for the importance of recognising an architectural aesthetic of individuality. Here the true calling of urban places is to avoid the uniformity and lack of idiosyncrasy provided by the new towns. Thus, in discussing the idea of individuality, Cullen can be found to embolden the importance of juxtaposition (and irregularity) as an opposition to the uniformity of the new town. This approach to townscape is one that recognises the utter desolation of individuality by the modern, which is said to reproduce the monotonous by the production of buildings that are indifferent

> *If I were asked to define Townscape I would say that one building is architecture but two buildings is Townscape. For as soon as two buildings are juxtaposed the art of Townscape is released ... But looking at the kind of towns*

and housing estates built by speculators or local authorities one is to conclude
that this conception of the townscape has not been considered (to put it very
mildly). We are still in the individual stage when the individual building is the
be-all and end-all of planning. If buildings are the letters of the alphabet they
are not used to make coherent words but to utter the desolate cries of AAAAA!
Or OOOOOO! (Cullen, 1953: 33).

As well as addressing the importance of juxtaposition, Cullen can also be found to encourage the importance of recognising the real place of things. In his discussion of the townscape, he therefore calls upon the reader to recognise the importance of the rural as being a 'Rule of thumb' for the urban landscape. Cullen, in describing the 'qualities' of the English village, suggests that in contrast to many modern villages, the urban landscape does not fit well in relation to its surroundings. For Cullen, the future of cities and the well being of citizen's lies therefore in acknowledging the natural differences which emerge in the places between the village and the countryside in the rural landscape. In opposition to the urban, the village fits into the wider landscape by the nature of its juxtaposition. In this respect, Cullen appears to highlight the importance of recognising a real or a natural order to the townscape, which comfortably fits into the wider landscape. Again, whilst Cullen does not offer an explicit philosophy, the sentiments to an organic idea of the townscape are reproduced once again:

The unequivocal character of both (village and countryside) is brought sharply
together; there is no fluffing. On the one side the wind soughs through the trees
and on the other the hollow tread of boots resounds on a stone pavement.
Hollow is an appropriate word. The town [on the other hand] turns in upon
itself; it is enclosed and hollow in contrast to the exposure of nature ... (Cullen,
1961: 60)

From this statement Cullen's suggests that the modern townscape has an inadequate relationship to the surrounding rural landscape. As can be perceived in this quote the

town is hollow, since it simply melts into the foray of the landscape rather than exposing the nature of its 'real' difference. The expression of difference, as represented in the 'natural village', is therefore at the heart of a true sense of the landscape in which things are naturally different and juxtaposed to one another. Cullen, in discussing the rural landscape paintings of Corot, stresses this point in the argument that it is only when we juxtapose the objects within 'places' that these places become truly themselves:

> *It is a matter of observation that in a successful contrast of colours not only do we experience the harmony released but also, equally the colours become more truly themselves. In a large landscape by Corot, I forget its name, a landscape of sombre greens almost monochrome, there is a small figure in red. It is probably the reddest thing I have ever seen (Cullen, 1961: 14).*

Rather than being an elite discourse, the *Architectural Review's* reaction to modernism was regarded as being 'uniquely influential in the general British intelligentsia' and the development of further influences in practical architecture as a whole (Hall, 1988: 222; Ellin, 1996). In this respect, I would like to turn to the work of Thomas Sharp who was also an advocate of the townscape approach. Whilst Cullen painted a particularly aesthetic appreciation of the townscape, Sharp's attentions were more with the role of planning in the construction of urban place. As a central instigator of the post-war town planning movement it was clear that the aesthetic discourse of the townscape approach developed in the *Architectural Review*, had a resounding effect on Sharp's attitudes towards planning issues. With the publication of *Oxford Replanned* (1948), the philosophy of Sharp can be viewed through the idea that the townscape must be understood as the culmination of artefacts in a city. In this respect, whilst Cullen deals with the micro-aspects of the townscape aesthetic, Sharp wanted to place the individuality of buildings into the individuality of the town and city itself as a macro-actor. Thus Sharp argues that, as well as a philosophy of buildings, the individuality of buildings must be understood in relation to cities as a whole:

Oxford is Oxford; and despite anything that the old and the new industrial revolutions have been able to do, it has maintained its individuality more truly than any other city in England. That is why people feel more personally about Oxford than about Birmingham or Manchester, which also have universities (Sharp, 1948: 13).

Whilst still in its early stages, Sharp's link between the building, the townscape and the town itself seem to be more explicitly worked out in his later texts. *In The Town And The Townscape* (1968) Sharp's philosophy can be viewed by the opening chapters, which are concerned with 'Unity in variety'. In one aside Sharp can subsequently be found to assert that what is important is to maintain the variety of 'variousness' in towns, since this ultimately adds up to a wider urban landscape of the nation. Thus he stresses that

That is the variety of contrast. And there is besides that, and more common than it, the variety in the buildings within the streets and the places themselves, variety that is not so much of contrast but variety within the same kind, variety within an established rhythm, variety (one almost might say) within similarity, within a broad unity of character.

It is that that is the quintessence of the physical generality of the older towns of England. Their character is established in variousness (Sharp, 1968: 13).

5 - Part Five - The all seeing citizen and local and regional identities

5: 1 A Geography of vision and identity as a social practice

Other contributors to a discourse of individuality and idiosyncrasy in the urban landscape include Ian Nairn and Ewart Johns. As contemporaries of Hastings and Cullen they can be seen to produce a more explicit social philosophy of the relationship between people and places. As with Hastings, Piper, Cullen and Sharp, the development of this social philosophy is related to a rejection of modernism, with recognition of an authentic distinctive landscape. However, rather than just the 'natural' order of the physical landscape, Nairn and John's stress the importance of recognising the relationship between English peoples and these landscapes. Thus, in a polemical issue of the *Architectural Review* 'Outrage', Nairn can be found to discuss the protection of 'distinctive places' as important to the survival of a 'distinctive English consciousness'. Like Cullen, the force of this attack is against the Modern movement, described here as SUBTOPIA, or the development of suburbs and new towns, which were seen to have no real identity[11]

> *Subtopia is an annihilation of the site, the steamrollering of all individuality of place to one uniform and mediocre pattern ... But subtopia has already gone so far that is possible to present scenes that are indistinguishable, and to classify the causes that which have made them look alike ...(Nairn, 1955: 372).*

Furthermore, at the end of the *Outrage* issue, Nairn stresses the importance of recognising the role of individuals in places by developing a strategic political plan for the everyday citizen. As well as the notion of individuality, the idea that people themselves have an individual relationship to their local place is also expressed in these sentiments to the urban landscape. Likewise, a stress on the notion of citizenship also replicates many of the ideas expressed by Geddes and a politics of vision, which was seen as essential to the recovery of the real evolutionary course of cities. Here, as with Geddes gratification of the lay viewer, the focus of Nairn's

rhetoric is a resistance to the voice of the 'planner' and a valorisation of the relationship of individuals to 'places':

> *The first thing is to be able to see and feel. If you have come with us this far, you can; that is the premise we make in our call to arms.*

> *Then to know your local area inside out, whether it is a Surrey suburb, the middle of Swansea or the Yorkshire Wolds.*

> *Then to reach your decision on a change or a protected change. Your own decision, not ours; not blurred by sentiment or social or economic pressure. A matter that is between you and the site, without any pressure ...*

> *In trying to keep intact the identity of your environment you will maintain your own as well (Nairn, 1955: 452).*

If Nairn and Betjeman develop an aesthetic understanding, the later work of Ewart Johns (1965) takes a 'geographical approach', to the notions of distinctiveness and the townscape. Johns, separating his work from the work of Cullen (1961), suggests that a geographical approach to the English townscape must be read through more scientific, as opposed to artistic, narratives. Johns, drawing upon the work of the work of the Geographer Professor A E Smailes (1955), argues that the geographical side to this epistemological approach is one that aims to pursue

> *an anatomical study of the content of regions of the earth's surface, with emphasis on those features that invest regions with their essential distinctiveness (Johns, 1965: 8).*

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[11] Again the suggestion that the suburbs have no real identity is based on the notion that represent the blur between urban and rural and so they are not naturally occurring environments (Nairn, 1955).

The clear development of a theory of the urban landscape is solidified in these writings. Johns, in contrast to the work of Nairn and Betjeman, does not wish to simply demonstrate the aesthetic pattern of a regional Englishness, rather the notion that regions are separate and self-containing is developed into a regional geographical language of science and evolution. Johns, in this regard, implies that cities themselves are complete pieces of distinctiveness and must be valued as such. This pseudo-scientific narrative therefore puts meat on the bones of the aesthetic discourse of Betjeman, with a distinctly Geddesian idea of the development of man in relation to his landscape:

> *Town scenes throughout the world are evolved from either native materials or newly adapted ones, which become part of places' own individuality. These materials are worked into the house-forms suitable for the needs of each distinctive social pattern. Furthermore the artistic instincts of each society are in direct operation throughout a process which is less purely functional than is sometimes supposed. Each house adds to a pattern of houses, each district to a pattern of districts, so leading ultimately to a complete urban sculpture (Johns, 1965: 12).*

However, as has been suggested with ideographic approaches generally, they are filled with normative sentiments of identity (Livingstone, 1992). Rather than a theory of global places, it is clear that Johns' theoretical manoeuvres are nationally based, and riddled with allusions to ideas of a distinctive Englishness already discussed in this text. His discussion of the real English city, ends in the admittance that, despite the difficulties of the notion of 'nativeness', (Johns, 1965: 22) a real English townscape lies in the

> *Unforceful, organic, and conglomerated. It is picturesque, too. It is well studded with trees, warm in stucco and unaggresive brick, and it leans, in spite of many Classical features towards the qualities of the Romantic Townscape (Johns, 1965: 28).*

This discussion of the Romantic Townscape is connected once again to the idea that local materials (which are reflected in wider physical regional materials) are at the heart of the distinctive English landscape. Thus, whilst Johns admits that cities and towns are characterised by a mixture of styles from different time periods, there is an over arching framework by which we can characterise the distinctive English town. Firstly, Johns suggests that the regional landscape from which cities have emerged impart a sense of regional consciousness which can be most explicitly understood by the builder of urban landscapes. Consequently, whilst Johns admits to the growth of Modernity and the popularity of building styles, the 'real' centre of the city lies with the more 'organic' materials which are represented by the region:

> *Local style, moreover, in its strongest expressions, has long disappeared from the principal urban scenes and been replaced by national and even international, traditions; but on close inspection it may still be seen that builders and designers are following some local custom in the handling of stone or in the choice of a site, and there certainly remain some significant townscapes that depend for their character on the exertion of some regional preference ... To-day there are far more building materials than ever before, but it is wrong to assume that all regional individuality has been lost (Johns, 1965: 39-40).*

Secondly, Johns suggests that, as well as searching for the distinctive character of English towns, the role of men's relationship to the townscape is an important one. As with the narratives of the *Architectural Review*, Johns' argument is that a real understanding of the townscape must begin at a qualitative level from the ground, rather than from a quantitative analysis of resources. However, whilst the notions of the 'subjectivity of art' are to be avoided in these exclamations, the qualitative

approach to which Johns' alludes is one which is synonymous with the more existential impressions of place described by Nairn. He states that

> *the qualities of townscape have to be sought out by means of the same kind of intimate contact as we experienced in the streets where we grew up. Only on foot – not always a comfortable form of progression in modern towns – and only through the eyes, can townscapes be first properly located and then fully explored (Johns, 1965: 193).*

In this case, Johns' narrative would also seem to be consciously aware of the importance of a certain 'aesthetic approach to the landscape'. The role of the scientist is also similar to that of the local, and the well 'understood' notion that, if we experience in the flesh, we will eventually come to understand the sense of distinctiveness buried within the townscape. The normative phenomenological implications of these sentiments are striking and the way in which Johns emphasises terms such as 'native' and 'dwelling' brings the philosophy of Smailes into a 'knowing' perspective. Whilst Johns is slightly elusive, there is a subtext within his ideas that suggest that the native or localised understanding of the differences between spaces is also an understanding of the differences between the English peoples. The going-native approach of his qualitative epistemology simultaneously leaves us with a sense of the local character of regional peoples and their common understanding of the distinctiveness of their own urban landscape (Johns, 1965).

6 - Part Six

The architectural-planning-conservation movement as the new definers of taste and citizenship

Whilst the post-war architectural-planning-conservation movement can be seen to be steeped in a nostalgia for a regional Englishness, this discourse must be viewed

through the lens of a relational and symbolic class analysis. Turning back to the architectural-planning-conservation movement descriptions of 'the individual landscape' and the importance of 'citizenship and vision', the development of these notions from the post-war era shares a relationship to Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of social class. In particular the notions of the individual landscape and the 'citizen of vision' must be viewed in terms of Bourdieu's (1984) perception that actors compete with signifiers of taste (or what he calls cultural capital), to legitimise the dominance of their own power in social relations. Using Bourdieu's theory of taste, the architectural-planning-conservation movement can be read as a force in a wider series of contemporary social class relations in Britain. In particular, following what Savage et al. (2000, 2001) have called the rise of a new middle-class individualism in contemporary society, the architectural-planning-conservation movement can be read as a new force in the formation of the middle-class self.

6: 1 Cultural and symbolic capital

The key to Bourdieu's work on the notion of power in a simplified overview is his concepts of cultural and symbolic capital. Cultural capital refers to knowledge and skills acquired in early socialisation or education. The possession of cultural capital is symbolised by formal educational qualifications. However, the notion of cultural capital refers to a whole host of activities and practices that can be considered as being symbolic of taste or the capacity of the actor to demonstrate taste. Bourdieu gives examples of cultural capital through wider activities and practices such as going to the Opera, listening to classical music or having an interest in painting. Symbolic capital refers to the representation of cultural capital symbolically (and other forms of capital) to the extent that they become normalised and legitimise the status and authority of the user or definer of taste. In the words of Bourdieu himself, symbolic capital is 'the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate' (Bourdieu, 1989: 17). Much of the discussion of the role of cultural and symbolic capital is developed in Bourdieu's critical research on social class in France. In *Distinction* (1984), rather than finding class traditionally based on economic or political/ideological power, Bourdieu suggests that class

distinctions may also be based on cultural and symbolic capital. In this way he argues that class boundaries are forged upon cultural and symbolic goods which have their own economy. Bourdieu finds that classes seek to reinforce their own boundaries by reifying the importance of their own habituses – their symbolic goods, their tastes and lifestyles. Therefore, as well as the limits of economy and social power, class reproduces itself according to cultural and socially transmitted ways of understanding. Thus culture and education can become as important as money and wealth in social struggles for social dominance and power (Bourdieu, 1984).

6: 2 Theories of cultural and symbolic capital and the sociology of sociology

The notion of cultural and symbolic capital discussed above has a range of applications. However, rather than a simple equation between taste and power, the notion of whether individuals can enjoy anything regarded as tasteful without resorting to the reproduction of power relations is itself an important aspect of Bourdieu's work. In *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (1992) some of the finer points of these ideas have been met with suspicion by the theoretical interviewer Loic Wacquant. In answer to these criticisms Bourdieu argues that it is not taste itself which is at the root of his critique but the way in which taste is expressed, performed and understood. For example, whilst people in a dominant position in an artistic field may be more likely to choose one form of art over another, this choice in itself does not mean that the forms of art chosen are modes of power. Rather, as Bourdieu asserts, it is the way in which the forms of art themselves are used in somewhat more ritualistic or un-reflexive positions which is worthy of attention and critique.

In short I observe that position-takings (preferences, taste) closely correspond to positions occupied in the field of production on the side of producers and in social space on the side of consumers. This to say that all forms of artistic faith, whether blind belief or pharisaic piety, or even the belief freed from the observances of cultural ritualism (to which a scourging sociology can give access), have social conditions of possibility. ... [However all] I can wish for is that iconoclastic critique ... will be able to promote an artistic experience shorn

of ritualism and exhibitionism [and the capacity of individuals] to break with

spontaneous representations in currency in the intellectual world ... in sum of

all cultural works that claim universality, to accomplish the rupture, no matter

how painful it be for the one who effects it as well as for others, with the

scholarly doxa and with all the "professional" ideologies of the professionals of

thought (Bourdieu, 1992. Extracts from Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 83-89).

Whilst Bourdieu's critique is a useful starting point there is a real absence of theoretical development in these ideas. One avenue for this research can lie with Bourdieu's focus on the sociology of sociology. Indeed, as seen in both Bourdieu texts' *Homo Academicus* (1988) and *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) he argues that the study of the conduct of social sciences itself can provide a useful tool by which further research may be conducted on social mechanisms of power. In particular, as a current of the academic field, Bourdieu is intrigued by the rise of what he calls an 'intellectual bias' in the way in which contemporary professionals construct their action (Bourdieu, 1992). The essence of this bias is represented in the ways that an actor simply constructs physical objects and social relations as objects to be understood, so that simultaneously the 'academic' can reconstruct her/his status as a 'professional'. Thus Bourdieu argues that

what has to be constantly scrutinized and neutralized, in the very act of the

construction of the object is the collective scientific unconscious embedded in

theories, and (especially national) categories of scholarly judgement (Bourdieu,

1990j ... What [has] to be done [is] not magically abolish this distance by a

spurious primitivist participation but to objectivise this objectivising distance

and the social conditions which make it possible, such as the externality of the

observer, and the techniques of objectivation he uses (Bourdieu, 1990a: 14) in

(Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 40-42).

6: 3 The narrative of townscape individuality and variousness

Having addressed the way in which a narrative of 'variousness' has been connected to a wider regional Englishness, this discourse can be further expounded through elite notions of taste. Indeed Hastings, whilst arguing for the importance of the organic, suggests that this understanding of the landscape has become hidden in the present. The target of his criticisms is therefore the pre and post-war town-planning movement with its eyes based firmly on the notion of community rather than aesthetics. Be-known to these 'developers', Hastings contends that the obsession with modernising has meant that the organic aesthetic has become lost and its now only available to 'foreigners or historians' who have the capacity to view England as outsiders:

We think most town-planners are themselves puzzled and embarrassed by their lack of realistic vision, their inability in to reconcile visually in the minds eye what appear to be irreconcilable elements in any town plan: quaint bits, new bits, monuments, traffic, tall buildings, short buildings, flat blocks, individual cottages, etc., etc. (Hastings, 1944: 3).

Although these comments are aimed at a critical reflection on the more functional approach to architecture in the pre and post-war development process, the structuring of this text also serves to reflect upon the capacity of the author to make social statements. Indeed the positioning of town planners as visually backward is related to a populist narrative of the English wo/man as in tune with her/his surroundings. However, rather than advocating a nationalist sentiment of place alone, the object of these discourses also serves to construct Hastings as the 'real' commentator on the art of 'the people'. The criticism of the 'modernist' therefore serves to elevate the status of Hastings as an 'expert' or 'professional' who understands the hidden aesthetic of the people. Thus, Hastings argues that

There is nothing new, we are all aware, in what has been said. The fact remains that the approach natural to the English temperament has not yet been put to work on the urban scene. Any time he so desires the modern town-planner is free to pick up picturesque theory at the point before its corruption

by the Gothic revival; pick up the theory, rediscover the prophets and apply the
principles (Hastings, 1944: 8).

In the work of Piper and Cullen these notions become entwined in further narratives. Indeed, whilst Piper seeks to present the potency of individuality this narrative is also combined with a resistance to a new aesthetic of functionality. As such in his chapter 'Pleasing Decay', Piper discusses an alternative to the modernist aesthetic described through the idea of buildings, which look 'at one' with their natural surroundings. Piper, in the spirit of Hastings notions of the picturesque, asserts that the merits of new development must lie with an understanding of the hidden beauty of 'English places'. Again the distinction between not knowing and knowing is crucial to construction of this narrative, since Piper points to the hidden amenities – or artefacts and places of beauty – within a town, which can become lost or forgotten in pure self-interest (Piper, 1948: 12). Here, as with an understanding of the English psyche, the 'expertness' of the discourse is heightened by Piper's suggestion that he has the capacity to know what he is looking 'for' in a place.

However, if the distinction between the town planner as vandal and the author as 'educator' or 'professional' is explicitly elucidated it can be found in the work of Cullen. In his work in the *Architectural Review*, the distinction between the functional aesthetic and the 'professionality' of the 'expert is emphasised by an almost 'realist' approach to the aesthetic urban text. Here, as with Van Maanen's (1988) definition of realism, whilst Cullen emphasises the subjectivity of an artistic approach, the absence of the 'I' in the text allows the author to employ a rhetorical device. In the early work of the *Architectural Review* this is most explicitly expressed in the discussion of SUBTOPIA which is understood as a nowhere place. In the statement that follows Cullen's approach to subtopia is therefore one of self-evident confidence where the 'I' becomes the 'we' and the levelling of the author with the wider public. In fact the use of the 'we' has an almost calming and understanding tone, which makes the narratives of the author feel more realistic. Moreover as can be seen in the quotes, which follow, the construction of social understandings of place, are also constructed without any reference to an external view or views to the author. Indeed, Cullen discusses the rise of what he sees as a cult of 'ebbiness' or isolation in

building without reference to any form of social or statistical research. In this process Cullen's lack of evidence means that these whimsical references becomes sealed in a language of his 'authority' and self-wisdom:

> *One of the essential qualities of a town is that it is a gathering together of*
> *people and utilities for the generation of civic warmth...*
> *Where has it got to in the new towns? ... We see no sign of it here. Instead we*
> *see the growth of a new ideal at work which might be described as ebbiness- the*
> *ebb tide: the cult of isolationism (Cullen, 1953: 34).*

In his later text, *Townscape*, (1961) this philosophy is elevated to a more philosophical level, where Cullen compares the town planner to an unimaginative scientist. In these codes the authenticity of Cullen's expert position as the aesthete is reproduced by his notion of the scientist positioned against an imaginary academic other which is therefore the artist. For Cullen, in opposition to the attempts to being scientific, he adopts a popular and traditional stereotype of the un-aesthetic scientist simply serves to position himself as 'knower'. However, as well as rejecting a scientific approach to the urban townscape, the replacement of this approach with one based on feelings and subjectivity is constructed as more real. Thus Cullen, in a comparison with the relationship between science and art, discusses the way in which humans communicate with each other on a first encounter. In this analogy, the scientist is viewed as the conforming aspect of the conversation, whilst the more relaxed tone of the later conversation is viewed as representing the heart of the aesthete:

> *Let us approach by a simile. Let us suppose a party in a private house, where*
> *are gathered together half a dozen people who are strangers to each other. The*
> *early part of the evening is passed in polite conversation on general subjects*
> *such as the weather and the current news. Cigarettes are passed and lights*
> *offered punctiliously. In fact it is all an exhibition of manners, of how one*
> *ought to behave. It is also very boring. This is conformity. However, later on*

the ice begins to breaks and out of the straight jacket of orthodox manners and
conformity real human beings begin to emerge (Cullen, 1961: 13).

This text constructs the aesthete as 'risky' and 'radical' and more at 'one' with 'real human beings' and as such the construction of Cullen's 'professionality' is grounded in something more than an actor's claim to the scientific. Indeed the contrast between scientist and artist in these narratives suggests that Van Maanen's realist prose is being constructed by the relationship between scientist and subsequently the authors 'realness' or virtuous attempts to dispel any attempts to being too scientific, rigid and conforming. Thus, Cullen stresses that a real appreciation of the townscape must begin with our bracketing of what he describes as scientific and mathematical prejudice:

Firstly we have to rid ourselves of the thought that the excitement and drama
that we seek can be born automatically out of the scientific research and
solutions arrived at by the technical man (or the technical half of the brain).
We naturally accept these solutions, but are not entirely bound by them ...
statistics are abstracts: when they are plucked out of the completeness of life
and converted into plans and the plans into buildings they will be lifeless
(Cullen, 1961: 10, 14).

If the discourse of individuality and a regional Englishness is constructed through a realist and an English aesthetic, the role of an impressionistic narrative also has a part to play in the construction of this Englishness. Indeed, while employing the realist strategies of Hastings, Piper and Cullen, Thomas Sharp manages to enforce these textual tropes through an exhibitionist and 'impressionistic style' (Bourdieu, 1992, Van Maanen, 1988). Here beyond the position of the 'knower' of English life and the aesthete of the urban landscape, Sharp positions himself as a moral guardian of the landscape.

It is through the architects and their clients that the influence of mere fashion has had, and is having, its effect ... in tower-buildings that are wholly out of scale and character with the towns over which they exert tyranny. In these new buildings all previous acceptance of something like a collective discipline has been rejected. It has been rejected through an architectural arrogance in which the general character of the town or street is considered of no importance compared with the intoxication of self-assertion and self-advertisement (Sharp, 1968: 3).

It is this move in Sharp's work that sets up a new perception of the logic of individuality into a discussion of moral aesthetics. Indeed in the statement above the speaker can be seen as the actor who has taken up forces against a hidden tyranny of architectural arrogance, for which the speaker should be respected and looked up to. The construction of the town planner in this melodramatic language simply overlooks the constraints placed on the architect, and therefore Sharp can place himself as a moral expert figure. This impressionistic discursive binary of the tyrannous and the moral can be further seen in the claims which follow where, like a political leader at the point of war, the author can be viewed as the guardian of the 'English character', nation and 'civilisation'

And now that many architects themselves seem to have abandoned an interest in them (towns) these critical times for our towns, are likely, unless there is a rapid change of attitude, to mean the end of something in which we in England once showed a natural genius – the genius of creating towns that nearly always have had a whole character;

How a town looks is no less important than how it works; and if in making a town work we destroy its looks we destroy a large part of its intrinsic value to civilisation (Sharp, 1968: 6).

Whilst a narrative of the citizen and the landscape has been connected to a wider regional Englishness, this discourse may be further understood through elite notions of taste. Employing a narrative of the citizen, Nairn's Outrage (1955) can be seen as a central component of this discourse. Although focusing on a different aspect of a regional Englishness, like Sharp, Nairn also creates an impressionistic vision of the future, through a trope of rhetorical authority. However, as can be noticed in the writings of Nairn, the appeal to a tyrannical figure of the town planner is developed into a wider language of the English self through a middle-class discourse. Rather than citing the occupational force of town planning, Nairn's witch-hunt is extended to what is seen as a growing consciousness in the everyday language of the English psyche. As suggested in the discussions above, the target of Nairn's critique is the growing language of subtopia, which has not just developed as a physical force but has also developed as a social disease:

> *But buildings affect people, and Subtopia produces Subtopians ...*
>
> *Its not just aesthetics and art-work our whole existence as individuals is at stake, just as much as it has ever been from political dictatorship whether left or right; in this case the attack is not clearly defined and coming from the other side of the globe, but a miasma rising from the heart of our collective self (Nairn, 1955: 372).*

Rather than simply critiquing development, this text produces a clear construction of a new form of identity which it sees as being related to the new creation of a 'identityless' individual: a subtopian. However, whilst one cannot ignore the critique of the built environment in this text, the idea that people have to change in order to have a sense of individuality reflects an elitism of narrative on the part of the author. It mirrors the way in which a rhetorical trope of the landscape becomes converted into an attack on the lack of individuality of certain people and highlights the position of the author as an actor with the knowledge to understand which people have individuality. In the words of Crang (1994) and Chaney (1997), an attack on 'mass

culture' can often be viewed as the reproduction of the construction of the middle-class self as individual and authentic.

Further to the construction of a discourse of the citizen and the landscape through an elite notion of taste, the more geographical approach of Ewart Johns can be read as an anti-thesis to his predecessors. Indeed, when calling for the importance of looking, Johns' thesis provides a more favourable examination of pre and post war modernist and suburban housing. Through clear reference to the architectural movement, Johns suggests that the work of Geography is to move beyond the parameters of the more 'value-laden judgements of buildings'. Thus, he claims that

> *Books on architecture are often governed by the need to make value-judgements*
> *as to the merits of various buildings, and they are concerned, as are the studies*
> *of art historians, with assessing and reassessing the principal contributions of*
> *each phase of design to the whole history of art. The result is that such works*
> *have little time to spare for minor buildings and none for the bad ones (Johns,*
> *1965: 4).*

What emerges in this final text on the landscape is a rather different approach to the notion of the role of the citizen in the landscape. For Johns', instead of the citizen being concerned with the effects of Subtopia, his argument is that a thorough exploration of the urban landscape must include a clear examination of all building styles no matter how bad or ordinary. However, Johns' text simply serves to reconstruct an elite notion of taste. Wishing to move beyond the discriminatory references of the architect, Johns' continual references to the reality of good taste, means that like his predecessors, he is guilt of the same cultural fallacy. Through a pseudo-scientific language Johns can be found to use the notion of taste as something that can be clearly understood and felt:

> *In the last resort, buildings – either individually or in-groups – must be*
> *designed by someone, however complex or simple the design may be. That*
> *someone will express, in the shape he makes in the urban landscape the*
> *accumulated ideas of what a building should look like, as they have been passed*

down to him through successive layers of taste. It is the intention in this book to consider how these layers of taste have left their mark on our British towns and to hint at the ways in which these might become the subject of geographical analysis (Johns, 1965: 10).

Setting up the idea that we need to look more firmly at our surroundings, Johns is suggesting that the contemporary actor is, on the whole, unaware of his surroundings. The language with which Johns uses to express this point repeats some of the threats of mass culture and a uniform identity discussed by Nairn above. In this language of the visual, it might be argued that an anti-modernist aesthetic becomes rationalised and normalised through the idea that the 'uniform self' is uneducated. For Johns part of the process of his work is to make the contemporary student and the layman more aware of the diversity of their surroundings and their 'national identity' through 'education'. The call for the education of contemporary students and the general public in this text is therefore top-down and assuming. The text suggests firstly that people want to learn about 'their heritage'; that people don't already have a definition of what their urban heritage is; and that a lack of understanding of heritage will lead to the construction of a uniform identity. Thus, Johns argues that

The central theme of British Townscapes is the way in which the tendency to shape the urban environment according to the fashion of the times survives, in characteristic form, in our towns to-day. Such a theme is much more than a professional concern, for not only architects and builders, but also house decorators, shopkeeper's lighting engineers, jobbing plumbers and everyone who paints his garden gate is responsible for the final appearance of the landscape of the towns in which we live. And as very few people make no contribution at all to the shapes and colours of the public scenery around them, there is very good reason for most of us to take a personal interest in the extent to which our surroundings are dictated by some kind of common 'design sense', some prevailing mode of making shapes and of using colours (Johns, 1965: 1).

Few aspects of the town are more urgent than those which increase in the
awareness in students and in the general public of, of the immense heritage of
varied character and unexpected beauty that is hidden behind the grime and the
street signs, and beyond the limits set by the guide book list of 'buildings of
architectural and historical interest (Johns, 1965: 10).

7 – Part Seven – Chapter Summary

The architectural conservation movement has sought to develop a regional discourse
of Englishness since the post-war era through the notion of 'townscape'. The
discussions of Hastings, Piper, Cullen, and Sharp of the character of an authentic
urban landscape are crucial to the idea that authentic and 'natural' urban landscapes
are those that demonstrate a certain 'variousness' of place. It is the notion of
'variousness', reflected in Patrick Geddes discussion of a patchwork of 'unique'
landscapes, which has great resonance. In particular, Sharp's discussion of
'variousness' in relation to the nation highlights the striking relationship between
ideas of the townscape as a series of little region and a wider Englishness found in
Geddes. The townscape movement encouraged a certain rhetorical approach to the
conception of the individual and place. Nairn and Johns' suggestion that individuals
should be aware of their surroundings and their place in physical landscapes is a form
of resistance to the suburban. Again, as with the notions of variousness and
uniqueness, the call to citizenship has a parallel in Geddes' discussion of 'outlook
geography' and the location of the individual in the regional landscape.

A regional Englishness cannot be understood without recourse to a discourse of social
class, and Architectural Conservationists have constructed a regional Englishness with
the intention of developing cultural and symbolic capital but they do so by using a
populist language of identity. Hastings, Cullen, and Sharp between them constructed
an organic aesthetic of variousness, by presenting the author as non-technical,
populist, and moral. Hastings and Cullen presented themselves as authorities by
setting up a polarity between the abstract and the down to earth. In Sharp's work, a
discourse of authority was further elaborated in the idea of the author as moral

guardian of the people. In Nairn and Johns' work an organic aesthetic of citizenship and the geography of vision were translated through a construction of the author as a spokesperson of the people and a social activist. Nairn and Johns' claimed authority for themselves, not only by rejecting the scientist, but also by rejecting the social spirit of the 'common man'. Their attack on the 'common man' therefore constructs Nairn and John as figures who understand, not just the aesthetics of the physical environment, but the entire social spirit and dislikes of the people. The specific focus on the common man extends beyond a mere critique of the physical landscape and serves to elevate the status of the writer. It is in these figures that the implicit nostalgia for traditional class boundaries of upper and working class are revealed. The construction of a discourse of the Subtopian also has certain class overtones, making an appeal to a working class 'other' in order to reject a new populist middle class. If, however, these narratives are implicit, the writing of Ewart Johns elaborates and enforces an understanding of these discourses in a more explicit manner. In his discussion of post-war suburbia, Johns' narratives reflect a dislike of new development and the new rich who have been seen to set aside traditional notions of identity. However, given the sharp and elitist tones within which these narratives are constructed, Johns also serves to enforce a dislike of new forms of social identity which have displaced traditional class boundaries. In these small asides, the work of Nairn and Johns demonstrates a hidden narrative of the "organic" aesthetic as an agent of a new inverted class snobbery, which resides with the suggestions of Savage *et al* (2000, 2001). Furthermore, it is the reassertion of traditional class boundaries within their texts, which propose that the new middle-class elite has sought to position itself as belonging to the working class through an inverted populism.

CHAPTER TWO –

THE RISE OF THE BUILT HERITAGE

CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

[12] Plate 3

[13] Plate 4   [14] Plate 5

[15] Plate 6

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[12] THE CIVIC TRUST (no date) 'Civic Trust Logo', http://www.civictrust.org.uk/top.shtml, page accessed February 2004.
[13] THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS (no date) 'SPAB logo', http://www.spab.org.uk/default.htm, page accessed February 2004.
[14] THE GEORGIAN GROUP (no date) 'The Georgian Group Logo', http://www.georgiangroup.org.uk/, page accessed February 2004.
[15] THE VICTORIAN SOCIETY (no date) 'The Victorian Society Logo', http://www.victorian-society.org.uk/index.html, page accessed February 2004.

1- Part One - Introduction

Discussions of the built heritage conservation movement have often charted its socio-historical development from narratives of class, Englishness and national identity. For some the rise of the built heritage conservation movement is of less importance than its latter flowerings in the late Sixties and Nineteen Seventies in Britain where it was seen as a medium of class power (Lowe, 1977, Jacobs, 1992, Larkham, 1995, Rydin, 1998). Other writers have turned to the early formation of the movement for a starting place for issues of identity and thus the development of the built heritage conservation movement has been as a product of a pre-industrial Englishness (Wiener, 1982). Finally in an acknowledgement to the critics of the movement over the years, defenders of the movement have suggested that rather than power the movement has reflected a growing 'artistic consciousness' between budding activists and an 'aesthetically repressed nation' (Stamp, 1996).

In this chapter I argue that the built heritage conservation movement has been constructed through a regional Englishness that can be found in the work of regional geographers, especially Patrick Geddes. Addressing regional landscapes and citizenship, Geddes developed a temporal philosophy and an 'aesthetic harmonious vision' of regional landscapes. By analysing key figures and texts within the history of the built heritage I investigate the way these narratives are reproduced. This Chapter considers the writers John Ruskin, Robert Byron, John Summerson and Osbert Lancaster as key actors in the development of a philosophy of restoration and conservation. Whilst the movement initially begins with a very conservative attitude to the importance of the past, as it develops in the inter-war and post-war period notions of the past became more entwined with Geddesian evolutionary and forward-looking narratives. In particular I scrutinise the way in which the built heritage conservation movement develops Geddesian notions of equilibrium, continuity and balance in the city. In the post-war era I draw on the work of John Betjeman and the Civic Trust to mark out the changing ways in which the idea of temporality has been understood in built heritage conservation. Moving from a focus on time to space, these post-war writers develop a Geddesian metaphor by looking at the

interconnection between ideas of temporal balance and spatial balance, where all buildings in the city can be placed under one harmonious gaze. Taking the cue from Geddes on citizenship, these writers employ textual tropes to encourage the reader to take up the conservation cause and develop an urban landscape aesthetic of temporal balance and spatial harmony. Finally, following the theoretical discussion of Geddes, throughout the course of these discussions the writers produce a plant-soil idea of built heritage and the harmonious landscape, which calls upon the reader to consider the urban landscape in evolutionary terms. In so doing the narratives not only develop the work of Geddes, but are key to producing themes on restoration and building, which suggests that if they are damaged or unrooted then like plants they are 'delicate flowers' which cannot be 'simply replaced'.

However, a regional discourse of Englishness must be analysed through the prism of a class discourse. Again in drawing upon the work of Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990, 1992, 1994) temporal and harmonious narratives of the region landscape and citizenship can be read through inverted forms of cultural capital. Firstly, I examine the way in which discourses of restoration and conservation are translated through a fear of new evil architecture, which was seen to take away an honesty and moral truthfulness in building. In this discourse a loss of honest and moral truthfulness in building and further building, is related to the construction of a narrative of populism. This process of elucidating the evils of restoration and uniformity is a textual performance, which draws attention to the way in which the conservationist has made a moral stance in the name of the people. Secondly, I point to a more familiar theme that the loss of building, and the rise of disharmonious landscapes, has also been constructed through a narrative of nationhood and citizenship. Here a fear for the loss of nationhood and a narrative of citizenship is another textual performance, which draws attention to the standpoint of the conservationist as a 'man of action'. For example the way in which conservationists favour the need for education, and encourage visual tidiness in local areas, can be seen as needless performances, which serve to seal their calls to status as 'men of the people', and as 'good citizens'. However, the call to education and tidiness goes hand in hand with paternalist and fatherly based discourses, which construct the conservationist as both populist and a parent to instruct and to be respected. In the final section of this Chapter, having dealt with performance, I move from questions of *cultural capital*, to those of *symbolic*

capital and more specifically *symbolic violence*. In so doing, I turn to the objects of derision in the conservation construction, of moral outrages to the past and the spread of disharmonious and 'uncitizen like' urban landscapes. Therefore this final section draws upon a number of recurrent themes, which have been woven in the preceding text. Firstly, if restoration and the loss of old buildings are viewed as a moral outrage, then early conservationists locate the culprits of this outrage as architects that have been responsible for the development of 'uniform' architectures and 'cheap kitsch' in contemporary designs. In moving from the early nineteenth century and the works of Ruskin to the writings of John Summerson, these narratives take on a different meaning in the post-war era of conservation. In particular the post-war era is crucial to a reconstruction of uniformity and kitsch from the architect to a wider aesthetic society. However, the symbolic violence of the conservationist is not positioned towards society as a whole, but can be located around specific social groupings associated with increased social justice and the welfare state. Moreover, turning to the late 1950s, I look at the writings of John Betjeman and discuss the way in which many of these discourses of derision surround a particular landscape of post-war suburbia and a class of people associated with these new suburban landscapes. In this respect, the rejection of uniformity, kitsch, social justice and welfare is connected to a post-war moment associated with the rejection of the new suburban middle classes and with working class people striving for a changing class structure. If Betjeman merely comments on the aesthetic displeasure which these changes have caused, the Civic Trust and its guidebook based culture of local environment, actually turns these discourses into disciplinary mechanisms. The guidebooks of the Civic Trust, and the narratives of citizenship that they employ, serve as a form of visual and disciplinary symbolic violence. The guidebooks therefore function as a way in which an older 'established' pre-war upper middle class can, through the medium of conservation, resist the ongoing tastes and changes that have occurred in the landscapes and cultural landscapes of Britain. The use of the Civic Trust guidebooks allow conservationists to retain their own aesthetic capitals and to position the new suburban and working class others which pose a threat to what they see as their already well established identities. The guidebooks are a way of civilising the new class threat.

2 – Part Two - Theories of the rise of the built heritage conservation movement

2: 1 The built heritage conservation movement and social class

Initially writers have suggested that the built heritage conservation movement is a class elite. Here the work of Lowe, (1977) Jacobs (1992) and Rydin (1998) have been exemplars of this thesis. Rather than looking at the historical origins of the movement these writers imply that the movement has been fairly unimportant until the growing national formation of local conservation groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Particularly Lowe has argued that this moment in the movement is the most significant since it reflects the rise of locally active and privileged social groups. In short, Lowe's criticism of the conservation movement is that it reflects the dispositions and abilities of middle class groups to effectively defend privileges and mobilise against forms of development in cities. Lowe's argument is based on the idea that certain social groups have the economic and political power to effectively organise and take advantage of 'professional' actors in their communities. Thus, unlike many working class areas, conservation groups have access to lawyers, planners, architects and a whole range of knowledgeable professionals and political resources by which they can achieve their goals. In this way Lowe suggests that the rise of conservation groups on a large scale particularly in the late 1960s and 1970s Britain reflects a growing consciousness amongst middle class actors of the forms of power and spatial assets which they can hold onto. Firstly then conservation groups allow middle class people to hold on to well-treasured buildings which enhance the character of their own areas. Secondly by preventing developments middle class groups can also stop unwanted peoples from entering a particular space or urban area. In this way Lowe has argued that the rise of conservation groups in the Seventies reflects, the development of Not In My Back Yard (NIMBYs) groups, allows middle class groups to reproduce aesthetic advantages and spatial power. Moreover the way

in which conservation groups have constructed NIMBY's means that new developments happen disproportionately in working class areas where people have less resources to defend themselves.

However, whilst these arguments provide a useful way of looking at the development of the movement, Lowe et al ignore wider history of the built heritage conservation movement. Indeed, whilst Lowe identifies the way in which local conservation groups have been involved in the reproduction of class privilege, he does not attempt to look more specifically at the way in which these groups have historical connections. For instance, Lowe does not look at the way in which the local environmental conservation surge of the seventies has a cultural history embedded in the rise of the SPAB, the Georgian Group, the Victorian Society and the Civic Trust. In this respect, Lowe does not look at the way in which the Civic Trust has also had a major impact in the way in which 'aesthetic spaces' are fought over and contested in cities. Secondly the main problem with Lowe, Jacobs and Rydin is the relatively one-dimensional way in which issues of class are explored. In turning to the way in which middle class groups are involved in the reproduction of their advantage, Lowe et al does not examine the processes in which conservationists find development objectionable. Here Lowe, Jacobs and Rydin hint that there is a certain 'tyranny of aesthetic taste' in the reasons why conservation groups appeal against development which is assumed to be conservative and reactive. However, the reasons why conservationists should defend one set of tastes above others are therefore lacking in this analysis. In this respect, this work fails to draw upon a deeper analysis of the relationships between class and taste, which can be more effectively advanced by the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and others. Thus, whilst conservation groups serve as ways in which to uphold aesthetic tastes and to stop development from damaging a fixed aesthetic, the way in which these tastes are used by conservation groups as badges of status or symbols of power and prestige remains unexplored in their work. Finally since, taste, aesthetics and landscapes have also been related to issues of national identity and Englishness in particular (Cosgrove, 1986, Daniels, 1992) the way in which the role that conservation aesthetics play in the construction of ethnicities is another absent line of significant inquiry in their work. Indeed, whilst Jacobs makes some attempts to link between conservation and Englishness these links were mainly focused in the wider discourses of the townscape movement and were

therefore absent from her work on the more everyday politics of local urban conservation disputes (Jacobs, 1992).

2: 2 Pre-industrialism

A significant contributor to the literature on the development of the built heritage conservation movement has been Martin Wiener. Whilst his stance on built conservation groups has been to treat them as part of the broader currents in late-Victorian culture and society, Wieners argument is that the preservation movement developed from a wider nostalgia for a rural Englishness. Wiener argues that the early conservation movement's valorisation of the past and an anti-materialistic ethos represented both a critique of industrial society and an endearing look at a 'rural English identity'. Discussing the development of the urban preservation movement, Wiener enforces this thesis by pointing to the way in which groups such as the Georgian and Victorian societies developed a critique of the anti-modern. Thus Wiener argues that, in principle, the preservation movement approved of development on the condition that it was respectful to the past

When something new had to be built the architectural style favoured by most preservationists was usually some variant of Old English. In this way change would be fit into an old pattern, and make the least possible disruption (Wiener, 1982: 72).

While the work of Wiener can be seen as a critical contribution to a discussion of the conservation movement, his discussion of Englishness acknowledges the critical levels of nostalgia and nationalism that seem to have been previously unexplored. However, despite the merits of the model, Wiener does not answer many of the questions concerning the internal ethos of the movement. In the first place, the notion that the movement developed from an anti-modern and anti-materialistic ethos ignores the ways in which the built movement has developed through the twentieth century. Consequently Wiener's thesis does not account for the way in which groups, such as the Victorian Society and Twentieth Century Society, actively celebrate aspects of

both the industrial and even the growing modernist era of twentieth century architecture. Furthermore, whilst Wiener is aware of some of the contradictions in his argument, he does little to answer the question as to why architectural tastes within the built conservation movement solidified around certain architectural periods. Indeed, if groups such as the Georgian and Victorian societies wished to encourage a rural-English nostalgia, it would seem difficult to explain why these groups developed a certain sense of loyalty to built *urban* heritage. Moreover Wiener, whilst acknowledging the role of class elitism within the conservation movement, provides little comment as to the relationship between the notion of historical loyalty and the need to create elite identities. Thus, Wiener does not explore the possibility that a focus on certain architectural styles may be related to the development of new class identity and prejudice. In the last instance, Wiener's final words on these factors are merely descriptive:

As tastes altered, the initial association with particular past styles faded, and the criterion of age became ever clearer. Out of the SPAB came the Georgian group, and from it the Victorian Society; protectionist sentiment eventually reached the Edwardian period ... Many of those activities that roused the ire of preservationists were not in fact activities of restoration, but of modernisation. Such activities were of a piece with those of almost all earlier architects who were convinced of the merit of their own work in relation to all that had gone before. It was, Robert Macleod has pointed out 'the preservationists who were introducing the radically new idea that ... their own time, as opposed to all previous in history, was incapable of contributing to the story of architectural development' (Wiener, 1982: 69).

2: 3 The aesthetic non-architect

Gavin Stamp (1996) has situated the development of the built heritage conservation movement within a *populist discourse*. Writing in the vein of Hunter et al, (1982, 1996), Kellner and Betjeman, Stamp argues that the public preservation movement arose through a growing professional consciousness of a gap between art and

architecture. For Stamp, rather than an appreciation of the value of the aesthetic characteristics of buildings, the architectural profession was eventually driven by careerism alone. Consequently Stamp asserts that the development of the built heritage conservation movement in the twentieth century was increasingly fuelled by a 'non-professional' understanding of the way in which certain buildings had relative merits over the development of new ones. Particularly from the rise of the Georgian group onwards, Stamp argues that the built heritage conservation movement consisted of 'interested amateurs (and often journalists) ... architectural historians ... [and] writers and painters'. For Stamp, unlike the average architect, these individuals had an objective understanding of the real weight of buildings in relation to their history, as opposed to entrepreneurial professionals intent on pursuing the next architectural movement – self interested desire for change (Stamp, 1996: 77). Thus, Stamp argues that the purpose of the new societies was

to educate, that is, to persuade the general public as well as the architectural profession to look beyond fashion and to appreciate the merits of a type of architecture of comparatively recent date which was conventionally regarded as worthless (Stamp, 1996: 77-78).

In this regard Stamp points to a second theory behind the development of the built heritage conservation movement, a theory of representation. As well as opposing architecture and guiding the public, the built heritage conservation movement was responding to the needs and wishes of a silent aesthetic majority that had so far been ignored. Therefore in addition to his critique of architects, Stamp's contention is that the built heritage conservation movement reacted against town planners who were not 'speaking for the people'. For Stamp the rise of the built heritage conservation movement, is not a process which has simply reflected the subjective views of a few aesthetes but rather it, has been a process which has reflected the aesthetic wants and will of the British population.

Despite these arguments there are several weaknesses which are apparent in Stamp's work. Firstly whilst Stamp suggests that the built heritage conservation movement has spoken for the aesthetic interests of the British population, he

provides little evidence for this claim. What we are left with in Stamp's theory, rather than evidence, is a sense that there is some 'intuitive link' between conservationists and 'the people'. A second weakness in Stamp's work is that, despite following a critical take on the development of an 'elite' architectural profession, he does very little to counter the ethnic essentialisms of the conservationists he admires. For instance, Stamp can be found to praise the insights of Robert Byron a founder of the Georgian Group. Whilst Stamp suggests that Byron develops a deep-rooted aesthetic understanding of past architecture, his understanding of the past is entwined with an essentialised notion of Englishness and the national character:

> *The Georgian style commemorates a great period, when English taste and English political ideas had suddenly become the admiration of Europe. And it corresponds, almost to the point of dinginess, with our national character. Its reserve and dislike of outward show, its reliance on the virtue and dignity of proportions only, and its rare bursts of exquisite detail, all express as no other style has ever done that indifference to self-advertisement, that quiet assumption of our own worth, and that sudden vein of lyric affection, which has given us our part in civilisation (Byron, 1938).*

Finally, like Wiener (1982), Stamp (1996) acknowledges the problems of class prejudice within the built heritage conservation movement. However, it is a weakness of his work that we are left with little analysis of the way in which these were (and are) connected to wider social relations of power. For example, whilst commenting on the rising upper-middle class membership behind the development of the SPAB and the Georgian Group, Stamp does little to comment on the 'social distinctions' between new group attitudes and their predecessors. Thus, whilst pointing to the way in which the voluntary movement became more and more elitist in its approach, the socio-economic reasons for these developments seem absent from Stamp's overall descriptive analysis:

From the outset the Georgian Group was smart ... The group was also rather grand, numbering thirty-five peers of the realm among its members by 1939 and no fewer than eleven on the committee ... There was, indeed, a marked social distinction between the Georgian Group and its parent body, which exacerbated existing tension with the SPAB (Stamp, 1996: 84).

3 - Part Three - Time and the uprooting of the new

An alternative way of viewing the development of the built heritage conservation movement is to start with a development of the notion of Englishness. Here I would like to remain with the critical focus of Wiener's approach to the movement[16] but redefine the notion of Englishness. I therefore draw upon the arguments discussed in Law, (2004) and Chapter One concerning the existence of a regional discourse of Englishness in the Late-Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century. To illustrate these arguments, I consider the work of Geddes and develop a reading of his work through a recent biographer Duncan Macmillan. However, in looking at the development of a regional geography I turn my attention to those followers of Geddes who were developing certain ideas of landscape, sociology and evolution during the Mid to Late Nineteenth Century. This section now turns to the way in which a discourse of time and harmony was central to the way in which Geddes conceived his theory of regional landscapes and their citizens.

3: 1 The idea of roots and heritage in relation to the regional landscape

Geddes develops a conceptual understanding of 'time' in the construction of the geographical study of regional landscapes. In the previous chapter I discussed the way in which Geddes proposed that the development of the activities of people in cities were related to the actual shape and configurations of the land. However, rather than simply imparting a physical understanding of the development of human activities, Geddes also sought to encourage an idiosyncratic understanding of places

by a recourse to the notion of roots. The development of citizenship and belonging in cities was also based on the idea that people needed to understand their 'roots' if they were to continue as 'evolutionary beings'. Indeed, as Macmillan has argued

> *Geddes saw that history and so heritage were an integral part of the organism. These were the memory of a society and so contained the root of its identity. A society without heritage was like an amnesiac. It could not know who it was.*
>
> *Geddes' was a reforming vision. For him, heritage was not an armchair drawn up at the fireside of history a comfortable refuge from the real and present world. He understood that we need the past that we cannot live by it, but that it is vital both to our sense of who we are and as a model and stimulus for change (Macmillan, 1993: 294)*

In an examination of Edinburgh, in his text *Cities and Evolution* (1915), these themes are most neatly expressed in Geddes discussion of the city's old town. Indeed, whilst Geddes argued that change and revision was vital to the natural growth and development of cities, the erasure of the 'roots of the city' meant that the social organism would devolve. In a telling statement concerning the relationship between old and new buildings, Geddes suggests that the most appropriate balance for the development of cities should be one of continuity (Geddes, 1915: 3). Geddes therefore argues that

> *Though to historians and their readers the past may too often seem dead, a record to be enshrined in libraries for the learned, it is of the very essence of our growing sociological reinterpretation of the past to see its essential life as continuous in the present, and even beyond, and so to maintain the perennity of culture, the immortality of the social soul (Geddes, 1915: 143).*

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[16] As opposed to the uncritical stance taken to the subject by Gavin Stamp, whereby Englishness or a national identity is reified without recourse to a critical examination of its hegemonic relations.

Like his description of regions as unique spaces and places, Geddes discourse of the city in the region imparts the idea that the urban conurbations (and the region) are separate entities in time. The recourse to the notion of evolution therefore possesses a synonymous narrative that the city (and the region) are independent organisms and must be considered as something that evolves distinguishably from other cities (and regions). In the words of Geddes, both physically and socially the city contains – 'the immortality of the social soul' (Geddes, 1915: 143).

3: 2 Looking for harmony the role of the citizen as gardener

Ideas of time and the importance of roots in Geddes' work, in an understanding of the development of the regional landscape, cannot be separated from a language of citizenship. Indeed, Geddes argued that, as well as developing temporal continuity in the city, the creators of cities in the present owe it to themselves and the cities they live in to develop the old in accordance with the new. In a discussion of Geddes life history, Macmillan points to his role in the shaping of Edinburgh. As well as his commitment to Edinburgh's New town, Geddes was said to have an

immense commitment to the regeneration of Edinburgh's old town so that it should balance the New Town and not be displaced by it. The decay of the Old Town symbolised a dangerous neglect of the past. The old and new should compliment each other (Macmillan, 1993: 295).

However, as Macmillan's descriptions of Geddes life point out his concern with the contemporary generation seemed to impart something more than a commitment to the role that old buildings play in the evolution of cities. Indeed, the Outlook Tower that he built was a symbol of a more spatial philosophy of the urban landscape. Thus, as well as the temporal, Geddes argued that the role of harmonious urban space was also essential to the development of cities and the development of human self-respect at a social level. In this respect, Macmillan argues that 'In the prismatic mirror of its camera obscura (the Outlook Tower), the two towns were joined in a single image,

just as they had been by Nasmyth' (Macmillan, 1993: 295). As well as promoting the development of an urban social soul, through the conservation of the temporal, the essence of time in Geddes architectural philosophy is embedded in his concern with space.

Focusing on the theme of citizenship again in these texts, the way in which Geddes turns to the role of the academic and the layman in the production of Outlook Geography is crucial to these ideas. Here the observant academic and layman is taken further through the idea that the observer should take command of places by viewing cities from high points and encouraging harmony. Here issues of time and space become interconnected as Geddes argues that the function of the citizen through this process of observation is to look at the various temporal parts of the city on high so as to bring them together in harmony with each other. The sweeping gaze of the citizen is therefore crucial to the way in which cities can evolve. In the writing that follows, rather than a theoretical proposition alone, these ideas are analogous to the suggestions of writers within the built heritage conservation movement. In this respect, rather than the rural, the works of Geddes and writers associated with regional geography have been instrumental in the production of an *urban regional Englishness.*

4 - Part Four – Temporal continuity, harmony and organic evolution

4: 1 Mid and late nineteenth century conservation: restoration

An often-cited text in the history of the built heritage conservation movement is Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture (1849).* As well as its role in the production of ideas that were seen to influence the formation of the movement this book has also been associated with Englishness. For writers such as Ian Baucom its link to notions of Englishness has been in the way in which the text celebrates versions of a pre-industrial industrial cultures and landscapes. Moreover Baucom has defined its Englishness in terms of the way in which an interpretation of the pre-

industrial is tied up with a rejection of the 'modern', and particularly the technological. Baucom has argued that a rejection of the pre-industrial be read as a signifier for a more complicated rejection of the city for the countryside (Baucom, 1999). This work, however, can be located within a late nineteenth century discourse of heritage. Indeed, rather than an all out rejection of the city, Ruskin can be found in this text to pay more attention to the way in which the developing architecture of the industrial periods was not fitting with what he regarded as the pursuit of beauty. In this particular aesthetic philosophy, Ruskin championed the idea that rather than breaks between old and new, the role of old building was essential to the new. Hence Ruskin argued that the contemporary must be rendered old if it is to achieve its task of the development of beauty:

> *If indeed there be any profit in our knowledge of the past, or any joy in the thought of being remembered hereafter ... there are two duties respecting national architecture it is impossible to overrate: the first, to render the architecture of the day historical; and the second to preserve, as the most precious of inheritances, that of past ages (Ruskin, 1849: 178).*

Here a central notion attached to the pursuit of total beauty, which emerged thirty years later in the work of the SPAB, is the problems of restoration. Indeed, if the past is seen as key to the development of beauty then, for Ruskin, part of this preservation of the past is to be 'truthful' and to not to reinterpret the relics of the past. In his discussion of restoration, Ruskin therefore suggests that this work can only take place with the up most sensitivity since the modification of an old property might take a 'spirit of workmanship' from the stone.

> *Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word* Restoration *understood. It means that most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered. A destruction accompanied with false description. Do not let us be deceived in this important matter...*

That which I have above insisted upon as the life of the whole, that spirit which is given only by the hand and eye of the workman, never can be recalled (Ruskin, 1849: 194)

We can perceive Ruskin's resistance to anti-restoration in terms of nostalgia for a spirit of craftsmanship. Indeed, whilst I will pay more attention to a spirit of workmanship in later Chapters, for the time being this anti-restoration or anti-scrape approach can be related to a wider *organic human spirit* of building. Thus, if buildings which foster the sense of the craftsman are beautiful, Ruskin is keen to point out that buildings which have been mechanically or mass produced, particularly the new industrial buildings which were developing in his time, are the antithesis of beauty and human spirit. However, as well as an ethos of aesthetics, Ruskin seemed to suggest that his ideas are continuous with notions of nature, evolution and organacism. In discussing the industrial landscapes of his time, and particularly new forms of terraced housing which were emerging in growing cities, Ruskin had this to say:

not merely with the careless disgust of an offended eye, not merely with sorrow for a desecrated landscape, but with a painful foreboding that the roots of our national greatness must be deeply cankered when they are thus loosely struck in their native ground (Ruskin, 1849: 179-180).

This statement by Ruskin draws upon a plant-soil imaginary which suggests that, rather than simply being incongruous with the spirit of a national architecture, the development of these new buildings are some how less rooted than other kinds of building. Rather than a throwaway idea, the connection between the importance of the spirit of building in architectural heritage and the notion of nature, evolution and the organic was a theme taken up by later conservation pioneers and writings.

4: 2 Post-war conservation narratives of growth

If the works of Ruskin, Morris and the SPAB were decidedly anti-scrape then the later writings of those conservationists that emerged from the inter-war years, and were associated more with groups such as the Georgian Group in London, had a more modernist or progressive outlook. In these writings, rather than the façade being a sin, writers from the inter-war years and the Georgian Group itself were said to take a much more balanced view on the way in which architecture and development should work from the present, whilst deeply considering the past and the future. John Summerson in his decisive text *Heavenly Mansions* (1947), argues that we must consider the past as part of the city of the present and the future rather than being concerned with the static preservation of buildings. Summerson argues that the role of the past is crucial to the present but not in terms of specific formulas. For Summerson, as with the notion of truthfulness in building, the role of conservation is one of equilibrium:

Each generation establishes broad and scarcely definable relationships deriving from them a sense of equilibrium in time ... Such relationships, largely unconscious, are more than the sum of incidental experiences. In observing and studying the past, if we do it with realism and ardour and avoid the vanity of supposing that there are specific formulas to be learnt from it, we refresh the spirit of present creativeness (Summerson, 1947: 241-242).

However, as well as a reinforcement of a temporal narrative, Summerson articulates a scientific or 'naturalist' approach to architecture. Whilst Summerson does not express an explicit philosophy of these implications, he suggests that an appreciation of architecture of the development of architecture must be regarded in terms of 'study':

In the enormous picture of a developing and a changing civilisation this matter of the preservation of buildings may seem a detail almost trivial and barely relevant. Yet it has its importance. The future of civilisation depends, I believe, largely on our observation and interpretation of the natural history of our

species; and the study of species includes the study of habitat. 'Study',

however, is too precise and academic a word (Summerson, 1947: 241-242).

Whilst these narratives are relatively ambiguous and could appear as artistic navel gazing, they point to an organic narrative of architectural development that is akin to seeing the conservation of buildings as part of an evolution of the present. Thus, in this last quote by Summerson we are left with the sense that conservation is not simply about looking for roots: it is about acknowledging the role that roots play in the future of our cities and our sense of building spirit. In this text Summerson, as well as developing a philosophy of conservation which is one of balance between past and present, also seeks to essentialise his theory of time in cities through organic and pseudo-science based discourses. Indeed, the idea that we have to study a place and its buildings as a biologist might study a 'habitat' conjures ideas that urban landscapes and the people who live in them can be understood in an evolutionary way. Moreover, Summerson argues that natural patterns exist in the nature of the urban landscape, which can be understood outside of the region of taste and aesthetic preference. In short Summerson, and moving from the dangerous arena of taste and preference, suggests in these narratives that there is simply a hidden biological or natural aesthetic that we all instinctively know. But as Summerson is suggesting here this hidden biological or natural aesthetic can only be released by a naturalistic or scientific style inquiry.

Finally, conservationist writers have argued that an essay by Sir Osbert Lancaster[17] 'The Future of the Past', (Lancaster, 1953) has been influential in the development of these ideas (Fawcett, 1976, Hunter, et al 1996). Lancaster, taking up Summerson's narratives of the importance of the past to the present, also argued that it was not too important to dwell on the past. Indeed like Summerson, Lancaster does not point whole heartily to the idea of roots, and thus the emerging movement challenges the older preservationist discourse of Ruskin. However, despite this rejection of 'roots' Lancaster is careful to challenge what are seen to be overly forward approaches to the past and thus, like Summerson he suggests a solution of equilibrium. However,

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[17] Whilst Osbert Lancaster was writing in the fifties he was recognised later as a prominent member of the Victorian Society.

Lancaster, and developing Summerson's preoccupation with 'evolutionary study', extends this metaphor in organic terms:

Let me remind you that, no matter how contemporary you strive to be, scratch, as a starting-point is forever unattainable. That whereas it remains questionable whether we do mount on our dead selves to higher things, it is certain that we can get nowhere if we reject the assistance afforded by other people. Without the continuous deposits of architectural humus no modern architecture can thrive, and if we scrape away the topsoil will inevitably wither away. For no matter how clearly we envisage our objectives, no one can build the New Jerusalem in a spiritual dust bowl (Lancaster, 1976: 73).

Here then Osbert Lancaster reiterates an organic analogy through the idea that the urban fabric of a city is like a field where new vegetation can only grow by a well-nourished soil, wherein other plants have grown and died. Thus, like Summerson Osbert Lancaster makes the reactionary narratives of the preservationist predecessors amenable to a modern day environment through an essentialising discourse of building, which places a pseudo-science above mere aesthetics and nationalism.

4: 3 Late 1950s conservation narratives of harmony

I now turn to another development in conservation narratives: the development from discourses of the continuity of past and present, to the role that old buildings play in the notion of landscape. In what follows I will investigate the way in which this discourse had its heyday in the late fifties with the formation of the Victorian Society and the Civic Trust. Expanding upon Chapter One, it is evident that this discourse of looking at buildings in relation to their landscapes was particularly apparent in the development of the townscape movement. However, as I shall explore in the writings which follow the attempts of a discourse of exploring the relations between buildings and their landscapes was a specific concern of writers within the built heritage conservation movement in the post-war period.

Before I proceed to look at these late fifties ideas, I would like to look specifically at the work of John Betjeman, who as a significant member of the Victorian Society began looking at these perspectives from the early 1930s. In his book, *Ghastly Good Taste, or a Depressing Story of the Rise and Fall of English Architecture* (1933), Betjeman argues that he was naïve to believe that all that was good and beautiful was simply old (Betjeman, 1933: xiv). Instead Betjeman argues that, rather than loving the old, it was the way in which certain old buildings had a sense of boldness and scale, which made them standout and essentially blend into landscapes. Thus, Betjeman argues that of all periods of Seventeenth and Eighteenth century architecture, Regency architecture was one of the richest in English history.

> *They were built with boldness in their time, to suit the people for whom their*
> *many anonymous artists designed them. Because they were built with boldness*
> *and sincerity, because they were fit for their purpose, they harmonised with any*
> *Tudor and mediaeval buildings surrounding them (Betjeman, 1933: 58).*

In his later works, particularly his *First and Last Loves* (1952), this poet, aesthete and critical spokesperson of the Victorian Society can be found to argue for the harmony of 'good English towns' all across Britain. Thus, Betjeman suggests that paradoxically, and again following the message of Chapter One, that harmony must be created in accordance with 'difference' or 'diversity' in styles: it is not produced simply by uniformity. The theme of boldness is reproduced here, where buildings must be different and must standout but this difference itself is the logic of English towns and, moreover, it is the logic of harmony, rather than monotony. Thus, in one passage Betjeman argues for the importance of looking at an English town Highworth as a 'whole', whilst recognising its intimate variation:

> *When I am abroad and I want to recall a typically English town, I think of*
> *Highworth ... Ah Highworth as a whole! Churches and chapels, Doctors*
> *houses, Vicarage, walled gardens with pears and plums, railway station, inns*
> *and distant cemetery, old shops and winding streets ... As though called by the*
> *bells, the late sun burst out and bathed the varied roofs with gold and scooped*

itself into the uneven panes of old windows. Sun and stone and old brick and
garden flowers and church bells. That was Sunday evening in Highworth. That
was England (Betjeman, 1952: 232).

Despite the call to aesthetics and taste, which was a fervent passion of Betjeman, the logic, of a pseudo-scientific discourse in these narratives is not absent when he talks about the role that variation in the townscape must play. Moreover Betjeman, when talking about the role that contrast plays in the development of harmony, uses a plant-based metaphor or an organic poetics. Thus Betjeman, when discussing the beauty of contrast in Leeds, argues that local craftsman who discussed its development organically made some of the shrewdest remarks on Leeds town hall. Betjeman quotes him as saying: 'The civic hall - you know what that is – a structure of steel; but the town hall that's architecture, that's craftsmanship. *It's grown up.* There's no more steel in that than'ld make a lions cage' (Betjeman, 1952).

If the theme of the organic still seems abstract in the corpus of this work, then in later texts produced by the Victorian Society, Betjeman enlivens in more detail ideas of harmony (in variation) and the organic (Betjeman, 1963, 1972, 1976). Thus Betjeman argues, in a seminal text of the Victorian Society *The Future of the Past* (1976), that buildings should be considered as plants, where attention should be paid to the way which new buildings worked with their neighbours.

When things have been planted with care and skill and with regard to
neighbours, whether these are trees or buildings, the plant has about it a
reverence which makes its destruction a crime, even if that crime is committed
in the name of high finance (Betjeman, 1976: 55).

If, however, these narratives are subject to a language of theory and architectural criticism, then the growth of the Civic Trust and the development of their architectural handbooks encouraged a discourse of time, harmony and the logic of the organic into a *disciplining practice.* From the formation of the society in 1957, The Civic Trust

developed a range of bulletins, guide books and annual reports that encouraged 'citizens' to form their own local conservation societies and to 'take action' in their local urban landscape. Texts included: *Magdalen Street: Norwich, An Experiment in Civic Design* (1958); *Civic Trust: The First Three Years* (1960); *Shop Front* (1962); *Pride of Place: How to improve your surroundings* (1974); and *Understanding Our Surroundings* (1979), which serve as central guidebooks to the way in which citizens and local conservation groups could understand their duties to their environments. Thus, in the early guide books the trust can be found to point to the importance of harmony in the townscape to the point that, whilst older buildings are important, they become intricately tied to the importance of the harmonious. *In Magdalen Street (1958)* these ideas are evidenced by the great deal of photographic evidence that exists in these texts and the emphasis given to tidier 'wholes'. In particular this guide book points to the importance of how garish street signs lower the tone of areas; improving upon street lighting and creating a 'trim appearance' (Civic Trust, 1958: 25).

What was needed was for the street to be looked at as a whole by an experienced eye, its potentialities reassessed; and if everyone were willing, for a scheme of renovation and redecoration to be prepared in which good points would be emphasised, the bad points camouflaged and a tidy whole left behind (Civic Trust, 1958: 4)

In *Shop Front* (1962), these ideas are developed in relation to garish commercial street signs in terms of their colour, the size of the letters, and the size of the letters. In these narratives the work of Cullen, as discussed in Chapter One, and the importance of both contrasting yet harmonising colour in these discourses are significant. This photographic guidebook is; therefore, full of suggestive captions next to photos that emphasises the role of the harmonious:

A shop is part of the street (p 3)

Shops should respect the character of their surroundings (p 3)

Without copying earlier styles, a modern shop can be designed to harmonise with older neighbour's (p 5)

Shops should not try to out-smart each other (p 6) (All quotes Civic Trust, 1962).

However, in this philosophy of harmony as a disciplining practice, the textual poetics of time, nature, evolution and the organic in relation to the current townscape are not far away from these new and supposedly forward looking narratives. In the early guidebooks these texts become more explicit, where the problems of towns as diseases and the problems of the inharmonious becoming associated with sprawls and growths, which are out of a certain natural order. In these regards the last text, *Understanding our Surroundings* (1979), seems the most interesting as the attention to action becomes one of contemplation and the writer, Sir Arthur Percival, implies that outside the realm of aesthetics there seems to be a 'natural order' to townscapes. In these statements a hundred years of conservation thought become encapsulated in Percival's sentiments and the significance of an organic narrative is explicit and well formed:

> *One example is the old building, wholly devoid of architectural polish, which still has charm. Why? It has evolved organically over the centuries, alterations and additions having been sympathetically undertaken in local materials to produce a harmonious whole (Percival, 1979: 17).*

The way in which the texts of Ruskin, the SPAB, Byron, Summerson, Lancaster and Betjeman develop different imaginaries the relationship between these narratives is explicit. Each piece, whilst concerned with a different period of architecture, develops a temporal understanding of English cities as independent creatures that are distinct from one another. The recourse to the imagery of 'plants' and 'urban soil' in Summerson, Betjeman and Lancaster's discourse is therefore a key sub-text behind these themes. The notion of plants and rootedness supports an attitude of urban

building and the city as something different and individual and autonomous. As 'living creatures' they have their own 'time' apart from other beings in the national architectural space. In these languages as with the writings of Percival's predecessors, the notion of the organic and the need to essentialise a theory of heritage is present in this imagery.

5 - Part Five - The role of time and harmony in cultural capital

In the work that has preceded this Chapter I have looked at a regional Englishness as something that has been entwined with the concept of cultural capital. In what follows, I use the notion of conservationist interpretations of past, equilibrium and harmony, as discussed above; in order to explore the role of cultural capital in the production of these discourses. I investigate conservationist discourses of time and the importance of the past in these periodic texts to examine the role of the author through textual tropes of outrage and morality. In this respect, conservationists including Ruskin, Byron and Summerson, construct themselves as morally virtuous people through a textual staging of outrage and a 'hard line' passionate discourse. These tropes serve to create inverted forms of capital, which move the conservationist from traditional 'expert discourses' too more subtle forms of social authority, which are based on the idea of a 'speaker for the people'. In this respect, as I suggested in the previous chapter, we can understand 'cultural capital' as inverted yet powerful. In addition again developing the work discussed in Chapter One, I want to examine the way in which conservationists seal the power of these capitals through a textual performance. In this respect, whilst I do not want to clarify whether conservationist 'truly' feel passionate about the cause, the reference, to certain phrases and language, is evidence of the way in which conservationists seal a sense of their own authenticity as 'speakers for the people'. Looking at the micro-politics of these tropes, there has not been one specific discourse of power in the development of cultural capital but various discourses that have a historical resonance into the future. The following

section looks at two linguistic performances, which are repeated in the texts of conservationists. Firstly I consider the theme of architectural truthfulness in Ruskin and Summerson, in relation to morality, the family and fatherhood. Secondly, I examine the theme of development and conservation in the work of Byron and Betjeman, in association with the role of patriotism and the citizen. Whilst these themes are different in approach, a link exists here between the call to citizenship provided by the author and the way in which this call to citizenship heightens the status of the author as a moral, patriotic and conscientious citizen or 'knower of the people'.

5: 1 Concerning architecture: moral family and fatherhood

As I have suggested above, Ruskin argued for the development of a philosophy that recognised the importance of truthfulness in conservation or one where the role of restoration was absent. Extending these themes, as well as developing a regional geography, these texts were also about the development of the status of the conservationist publicly. A close look at these conservationist texts, and the way they are written, reveals how this is achieved through Ruskin's play on a narrative of populism. Rather than being an aesthetic philosophy, Ruskin's idea of conservation is steeped in a religious language and grammar which places his thoughts alongside the wishes of a Christian God and ultimately morality. If truthfulness in architecture is to be lost by restoration, Ruskin melodramatically points to the irreligious and heinous consequences of such an act:

> *Of more wanton or ignorant ravage it is vain to speak; my words will not reach those who commit them, and yet, be it heard or not, I must not leave the truth unstated, that it is again no question of expediency or feeling whether we shall preserve the buildings of past times or not. We have no right whatsoever to touch them...*
>
> *... it may hereafter be a subject of sorrow, or a cause of injury to millions, that we have consulted our present convenience by casting down such buildings as we choose to dispense with (Ruskin, 1849: 197)*

Thus, if an 'evil problem' is defined in these works, Ruskin sets himself up as a morally outraged and morally conscious, advocate of more honest architectures. In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, (1880) Ruskin performs his commitment to truthful architecture, (or, as I have said above, those truthful architectures of the craftsman) by a call for 'strong protest and strong measures':

> *The evil is an increasing one; and it is to be feared, that unless a strong and immediate protest be made against it, the monumental remains of England will before long, cease to exist as truthful records of the past... (Ruskin, in Delafons, 1979: 19).*

In this religious language, if the evil of mechanical (and non-organic building) is leading to the end the end of truth, as Ruskin so melodramatically puts it, then the author is the one who can bring balance back to the architectural evil. In developing this prose Ruskin, in very Christian tones, suggests that the answer to development must lie in the home, fatherhood and respect for our elders so that one would respect the buildings of the past:

> *I say that if men lived like men indeed, their houses would be temples – temples, which we should hardly dare to injure, and in which it would make us holy to be permitted to live; and there must be a strange dissolution of natural affection, a strange unthankfulness for all that homes have given and parents have taught, a strange consciousness that we have been unfaithful to our fathers' honour, or that our own lives are not such as would make our dwellings sacred to our children, when each man would fain build to himself, and build for the revolution of his own life only (Ruskin, 1849: 179-180).*

If these narratives are strong, then the later work of John Summerson foreshadows the ever-increasing diplomatic move of the built heritage conservation movement from Ruskin (See section 1: 1 above). Summerson's target lies more with the position of new aesthetically unwelcome architecture and housing as something to be re-

understood and controlled. Thus Summerson, in his text *Georgian London* (1945), argues that:

> *The life of a city, condensed so would be as dramatic. It would give the*
> *same startling impression of automatic movement, of mindless growth. For a*
> *town, like a plant or an ant-hill, is a product of a collective, unconscious will,*
> *and only to a very small extent of formulated intention...*
>
> *... [In particular we must develop] the dawning of a conception that a city is*
> *a living creature which must be controlled and which, to be controlled, must be*
> *understood (Summerson, 1945: 17-18, 24).*

Although Summerson presents these more light-hearted discourses, then like his predecessors, he also talks about grand solutions and ways forward, drawing attention to his practical nature as a writer. Here drawing upon the narratives of temporal balance in the inter war and mid twentieth century, Summerson argues that, rather than get rid of development and the inevitable modern architecture which emerges from it, we should look to new forms of contemporary individualism and the family.

> *On the other hand there is the enhanced evaluation of the individual and his life*
> *and it is in this direction that we must look for the fruitful development of*
> *modern architecture .. Still, I believe that the dwelling-place of the individual*
> *and the family is the clue to architectural evolution in a democracy*
> *(Summerson, 1947: 206).*

By highlighting these varying narratives, these writers draw upon similar textual themes. Whilst positioning the rise of new forms of development in their own historic periods, these writers firstly point to a climate of decline or to a central problem in development and architectural progress that needs to be resolved. Having made these statements in relatively dramatic, and even melodramatic, tones these writers (with the exception of Summerson) discuss the ways in which they can resolve these concrete problems through renewed senses of citizenship. However, an interesting feature of this citizenship is the way it is constructed in populist tones. In particular,

along with encouraging the everyday layman to consider an education in architecture, these writings also posited a paternal discourse, which portrayed the conservationist as a fatherly figure who was taking charge and knew what was best for 'the people'. In this way the early conservationist texts, through discourses of citizenship fatherhood and family, were aimed at populism and were designed to encourage the reader to recognise the traditional moral virtuousness of the writer.

5: 2 Concerning buildings: The role of nationalism and the citizen

If Ruskin and Summerson posit a moral discourse, then the work of Robert Byron is more reactionary and nationalistic on the subject of conservation. Whereas Ruskin pours forth a dislike of the mechanical age as evil, Byron's concerns are with growing development that failed to consider the value of old buildings through a lack of nationalistic patriotism. Here the problematic 'other' is not defined through architectural style, but rather Byron's attack is against specific people who are responsible for the loss of old buildings:

> *It is not her ugliness which is a catastrophe; it is our indifference to the parasites which are devouring her old features, and will leave us, when their meal is finished, with a town that is not only uglier than it was before, but whose ugliness is no longer redeemed by the graces and memories of the past...*
> *...it can be sucked of a few more halfpennies by the leeches of Whitehall and the spiders of the Church, by the long nosed vampires of high finance and the desperate avarice of the hereditary landlords (Byron, 1937: 217).*

Once again, in setting up a position of loss and decline, Byron calls for the possibility of hope. His vindication is built into strong emotional narrative prose as to the importance of education and educating the 'common man'.

> *...The man in the street, therefore, takes no cognisance of architecture because it does not occur to him that it is his duty to do so, and because no leader or organ of opinion has addressed this duty on him (Byron, 1937: 224).*

Whilst this position is patronising, Byron simultaneously sets himself up as a doer of good but most importantly a knower of 'the people'. To say that people are in need of education is a very strong statement and full of snobbery, as Byron seems to recognise. However, it is the passion in these statements that is most interesting. Indeed, Byron constructs himself as a 'man' of strong words through the use of the melodramatic gothic imagery of leeches, spiders and vampires. In short Byron is intent on constructing a heroic performance through 'rabble rousing' themes of nationhood and masculinity. Thus, as the conservationist Gavin Stamp has suggested, Byron's attitude and his celebrated writing, is regarded as 'strong stuff', and the 'bludgeon in print' (Stamp, 1996: 83). However, a better, way of looking at Byron's discourse in this prose is to see it as a stated linguistic performance which wishes to impress upon the reader the nature of his commitment to the nation and citizenship.

If the earlier texts of Byron take up these positions, then the more reflexive later conservationists continue these themes through disciplinarian narratives. Whilst the Civic Trust does not position itself against the straw man of a 'moral other', the discussion of patriotism and the citizen is still a major feature of these narratives. Thus, in *The Civic Trust, The First Three Years* (1960), the trustees argue that looking for harmony in landscapes is also about encouraging the citizen to take note of their role in caring for places:

> *It is of course not enough to eliminate existing eyesores. Action must be taken for the perpetration of new ones. All too often public outcry is not raised until the harm has already been done. The first thing is to discover in time that some objectionable element is being proposed. This cannot be done from an office in London. It is the responsibility of vigilant citizens on the spot to sound the alarm (Civic Trust, 1960: 16).*

In these remarks, conservationists seek to develop bonds between themselves and the people through a narrative of citizenship. Indeed, unlike the position of Byron, they do not comment on the lack of education of the everyday man, but that the position of

the Trust is now to act as the educator. In these discourses, whilst patronising, it is clear that the Trust wishes to be seen as seeking to represent the hearts of the people as its educator. In *The Civic Trust, The First Three Years*, (1960), the organisations' position is one of optimism and an almost paternal love of the nation:

> *To promote beauty and fight ugliness in town, village and countryside – that is the purpose of the trust ...*
>
> *... The Civic Trust is therefore addressing its message by every available means, to the population of Britain as a whole (Civic Trust, 1960: 1-2).*

This work develops the writings of Byron by elucidating the way in which the Trust has moved from a position of education to one of increased citizenship. Whilst Byron felt that the people had been excluded from aesthetics, the Civic Trust in these narratives saw this education as having been achieved. The problem for the Trust was the construction of its own 'moral authority' following its allocation of responsibility to 'the people'. Although the Trust patronises 'the people', these narratives also call for a further respect of the Trust as a group that 'understands people' and really understands 'their potential' to change the aesthetic nature of Britain's urban landscapes. In these discourses the Trust, rather than a parent, develops its sense of authority through a discourse of the teacher, where the organisation saw the potential in everyone. However, what is distinctive about the employment of a teaching trope is the way in which conservationists call for conscientious respect, from its 'students', (or the people) for ability to recognise so-called moral 'realities'.

6 – Part Six - Symbolic capital and violence – The role of uniformity and the problem of the suburbanite

In the previous section I dealt with the idea that conservationists use regional geographical discourses to construct 'inverted' cultural capital. However, untangling

this process, I will explore the idea that the production of this capital is also related to the construction of symbolic capital and violence. Bourdieu argues in his social theory that a fourth form of capital, symbolic capital, is key to the way in which relations of power are produced in society. Symbolic capital refers to the capacity of agents to pick up and use other forms of capital in distinctive and legitimate ways. As a result, in Bourdieuian terms the picking up and use of cultural capital to position 'cultural others' is a clear example of the way in which agents use symbolic capitals to secure their own social roles, such as their class or gender positions. In turning this to the present work I will investigate the idea that the development of cultural capital, in the narratives of the conservationists, has also led to a symbolic positioning of a 'class other' which they are trying to distance themselves from. In this final section, I will elaborate on the way in which these power relations are constructed and lived out.

Developing the non-linear approach of the previous section, I do not want to imply that the development of the built heritage conservation movement has led to the formation of one long line of developing symbolic violence. Instead in the section that follows, I scrutinise the way in which particular forms of positioning take place through particular tropes and narratives. More specifically I identify three symbols in this positioning, where conservationists create relations of symbolic violence through a discussion of landscapes, specific kinds of people and finally contemporary society. In sections on landscapes, people, and the social I explore the concept of uniformity and resistance to these ideas in the philosophies of conservation (discussed in section five). Addressing Ruskin and the Civic Trust together I consider firstly the way a conservation landscape of 'roots' and 'harmony' is positioned against one of uniformity. Secondly, turning to the narratives of Byron and Betjeman, I investigate a positioning of the conservationist against a suburbanite. Finally again looking at Summerson and the Civic Trust and their suggestions on the city, a positioning of uniformity and the suburbanite is tied intimately to a rejection of new forms of class identity that have emerged in the post-war era. In this respect the narratives of Summerson and the Civic Trust are the most telling since they refer to the rise of a boring uniform society of social justice. Indeed, the Civic Trusts obsessions with national decline and 'standards' point to an attempt to civilise what were seen to be new kinds of social movement and class changes. In short, in this final section, both

Summerson and the Civic Trust, as middle class actors, position themselves against a changing class structure and particularly the class capitals of new economically wealthy lower middle and ultimately working class individuals.

6: 1 Individual expression and uniformity

Section Five, brought notions of the past into a regional geographical discourse, where a language of the past was also located within a wider symbolic power in conservation philosophy. In the same way these themes are now addressed here. Indeed, Ruskin, Byron, Summerson, Lancaster, Betjeman and the Civic Trust, not only symbolically pointed to the importance of the past in developing the present, but argued that past building was key to developing a sense of style and furthermore a sense of individuality in contemporary architects, designers and builders.

However, in the development of these ideas of individuality, conservationists also pointed to a rising architecture that is indistinct, functional and incapable of providing any senses of individuality, through its connection to social problems and ideas of equality. As Ruskin and others were to argue, these architectures, through their obsession with the 'new,' these architectures showed little if any natural respect to the past, and the architectural 'fathers'. If the love of the past and past styles is connected to individuality, then Ruskin talks of these new architectures as monotonous, depthless and meaningless:

> *And I look upon those pitiful concretions of lime and clay which spring up, in*
> *mildewed forwardness, out of the kneaded fields, about our capital - upon those*
> *thin, tottering foundationless shells of splintered wood, and imitated stone –*
> *upon those gloomy row of formalised minuteness, alike without difference and*
> *without fellowship, as solidarity as similar – (Ruskin, 1880: 179-180).*

Ruskin is discussing the development of industrial terrace housing. However these narratives did not rest here and, as I shall now explore they were employed frequently by conservationists at much later dates. Thus, whilst conservationists discuss different architectures at different times the premise that new architectures are

uniform becomes an increasingly popular text in the language of these actors. Moreover, an obsession with authenticity and a rejection of pastiche is also a feature of these narratives. This can be seen in Ruskin's rejection of 'imitated stone' in the new industrial houses of the Nineteenth Century. In the development of the built heritage conservation movement, writers such as Summerson can be seen to develop these themes of architectural freedom and individuality through his rejection of modern architecture. For Summerson, the problem of modern architecture is the architects themselves, with their obsessions for the new and their refusals to work with the 'styles' of the past:

> *They tell us that [the architect] has for some reason stepped out of his role, taken a look at the scene around him and then become obsessed with the importance not of architecture, but of the relation of architecture to other things ... he is terrified that ... if he should concentrate on the exposition and elaboration of truly architectural values, he would commit the terrible sin of creating 'a style'. Of this possibility he has an unmitigated horror (Summerson, 1949: 200).*

Whilst modern architects reject past styles for no particular style or pastiche, Summerson is convinced that this is not an example of uniformity, despite the implication that drawing upon aesthetic preferences of the past is itself unvarying. Instead Summerson's argument is that an appreciation of the past is the key to creating freedom, and that by spending time with a particular style the contemporary architect can develop his individuality. However, where Ruskin's attack on the architect and uniform development was vague, Summerson's attack on the architect is wound up with pernicious sociological commentary on the social relations that have put this new incredibly dull modernist architect and her/his architecture in place. For Summerson a UNIFORM modernist or functional architect (and architecture) is the product of a wider society that is too rooted in wider social movements of uniformity and social justice. Here Summerson argues that the New World in which modernist architecture has developed is the result of a social framework being 'The desperately colourless one of equality and uniformity' and therefore

there is a drastic flattening out of society, a reduction to uniformity in
opportunity and reward based on an old conception of social justice which is
only now beginning to beget its full realisation (Summerson, 1949: 205).

Whilst it is difficult to locate these themes into a specific argument against any one particular social grouping, the way in which social justice is associated with uniformity speaks volumes in relation to a growing post-war rejection of welfare and changing social class structures in Britain. Indeed, whilst these earlier narratives were aimed mainly at the architect the growing conservationist language of post-war buildings and landscapes led to a wider focus on the social elements of the architect and the society which produced 'him'. In this respect, as well as rejecting the architect, a growing narrative of the new common man was beginning to develop in these discourses, a new common man of increased social justice through welfare and the changing class landscapes of Britain.

6: 2 Rejecting the new suburban order

Developing the themes of the previous section, the writings of late 1950s conservation were central to the rise of a new and more explicit rejection of a post-war society. For example, in the work of John Betjeman we can see the way in which these narratives came to light through an increasing turn from the architect's relationship to society to the role of a 'common man' in the post-war era. In his earlier text, *Ghastly Good Taste* (1933), the flowering of these narratives can be seen in the way in which Betjeman points to the rise of a new kind of architect and a new kind of 'common man' as one and the same thing. Thus Betjeman claims that 'The average man is in part to blame, the architect more so. Unfortunately most architects are average men themselves' (Betjeman, 1933: 14). For Betjeman, the outcome of this mediocrity rests on a new kind of ignorance as to the real beauty of architecture and the landscape:

Today with regard to average architecture the average man is a fool and the average architect a snob.

'Of course I'm not in a position to criticise,' says the man in the street, as he gazes up at a colossal hideosity aping the style of Queen Anne, or neatly portraying in yellow and red terra cotta an enlarged edition of a seventeenth-century mechant's house in Delft. 'Of course I am not in a position to criticise – but it's always seemed to me a fine building – not altogether practical of course, for us who to work in it, the rooms are a bit dark – but it's imposing – that's what it is – imposing' (Betjeman, 1933: 12-13).

In these narratives as with Ruskin, Betjeman shows a fear of a new architect who is not only a professional, but is also a representation of a new form of social actor that was beginning to emerge in this period. Hints concerning the character of this social actor are indicated in Betjeman's absolute distaste for the way in which the new average man or the man in the street attaches himself to the legacy of kitsch. Again aping Ruskin, Betjeman's idea of distaste is levelled at the way in which the development of kitsch is seen as unfaithful to a real and more authentic architecture. However, there is more in these narratives, since Betjeman is defining the new average architect and the average man as snobs of the new; of the uniform; of functionality. Indeed, there is a sense of the way in which Betjeman's attack on the attitude of the new 'averageness' is related to a 'same for everyone' or uniform philosophy, which is presupposed by a lack of interest in the 'imposing styles' of the old building. Betjeman's post-war writings draw us away from criticism of the architect to the landscapes of the post-war era and a new culture, which was seen to emerge from these scapes. In particular Betjeman's critical focus lies with a rejection of what are seen to be aesthetically displeasing welfare services that have monopolised Britain's landscapes; both urban and rural. Again like Summerson, Betjeman is not simply making a comment about the physical state of Britain's landscapes but instead is commentating upon the social state of the landscapes. This

can be seen in the following quote, where Betjeman talks of the safe monotony of post-war life and jobs with 'handy pensions'[18]:

We accept without murmur the poles and wires with which the ministry of Fuel and Power has strangled every village, because they bring electric light and telephones to those who have been without these inestimable benefits. We put up with the foully hideous concrete lamp-standards for which the Borough Engineer and the Ministry of Transport are jointly responsible... because the corpse-light they spew over road and pavement makes it safer for kiddies to cross and easier for lorries to overtake one another round dangerous corners...

...Oh prams on concrete balconies, what will your children see? Oh white and antiseptic life in school, in home and in clinic, oh soul destroying job with handy pension, oh loveless life of safe monotony, why were you created (Betjeman, 1952: 2, 4)?

If there is a target for this welfare based uniform monotony of post-war life, then it lies in what Betjeman calls the new suburbs. Here I want to be clear as to what I mean by a rejection of the suburbs, since Betjeman has often been described as the 'poet of the suburbs' and a writer who 'stands for the small the local and the kindly' (Porteous, 1996: 153). When Betjeman praises the suburbs in his work this is only in relation to the suburbs of the Edwardian era or the 1930s[19]. Thus Betjeman, in his text, *First and Last Loves*, (1952) describes an original suburban life where the landscape was 'lovely' 'with freckled tennis girls and youths in club blazers' (Betjeman, 1952: 1). However, in his post-war writings Betjeman targets a new kind of monotonous suburb that has simply been 'thrown up' and which contains a new form of Englishman the 'suburbanite'. Here the focus of Betjeman's critique is that the new uniform suburbanite has bought with him 'the age of the common man', and consequently he argues that

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[18] I must remark that in today's climate where fear of not having a pension provided by the state is commonplace with ever growing government conservatism, Betjeman's complaint as to the 'safe' nature of post-war work with a 'pension' seems completely absurd.

[19] Betjeman joins writers such as J M Richards, who were praiseworthy of a 1920s-1930s suburban world, which was very different to the suburbs that were beginning to take shape in the post-war era. J M *Richards' The Castles on the Ground, The Anatomy of Suburbia* (1946) is a clear example of this pre-war romance for suburbia.

We are told we live in the age of the common man. He would be better
described as the suburban man ... He is not vulgar. He is not the common man
but the average man, which is far worse.

He is our ruler and he rules by committees. He gives us what most people
want, and he believes that what is popular is best ... His indifference to the look
of things is catching. We discover it in our attitude to the horrors with which
the delicate variety of our landscape has been afflicted ... He is a crank. He is
unpatriotic and is prepared to sell the country for an invisible asset (Betjeman,
1952: 1-2)

Betjeman, having developed a picture of the new suburbanite, proceeds to develop
further the aesthetic problems that this new breed of urban dweller has been allowed
to 'mindlessly ignore'. As with Ruskin's critique of kitsch, Betjeman argues that this
new class has allowed the rise of

Acres of unimaginative modern housing ... of thick necked brutes with flashy
cars, elderly blondes and television sets - those modernistic, Egyptian, beaux-
arts and other facades of the new factories outside every large town (Betjeman,
1952: 3).

Central to these suggestions are the ways in which they report a redressing of the
suburbanite as a member of a new class of the new rich. Whilst the narratives of
Betjeman are dressed in a concern for architecture, his resistance to the common man
and the rise of a new common or average culture may be read more as an intimate fear
of a growing change in class culture. Thus, in many respects this rejection of the
suburban other may be read as a careful positioning of Betjeman and those like him as
having tastes of an older and higher order than the ones of the new suburbanite.
Indeed, rather than the pursuit of this culture, Betjeman's appeal lies with a
reconsideration of what he describes as a higher understanding of the senses
(Betjeman, 1952).

If these narratives form a starting place, a close inspection of the Civic Trust's guidebooks allows for an extension of the ideas associated with a new suburban middle class era. However, unlike the explicit position of Betjeman, the narratives of the Civic Trust are reflexive, delicate and careful when considering the nature of social justice and a changing class system. Therefore it is the temporal location of the Trust's development in the late fifties and their constant reference to a worrying loss of standards in the post-war era that allows for these links. Indeed, given the new forms of class culture associated with a post-war social climate, the Civic Trust constantly discussed the importance of bringing back 'standards' and high quality to our cities. In these narratives the idea that places are uniform and colourless is also connected to narratives of dirt and untidiness, where the monotonous is unclean and unnatural. Thus, in regard to these spaces, the Civic Trust can be seen to adopt a discourse of beautification, which seeks to lighten the colours of 'drab places'. Duncan Sandys,[20] in *The Civic Trust, The First Three Years* (1960), asserts that the application of beauty to drab industrial places is to make the most of a bad thing by as he suggests the use of pleasant colours to industrial settings no matter how ugly:

After Magdalen Street, the first scheme to be completed was at Burslem, Stoke on Trent. This project was of particular interest, in that it demonstrated how pleasant colours and orderly planning can bring new life and pride to a dingy district in a typical factory town.

Speaking at the opening ceremony in the Market Square, Mr Duncan Sandys President of the trust said:

'This scheme has shown that the growth of industry need not be accompanied by ugliness and depression. It has shown that there is beauty everywhere if only you look for it ... As most girls know, the art is to make the most of the face you have got (Civic Trust, 1960: 12).

If there is an aesthetic discourse of parent/father and child in these texts, then there is also an unmistakable narrative of 'civilising', which cannot be ignored. The Civic

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[20] The Chairman of the Civic Trust at the time.

Trust can be found to talk of the new post-war world of towns in terms of the importance of bringing back 'standards' and high quality to our cities. In the many guidebooks the unmistakable civilising discourse, of conservationists is like the various patronising, and indeed derogatory, languages which other writers, such as Bonnett (1998) have pointed out in relation to nineteenth century class discourses. Thus, Sandys asserts that:

> *If the second half of the twentieth century is to make a worthy and distinctive contribution to the heritage of the future, a positive impetus must be given. In a democratic age this can only be provided by the people as a whole...*
>
> *If the public give the impression that they do not care ... This will result in the spread of shoddy and monotonous new buildings, haphazard planning, colourless and characterless streets and the unlimited exploitation of every free wall and site for garish advertising...*
>
> *...If the public show that they truly care about these things, local authorities will assuredly exert themselves to raise the standards of civic design. Likewise, business firms will be inspired to view with one another to put up the finest shops, offices and factories of which the genius of our age is capable (Civic Trust, 1960: 1-2).*

Here, following the narratives of harmony and disorder discussed above, the idea of civilising new suburbanites and the working class is discussed in terms of 'restraint and good manners'. Whilst these narratives refer to the importance of streetscapes, it is not difficult to jump from this language to a hegemonic language

> *That it was possible for one shop to have lettering on the first floor façade does not mean that others should have it ... To be uniformly fair means uniform control which leads to uniform dullness and lack of character in the street. In Magdalen Street, subject to an overall restraint and over-riding good manners, the rules were occasionally broken to the gain in the vitality of the street as a whole (Civic Trust, 1958: 27).*

If any trader doubts that good taste is good business, let him look about him and see what others are doing ... Experience has shown them that it is in their own best interest to practice good manners towards one another in the design of their shops ... the outside appearance of a shop will be thought to reflect the standard of the goods and the service which it offers (The Civic Trust, 1962: 1-2).

Finally if it is the aim of these texts seek to emphasise the importance of 'standards' and 'higher quality' then the Civic Trust wrote that there had been an 'observable loss of eminence' in the new post-war housing,

Of Britain's 20 million homes, more than a third have been built since 1945. In terms of quantity, a remarkable achievement. In terms of quality? ... Listen to what people say: like barracks ... the monotony ... worse ... than what there was before ... made of ticky tacky ... gimmicks ... ruin the view ... concrete boxes ... so-called neo-Georgian ... If I could meet the architect ... the nipper could do better with his toy bricks (Civic Trust Newsletter September 1972: 6).

This last quote suggests that a great number of the previous themes are met in the Trust's understanding of the post-war period and housing. Indeed, whilst the Trust is seeking again to civilise new forms of housing and development, they can be connected with long standing narratives of symbolic violence. Thus, as well as the uniformity of both working class industrial housing, and a new social order, described by Ruskin and Summerson, the Trust here alludes to the new middle class buildings as monotonous. Moreover, again drawing upon a long narrative of imitation from Ruskin through to Betjeman, the Trust also equates the ideas of kitsch with these new houses and inevitably with the new class groups who have lived in these houses since the end of the Second World War.

In addition the Civic Trust's interpretation of the post-war emerging industrial new towns and an increasing landscape of suburbia (as addressed in their texts) can be

connected to a further rejection of a changing class system. Indeed, as with Chapter One these new landscapes are seen to be uniform and monotonous. But as the Civic Trust suggests these landscapes are also tasteless and carry with them a feeling of being uncivilised in aesthetic terms. In applying a discourse of urban beautification and harmony, the Civic Trust therefore calls upon these 'new' suburban 'citizens' to show concern for order and for high standards along with restraint and good manners. In these patronising narratives of space and building middle class actors, through the guise of the Civic Trust, wish to maintain their symbolic power over the 'new citizens' through these 'civilising discourses'.

7 – Part Seven – Chapter Summary

In this writing I have argued that the built heritage conservation movement developed a particular discourse of Englishness associated with the post-war period in architecture. Through the writings of many of the central figures in built heritage conservation, from Ruskin, Morris and the SPAB to the development of the Civic Trust, I have examined the development of a social soul or roots in built architecture. Firstly I looked at the work of Ruskin and the way in which he understood that the restoration of building was important to the preservation of a spirit of time and social roots in stone. Secondly I investigated the way in which Summerson extended upon these narratives by his attention to the idea of conservation. Where conservationists such as Ruskin, Morris and the SPAB had been concerned only with 'preservation', Summerson pointed to the role of old buildings in the present. Aside from discourses of sustainability Summerson's point was that the conservation of these buildings was also important to the saving of a temporal spirit of architectural creativity to enrich the townscapes of the future. In the development of these narratives, Summerson also drew upon a poetics of evolutionary science and organic imagery to express the idea of 'temporal roots and growth'. After probing these ideas I turned to a discussion of writers within the built heritage conservation movement in the post-war period. Focusing particularly on the comments of the conservation poet (and significant member of the Victorian Society) Sir John Betjeman and a vast number of books, articles and journals from the Civic Trust and I investigated the way in which notions

of time became tied to issues of place. More specifically I explored conservationist notions of harmony and the way writers pointed to the importance of bringing new buildings and especially modern buildings into equilibrium with their historical neighbours.

In the second part of this Chapter I charted the way in which this discourse of Englishness was constructed through a filter of social class. In Section Five I began to develop these themes by concentrating on the way notions of time and harmony were reproduced through a discourse of populism. Firstly looking at Ruskin's discussion of a timeless spirit of workmanship, I looked at the way he situated discourses of restoration within a language of religion and morality. Secondly turning to Summerson I investigated the way the issues concerning the loss of building and the future were discussed in terms of an encouragement of a contemporary sense of individuality. Summerson suggested that the importance of individual architectures and the need to concentrate on style could only develop a renewed sense of time in the present. However, wrapped in these discourses Summerson also implied that the importance of this individuality could only be developed by encouraging general social changes and a culture of individuality if architecture was to progress. If Ruskin and Summerson developed moral and cultural based discourse, I also looked at the way in which writers such as Byron and the Civic Trust sought to construct issues of populism through notions of nation and citizenship. Byron in developing the importance of old building and the role of time suggested that the loss of these buildings was connected to a loss of national spirit and pride in ones place. In moving these moral discourses to the work of the Trust these themes were replicated in the way in which writers pointed to the importance of old building and weaving the past and present through public action. In summarising Section Five, conservationists constructed notions of time and place, through a language of moralistic, cultural, nationalistic and citizenship based populism with the intention of building cultural capital. In short a performative discussion of the ill doings of a contemporary disregard for old buildings were tied to a return to the construction of a conservation self. In Section Six moving away from the 'self' I investigated the way in which a language of temporal roots and harmony were tied to forms of symbolic violence. In starting with the work of Ruskin and Summerson once again I scrutinised the way in which a theme of the importance of old buildings and their aesthetic individuality was

positioned against modernist architecture. Here if old buildings were one of a kind - by their age – modernist buildings as monotonous and lacking all sense of a temporal style. However, rather than a discussion of architecture and architects alone, these writers drew upon a more pernicious sociological and 'realist' (Van Maanen, 1988) discussion of these buildings and their agents as belonging to a wider culture of modernism and class. In this way Summerson suggests that the monotonous buildings of post-war Britain are akin to the formation of a monotonous culture of 'equality' that is not interested in individuality and difference. Whilst this narrative is non-specific the symbolic referral to the notion of social justice suggests a negative positioning of a post-war system of welfare and changing social structures of class. In exploring Betjeman's contempt of the post-war world I furthered conservationist sociological commentaries and the employment of a realist style. Betjeman finds then that, behind contemporary architecture, architects and other forms of new 'egalitarian sterility' there is a 'common man' who belongs to an order of new kinds of taste and aesthetic which are vulgar. Again following Summerson Betjeman's symbolic violence is pitched against a post-war era of egalitarianism but also a narrative of suburbia and a popularisation of new forms of lower middle and working class culture. In the final paragraphs of this chapter I take these analyses one stage further through the work of the Civic Trust. If the Trust can be credited for producing manuals to align contemporary landscape buildings with the past, then part of this citizenship education process is also met through patronising discourses of tidiness to a post-war generation of new suburbanites and its citizens. In Foucauldian and Bourdieuian terms the reproduction of class here is one that brings a discourse of discipline (Foucault, 1977b) alongside a explicit violence of paternalism (Bourdieu, 1984). In short I am suggesting here in these final sections that conservationists produce a discourse of class through the use of populism as a form of cultural capital, and a discourse of symbolic violence that is directed at new forms of lower middle and working class identity.

3 - CHAPTER THREE
THE CONSERVATION CRISIS: HERITAGE IN DANGER IN THE 1960s AND 1970s

[21] Plate 7

[22] Plate 8

[23] Plate 9

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[21] MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY MHS COLLECTIONS (1918) 'Destroyed Arch', MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY (2001) 345 W. Kellogg Blvd., St. Paul, MN 55102-1906· 651-296-6126, www.mnhs.org/.../exhibits/ weather/section2.html, page accessed February 2004.

1 - Part One - Introduction

Discussions of the 1960s and 1970s 'conservation crisis' have defined this historical moment in two ways. Firstly the development of the urban conservation crisis has been viewed as one of the many outcomes of a change in radical middle class cultural status since post-war Britain (Samuel, 1988, 1994, Urry, 1990, 1995, 1996). Here the conservation crisis represents the increase in economic and political power amongst middle class actors and a growing a realisation that they have a certain authority over matters of environmental concern. Secondly, the conservation crisis has been viewed as 'real crisis', which was successfully resisted through key activists who developed a strategy of built conservation campaigning. Writers in this position claim that key activists and books were successful in encouraging a widespread national consciousness amongst everyday people as to the importance of the nation's built heritage (Andreae, 1996).

From an alternative position, the conservation crisis can be interpreted as having been influenced by the rise of a regional Englishness. More specifically, the development of ideas in the work of regional geographers, such as Patrick Geddes can be valued as a major influence in the way in which these discourses are constructed. In turning to Geddesian ideas of regional landscapes and evolution, the themes of a 'spirit of man and the landscape' and the idea of the 'city as an evolutionary body' can be seen to have the most relevance to the development of these narratives. Sections Four and Five looks at these ideas through the way in which writers in the built heritage conservation and townscape movements translated these notions through the training and the location of the architect in corporeal terms to the landscape they wish to build upon. In this way, writers including John Ruskin, J M Richards and Bruce Allsopp, construct these ideas through a poetics of workmanship (the bodily labour of the architect) and a celebration of physical emotion in the way in which the architect must

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[22] POULTON, M. (1999) 'Dudley flats' – From the Dudley CD-ROM, www.edu.dudley.gov.uk/.../dudleycd/merryhll/, page accessed February 2004.
[23] SAVE BRITAIN'S HERITAGE (No date) 'SAVE Britain's Heritage Logo' http://www.savebritainsheritage.org/img/save.gif, page accessed February 2004.

approach the landscape s/he wishes to work with. In looking at these figures specifically, they therefore replicate the Geddesian narratives in a celebration of spirit in building materials and the corporeal collapsing of the architect into the landscape.

In investigating these Geddesian discourses I therefore suggest that they serve as a starting point for the structuring of the conservation crisis in the 1960s and 1970s. Turning to the 'heritage polemics' or 'coffee table books' which came out in the mid sixties and late seventies, and commentators in the *Architectural Review*, I look at a poetics of spirit and body. More specifically I suggest that this poetics forms the performative and linguistic tears that conservationists and townscape devotees shed over the 'destruction' of Britain's landscapes. I also point to writers such as Tony Aldous, Colin Amery, Patrick Cormack, Dan Cruickshank and Adam Fergusson to show how they all coalesce on the idea that 'Britain's great built heritage' is in 'danger' from development. These writers addressing an audience of architects, planners, councillors, fellow conservationists and the general public aim to illustrate how the buildings and urban landscapes of England contain locked within them a distinct sense of an architectural English spirit. Secondly and turning specifically to the loss of buildings with development, I show how these treasured landscapes are constructed in corporeal terms through poetics of architectural 'rape', 'illness' 'sickness' and 'death'.

However, I argue that a regional Englishness must be analysed through the realm of a class discourse. Again in drawing on the work of Bourdieu I propose that spiritual and corporeal narratives of the urban landscape can be read through inverted forms of cultural capital. Firstly, I discuss the way in discourses of the 'spiritual landscape' are translated through a textual trope of fear for the loss of national identity. In this discourse, a loss of the spiritual unity between man and landscape in conservationist texts is constructed through a language of populism. Here, as well as resenting aesthetic change these early writers, perform a narrative of fear with the consequence, that they simultaneously construct a nationalist prose, which aligns the conservationist with the people. Taking these narratives as a starting point, I suggest that a textual performativity of symbolic violence is also at work in the heritage polemics. In short by the writers' attempts to get 'the reader' to identity with architectural spirit conservationists also seek to align the reader with the idea of a 'crisis' and feelings of

'outrage' and aggression in the onslaught of architectural devolution. After this, I turn to a third section, where I discuss the way in which the symbolic authority of this conservationist outrage is enhanced by the way in which these same writers (and other 'Heritage in Danger' writers) talk about the 'action' they are taking in the crisis. Having dealt with performance, in the final section of this chapter, I now turn to the objects of derision in the so-called conservation crisis and in identifying these objects I refer to questions of symbolic power in Bourdieuian terms. Here, show how the developer, as the destroyer of landscape spirit, genius loci, and the evolutionary character of place, becomes a signifier for a wider class of lower middle and ultimately working class actors.

1: 1 What is the conservation crisis and the conservation surge?

Before I continue with the critical commentaries on the conservation crisis, some small historical reference to its significance seems appropriate here. Firstly in the words of conservationists a 'conservation crisis' has been referred to as a period of development in the 1970s when there was seen to be an influx of building in Britains townscapes. In reaction to this crisis, conservationists, writers and general patriots alike called for a new direction in the built heritage conservation movement which should not only concern itself with historical buildings but rather the function of non-traditional buildings. This then highlighted one of the major features or characteristics of the conservation crisis, where writers suggested that the loss of 'non-traditional buildings' was leading to a loss of townscape. Here conservationists suggested that rather than being concerned with historical buildings the conservation movement must turn its attentions to everyday buildings since they worked with other buildings to form aesthetic wholes in the townscape.

Apart from getting more money to fight for conservation on a national scale and to put up the expert point of view wherever the need arises up and down the country the national societies must adopt a new approach to the battle. Their primary role in the past has been in relation to individual buildings, pressing for Listing and opposing applications to demolish Listed buildings – and the division of responsibility between the SPAB, the Georgian Group and the Victorian society reflects this. Now they must work on a wider front for the

designation of Conservation areas and the defence of all buildings within
Conservation Areas that contribute to the collective character of the townscape
(Amery and Cruickshank, 1975: Conclusion).

Secondly conservationists suggested that the development of a conservation crisis has been documented as relating to the rise of conservation groupings in local areas. As certain campaigners have suggested these groups formed in reaction to the development of the crisis and the feeling that Britain's 'Heritage was in Danger'. However, work by the Civic Trust and others (Lowe, 1977, Jacobs, 1992, Rydin, 1998) suggests that this crisis might have formed out of an increased sense of threat by development to local urban areas. If this is the case then it is difficult to suggest that people were concerned for the loss of national heritage and therefore the idea that Heritage was in danger.

The issue as to whether a conservation crisis and its accompanying conservation surge really happened is not the central question of this Chapter. Rather I am more interested in the way in which the popular rise of the crisis and the related growth of the conservation local pressure movement have been socially constructed. In this regard my concern to chart the conservation crisis is also an attempt to map a particular moment in conservation discourse. Thus, like other commentators on identity and crisis particularly within ideas of nationhood, I want to investigate how symbolic discourses and badges of identity become more explicit. Thus as Jane Jacobs has pointed out in her discussions of buildings, imperialism and nationhood, expressions of Englishness become more visibly noticeable in discourse at the point where stable identities of ethnicity and nationhood are challenged. This of course does refer to the issue of whether a 'crisis' really 'exists' but rather that a threat to hegemonic identity, means that symbols of power become explicit in the efforts to police a 'well established narrative' (Jacobs, 1996, Meacham, 1999, Baucom, 1999).

2- Part Two - Theories of the conservation crisis

2: 1 The conservation crisis and the radical middle-class

The 1960s a decade when modernisation was in the ascendant, when the pace of change seemed to quicken in every sphere of national life, and when gigantism seemed to be carrying all before it, was also the decade when conservation stepped out of the shadows to challenge both private developers and public authority...

...So far from being the preserve of aesthetes or of minority groups of campaigners, as it had been in the earlier days of preservation, heritage as it crystallised in the late 1960s, was a cultural capital on which all were invited to draw (Samuel, 1994: 236-237).

In his essay 'Introduction: exciting to be English', and his book *Theatres of Memory*, (1988, 1994) Raphael Samuel, writer and modern historian might be regarded as one of the first critical writers to comment on the 1960s and 1970s conservation crisis. Samuel's position is that a crisis exists in the first place because from the post-war era middle class actors have developed more economic and political power. Samuel discussing their ability to collectivise in local urban areas suggests that a crisis came into being because of a growing realisation that they could affect change. In this way with the rise of the 1970s development process, Samuel suggests that a conservation crisis developed through a combination of an increased political self-awareness amongst social actors and the development of real architectural and cultural changes in urban areas. For Samuel contemporary organisations such as the Civic Trust and the rise of the local amenity movement reflect this growing self-awareness and reflexivity and a growing middle class resistance to the development of city centres and suburbs.

Whilst this approach seems optimistic Samuel is very aware of the criticisms of this approach and especially the notion that a post-war middle class was also very conservative rather than conservationist in its efforts. In one response Samuel therefore acknowledges that the rise of local pressure groups in suburban areas could lead to the formation of enclaves and could be used as a site to form ethnocentric and class exclusivity's:

Conservation also allows for some measure of the politics of the personal,

giving space for the unilateral action of the individual, asking us to practice its

precepts in our lives, and giving us some say on who are neighbours might be —

a dangerous power, and one which can be turned to ethnocentric or class-

exclusive ends, but at the same time one of the inescapable components of any

folk radicalism (Samuel, 1994: 293).

However, despite these criticisms Samuel's suggests that the movement is still largely inclusive in nature and has often been the subject of criticism because its critics are *themselves* elitist. Samuel, in examining the criticisms of a conservationist middle class therefore takes this disapproval as an indicator of resistance by sneering art-critics and cultural commentators who reject a change in the restructuring of the post-war British class system. In one discussion for instance, Samuel examines the influence of a narrative of positioning which has been closely associated with what he calls the aesthete. Here the crux of Samuel's argument is that the social condescension appropriated by the aesthete is part of a new and more complicated expression of one form of 'intellectual elitism'. In short this might be viewed as the process by which the aesthete criticises the masses with the intention of solidifying the barriers of class which 'seem threatened':

The idea that the masses, if left to their own devices, are moronic; that their

pleasures are unthinking and their tastes cheap and nasty, is a favourite conceit

of the aesthete

...

Theme parks — doubly offensive because they seem to us to come from America

and because they link history to the holiday industry — are a particular bugbear

for the critics ... In contemporary leftwing demonology they have become the

latest in a long line of opiates of the masses, on a par with Butlin's holiday

camps and bingo halls in the 1950s; "canned entertainment" a "Hollywood

films" in the 1930s, what J B Priestly feared was the "Blackpooling" of English

life and leisure (Samuel, 1994: 267-268).

Samuel's analysis is therefore interesting because it suggests that a conservation crisis has taken place in an optimistic moment of social change despite the 'consequences' of development and modernisation. However, whilst revealing some of the complexities of this work major problems emerge with this analysis. Firstly Samuel ignores the notion that the conservation crisis itself is formed through discourses of Englishness. In one passage he, describes the conservation crisis as something that has attracted conservatism and a construction of an Englishness which is backward looking and resistant to change. However, whilst Samuel acknowledges these narratives in the long run they seem to be a small price to pay for what is a general movement with the people in mind. What escapes this analysis however, is the interaction that this smaller conservative part of the movement plays in relation to the wider movement:

The conservationist movement, inward-looking and backward looking, has given a powerful fillip to Little Englandism, reinforcing the notion of Britain as a nation under siege, and of the environment as under threat, from enemies both without and within. Its fundamental ideology is Malthusian, with forces of destruction on the march and scarce resources constantly on the point of being swamped. In industrial archaeology there is a terminal sense of recording something that is vanishing; in rural protection, of defending endangered species; in urban conservation of rescue. The recurrent appeal, as critics have pointed out, is that of moral panic, in which an ever-widening physical fabric is at risk, 'decaying country houses, redundant churches and chapels, disused mills and warehouses, blighted streets and neighbourhoods, cottages and town halls, railway stations, markets and cinemas'...Conservationism has also renewed the ancient conceit – basic to British Conservatism every since Burke wrote his reflections on the French Revolution and Wordsworth his lines on Tintern Abbey – that the British are more historically-minded than other people, and that Britain is an old, 'tradition loving' country, where the past is peculiarly present: as Roger Scruton, the right-wing aesthete puts it, 'the maturest of civilisations' (Samuel, 1988, 1994: 1v with emphases added in itals).

A second criticism of Samuel's work also lies in his inattention to the notion of elite intellectuals and art critics. Indeed, whilst an elite is defined as resisting the political status of a post-war middle class we are left with a fairly orthodox view of class power. Firstly then whilst Samuel is critical of an aesthetic intellectual elite we are not given any indication of how this elite operates in society or whether it can be said to rest within institutions or social groupings and movements. Secondly there is an implicit assumption in Samuel's argument that intellectual elite's position themselves against 'lower middle class groups' to reconstruct their own 'aesthetic' middle class identities. Whilst there has been of course evidence pointing to internal power disputes existing within class categories, a focus on these alone can seem rather narrow and even orthodox. Thus, whilst there could be a case for an intellectual elite positioning a post-war middle class, the way in which a resistance to these changes reflects anxieties against working class identities is left unexplored. A focus on the middle class explicitly in this analysis therefore ignores the relational status of class identities (Skeggs, 1997, Savage, 2000, 2003). Rather than looking for disputes within the category 'middle class', writers have consistently said that it continually maintains its privilege through a positioning of the working class.

2: 2 Key agents and the rise of a national consciousness

Sophie Andreae in her essay 'From Comprehensive development to conservation areas', (1996) provides a more recent position on how the 1970s conservation crisis came to pass. Andreae, reflecting the words of Hunter *et al.* (1996), suggests that its existence came into being with the rise of 1960s and 1970s local pressure groups which developed the movement from its traditional role, concerned with historical buildings. In the first place, Andreae gives credit to an increasingly professional and critical post 1950s public conservation movement, which was progressively more conscious of the loss of architecturally valuable buildings in the post-war years of Britain.

However, Andreae suggests that, as well as a surge in localised conservation groups such as the Civic Trust, the key to an acknowledgement of the 'conservation crisis' was mainly made possible by the role of leading conservationist actors. In this

respect, her praise goes to certain individual conservation activists who she describes as being the real authors of a new national 'respect' for the heritage of the built environment. Indeed, she argues that the public role of these new activists through the utilisation of the media, the selling of books and the construction of a new public based understanding of the importance of preservation really helped to bring about the change in attitudes in the 1970s. In the final instance it was these key actors and the groups that they formed which were key to a successful campaign of consciousness raising and an appeal to the public about the fetters of the development crisis.

If Andreae credits one group of activists in particular it is Dan Cruickshank, Colin Amery and Marcus Binney who were the founders of the SAVE Britain's Heritage Campaign. In opposition to previous preservation societies and the more conservationist approach adopted by the trust, the approach of SAVE was not one, which was concerned with the establishment of particular groups and ideologies. For Andreae, the 'brilliance' of SAVE was its complete focus on publicity rather than statutory casework of threatened buildings. More specifically she suggests that SAVE's explicit media campaign helped urge on the sparks which resulted in a national interest in the urban landscape:

From its beginning SAVE issued press releases about individual threats to

buildings and quite quickly material began to come in from concerned

individuals and amenity groups around the country...

   ...The emphasis here on SAVE is not intended in any way to underestimate

the key roles played by others; it is simply to illustrate that publicity played a

crucial part in changing the climate of opinion (Andreae, 1996: 146, 147).

However Andreae, despite the value of her thesis, pays scant attention to the role of the aesthete in the construction of aesthetics itself. Andreaes work, as with the writing of Gavin Stamp (1996) (discussed in Chapter Two), can be interpreted as an extension of the artistic thesis, that certain discrete professionals through their own aesthetic sight and enthusiasm have changed the course of urban preservation history. Thus, Andreae, in glorifying the power of the artistic 'agent', solidifies the idea of the

author and the notions of cultural genius and elitism that surrounds such ideas. In particular, the lack of actual empirical work to verify the idea that vast numbers of actors have experienced a crisis suggests that the notion of a crisis might well rest more in the language of certain actors than a wider social spectrum. Moreover the language with which Andreae uses to describe the impact of the conservation movement contains within it a certain pomposity which might be ascribed to the sense that a crisis has a neurotic and even classist quality. For example Andreae, at the end of her essay, argues that part of the devastation to the nation's built environment and the conservation areas themselves comes with the choice of alterations which are pseudo and heritagey. In such writing one cannot help notice the familiarity of these criticisms, and sociological comments on an elitist backlash to mass culture, which has taken place in certain parts of the upper and middle-classes (Chaney, 1997). Thus, in snobby terms Andreae suggests that:

Equally, there is the temptation that to gild the lily: all too many Conservation Areas have been treated to heritage style lighting and wall to wall paving in coloured, and often textured, paviours that spread like carpets across traditional roads and pavements, obliterating kerbs and changes in level.

There is also the problem of unsympathetic alterations, for instance, the insertion of pseudo-Georgian doors and new windows. Sadly Conservation Areas up and down the country have been ravaged by the new doors and windows syndrome and the legislation has not been adequate to prevent it (Andreae, 1996: 155).

Secondly Andreae, by the suggestion that a few central figures were crucial to a changing public attitude, ignores the way in which the success of the conservation movement might be measured. Indeed, no systematic study of how people have felt about the movement in relationship to their own consciousness of the environment, has been conducted. As well as constructing the idea of a conservation crisis, in the conservation movement, the actual realisation of the crisis within the general population might be regarded as a chimera. Indeed, in this respect, the work of other key factors from the 1950s can be considered as central to the development of what is

now the accepted stance in the conservation policy on cities, townscapes, streetscapes and buildings. Thus, as Sharon Zukin (1990, 1995), and Jane Jacobs (1992) have argued, the role of market forces, new consumer trends, and new forms of cultural capital accounts for the rise in the popularity of old houses and chic forms of 'heritage' style living. Indeed, more specifically the rise of economic fashions in inner-city housing and the green movements persistence over the value of re-using buildings and the value of brown-field sites might be seen to have made another thorough impact on development. In this respect, conservation of built environments might come down to the role of market forces, and the long established green movement, rather than an interest in the built urban heritage.

3 - Part Three – The role of spirit and instinct in the regional landscape

From an alternative perspective the 'development' of the 1960s and 1970s urban conservation crisis in Britain can be associated with a regional discourse of Englishness. In particular, I would like to argue that the '1960s and 1970s' urban conservation surge had its roots in language of *a spirit of 'man and the landscape'* which developed in the post war era in Britain. The writing that follows, maps the trajectory of this spiritual discourse from the late 1940s and 1950s to the present. Through an examination of general architectural-conservation discourses to their realisation in the speech and textual polemics of key conservationists I therefore show the progress and development of this spiritual Englishness. In following Law, (2004) and the developing order of the previous chapters, I consider the work of Regional Geographers and particularly the work of Patrick Geddes. In short I am suggesting that the Regional Geographical movement and the work of Patrick Geddes constructed a particular academic narrative of the spiritual and the evolutionary which shares a significant resemblance to the development of an built conservation discourse of Englishness. In focusing on two particular ideas in Geddes' work the themes of a spirit of man and the landscape and a poetics of the city as a biological evolutionary organism, I investigate the transcendence of these discourses into the development of the conservation crisis.

Having looked at the early development of the built heritage conservation movement, (see Chapter Two) again, I want to turn my attention to some of its early writers. However, in this Chapter I want to look at both the writers and movements associated with the *Townscape Movement* in Chapter One and the *Built Heritage Conservation Movement* in Chapter Two. In the empirical discussion, which follows, I therefore intersperse writings from both movements to show the overlaps and intersections between discourses. Firstly, I turn to the work of figures in the townscape movement including J. M. Richards[24] and Bruce Allsopp who were concerned about a loss of a spirit of national building. Turning to architectural history Richards suggested that the rise of new modernist and international building must be assimilated with a spirit of building which already exists in our country and which can be understood instinctively. In discussing the English landscape Richards points particularly to an intangible Englishness in the physical materials which make up the landscapes of England and which must be understood in instinctive and emotional ways. Following on from this I look at the work of Allsopp and notions of traditional architectural approaches to the urban landscape which draw upon practical and emotional and ultimately corporeal understandings of place which are situated against a narrative of the intellect. In this way as well as identifying the importance of spirit in the landscape, I suggest that Allsopp advance the importance of the corporeal where the body of man and the body of the architectural and the urban are one.

In the sections of the conservationist and townscape writers of the 1970s (the conservation crisis) I suggest that these two themes situate the structures of feelings of loss and anger over the development of the nations built heritage. Firstly (in section, 5: 1) I point to the way in which conservationists and architectural writers call upon a 'wider reader'[25] to look at the spirit invested in the nations built landscapes. In particular I turn to the writings of Tony Aldous, Colin Amery, Patrick Cormack, Dan Cruishank and Adam Fergusson to show how they seek to textually locate their readers within the idea of an urban spirit of the landscape. Secondly I look at the way

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[24] J M Richards was an influential figure in the rise of the Georgian Group and an editor of the *Architectural Review*, in the 1930s and 1940s in Britain.
[25] Rather than referring to architects, I suggest that heritage polemics of the 1960s and 1970s sought to call to a wider audience including architects, town planners, local government, other conservationists and most specifically the general public.

in which these writers encourage the reader to look at the landscape in corporeal and evolutionary terms. In this respect I scrutinise the ways in which these writers draw upon a poetics of the urban landscape as a body which has been violated, diseased and is on the brink of death. Thus, I chart how these narratives are both corporeal and ultimately evolutionary in composition.

3: 1 'Social souls' and 'spirituality'

The notion of spirituality is something that must be clearly separated here, from what has been described as a social soul in Chapter Two. When referring to the idea of a social soul Geddes understands these ideas sociologically, as something, which enriches the spirit of community through a 'material' reference to the buildings of the past. Thus, as I suggested in Chapter Two Geddes argued that the importance of keeping a material record of the past was crucial to the assessment of the construction of buildings in the future. More specifically an assessment of the 'social soul' in buildings was pertinent to the way in which new buildings could be brought into line with the works of the past. In the two sections that follow, I will now illustrate the way in which Geddes understood the idea of spirit through something wider than a 'temporal feeling' that could be ascertained from the architectural history of a city. Indeed, Geddes understood spirit to also refer to the idea of a sense of the social and the ethnicity of a people as something buried in landscapes. Rather than a temporal social soul Geddes understood that spirit must be understood more broadly through certain ontological interconnections that exist between people and their urban landscapes. Thus, as Welter has argued Geddes understanding of these connections could be understood once again through a combination of evolutionary theory and spirituality.

Like many Victorians, Geddes lost his belief in traditional religion sometime during youth or early adulthood. But he never lost the conviction that there is a need, and a space for religiosity in human life. As an appropriate basis for a contemporary religiosity Geddes identifies biology the science of life (Welter, 2002: 203).

To understand these themes in more detail I would now like to turn back to the notion of Geddes appreciation of the symbiotic connections between man and landscape that was explored in the introduction. In developing these ideas of an evolutionary citizenship, I would like to argue that Geddes notion of 'work' and the spiritual connections between urban workers and their landscapes also provides an understanding of the relations between evolution and spirituality. Thus, Geddes argues, in relation to the importance of the citizen in 'conservative surgery', that understanding *which particular forms of work* have developed in an area is key to understanding the shape of cities and their buildings in the present. In short Geddes developed a theoretical method described as the 'Valley section' whose aim was to look at different parts of a unique and individual landscape which were continually shaped by layers of work and craft, conducted there over the centuries. Thus, through a study of traditional occupations to those associated with the industrial revolution Geddes argued that the work of Miners, Woodsmen, Hunters, Shepherds, Peasants, Farmers and Fishermen all had a part to play in the shaping of regions. Geddes argued then that

From these few and seemingly simple occupations, all others have developed.
To trace these developments is thus to unravel the explanation of the
individuality, the uniqueness, of each of the towns and cities of men; and yet
also understand their manifold similarities, region by region (Geddes, 1915:
xxvii).

In light of these ideas of the occupational – of work – Geddes argues that rather than there being a one way relationship between the worker and landscape we should see man and landscape as two sides of the same symbiotic coin. In this respect, a central unifying theory in Geddes work is the idea of the place-work-folk triangle, a triangle where the environment (place) constructs the occupations available (work) and the conditioning of work subsequently leads to the production of certain kinds of custom and culture (folk) and vice versa. In the symbolic language of this triangle, a theory of ethnic and spiritual identity is most evident, where Geddes argues that this constant tick tacking between man and the landscape has been the main influence behind the

production of regional and subsequently national identities across the face of the earth. Thus, Geddes argues that

From an understanding of our regions and cities, we cannot but come to vitalising and evolving them in place, work and people; and with in every case their own people creating the best from their own place. Thus Holland has made the Dutch, yet the Dutch have made Holland; an this in alternation and harmony throughout the generations (Geddes, 1915: xxviii)

Whilst again, this can be viewed as a evolutionary argument, like the idea of social souls in Chapter Two, I would like to content that Geddes' referral to the relationship between place, worker and custom in these narratives is spiritual, emotional and romantic. It was a theme then which other regional geographers such as A. J. Herbertson (1865-1915) a critical exponent, of outlook geography, were also to pick up on[26]. Moreover Geddes' discussion of the intimate spiritual connections between landscape and the worker calls upon primitivist ideas of the worker and the body, which can be found in the late nineteenth century and the fin de siecle. Thus, Stafford, and Chase (1989) have located connections between landscapes and workers, with a wider nostalgia for pre-modern society in writers including Pugin, Thomas Carlyle, A. J. Penty and Kenelm Digby (Stafford, 1989). In these writings, which include also the Arts and Crafts movement, Stafford and Chase report a particular valorisation of an organic relationship between landscape and craftsman which is seen as at the heart of a 'spiritual welfare of the nation' (Chase, 1989: 140). Thus, whilst it may be the case that Geddes was primarily an evolutionary thinker who was neither nostalgic nor progressive (Matless, 1992: 571) the role that a

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[26] However, rather than developing an immediate theory of civics, Herbertson's analysis was more transfixed by the role of the Geographer. For Herbertson then, the subject of human Geography should not be based on a mere appreciation of people in relation to place. Rather for Herbertson as well as developing an appreciation of place and man the geographer should develop an understanding of the 'mental and spiritual environment as well as ... [the] ... material one' (Herbertson, 1915: 147-53). In one aside Herbertson then can be found to argue that

The Geographer is no more confined to materialistic considerations than the historian is. There is a genius loci as well as a Zeitgeist – a spirit of place as well as of time ... the geographer has

spiritual, poetic, and bodily imaginary plays in these narratives cannot be ignored. In short Geddes' work might be placed alongside other writers on Englishness whose notions of the organic and the spiritual were connected to later Heideggarian (Heidegger, 1954) and even the 'Blood and soil' ideas of Hitler's agricultural minister Rudolf Darre (Chase, 1989: 141). Here Geddes' concepts can be tied to a long line of philosophies, which emphasised a deeply spiritual and ethnic connection between men and their landscapes (Chase, 1989). To develop these Geddesian theories of a 'spiritual connection between man and the landscape', I turn to key figures in the *Built Heritage Conservation* and *Townscape movements*.

4 - Part Four – Architects and the landscape: locating spirit!

4: 1 The spirit of the landscape

In the work of writers surrounding the rise of the townscape movement (See Chapter One) from the inter-war and post-war era a philosophy of architectural training and the importance of looking for the peculiar Englishness of English buildings was emerged in the writings of J M Richards. Indeed, with the rise of modernist development and functionalist building, writers such as Richards were concerned for the loss of a distinct Englishness in building, which was represented by a style-less international architecture. In an assessment of the history of architecture in Europe, Richards commented that no matter how different an architectural style had been, its introduction to England meant that it had quickly become adapted to a spirit of building and an almost instinctive sense of 'the country's needs and climate'

It does not matter that the particular language in use was one derived from that of an earlier period; that unlike the mediaeval style of building, which had grown up gradually as a result of centuries of experiment in stone construction,

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to consider both in trying to understand the present regional consciousness (Herbertson, 1915: 153).

*the Renaissance style of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries was imported
ready made. It was based on the revival of classical architecture in Italy. But it
did not long remain a foreign style. It quickly became adapted to this country's
needs and climate, and even by the time of Wren – that is by the end of the
Seventeenth Century – it was essentially an English style (Richards, 1940: 19).*

Richards's discussion of Englishness and instinct here is key tied to a further
discourse of understanding between the architect and the landscape. In particular
Richards' discussion of an emotional reaction to climate suggested that there is a
peculiar link between architects and their native landscapes. Rather than being a
simple product of the landscape, the philosophy here is one that suggests that
'authentic' architects are those people who have a particular sense of the landscapes
they were born in. Thus, as Richards asserts that the authentic architect is 'he' who is
a product of a spirit of the earth but is also that person who can work with and mould
it into new objects and buildings. To take this further, Richards suggests that a
training of the architect must begin from a certain a 'instinctive attitude' and a
rejection of an intellectual approach to building. Thus, for Richards the suggestion
here is that an instinctive attitude is the key to unlocking the spirit of places unlike a
more rigid intellectual (and modernist approach) which looks at spaces and building
materials in purely functional ways (Richards, 1940).

*But Englishness is a definable quality found in things English as Frenchness is
found in things French and these qualities are not incompatible with modern
architecture as we have described it. They are produced as part of our
instinctive selection of materials, shapes and colours; our emotional reaction to
climate and to social relations. As mankind is still organised into nations –
biologically as well as politically – a permanently international architecture
(modern architecture) would not even be produced by literal functionalism
(Richards, 1940: 99).*

Whilst this narrative is a little blurry in Richards work, Bruce Allsopp may be said to
have developed this form of narrative. In his *Art and the Nature of Architecture,*

(1952) Allsopp's narrative shares the same discourse as that of Richards through the idea that there is a traditional and 'English style' which has been past down through the ages. In his commentary on architecture, Allsopp argues that

> *But in England the style, which started as a definite foreign fashion, was absorbed. It was transmuted and became a new vernacular as almost any unspoilt village in the parts of England where there was less development (Allsopp, 1952: 47),*

However, rather than stopping at the idea of the organic and the instinctive, Allsopp goes on to argue that the construction of 'English architecture' is made possible only if the artist shares a certain organic symbiosis with her/his surroundings (Allsopp, 1952: 49). In the first place, Allsopp points to the importance of the local artist who has grown up around the buildings s/he wishes to contribute too. However, for Allsopp rather than an awareness of surroundings alone, he suggests that an authentic architectural training can only be achieved by a certain spiritual unity between 'man and the landscape'. In short Allsopp suggests that the artist must have grown up 'locally' and thus the assumption that man and the landscape are one is reproduced by the idea that an outsider who has not been rooted in the surroundings would not be able to work with the landscape:

> *the local tradition which has grown gradually from the time the first building was erected there and it has been subtly formed by local materials and climate, by local habits of life and thought, and the by the feelings of generations of local artists ... All this the young architect absorbs, and if, as happened long ago, he were apprenticed in a building trade and gradually found his way into being an architect himself, his emotions would be conditioned by the society in which he had grown up and there would probably be nothing very new or surprising about them. He would feel about the building of a house very much as his grandfather had felt, and he would express his feelings naturally in very much the same way (Allsopp, 1952: 40).*

Thus, as with Richards' suggestions, Allsopp's architect, is also one who works from an emotional and spiritual approach to the landscape rather than a theoretical logic of functionality. In this sense in Allsopp's text, a positioning of the emotional is placed above thought, and which subsequently places corporeal experience above intellectuality. Thus, Allsopp argues that

> *The critic ... scorns the emotional approach because, having learned to value intellect above emotion, he thinks all emotion should be explainable in terms of intellect. In a sense it is true that everything, including feeling, is a subject for thought, but it would seem that feeling is more fundamental than thought: you can think about feeling and you can feel about thinking, but whereas feeling is conceivable as existing by itself without thought, pure thought without any background of sensation is not (Allsopp, 1952: 109-110).*

In taking the narratives of emotion against the notion of an overly intellectual and functional response to building I will now consider the way in which this binary discourse influenced writers within the conservation crisis. More specifically conservation writers were urging a wider audience of architects, planners, local councillors, other conservationists and the general public to view their landscapes emotionally and physically. At the crux of this textual approach, the celebration of an emotional and physical response to the urban landscape was set to inspire a degree of nationalism and was subsequently vital to the cause of conserving buildings. Moreover the positioning of the emotional and corporeal above the intellectual was set to encourage the importance of seeing the urban landscapes of Britain spiritually. In the call to get a widespread audience to identify with their buildings emotionally, spiritually and instinctively there is also an implication here that conservationists sought to redress the balance of a contemporary functionalist approach to the landscape. The construction of an emotional and a spiritual response to the landscape therefore simultaneously serves to rebuff the rise of a development process, which approaches the landscape functionally for economic reasons.

4: 2 The bodily spirit of the urban landscape

If Richards and Allsopp pointed to the importance of spirit in the architecture and landscapes of Britain, then with the rise of the conservation crisis these narratives were furthered. Indeed, rather than viewing the loss of architectural treasures in Britain's townscapes as a loss of 'history', commentators within the conservation crisis understood these losses in terms of the death of a certain spirit which was said to have come with these architectures and landscapes. Here often at times the loss of a spirit of the landscapes of Britain was viewed in corporeal terms, where it was constructed as a body. Moreover, as conservationists continually constructed the rhetorical connections between these urban bodies and the nation these poetics demanded a reading of the landscape body and its people as one.

Thus in the development of the conservation literature in the seventies, a powerful signifier which returns time and time again is the role of cities and urban landscapes as female bodies. However, whilst these narratives might be read simply as throw-away statements, the construction of the urban landscape and the nation as a female body which has been disfigured by development might be defined in *The Sack of Bath* (1973) by Adam Fergusson. In one passage then, Fergusson writes that 'destroyers' have set upon Bath in the same way, as medieval armies would besiege a castle. However, rather than the explicit discussions of invasion alone, Fergusson's suggests that Bath be understood as a feminine landscape which has been violated or 'bodily swept away':

> *Yet when the 1950s dawned the City's appearance was virtually unchanged. A bit battered her stone worn and blackened, her basements often damp, her mansard roofs sometimes leaking, and many of her houses well-to-do and artisan alike ... there was every reason to expect that, with the new growing consciousness of Britain's architectural heritage and of the value of Bath in particular, her survival was assured...*
>
> *Today 'artisan Bath' is largely rubble ... The Bath of the working classes ... has been bodily swept away (Fergusson, 1972: 12).*

Moreover, *The Rape of Britain* (1975) by Colin Amery and Dan Cruickshank might be read as an extension of this discussion. Here the title *The Rape of Britain* is enough to suggest the aggressive penetration of the organic body of the urban landscape. However, Amery and Cruickshank complement this title with a range of metaphors which include those of brutality, savagery and ravishing which aids the idea of a sea of invaders who have 'sacked' Britain and have proceeded into her organic landscapes to rape 'her' body (Amery and Cruickshank, 1975: 11-14). Furthermore, these narratives carry a certain disease like narrative in the extension of this corporeality. In one statement, Amery and Cruickshank suggest that the Rape of Britain by development has been cancerous (Amery and Cruickshank, 1975: conclusion). Also, in *Goodbye Britain* (1975) Aldous describes the urban landscape as a person that has not only been violated, but also, knocked unconscious by a disease.

A man visiting his dentist in Baker Street recently after a year's absence could not find the building ... It unhinged that patient's normally acute sense of direction. He was struck down by an affliction peculiarly common in our times (Aldous, 1975: 9)

In the last few years Britain has teetered on the brink of rampant, self-inflicted chronic amnesia. There are signs that we are now stepping back. It will be none too soon. We need pause to absorb and recover (Aldous, 1975: 12).

Indeed, such references based on the words affliction and recovery point to an urban landscape – an organic body – which is diseased and is rotting and which needs to be restored by a brief period of recovery. In a later paragraph, Aldous therefore comments that in some cases the urban landscape may be viewed as something which has already been lost and here the title *Goodbye Britain* (1975) itself might suggest a terminal reference. Indeed, in many passages in the text, Aldous, points to the destruction of historic urban landscapes places which are now 'ruined forever' (Aldous, 1975: 21). In his discussion of those places, which have been developed,

Aldous trumps this metaphorical prose with the suggestion that these landscapes once mature like a human adult are now incurable where conservation can be the only remedy. On Tamworth, Aldous writes that it was

And there is the unbelievable plan to cut a road between George Street and the Castle Mound, destroying the gardens and the attractiveness of the George Street houses and the tranquillity of the mound with one stroke. It is not needed it is not wanted and it could be fatal. For conservation is more than propping up structures. It is giving buildings new life. This could happen in Tamworth where, as at Lichfield, living at the hub of an attractive and historic little town could become a healthy fashion (Aldous, 1975: 63).

As well as viewing the townscape as having a life of its own, conservationists in this crisis suggested that the loss of building was akin to the loss of a spiritual identity between the people of Britain and their urban landscapes. Thus, like Richards and Allsopp's suggestion that architects have an instinctive relationship to their landscapes, writers in the conservation crisis suggested that the buildings of England provide the people with a nexus point between themselves and 'deep roots' or a long history of the nation. Indeed, from statements advanced by Aldous, Amery, Cruickshank and Cormack, the removal of old buildings was key to a severance of 'the people' from their relationship to the landscape and ultimately their identities. In the introduction to *Heritage in Danger*, (1976, 1978) by Patrick Cormack, Sir Roy Strong remarks that the loss of building is akin to the loss a central security point of identity in an increasing topsy turvey world

We are all aware of the problems and troubles of changes in within the structure of society, of the dissolution of old values and standards. For the lucky few this may be exhilarating, even exciting, but for the majority it is confusing, threatening and dispiriting. The heritage represents some form of security, a point of reference, a refuge perhaps something visible and tangible which, within a topsy turvy world, seems stable and unchanged (Sir Roy Strong, In Cormack, 1976: 10).

In the last two sections I have been looking at the way in which writers in the townscape movement and the 'conservation crisis' developed an idea of a spirit of English building and landscape. Firstly I examined the work of Richards and Allsopp and their understanding of the building traditions of England, which were unique in comparison to the traditions of other nations. For Richards whilst new building styles could infiltrate Britain's landscapes, they would never be English unless they incorporated the specific English style of building which has existed in Britain for centuries. In developing on these themes Allsopp suggested that we could understand this building approach through a specific attention to an instinctive, emotional and spiritual approach to the landscape. In this discussion Richards and Allsopp suggested that adopting an emotional rather than an intellectual approach can bring architects into a symbiotic harmony with their landscapes. Secondly I investigated how writers within the conservation crisis had translated these ideas through their reaction to the increasing demolition of building in 1970s British urban landscapes. Aldous, Amery and Cruishank drew particularly upon spiritual themes of the landscape in the way they described Britain's urban landscapes through a corporeal poetics. Here for conservationists, rather than finding a spirit of architecture, the urban landscapes of Britain were viewed as symbolic of a spiritual body of the nation itself. Secondly in discussing the landscape through the idea of a secure point for identity, notions of the corporeal are extended to a second level of meaning. Thus as well as finding a spirit of the national body in the urban landscapes, the suggestion that these landscapes serve as points of security further emphasises a poetics of spiritual connection. Whilst Richards and Allsopp called for the architect to find her/himself in the landscape, the references to notions of security suggest that writers within the 'conservation crisis' also wish to point to the 'deep rooted' connections between man and the landscape. Aldous, Amery and Cruishank, through interplay of spirit and body and the idea that buildings are security points, imply that the physical landscapes of Britain and its people are one.

5 – Part Five –

The spirit of the landscape as cultural capital

In the sections that follow I examine a regional discourse of Englishness through the lens of a relational and symbolic class analysis. Turning back to townscape and conservationist descriptions of a 'spirit between man and the landscape', I look at the development of these notions. More specifically I inspect this 'spiritual nexus' through Bourdieu's (1984) notion of cultural capital and the idea that conservationists enforce notions of townscape through forms of rhetorical populism. I investigate the way that conservationists take up a notion of a 'spirit between man and the landscape' to position themselves as spokespersons of the people. The discussion of the destruction of buildings, townscapes and ultimately a spiritual nexus is a key point in building textual narratives of populism. For conservationists the loss of a 'spiritual nexus' is a textual and performative strategy by which they can enforce their own aesthetic and cultural discourses. The use particularly of narratives of tragedy and loss therefore has two functions in the production of these rhetorical tropes or strategies. Firstly they seal the idea of the author or conservationist as a moral figure seeking to take a stance and indeed a patriotic stance for the cause of the people. Again as with Chapters One and Two rather than providing a critique of the approach of councillors, conservationists adopt a 'linguistic performance' of taste and rage, indicating that the writer is a man of action. Secondly the use of these strategies implies that as well as taking action the conservationist is working for the people. The implication of these patriotic narratives then has another function simply because it allows the writer to suggest that the aesthetics of townscape to which s/he prescribes are not only her own but those of the people. The use of linguistic performances of action enforces the way conservationists construct their own versions of townscape aesthetics, as the aesthetic wants of 'the people'. Rather than providing critique of a 'crisis', it is the suggestion of this Chapter (like Chapter's One and Two) that the linguistic performance of taste and rage is a useful trope to assert the status and the tastes (or cultural capital) of the conservationist.

5: 1 The fear for a loss of spiritual identity

If Richards developed a spiritual poetics of the relationship between man and the landscape, then these narratives can also be read through a populist textual strategy. Thus, whilst Richards discusses the idea of a spiritual connection between man and the landscape, it is not a connection that can be established by just anyone. In his discussion of these discourses, Richards cites the idea that it is the average authentic English man or everyday layman who is really at the heart of this less than conscious understanding. Thus, Richards argues that

All this, in any case, is what the modern architects themselves think; but the man in the street only sees in the new architecture another bewildering addition to the variety of architectural styles he is already offered: a new style which he feels, must have something to it, because it looks clean and efficient and not too pompous and because he has heard that it is based on an idea called functionalism (or fitness for purpose) which at least sounds sensible if rather inhuman; but a style that he also rather expects, simply because he is naturally conservative. He dislikes having something familiar replaced with something unfamiliar without every evident reason, and he has an idea that the people who are responsible for the new architecture are cranks, foreigners, revolutionaries or other kinds of people he disapproves of (Richards, 1940: 12)

In the work of Allsopp these narratives are more explicit and evident. Allsopp reverts to a spirit of man and the landscape and the importance of emotions (a point of understanding townscape spirit) as belonging to an essence of the people. Thus, as with Richards' privileging of the instinctive architect, Allsopp makes explicit links between notions of emotion and the everyday layman who has been cheated by contemporary modernist architecture. Here Allsopp draws a parallel between contemporary architecture and modern music, which he describes as being concerned only with form and function. As with contemporary music Allsopp suggests that the everyday citizens have been cheated by this new formalism which lacks all emotion:

Yet the layman was right in feeling cheated. He was right in asking more of art than significant form. He was right in liking the content as well as the form of the old masters. He was right to insist that he got an emotional experience ... and that it was not just an 'aesthetic' emotional experience. It was a very real emotion and one that could be felt by someone who had practically no knowledge of musical form (Allsopp, 1952: 59).

If Richards and Allsopp construct the importance of a spiritual nexus between man and the landscape, in populist terms these discourses are repeated in the writers surrounding the conservation crisis. Indeed, as well as finding a spirit of the endangered urban landscapes of Britain in corporeal terms these writers pointed to a spirit of the landscape in populist and nationalistic imagery. Indeed, in his *Heritage in Danger* (1976) Patrick Cormack can be said to lend himself to this reading by his encouraging a reflection of a spirit of the urban landscapes of England to be viewed in terms of a wider long-standing national spirit:

When I am asked to define our heritage I do not think in dictionary terms, but instead reflect on certain sights and sounds. I think of a morning mist on the Tweed at Dryburgh where the magic of Turner and the romance of Scott both coming fleeting to life; of a celebration of the Eucharist in a quiet Norfolk church with Medieval glass filtering the colours, and the early noise of the harvesting coming through the open door; or of standing at any time before the Wilton Diptych. Each scene recalls an indivisible aspect of our heritage and is part of the fabric and expression of our civilisation (Cormack, 1976: 14).

Moreover in heritage polemics the fore words of these texts, were often written by Lords and poets (such as John Betjeman) who suggested that the text was not simply an appeal to the conservation of building, but rather a conservation of a spirit of nationhood. Thus in the *Sack of Bath*, (1973) the forward by Lord Goodman speaks of the author Adam Fergusson not as someone who is simply concerned for the loss of the architectural structure of Bath but is rather a fighter in a wider struggles. For Lord

Goodman Adam Fergusson is not only 'fighting' for the people of Bath but rather he is fighting for the people of the country:

> *Mr Fergusson has written his piece with vehemence and passion. Much of what he describes is outside my field of knowledge, and I cannot join him in many of his detailed comments ...*
>
> *...The indebtedness of the citizens of Bath and indeed the whole of the country must be extended to Mr Fergusson, and I hope he will be rewarded by the knowledge that he is not fighting alone, indeed that new cohorts are rallying all over the country to bring important aid and comfort to his cause (Goodman in Fergusson, 1973: Foreword, no page given).*

The construction of a spirit of the landscape and the relationship of people to their landscapes in nationalistic terms, therefore serves here to bring to the light the importance of the author as Fergusson's text suggests. However, in developing the ideas of spirit and landscapes, the work of other conservationists can be seen to have extended these metaphors in militaristic terms. In a variety of texts including those of the heritage polemicists the sense of this awareness has been described as a nation grappling with a new enemy. Thus, in *The Rape of Britain*, (1975) by Amery and Cruickshank references to this national consciousness are usually made through the idea that the post-war development process has made more damage on Britain than the second world war bombing of the buildings of cultural heritage. The drawing upon a second world war imagery is therefore conducive to a form of Churchillian drama and the idea that as with the second world war Britain has to unite against a common foe, or a foe from within:

> *Britain has not been invaded by an enemy power for more than nine hundred years. Her towns and cities suffered heavy damage from Nazi bombers during the second world war but they had survived then as a remarkably intact built history of the nation, so there was a lot to lose. Britain has not suffered from Civil Strife in the street except in Northern Ireland and so it is fair to say that the damage has been done by ourselves (Amery and Cruickshank, 1975: 11).*

Furthermore, in the introduction to *Heritage in Danger* (1976) by Patrick Cormack, Sir Roy Strong comments that

> *More than ever before British people are aware of their heritage. Nothing could be a more natural sign of the times when we hear more about it in the seventies than in either the fifties or sixties. The reason is a very simple one. It is in times of danger, either from without or within, that we become deeply conscious of our heritage (Sir Roy Strong, in Patrick Cormack, 1976: 10).*

In these discussions a spirit of the landscape becomes tied up with a spirit of the nation and a populist discourse, which is based on narratives of fear and invasion. Again these notions can be linked back to the discussions of the corporeal landscape, where the body of the landscape is not simply devolved in spirit, rather it has been violated by a series of invaders.

5: 2 Summary

In this narrative and the others above, a first construction of the 'spiritual nexus' takes place through a form of nation building, which suggests that 'the people' of England dislike the new 'unemotional architecture' of Europe. Allsopp suggested that the people have a right to feel cheated by the new architecture, which does not smack of any emotion and ultimately spirit. In moving from these discussions to writers within the conservation crisis I showed how these writers sought to draw attention to the notion of a spirit in the urban townscape. More specifically I looked at Cormack's call for his readers to recognise the importance of spirit in the landscape by his discussion of the townscape alongside the other sights of England. Given the background of contemporary development and the situatedness of the book in a 'conservation crisis' these narratives advocate a strong attempt to bring 'spiritual feelings back to the townscape'. However, as I am suggesting here this text also points to Cormack's attempts to locate a spiritual nexus within a language of

nationhood and populism. Indeed, the discussion of the urban landscape as 'national heritage' implies at attempt by the author to appeal to an everyday layman or reader to realise their role and duty to the urban townscapes of England. Whilst this quote is taken from the rest of the text, Cormack's call is for the reader to recognise the everyday townscape as something that must be given the same status as country landscapes. By this continual reference to the layman in Richards and Allsopp and Cormack's appeal to an 'imaginary reader' to recognise the national importance of Britains townscapes, these writers draw upon rhetorical tropes of patriotism and nationhood. For these writers, rather than developing a discourse of patriotism or nationhood alone, the aim of this exercise is to draw attention to the status of the author as a representative of the people. Turning from the poetics of the spiritual nexus and nationhood these writers couch their narratives in more self-congratulatory and war like tones. In the introduction to the *Sack of Bath* (1973) Lord Goodman pronounces that Adam Fergusson is not simply to be seen as a writer but as a guardian of Bath and the nation. Moreover, in the texts of Amery and Cruickshank and Sir Roy Strong the fear for a loss of the 'spiritual nexus' is understood in Churchillian war-like tones. Here then the writer is not just a fighter of the nation but rather like a Heroic Military figure the author pronounces his disgust at the internal forces of modernism which are seen to be a greater threat to Britain than the Second World War. Here these textual tropes of populism and the construction of the conservationist writer as the moral overseer have two functions. Firstly the use of a populist trope positions a spiritual nexus of man and the landscape as not just the views of the author but the vision of the nation. Secondly, through the use of a narrative of a nation under threat the author seals the idea of a spiritual nexus as something that must be defended. The construction of a 'spiritual nexus' as something that needs to be defended fastens the idea that the people have always had a strong sense of this aesthetic. Through the use of populist and the construction of the author as a moral defender the aesthetic cultural capital – the spiritual nexus – are enforced.

6 – Part Six - Symbolic capital and violence: cultivation and philistines

So far I have discussed the way in which the want and fear of loosing a spiritual nexus has been constructed through populist and moralising textual tropes. In the discussion that follows I will consider how the architects of modernism and the developers of the 1970s are strategically placed to further enforce the idea of a spiritual nexus. Thus whilst I have dealt with the construction of the conservationist self through cultural capital I will now inspect the way in which conservationists construct an 'other' in this process. Again I shall investigate the idea that for conservationists the construction of an 'other' is not simply a process of identity building but is a tool of power by which they can secure the notion of a *spiritual nexus*. In this regard the conservationist positioning of a 'modernist other' as lacking 'taste' and 'aesthetic sophistication' allows for an enforcement of a spiritual nexus through a class discourse. The conservationist construction of modernists as tasteless subsequently encourages the reader to side with the idea of a spiritual nexus as providing distinction and is therefore worthy of support. In what follows I consider the conservationist positioning of modernist agents through descriptions of councillors, planners and developers within post-war changes in the British social class structure. Rather than being asocial, conservationists therefore locate these actors within new forms of middle and working class culture that lack the aesthetic authority to make decisions about the townscape. In positioning these agents as both immoral and tasteless conservationists assert symbolic power against new forms of lower middle and working class identities. The attack on these forms of class culture carries with it then a further recommendation for the reader to regard conservationist views and aesthetics with respect – or respectability (Skeggs, 1997).

6: 1 The uncivilised

In the previous section I looked at the way in which conservationists constructed populist and moralising tropes through an authorial performance. Here then the enforcement of a 'spiritual nexus' was achieved through the construction of the author as a defender of the aesthetic spirit of the people and a defender of the landscapes of England. Alongside the construction of a spirit of the people and the nation

conservationists also refer to an affront to a spiritual nexus through notions of civilisation and narratives of cultivation. In particular the use of words such as philistinism, wilful vandalism and uglification to describe the development process ignore all aspects of redevelopment which have their own artistic influences. Moreover, with the construction of the notion of wilful philistinism these signifiers are connected to a further nostalgia for the loss of civilisation, cultivation or cultivated knowledge. In *the Sack of Bath* (1973) nowhere may this dualism be seen more clearly than in the introduction to the text where Lord Goodman describes the development advances made against Bath. Lord Goodman commenting in the introduction to Adam Fergusson's text argues that:

> *But the general conclusion that apathy, ignorance and even sheer philistinism are taking pride of place over cultivated knowledge and a general regard for aesthetic value, is I am afraid unassailably established by the pages that follow (Goodman, 1973: introduction – no page number).*

Moreover, *Heritage in Danger* (1976) by Patrick Cormack may be taken as a further advocate of this position. Thus, Cormack remarks, in a Chapter entitled 'Urban dignity, Decency and Decay', that

> *The city which ought to be the highest expression of man's civilised moulding of his environment, is too often ugly, out of scale and out of sympathy with the requirements of civilised living and the demands of the cultured mind (Cormack, 1976: 47).*

Once again these narratives encourage a textual authority of the author. Indeed, the loss of a spiritual nexus through what is regarded as a growing philistinism in the seventies constructs the commentators and the author as civilised and a moral figure defending the limits of good taste. However rather than another construction of the conservationist self, the construction of 'taste' through these discourses creates a new textual effect of symbolic positioning. Thus, whilst *The Sack of Bath* (1973) and *Heritage in Danger* (1976) demonstrate the work of authorial performance, the

language which Fergusson and Cormack use to describe the destruction of buildings reinforces discursive binaries of high and low forms of taste. In this regard rather than a construction of the 'self' alone, conservationists are seeking to position specific people, as uncivilised/uncultured 'vandals' or 'philistines'. This textual structure is apparent in *The Rape of Britain* (1976) where Amery and Cruickshank discuss 'modernist agents'; architects, planners, local councillors and general developers as the greatest expression of the new forces of decline and shear tastelessness. Here Amery and Cruickshank's language of the landscape as a raped and diseased body is not only tied into moral arguments but is constructed through the realm of taste and distinction

Another powerful influence on the shape of Britain's towns has been the activities of the architectural and planning professions. The grisly results of their trade are there, in almost all our towns, lasting memorials to an age of little taste and sensitivity (Amery and Cruickshank, 1975: conclusion).

In a positioning then of the new modernist agents the discourses of Fergusson, Amery and Cruishank and Cormack take on an almost sociological gaze. Rather than the institutions of modernism themselves as lying at the heart of a culture of low tastes in building and development the focus of their critiques rest with contemporary social changes and alliances to Britain's heritage. For example Cormack points to the lack of responsibility of a new class of people who do not share the same allegiances to the country's built heritage as the people of a previous age:

As the social structure of this country evolves and changes, the burden of caring and paying for our heritage can no longer be borne by the few, in former ages the aristocracy or the so-called middle-classes. In an atmosphere which demands increasing equality there is a coda of an increasing equality of responsibility (Cormack, 1976, 1978: 11).

Moreover in discussing the nature of the diseased landscape, Fergusson (and Goodman) comment more extensively on a new form of social culture, which is apathetic and unresponsive. Indeed, the force of Goodman and Fergusson's critique lies with an attack on the 'yes man' the true rapist and polluter of the spiritual-organic landscape, which is referenced by critiques of the Bath council (Fergusson, 1973). Here the 'yes man', must be separated from conservationist's discussions of a 'common man' or the 'everyday man in the street'. As I have shown in section five and in previous Chapters the common man or the everyday man in the street is the reference point of allegiance for conservationists, which enables the production of cultural capital. In contrast the yes man is embodied in Amery and Cruickshank's discussion of a contemporary 'managerial-architectural class', who are seen to be lost in their own 'esoteric concerns'. Amery and Cruickshank are suggesting that these people are subsequently unaware of the realities of the general public, who are 'better informed' and confident in 'knowing what it likes' (Amery and Cruickshank, 1975: conclusion). Moreover, John Betjeman in the forward to *The Rape of Britain* (1975) where comments on these new yes men as the new destroyers, sackers and rapists of the country:

> *As I look through this book I think that it is not only the developer who is to blame for the Rape of Britain but also the 'yes man' who wants to be on good terms with his committee, the architect who is his own public relations officer (Betjeman, in Amery and Cruishank, 1975: 8).*

Central to these discussions are not just a rejection of managerial authority and a denunciation of a 'new post-war bureaucratic world' but rather a new class of people with different concerns and tastes. Betjeman comments, in the forward to *The Rape of Britain* (1975), can be taken as indicative of this positioning where the 'yes man' is positioned within what he sees as a new tasteless continental mass culture. In particular the resistance shown to this culture is its placelessness that is seen as belonging to the Costa Brava rather than Britain as Betjeman suggests. However, Betjeman also places this continental culture within a new language of money, Mediterranean cafés and tailored models that implies a certain resistance to new forms of middle class managerial society:

In my minds eye I can see the swish perspective trickled up by the architects
firm to dazzle the councillors. I see the tailored models walking past the plate
glass, bent forward against a strong breeze. Round the corner I see the senior
citizens and youth representatives sipping Cinzano under a stripped umbrella
under the hot sunshine which always lends a Costa Brava look to architectural
drawings (Betjeman, in Amery and Cruickshank, 1975: 8).

6: 2 The danger of mass culture

If conservationists position managerial architects it can also be implied that writers within the conservation crisis also sought to position mass culture and particularly consumer culture as responsible for the loss of a spiritual nexus. Constructing the conservationist self as an identity of the people writers in the conservation crisis often sought to draw upon binaries of the emotional and the functional. Indeed, as I suggested above in a discussion of the work of Richards and Allsopp, conservationists continually stressed the importance of receiving a real emotional reaction from places and architecture. More specifically these ideas were couched in the suggestion that pre-war buildings could inspire an emotional response where the buildings of post-war modernism could only inspire a general sense of unfeeling, hardness and coldness. As well as a rejection of modernism, conservationists within the crisis suggested also that the rise of an accompanying consumer society is also an expression of this post-war unfeeling world where the rise of mass culture and consumption suppresses any sense of the importance of emotion. In Aldous' polemic text *Goodbye Britain* (1975) these ideas can be most explicitly seen in his discussion of the 'hideousness' of Birmingham's grey mass architectural aesthetic. For Aldous then this place lacks any emotional aesthetic or human spirit that is indicative of the New World of post-war mass culture. In addition, Aldous sees the Birmingham BullRing shopping mall as the epitome of this new mass consumer culture which he defines as '*brash Brummie and tasteless'*.

Sir John Betjeman, in the forward to *Goodbye Britain* (1975), also reiterates these themes with a discussion of the development process of post-war Britain and the rise

of a new consumer culture. However Betjeman suggests that consumer culture itself and its central 'massness' underlies the development of new architecture itself with the rise of mass housing that are 'machines to live' in rather than homes:

After the Second World War the word 'develop' was beginning to mean destroy. Comprehensive development was jargon for total destruction. The Americanisation of English and making six words take the place of one, the soft lies of public relations officers, were lulling us into an acceptance of housing instead of houses. The house itself became a machine to live in. Language became hysterical as mine is becoming as I write this at the thought of England becoming a few acres of preserved countryside between concrete fly-overs, spanned by cafeterias thrumming with canned music and reeking of grease (Sir John Betjeman in Aldous, 1975: 7).

However, rather than a rejection of mass architecture alone these writers are also explicit in their rejection of a mass culture of consumption. Indeed, in the quote above Betjeman is critical of the rise of a new mass world of Americanisation, cafeterias and grease. Later on the text Aldous, with reference to his stay in Birmingham, discusses a local pub interior he once visited in a new Birmingham suburb 'where a plastic Excalibur stood firmly embedded in its plastic stone in its place of honour by the juke box' (Aldous, 1975: 29). Here as well as weighing into architecture and development these criticisms are ultimately pitched against new forms of cultural lifestyle. In the *Architectural Review* at the time of this conservation crisis, writers were also condemning not just of new forms of mass architecture but rather new forms of consumer lifestyles that were associated with these buildings. In the quote below this can be most explicitly seen when the writers concerned comment on the way in which Bretton centre part of Peterborough town has been destroyed by the development of Sainsburys. The onset of the shopping centre is cast through the idea that such places are now only fit for 'animals' as referenced in the idea of a PIG TROUGH; and a world of 'wastelands, lowliness and degradation':

this is the sort of plan the Consumer society is edging towards. The huge block in the middle is Messrs Sainsbury's supermarket. Next to it is the desertic waste

for the cars and outside this enchanted circle, at a respectful distance are the
houses. Without wishing to be unduly kind to the inhabitants of Bretton or to
Sainbury's admirable groceries, this surely, is PIG TROUGH CITY
(Architectural Review, 1975: 272-276).

What is striking about both the quotes of Betjeman and the reaction by writers within the *Architectural Review*, is the symbolic nature of the discourses that are being drawn upon here. More specifically the positioning of the architectural landscapes and cultures of the consumer society is discussed more in terms of a narrative of taste and tastelessness. Here then as with the more explicit attack on architects, planners, and local councillors discussed in the text above these narratives carry with them a realist tone (Van Maanen, 1988) that refers to this new tasteless culture as a front for a hidden social class or group. In the *Architectural Review's* 'Special Edition for Architectural Heritage Year' (1975), this sense of an underlying 'conspiracy' or social movement is expressed in the notion that the new destroyers of the urban townscape belong to a managerial class:

At the political level Architectural Heritage Year questions those two great
destroyers of the urban townscape: managerial society and its concomitant,
consumer society (SAVE issue, in the Architectural Review, 1975: 264).

Again as I have suggested in the section above the tones develop a form of pseudo realist sociologising which serves to position a new 'managerial other'. What is missing from these narratives then is any form of reflexivity concerning the way in which consumer society and its agents have brought with it any forms of change to the structure of class power in post-war Britain. Thus the absence of any self-criticism and a rejection of an 'invisible' but underlying managerial society reflects a symbolic positioning of new forms of post-war middle class and ultimately working class culture.

7 – Part Seven – Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have been concerned with a so called 'conservation crisis' which developed in the late 1960s and 1970s. Rather than being an expression of radical middle class power, or a real moment in conservation history that was successfully tackled I have put forward another argument. Firstly then rather than a real or unreal moment I have suggested that the conservation crisis serve as an important point in the construction of a regional discourse of Englishness. Starting from the work of Patrick Geddes, J M Richards and Bruce Allsopp I have looked at the way in which this crisis has been situated within historical discourses of a spirit of the landscape and a construction of the landscape as corporeal. In section Five I therefore looked at the way in which conservationists located a spirit of the landscape in bodily terms, where the urban was seen to have been violated by development. Moreover, in witnessing the loss of treasured buildings I showed that conservationists extended these corporeal narratives through notions of bodily health. More specifically I indicated that conservationists pointed to this loss of building in terms of a demise of a body, where landscapes were ill sick and devolved. Here a spirit of the landscape was extended in these themes to the point that man and landscape are ultimately entwined.

In the second part of this chapter this regional Englishness was examined through the lens of a class discourse. Starting with the work of J M Richards and Allsopp I looked at a spiritual nexus of the urban landscape constructed through conservationist cultural capital. Here I examined the way conservationists positioned modernist development in order to affect a return to the self. Or in more simple terms I scrutinised the way in which conservationists constructed a linguistic performance of feeling and outrage to construct them as both moralistic and patriotic. Again as with the last two Chapters the conservationist appeal to represent the 'man in the street' is important here, where the writer suggests s/he is a layman: a signifier for anti-professionalism and 'down to earthiness'. Section Five also developed a theory of symbolic violence. In addition to the idea that the 'conservation crisis' has enabled the construction of a conservationist self, in the final section of this Chapter I investigated this 'crisis' as a useful tool to position 'class others'. Thus, conservationists constructed the destruction of a spiritual nexus through a positioning

of modernist agents as uncivilised and tastelessness. Here writers such as Fergusson, Goodman, Amery and Cruishank, Cormack and Betjeman all argued that modernist agents should be seen as a reflection of the power of new architectural-managers actors. Here drawing upon realist narratives of society these writers implied symbolically that the 'uncivilised' and responses and actions of the new architectural reflected new forms of post-war lower middle and working class culture. In the second part of this section I developed this argument of the conservationist positioning, of mass culture, as an appendage of this unemotional post-war modernism. In this argument I investigated what were described as mass buildings and cultures which were once again underpinned down as unfeeling, hard and cold. Again however these writers, rather than a critique of these buildings and cultures in purely aesthetic terms, drew upon a realist trope where these material and cultural expressions were seen as concomitant with a new managerial identity. In this final section, I suggested that the discussion of a conservation crisis and specifically the loss of a spiritual nexus by modernist destroyers have simultaneously enabled the production of symbolic violence. In sum the use of discourses around the notion of a spiritual crisis and the positioning of modernist and mass architectures and cultures is emblematic of a further symbolic violence to new forms of post-war lower middle and working class identity.

SECTION TWO – 'ORGANIC' METHODOLOGIES

4 - CHAPTER FOUR

COMPARATIVE METHOD:

THEORY, PRACTICE AND ETHICS.

1 – Part One – Introduction

In this chapter I identify the question of *key agents*[27] and their location in particular spaces, as a basis for further empirical work in this study. In Section One, I turn to the rationale for the selection of York and Leeds as spaces to examine key agents within the built heritage conservation movement. In short I examine three reasons for my choice of these sites. Firstly these spaces are worthy of experiential study because they have been defined as crucial sites by conservationists living in these areas. Secondly, my choice of these two sites was based on the fact that they allow me access to particular forms of conservation, which have developed over the years in Britain. Thirdly, my choice of York and Leeds is based on the idea that they are comparative, but also representative of the history of the movement in Britain. In Section Two, these theoretical and geographical commitments are developed through the use of the comparative method. In documenting the history of comparative methodology, I examine statistical and Weberian versions of this idea of method. However, whilst these positions, are crucial to methodological debates, a fusion of the works of Charles Ragin, Theda Skocpol and Martyn Hammersley allows, for a Broad Internal Variation approach. In the first instance I suggest that this take on the comparative method is the most suitable for research into the isolation of key agents in York and Leeds. However, applying the method to a study of the built heritage conservation movement, is no easy task and in Section Three I offer a reformulation of the method which pays attention to the categories of comparability, quantity and quality. After a reworking of the methodology, in Section Four I seek to develop the comparative method through a discussion of four cases, which structured my sampling approach in York and Leeds. These four cases, I describe as 'groupings' labelled 'Historical Groups', 'Civic Trusts', 'Residents Groups' and 'Businesses'. After providing a brief outline of what I mean by these typologies I turn to the way in which I understood these conservation groupings to be key agents. In particular the way in which conservationists viewed them and their opinions as above scrutiny that was essential to my including them in the research. In this respect, conservationist

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[27] The notion of key agents in this study refers simply to those actors that were seen as more ready to convey a particular discourse that I have discussed in the Chapters that follow.

understandings of my research as a channel for me to 'learn' about the authentic realities of aesthetics and development was crucial to my willingness to involve them in the study.

Having considered case based descriptions, in Section Five I discuss the ethical problems encountered in the use of this approach. Firstly issues surrounding the nature of self-representation was crucial to these debates since the way I presented my research and myself was often fundamental to gaining access. The problem of whether I should openly suggest that my work be concerned with a study of conservationists therefore raises ethical issues over the adoption of a more covert role. Whilst there are no easy solutions to this problem I justified this decision through the suggestion that my work be balanced between epistemic responsibility to the production of knowledge on power and representation of the lives and 'political views' of conservationists. In this way the empirical chapters which follow this are both critical and a general representation of the political and aesthetic views of conservationists. A second ethical matter related to this approach rests in the way I interpreted the action and language of the people I met and studied. More specifically I focus on my use of the interview method where I adopted a semi-structured approach to overcome the concerns of encouraging conversations. In these discussions I investigate the problems inherent in theory making against the overwhelming traps of positivism. In this respect, I point to the way in which a style of questioning, which was both structured and unstructured allowed for theory generation through an avoidance of simply fitting peoples responses in well-established theory. Indeed, since this work is both historical and interview based the dangers of bringing writing from the past on to the present was often an ever present concern in my construction of interviews. Another way of dealing with these problems was my use of further methods and techniques which sought to move beyond merely the analysis of language and a search for historical discourses in the present. Rather than looking purely at words these moments allowed me to assess the role of conservation in the lives of respondents and the degree of importance that people gave to this identity in their everyday worlds. A third issue dealt with typical research problems of anonymity and transcription. Indeed since I often met public figures and was sometimes made aware of local quarrels with councillors and officials issues of anonymity were crucial in the practice of interviewing, participation and

writing. Finally I discuss the dilemmas involved in working with large numbers of interview material and the problems of thinking and representation.

2 – Part Two – The rationale for York and Leeds

2: 1 Background to the Cities

In this section I will discuss the decision-making concerning my choice of York and Leeds as research sites. However, before I look at these processes a brief historical socio-economic sketch of these cities is addressed to provide the reader with a background to the sites. Firstly with 22 wards in the York area the City has a population of approximately 174,400 people living in the area (Traynor Kitching & Associates, 2000). In terms of its historical and economic development writers have commented that the Romans founded York in AD 71 when it was called Eboracum (Booth, 1990, Shannon, 1996, Ottaway, 2001). The City prospered in the early medieval period when it became the 'seat of kinds and a venue for Parliament' (Shannon, 1996: 1). As Shannon, points out the architectural wealth of the City was created in a gradual recession in the sixteenth century when York ceased to have the Royal and Parliamentary status it had once enjoyed (Shannon, 1996). The eighteenth century however saw York's status reaffirmed with the construction of a great deal of Georgian buildings, which are now said to constitute one of the most distinctive architectural landscapes in the City (Beard, 1966, Nuttgens, 1970, 1976, 2001, Booth, 1990, Shannon, 1996, Sinclair, 2001). As Shannon notes:

> *Being one of the principal cities in England, it became a quiet backwater. But it still remained a marketing centre for the great agricultural plain of York, and this role as a market town has continued to this day (Shannon, 1996: vii).*

The arrival of the railways in the nineteenth century, however, meant that York once again grew in prosperity. Thus, writers have argued that York has had three major industrial components (Nuttgens, 1970, 1976, 2001, Booth, 1990, Shannon, 1996, Royle, 2001). Firstly York has had a significant economic heritage of the railways (Royle, 2001). Secondly York, at the end of the nineteenth century, has had a nationally renowned heritage of chocolate manufacturing from the industrial pioneers Noel Terry and Joseph Rowntree (Royle, 2001). Thirdly in more recent times, Shannon, Nuttgens and Nuttgens have claimed that these industrial components have been less significant in York's economy, with the rise of administrative and tourist sector industry making up the majority of the city's fiscal resources (Shannon, 1996, Nuttgens and Nuttgens (2001). Thus, York has become the site of a great number of insurance, information technological and financial services. In light of these developments York City Council has noted that the City has become a popular commuter zone by the links of the railway to London and Leeds. (York City Council, 2002).

Leeds is the third biggest city outside London, and with 33 wards it has a population of approximately, 700 500 (Leeds City Council, 2003). In terms of its historical and economic expansion historians are in doubt as to when the first settlements emerged that have now been described as Leeds (Fraser, et al., 1980, Broadhead, 1990, Burt and Grady, 1994, Stevenson-Tate, 1998, Godward, 2000, Thornton, 2002, Thornton, 2003). However, as Fraser et al. (1980) assert it is known that it was a village that grew up among other villages including Armley, Bramley, Headingley and Hunslet (Fraser, et al. 1980). According to Fraser, et al. (1980) it was Leeds at the river crossing that came to dominate and eventually engulf the surrounding villages. Fraser et al. (1980) claim that Leeds did not develop its wealth until the middle ages and it was only in the fourteenth century that the city became a busy place with the rise of the textiles industry. Broadhead (1990) asserts that by the seventeenth century the wool trade had become Leeds' main industry that brought with it a celebration of previous market tradition. However, in the eighteenth century, Broadhead writes that Leeds grew in strength, industrially where traditional practices of cloth production were becoming increasingly mechanised and more mass produced in their nature (Broadhead, 1990: 53). Moreover as Broadhead suggests, with the change in the

nature of these forms of production, the population, the size and therefore the wealth of the City began to grow and become more prominent and reputable:

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, visitors were surprised to find that the parish of 21, 000 acres contained fourteen townships. Leeds itself was compact, centred on Briggate and the Headrow ... [and was described in 1698 as] 'a large town ... esteemed the wealthyest town of its bigness in the County'. Leeds was emerging like a butterfly from a chrysalis and by the time Daniel Defoe came in 1725 he was greeted with a 'large, wealthy and populous town'. (Broadhead, 1990: 17).

Because of the changes in technological production and a growing populace of labour in the late eighteenth century industrialists built huge Cloth Halls and developed transport links with the huge expansion of trade. Rhodes (1993) and Godward (2000) note for instance that the growth of manufacturing and commerce led to the opening of the river Aire and the Leeds Canal with barges running goods and materials to and fro from Liverpool. In this regard, Leeds became industrially linked to both the west and east coasts of Britain (Rhodes, 1993, Godward, 2000). By the nineteenth century, Chambers (1961) and Broadhead (1990) contend that Britain was slowly becoming the industrial workshop of the world and Leeds was a prominent part of this growth. Of course as Thornton suggests this meant a great deal of changes in local industry with woollen and flaxen industries becoming superseded by engineering and ready made clothing. Importantly, Leeds was a broad based economy and along with leather, printing and brewing the city adapted to these changes. Thornton notes that in 1893 Leeds became a city, which was significant in terms of the developing transport and public services that came with the establishment of its city status. Thornton suggests that with this expansion and growth the city was increasingly defined as a miniature London:

It was described as one of the finest shopping centres in the North, famed particularly for its arcades. By now the village by the Aire had spread itself across the hillsides of the valley, absorbing the local townships. It had become

as the 'Yorkshire Factory Times' described it 'A vast business place ... a
miniature London' (Thornton, 2003).

Again, like York in the twentieth century, Leeds faced industrial change with a decline in the textile industry and as Harrison, (1999) Godward (2000) and Thornton (2002, 2003) assert, by the early 1920s tailoring and engineering became the two main sources of economy in the city. The post war years were to show a slowing in the economy and after recession in the 1980s, Harrison, Godward and Thornton argue that the city developed a vast tertiary economy. In terms of the fast growth of this economy, Harrison, Godward and Thornton maintain that Leeds became the second largest service sector employer in England with a particular remit of occupations within the information technology sector (Harrison, 1999, Godward, 2000, Thornton, 2002, Thornton, 2003).

2: 2 Power, representation and comparability

In what follows I will now suggest that there were *three* central reasons for choosing York and Leeds as sites of study. Firstly I chose York and Leeds because I understood these sites as allowing me access to an understanding of 'power' relations in the Built Heritage Conservation Movement nationally. In short these spaces were the best places to study because I understood that they contained key agents[28] in the movement. Here I am referring to the notion of key agents and power not simply in terms of the power of certain reputable groups or figures in the movement, but rather the way in which certain groups or people define themselves, their ideas and their spaces as *prestigious*. Thus the choice of the sites of York and Leeds was based on the idea that groups and conservationists in these spaces saw themselves as important or crucial to a national movement. Indeed, conservationists in these sites understood their practices and philosophies to be of a 'high standard' or a high level of 'taste'. In

this regard my respondents saw themselves as key experts in a wider national field of conservationist players. However, I want to make it clear that I did not choose these actors primarily on the basis that I really did think they were experts in a wider national field of conservationists. Rather it was the way these conservationists understood these identities in such naturalised or normative ways that drew them to me initially. However, rather than a simple thing I also understood the construction of this conception of key agency as something based on the notion of disidentification. Thus, whilst conservationists understood themselves as 'prestigious figures of authority' these identities were always constructed through discourses of 'anti-elitism'. Here it was not just that these actors constructed their 'power' explicitly but rather that they also had the capability to naturalise and normalise it as 'non-powerful' that made them key agents.

Moreover the way in which groups and conservationists viewed their own 'landscapes' or 'townscapes' as crucial to a broader field of aesthetics was central to my understanding of them as key agents. Again the main attraction of choosing York and Leeds was that for conservationists in both these cities their own 'landscapes' or 'townscapes' were seen to be 'aesthetically prestigious' in a wider national field of townscapes. In this respect, where conservationists viewed their townscapes as distinctive formed my major interest in choosing York and Leeds as locations of study. Again I did not choose these sites because I understood that these townscapes *were* aesthetically illustrious in a field of landscapes. More exactly the choice of these sites was based on the normalisation of these spaces by conservationists as 'aesthetically reputable' or respectable through a narrative of anti-authoritarianism and anti-elitist discourse. Furthermore, the way 'prestigious non-elite' identities of conservationist groups and individuals were supported by others who were not 'key agents' was also significant in my identification of 'important people to interview'. Particularly where conservationist groups and individuals were supported by local business, the public and even the local council they were also defined as key figures that a certain sense of authority. However, again and again it was the way both businesses and the general public pointed to authoritative figures who were generally 'down to earth' and 'non-pretentious', that was crucial to the sense of respect and

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[28] My understanding of the notion of key agency is used here pragmatically to describe a set of actors that were making and defining the movement itself.

status that people held about them. In this respect, through self-identification, through the discussion of taste and the discourses of others I have identified the notion of key agency through an authoritative figure that has status on the basis of her/his commitment to a disidentification with elitism and privilege.

Secondly, I also sought to choose these cities for issues of representation. Here I am defining the notion of representation through a concern with knowing and developing more informed ways of knowing and understanding a 'subject' of study. I do not want to argue that there is a 'real thing' called representativeness since this defines the possibility that a researcher will have an ultimate ontological complicity between herself and the social world. In this regard I chose the sites of York and Leeds because I understood these cities to be 'generally representative' of some of major features of the built heritage conservation movement. Of course I do not want to claim that this study of York and Leeds has meant that I have developed a completely accurate 'model' of the national movement. For instance, whilst York and Leeds do contain a wide selection of groups, there was no local base or local group for the *Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings* (SPAB). When faced with the absence of this group I was immediately disappointed and considered London as an alternative site for the study. However, given the broad range of groups in the area and the fact that some major links existed between conservation groups in these areas and the SPAB I decided to persevere with my choice. Thus, a major reason for the selection of York and Leeds was the way in which these two cities contained major groups from the *history* of the built heritage conservation movement (discussed in Section One of this Thesis). As well as having the sub branches of the Georgian and Victorian Society, these cities both had Civic Trusts and a wide range of the local amenity movement or residents groups. The local amenity movement formed in the latter part of the Sixties and Seventies and is associated mainly with local urban groups that formed due to the threat posed by urban development. In particular the local amenity movement has been discussed as being NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) in character since its concerns were mainly with local areas and thus it was not seen to have been a wider national cause. In this way whilst the rise of this movement has been associated with the 'Heritage Crisis' writers have suggested that the two issues are separate since local amenity groups were only concerned with their own

neighbourhood areas rather than city centres (Lowe, 1977, Urry, 1990, Samuel, 1994, Andreae, 1996, Stamp, 1996, Hunter et al, 1996). Also these cities contained a number of green groups, businesses and local social movements which had been suggested to be evidence for the development of the conservation movement both locally and nationally. Subsequently respondents said that the development of the built heritage conservation movement in these cities was at a crucial and exciting phase in its history, which was not to be missed by a researcher.

Thirdly, I chose York and Leeds because of their *comparability*. In this way a reason for studying these sites was based on the assertion that I wanted to assess the way the conservation movement was a very local movement. Here I do not want to argue that the movement is broken down into autonomous societies, but rather that these areas had different historical legacies that implied that conservationist also had local cultures. Here I want to make it clear that there were many strong similarities between both these areas. Yet, what was immediately interesting about these sites was the way in which they differed 'locally' in terms of the different legacies of conservation, the structure of policies, and the different kinds of groups that had grown in these areas. Moreover these areas were worthy of study in terms of the way the landscape heritages of these cities could possibly provide very different social reactions in conservationist discourse. In what follows I will now investigate these notions through three sub themes: historical conservation legacies, philosophy and landscape.

2: 3 Conservation historical legacies

Firstly these cities are locally comparable in terms of their conservation histories. As historians have noted, the development of the built heritage conservation movement in York has been a significant factor in the expansion of the movement nationally (Pallister, 1974, Kennet, 1979, Nuttgens and Nuttgens, 2001). Indeed, as Pallister notes that York has been the site of the origins of the movement and has been in its own right a place of a great number of conservation reforms and acts (Pallister, 1974). Moreover, he suggests that York has had a conservation spirit ranging back for at least four centuries. Indeed, in 1596 for instance, the York Corporation 'pleaded with the Crown to preserve Clifford's Tower, which they called "the most especial

ornament for show and beautifying of this City... York Minster excepted" (Pallister, 1974: 11). After this Pallister and others contend that there grew up a great appreciation of the urban fabric in York with the rise of the Yorkshire Archaeological and York Architectural Society (YAYAS) founded in 1842. Indeed Pallister states among other pursuits, the YAYAS,

> *Called what was believed to be the first public protest meeting ever held in York*
> *on a preservation issue, (over the sitting of the city War Memorial) and in 1927*
> *they won a legal action against the Corporation, which was trying to destroy*
> *the cholera burial ground for a traffic scheme (Pallister, 1974: 11).*

Interestingly the founding of this society predated the formation of the national built heritage conservation movement. In this respect whilst traditional historians have argued that the origins of the movement rest with the formation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877, (see Chapter Two) the legacy of the YAYA's suggests that built conservation may well have had earlier followings. Secondly York's Civic Trust predated the development of the foundation of the London group which is usually acknowledged as being the starting place of the movement (Civic Trust, 1969, 1976). Thus, Nuttgens and Nuttgens argue that

> *York Civic Trust was founded in advance of the London Civic Trust on 18th July*
> *1946 by a group of far-sighted and concerned local citizens which included J.*
> *B. Morrell and Oliver Sheldon of Rowntree's and the Dean of York (Nuttgens*
> *and Nuttgens, 2001: 331).*

In comparison Leeds has had a very different historical legacy of conservation. In recent histories some commentators have suggested that, unlike other cities, Leeds has only had built heritage conservation in the last few years. Until the late sixties writers therefore suggest that there had been a relative lack of conservationist consciousness and activism which had meant that the 'experts' had destroyed the City:

Along came the Sixties. Planners, developers and councils engaged in an orgy of historical, architectural and social vandalism. As a councillor it was impossible to withstand the force of the experts' flatulence and apparent wisdom, the expert who created the vast soulless estates of Leeds, who destroyed the communities of Holbeck and Hunslet, who erected monstrous city centre multi-storey rectangular blocks of offices and flats, who pulled down a perfect example of a sixteenth century pub and replaced it with a tacky ersatz copy. Our heritage has been destroyed by the expert and by those who could have stood up to them but did not (Councillor Bernard Atha, 1993).

However despite this background in recent years writers have been more praiseworthy of the conservation movement in Leeds which has been seen to be in a process of rediscovery. Thus, writers such as David Thornton argue that with the arrival of the Civic Trust in 1965 Leeds began to arrest this development:

In Leeds new glass and concrete office blocks began to dominate the skyline. In the enthusiasm to build a Vibrant modern city, old buildings were mindlessly swept away in what many believe to have been no more than acts of senseless architectural vandalism. To combat these trends, the Leeds Civic Trust was established in 1965 and from then on waged a successful battle against those planners and developers who showed scant regard for the architectural heritage of the city (Thornton, 2002: 218).

Moreover Thornton notes that after the sixties a culture of conservation began to emerge in the City which was heralded by the arrival of the Civic Amenities Act and a desire to keep much of what was seen to be the traditional built heritage of the city:

What infuriated the people of Leeds was that many of the so-called functionally designed buildings proved to be anything but functional and the glass and concrete office blocks, known colloquially as 'glass and concrete upended shoe boxes', were considered to be 'eye sores'. The government, appreciating the

problem, passed the Civic Amenities Act of 1967 allowing local authorities to designate certain parts of the City as 'Conservation Areas'. Leeds used the legislation effectively and, by the 1990s, sixty-three areas were so protected (Thornton, 2002: 218).

Alongside the development of a traditional conservation movement in Leeds the City also became reputed as having a very strong resident's movement, which could not be matched in other cities. Hence, whilst Leeds has a larger population, the presence of this movement, became noticeable to the point that local groups were involved in traditional conservation issues concerning planning and development. Thus, where the Leeds Civic Trust and Victorian Society was concerned with the staving off inner city development the rise of the local amenity movement meant that these issues were brought to local suburban spaces. Moreover, as Appendix A demonstrates, these groups developed their own philosophies, activities, educational programmes and literature. In this respect the 'destructive development' of the late sixties and seventies was not simply felt by traditional forms of conservation grouping (i.e. the Civic Trust and the Victorian Society) but by local actors that had developed their own sense of environmental consciousness.

In comparative terms the historical conservation legacies of these cities are therefore interesting on two accounts. Firstly York, unlike Leeds, has a strong tradition of conservation in the city which can be associated with the rise of many traditional (and even some of the original) forms of conservationist movement in Britain (i.e. The Georgian Society, and the Civic Trust). However, where the people of Leeds has not had this background (to the point that some people have been described as negligent – see Atha, 1993) they have had a more recent movement and a particularly colourful local amenity or residents movement. Thus York, unlike Leeds, has not the same examples of local activism and group formation in the city although in recent years there is some evidence for the formation of Urban-Green residents based groups (See Appendix A). Specifically this movement has been largely connected to the green conservation movement since its focus is not simply on buildings but the use and re-use of brown field sites and green spaces. In part the differences in local amenity

movement in the City may reflect the fact that York, with some exceptions (see Shannon, 1996), has avoided most of the 'monstrosities' of late sixties and early seventies development. However, as my research developed I have also understood that conservationists in Leeds have a greater awareness of the value of pre-industrial settlements and townships that were said to have been swallowed up by the expansion of the inner city.

2: 4 Civic Trusts: Conservation or development?

Secondly these cities are worthy of local comparability by the difference between the contemporary conservation Visions of the Civic Trusts in these areas. Looking at the differences between the Civic Trust as one group in many might seem illogical given the range of conservation groups in these cities. However, the difference between the Trusts in these areas was important by the complete influence and connections that these groups have over local issues, groups and campaigns. Thus, whilst these Civic Trusts had informal links with other groups, they served as nexus points between conservation groups and a culture of conservation in the areas. Moreover, as Appendix B demonstrates the Civic Trusts in York and Leeds were groups with a mass public membership and a complex internal structure of committees. Thus, the value of looking at Civic Trusts in any major city is the capacity they give us to take the temperature of the level of 'conservation culture' in the local area. In this respect, then the comparability of these Civic Trusts rested in the way they reflected wider attitudes of conservation and development. Thus, on the one hand York Civic Trust was concerned with conserving the old buildings of the city and a general vision of the landscape. Moreover the York Civic Trust was very wary of letting any planning application past its aesthetic view. In this respect, whilst these groups suggest they are conservationists, the combination of the Georgians and the York Civic Trusts' rigorous planning approach means that they have a more preservationist approach. Moreover, whilst these groups view their activities as having a social purpose, compared to other groups in this study, there activities are less community based, and there is little evidence that the group undertakes research into community opinion. In contrast the Leeds Civic Trust was interested in the future of building in the city and more specifically the development of new buildings. In this regard whilst architecture played a role in the decision making of the Leeds Civic Trust conservationists

commented that 'heritage' was not their only concern. Thus, rather than seeing itself primarily responsible for the built heritage of the area, the Leeds Civic Trust saw itself as having a responsibility to the cultural heritage of the city. In this respect the Leeds Civic Trust, was concerned about a range of themes in the city which include, museums, music, and visual arts. Moreover, the Leeds Civic Trust has a high degree of reflexivity with a commitment to canvassing and developing the views of the local Leeds community. As my research developed then these initial understandings of the Trusts in these cities therefore reflected wider attitude to cultural conservation development.

2: 5 Comparability of landscapes

Finally the choice of York and Leeds as sites of local comparability rested in the very different historical legacies of their 'townscapes' seemed important in my selection of these areas. Indeed, given my understanding of the movement in Section One as something that interacts with the concept of townscape I was interested in the way conservationists would construct their townscapes given to them by history, culture and economics. Here I do not want to suggest that there is a real landscape that determines the cultural activities and practices by which conservationists construct themselves. Rather I have contended that the way conservationists construct physical landscapes through pre-defined social structures is key to an understanding of townscapes. In this way I chose the differing cities of York and Leeds on the basis that the differing built heritages of these landscapes would inspire the construction of different visions, concepts, activities and even the structure of different kinds of group.

2: 6 Maps of the City's

I now want to include maps of York and Leeds in this section. However, rather than just any map the kinds of topographical charts I include in this section fall into two specific brackets. Firstly Maps A and B are standard political maps of York and Leeds. Rather than any political reasons I have included these maps in this section

because they allow the reader to gain a bearing on the locations within these City's. Moreover these maps have been included because they allow me to illustrate the location of the conservation groups I have discussed in the last two sections. As the reader will notice Maps A and B therefore include labels to pin point the location of the conservation groups in this study.

Map A: The City of York

Map B: The City of Leeds

Horsforth Civic Society

Meanwood Residents Association

Weetwood Residents Association

The West Yorkshire Group (WYG)
Victorian Society
-Claremont
-23 Claremont Road

North Hyde Park Neighbourhood Association

The Leeds Civic Trust –
Leeds Heritage & Design Centre
17/19 Wharf Street

Pudsey Civic Society

The Oulton Society

Rothwell and District Civic Society

Little Woodhouse Community Association

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Secondly Maps C and D of York and Leeds are drawn from the archives of local conservationist literatures. Whilst these maps are as no way as accurate as Maps A and B I have included these maps here to provide a more intimate and detailed appreciation of the way conservationists understand and construct the landscapes and landmarks of the City's they live in. Here, then, what is essential about the inclusion of these maps in this text is the way they make reference to buildings and well known sites of cultural architectures as the defining boundaries and markers of their own City's landscapes. Thirdly I have included these maps because they allow the reader to get a background to the spatial ways conservationists understand the world. However as well this I have included these maps because they allow the reader to refer to certain key sites and buildings that are repeatedly mentioned in the transcripts in Section Three. These maps are therefore crucial to an interpretation of built landscape that cannot be found in ordinance surveys and even local parochial maps that privilege some forms of townscape over others. As I am suggesting then these conservation maps of York and Leeds are therefore uniquely conservationist in that they represent a particular gaze and a way of seeing:

The Walk of the York Snickelways

KEY TO SNICKELWAYS ROUTE

TOTAL DISTANCE (APPROX)

- Pedestrian access only ... 1¾ M
- Street with restricted, or very little, traffic } ... 1½ M
- Street with normal traffic ... ¼ M

3½ M

→ Direction of travel

Ⓟ Public Car-park

⑰ Snickelway No.

• Location of Snickelway if not adjacent to name

SCALE:
100 METRES
100 YARDS

START and FINISH

Map C: York Heritage Trail

Mark Jones

Map D: Leeds Heritage Trail

KEY

Walk A ....
Walk B ....
Walk C ....
Walk D ....
Walk E ....
Walk F ....
Walk G ....
Walk H ....
Walk J ....
Walk K ....
Walk L ....
Walk M ....

Based on the 'Leeds Picture Map and Guide' © James Brown Designs.
45 Vesper Road, Leeds LS5 3QT. 0113 2786710. Available in all good bookshops.

In sum, compared to other cities, it is my argument that these cities were the most interesting for a study of the conservation movement in terms of issues of power, epistemology and space. Firstly these cities were worthy of study in the way key agents within these areas constructed themselves, their ideas and their townscapes as prestigious. Secondly these cities were defined as laudable sites of study because of the general broadness of the groups which were contained in these areas. Indeed, whilst I conceded that these sites were not completely representative or could ever serve as a 'model' of the movement I suggested that these spaces featured many traditional and non-traditional groups that would allow for exploration into a wide number of conservation identities. Thirdly I contended that these areas were worthy of study by the way they allowed for local comparability. Indeed, whilst I did not argue that built heritage conservation be viewed as a completely fractured movement of parts with no inter-activity, I suggested that given the dispersion of conservationists in space conservationists suggested the possibility of local conservation cultures. In terms of these issues I therefore contended that the two local sites of York and Leeds were comparable in terms of the conservation legacies of the two sites; the differing nature of the Civic Trusts in these areas; and the contrasting character of the 'townscapes' of these two sites. In this respect, the final factor in my choice of York and Leeds rested on my wishing to explore the assertion that the built heritage conservation movement was a diverse identity. Considering all these factors, I would now like to turn to a discussion of methodological factors, to assess the way in which a study of the built heritage conservation movements in these sites proceeded.

3 – Part Three – Choosing a methodology

3: 1 Quantitative or qualitative methods?

Having identified key agents and York and Leeds as the starting point for my research, I was faced with the question as to whether I should employ a quantitative or

qualitative approach to research the conservation movement. Whilst a quantitative approach seemed like a good way to explore the broad characteristics of the movement I was aware that issues of identity and particularly the issue of power might be better addressed by an approach that looked at social processes. By social processes I am referring to the idea that identities cannot simply be captured by statistical questioning but are through a continual engagement with meanings and social actions over periods of time. In this way whilst statistical information can provide access to this data, a method that allows for a certain degree of experiential contact means that the researcher can look at the way meaning is in a constant process of negotiation between conceptions of discourse and the self. Of course I am not suggesting that statistical methods cannot develop an understanding of power relations. Indeed initial research showed that conservationists were often hostile to being studied and thus a questionnaire, then, could reveal more personal data in the physical absence of a researcher. However, as the research developed it was the way some conservationists were initially resistant to being studied and asked questions, which itself raised questions worthy of a more careful and qualitative participatory approach. Thus, I reasoned that an approach that looked at the way in which conservationists did not want to be involved in research was interesting in itself.

A second reason then for rejecting a purely statistical approach rested with the notion of key agents. Since defining key agents rested on my comparison of conservationists with others, an approach that was based on a statistical method alone meant that I would not be able to develop a sampling method to determine whom was and who was not an agent. Moreover an approach which rested on a study of conservationists and power relations both in terms of their identities and the way they construct others and the spaces they live in, would seem more conducive to a more overtly qualitative approach. Indeed, whilst a statistical approach would be a useful tool to access power relations I wanted to get a deeper understanding of the way conservationists negotiated their identities within their cultural spaces. Thus, by adopting a qualitative approach I wanted to follow leads and explore the complexities involved in the construction of identities. Furthermore, since the conservation movements in these areas were not well publicised a statistical approach to the movement would not have elicited an understanding of the great depth of variation in the movement. Thus, as the analysis that follows demonstrate, the conservation movements in York and

Leeds contained a great deal of internal variations. However, whilst a quantitative approach did not seem appropriate, a strictly qualitative methodology or a case study approach to the movements in York and Leeds also seemed problematic. Indeed, whilst case study methodology, might have been viewed as a natural course of action given that the two sites of York and Leeds had their own conservation legacies or 'cultures', I also wanted to gain an understanding of variation within the conservation movements in these areas. An 'in-depth approach' traditionally associated with the case study meant that I would focus simply on one or two cases, to develop an understanding of conservation. Indeed as I suggested above (Section 1: 2), I was interested in developing an understanding of as many forms of conservation group as possible to develop an understanding of the role of key agents. Thus, an approach that simply looked at one or two cases (i.e. York and Leeds as cases) would ignore the subtle complexities between the differing groups in these spaces and therefore the different kinds of conservation identity. In the identification of key agents the study of a wider range of cases was therefore essential if I was to gain an understanding of the way people normalised their identities as powerful and how they positioned others as powerless. Moreover in practical terms an approach that looked at a broader spectrum of cases meant that I could gain access to a range of views and understandings of the role of key agents in the conservation spaces of York and Leeds.

Because of these two factors of wanting to gain a qualitative analysis of the movement but wanting to get a broad or survey-style approach to the built heritage conservation movement, I decided to choose a *comparative method*. The main reason for this choice as I will go on to discuss below is that the comparative method has often been viewed as a synthetic method between the boundaries of both quantitative and qualitative research. Moreover, because of my choice of two comparative sites, it would seem appropriate to adopt a comparative method by the simple practical contrasting and comparative characteristics of the two cities. In short, since the comparative method has been loosely associated with notions of agreement and difference, a method that incorporated the spatial ideas of the comparative and contrasting aspects of the conservation movements in these places seemed ideal. In the section that follows, I shall now describe the comparative method, what it is and the various commentaries that have surrounded it. However, before I do this, some

explanation of the history of this method will be examined so as to give a sense of the flavour of a method, which has been generally under used by social scientists.

3: 2 The status of the comparative method in contemporary social science

May (1997) argues that the history of comparative methodology has been quite long and that first evidence of this methodology in political and social science, can be traced back to Aristotle. However, despite these long established roots, in current years comparative methodological work has been dominated by writings on cross-national research. Because of this work which deals with local or endogenous comparative methodologies has been relatively unexamined (Øyen, 1990) though political scientists, sociologists and sociologists of history might be regarded as the pioneers in this field (Smelser, 1976). More recently, comparative methodologists such as Charles Ragin, (1987, 1992, 1994, 2000) Theda Skocpol (1979, 1984, 1994) and Martyn Hammersley et al (Hammersley et al. 2002) have developed a sophisticated approach. In what follows, I will examine the writings of these comparative methodologists in conjunction with one another so as to point to the way these writers have basic conceptions in common. Moreover, I will also talk briefly about the kinds of language these writers employ to give the reader a sense of the idea of typologies. Indeed, the way these writers understand the notions of typologies is therefore crucial to the way we understand the method. After this outline I will look in more detail at the complexities of these theories and the way the different schools of a more recent synthesised approach can be worked on and developed.

3: 3 The study of internal variance?

Ragin, Skocpol and Hammersley can be associated with one another by their commitment to the work of John Stuart Mill (Ragin 1987, 1992, 1994, 2000; Skocpol, 1979, 1984, 1994 and Hammersley et al 2002). In short, the idea of the comparative method in these conceptions is based on a rejection of a purely theoretical approach like a statistical method, which simply tests theory apriori without any recourse, to 'empirical data'. Ragin, Skocpol and Hammersley et al contend that, by looking for

'agreement and differences' between empirical phenomenon, we can generate more accurate notions of typologies, which 'do not' simply reflect 'positivist constructs'. In this way this approach to data is similar to grounded theory in that begins from the idea that we go to the empirical first to build theory. Thus, the most powerful understanding of the comparative method in this idea is the notion of the 'experiment', which involves the construction of cases in the actual empirical data of the research. Ragin, Skocpol and Hammersley et al. therefore contend that 'the researcher has to search for naturally occurring cases that will provide the necessary comparative leverage' (Hammersley, et al 2002: 239). Here then by naturally occurring cases, Ragin and Skocpol are referring to those typological constructs in social life which can simply be 'found out there'. For example, Ragin, Skocpol and Hammersley et al assert that, rather than a study of political revolutions via a total theory testing approach, we should look at the way in which political revolutions contain certain characteristics or features inside their development that can be compared and contrasted. By looking internally into political revolutions and comparing cases or units inside these phenomena (and between these phenomena) we can begin to identify the conditions between *matches* as a starting place for research. What this approach suggests then is that rather than a statistical approach which is concerned with the testing of wide societal variables, as a starting place for research we look at the internal variations of phenomena itself to generalise about society. In simple terms, then, the comparative method is a way of working backwards from empirical discussion to theoretical concerns.

However, by looking at the phenomena or cases to be examined, rather than social structures (variables) which enable phenomena or cases to exist, Ragin, Skocpol and Hammersley et al. do not want to suggest that this means this methodology should be confused with case study method. Indeed, because the case study method is often associated with a couple or even one case which are/is examined thoroughly often through ethnographic method, these writers suggest that the comparative method is not limited to looking at small numbers of phenomenon or cases. Thus, Ragin, Skocpol and Hammersley et al. contend that what characterises the comparative method is its interest in internal variation. In this respect rather than the study of one or two phenomena or cases, comparative methodologists are those that will explore the internal complexities of phenomena or cases. In this regard Hammersley et al

suggest that data be available from more than one case, 'perhaps from a substantial number, such that the effects of various candidate causal factors can be controlled or assessed' (Hammersley, 2002: 239).

In sum then, this method therefore carries with it an ontological assumption that reality can be divided up into smaller parts in a way that the case study method overlooks. In this way, then, whilst the aim of this approach is not to replicate the statistical method (as I have suggested above) the division of phenomena and cases by more internal parts or cases means that the 'concept' of the statistical method can be achieved. In short by dividing one or two phenomena (or cases) into more cases and parts we can develop enough divisions to give us the leverage to make statistical or 'very strong' qualitative assumptions. In this way the comparative methodology does not have to be either a quantitative or qualitative method but rests with the subject to be studied and the kinds of question to be asked.

3: 4 Problems and developments of the approach

Despite the complexity of this methodology there are major assumptions surrounding its deployment that are problematic. Firstly Liberson (2002) contends the idea that social life is made up into parts also carries with it an epistemological supposition that these parts are real and that they exist. The problem with this kind of idea is that it gives the impression that holistic social fragments of life are out there to be 'found'. Quite simply the problem with this is that if we say that social data are out there to be found we paint a positivistic picture of society as an unchanging machine, which has laws that are ultimately knowable (Liberson, 2002: 90-91). Secondly, some contemporary writers in the comparative methodological approach assume that there are cases in the social world that ultimately share similarities with one another and which can be compared despite the very different contexts they are in (see particularly Skocpol, and Hammersley, 2000). The problem with this understanding of the comparative method is that there is an implicit suggestion that the social units for study can be bracketed and thus measured as entities which belong to the same holistic social patterns. This approach ignores the way society is relational both in macro and micro contexts and thus some parts, cases or units are therefore intimately entwined and connected. Thus, if we bracket and compare internal units within say

cases of political revolutions, as well as carrying ontological assumptions about the nature of political revolutions, these ideas therefore carry assumptions about the nature of social reality. For instance, whilst the French Revolution could carry internal units of 'causation' such as those of poverty, to suggest that these internal unit of causation could simply compared to the notion of poverty in the Russian revolution is problematic. Indeed, constructing poverty as a unit that carried between revolutions ignores the way these terms have had and still have varying and different cultural interpretations across space and time. For example notions of poverty in France in the late 1700s could carry relational connections to the ideas of class, ethnicity, gender, age and sexuality, which would not exist in the same way in Russia. The construction of the comparative method, in this way therefore draws upon an ontological theory, which assumes that all human reality is ultimately comparable and therefore holistic in some way regardless of time or place.

As well as these epistemological problems the comparative method can be accused of having practical methodological difficulties especially in terms of the construction of typologies. Indeed, whilst typological constructs can be epistemologically neutral their usefulness in all situations can be called into question. The problem with the supposition that all phenomenon or cases can be divided into smaller cases, sub-units or units begs the question as to when we can be sure about the divisions between cases. In simple terms if we were very theoretically scrupulous we might find infinite divisions between cases and thus never ending divisions that serve no purpose for a study of power. Thus the problem with this level of reasoning rests with how we are to stop dividing phenomenon or cases into cases? In answer to these criticisms Ragin, Skocpol and Hammersley have suggested that we must work from a definition of typologies that makes pragmatic steps to show the way reality is built up. However, we are also faced with the problem of whether phenomenon or cases can be divided at all when an analysis that just deals with something as a collection of parts could provide us with a more interesting understanding of social reality. The suggestion, then, that phenomenon or cases should be divided at all therefore carries with it the shadows of positivism and a form of science envy where the social scientist is bent on demonstrating the value of vast numbers of cases to support her/his analysis. These kinds of divisions therefore say something more about the role of the researcher in the

production of cases than whether cases, sub-cases or units are adequate representations of the social world.

However, despite all these varying criticisms I would like to suggest that whilst there are dubious epistemological problems the 'practical applications' of this method are really interesting. Thus, rather than ontologically suggesting that society be organised into parts I would contend that this methodology like other methodologies is useful for particular situations. In this respect rather than a better way of looking at reality, as Ragin, Skocpol and Hammersley et al suggest, the comparative method should be understood in terms of the questions posed by the research and the phenomenon or cases to be studied. Where cases are divided into sub-cases and units, obviously a comparative method would seem like a good tool for the job where it would seem unsuitable to look at say for instance a sub-culture or a very small organisation where there are fewer internal parts. In terms of the discussions that follow, I would like to suggest that it is the right instrument to analyse the built heritage conservation movement since an internal variance approach allows us to explore as yet a movement which has been relatively unexamined. Indeed, before beginning my research I had a rough idea that the built heritage conservation movement was stratified into different parts and units but I had no idea how. In this way the building of typologies through cases and their sub-cases and internal units allows us to construct interesting charts and steps of analysis that takes us from macro to micro-complexes. Specifically then this method is extremely useful for the examination of phenomenon and cases that are known to be internally structured or complex even if they are not fully understood by previous research. Finally this method is a good starting place for the analysis of phenomenon or cases in *relational* terms. Whilst comparative methodologists suggest that the method be viewed in terms of its capacity to build typologies the strategy to build cases and parts within parts can allow us to gain some sense of the way in which complex power structures work between various agents in a system. Thus rather than viewing the comparative method as an 'experiment' where society is viewed as a static set of parts the comparative method can be used as a tool to look at the way power works in interactive terms. Since my research question rests in a search for key agents a method that looks at the way sub-units within cases interact with one another is crucial to my understanding of power.

Having identified the weaknesses and strengths of this method, I now turn to the specific writings of Ragin, Skocpol and Hammersley to point to the way in which we can build on the *methodological* (rather than the epistemological) aspects of this tool. Again I often comment on some of the assumptions which are tied to this method to sieve out the unwanted ontological and epistemological baggage for the practical implications of these tools. Specifically I examine the issues of these comparative methodologists through the way they consult traditional ideas of quantity and quality.

3: 5 The Ragin school

Ragin's argument can be said to have its roots in a Durkheimian analysis although he is of course very critical of the idea that the method should be either/or quantitative or qualitative. However Ragin does suggest that the comparative method does fall to one side and despite his Durkheimian roots he suggests that the comparative method is ultimately a qualitative approach. But Ragin is also very specific in his suggestion that the comparative method should not be confused with the case study method. Thus, Ragin contends that whilst case study method allows us to gain familiarity with large groupings of people, they are also limited by their reliance on concepts such as geography and time. Instead Ragin argues that this approach is too narrowly focused, since they are

> *are not involved in testing theories per se. Rather they apply theory to cases in order to interpret them. Because the explanatory statements of comparative social science cite attributes of macro-social units, objects with known identities and histories figure prominently in the conduct of inquiry. Thus, it is very difficult to treat these units simply as the undifferentiated raw material of empirical social science (Ragin, 1989: 11).*

Thus, in short Ragin maintains that whilst useful case study approaches limit our abilities to make an assessment of patterns between cases and the way in which cases have regularities. In this respect, Ragin proposes that unlike the case study approach the comparative method is *broader* and is concerned to look at a larger number of cases

Comparative researchers examine patterns of similarities and differences across a moderate number of cases. The typical comparative study has anywhere from a handful to fifty or more cases. The number of cases is limited because one of the concerns of comparative research is to establish familiarity with each case included in the study (Ragin, 1994: 105).

Ragin's argument, in this regard, is that the comparative method is something in excess of case study approaches. However, Ragin's thesis is that, rather than completely reverting to quantitative analysis, comparative method is a research strategy to explore, and to find, *diversity*. Indeed, this must not be perceived in a deductive testable manner, where a hypothesis is built and then differences sought out. Rather, for Ragin, this methodological strategy is one that encourages an analysis of fewer social units to look at variation and even to identify variation within social units. In the first place, then, Ragin argues that his method rests on a notion of 'understanding' and the idea that the work of comparative researcher is based on gaining a familiarity with variables or cases for the purposes of examining diversity.

The comparative method forces the investigator to become familiar with the cases relevant to the analysis. To make meaningful comparisons of cases as wholes, the investigator must examine each case directly and compare each case with all other relevant cases. The statistical method, by contrast, requires the investigator only to disaggregate cases into variables and then to examine relationships among variables (Ragin, 1987: 16).

In this regard and exposing his Durkheimian influence, whilst, Ragin's analysis develops an interpretation of qualitative method this approach is founded upon a quantitative logic. In the first place, Ragin application of Mill is one that is based on a logic, which essentially serves to control the selection of units, so that adequate comparisons can be made. Here, in Ragin's terminology the logic of this approach is based on developing truth tables so that we can examine complex and multiple

patterns of causation. Thus, like Durkheim Ragin's argumentation follows an experimental logic where we seek out variation within cases to draw out the agreements and differences which exist within social phenomenon. An immediate practical problem with this approach is that firstly we would require a very large number of variables to achieve the kind of pattern analysis that Ragin is arguing for. For example in my study (as I shall suggest below see Part Three) whilst some cases contained internal variations which were comparable many of these cases did not have enough internal differentiation within them for a large quantitative analysis. Thus, as Liberson suggests, and I have suggested already (see section 2: 3), Ragin's approach assumes that social life is ontologically made up as a holistic set of parts (Liberson, 2002: 90-91).

3: 6 The Skocpol and Hammersley approach

Writes such as Skocpol and Hammersley et al. have provided a more Weberian approach to their analysis, in interpreting the comparative method as qualitative with a quantitative background. Skocpol, in her text *Vision and Method in Historical Research*, (1984) argues that instead of testing theories the comparative method is about the study of a smaller number of cases (or sub-units within cases). However Skocpol, rather than adopting an internal differentiation approach, suggests that we can view the method in terms of a *multivariate analysis* that focuses on a few internal differences, rather than a large broad number of units. For Skocpol, whilst looking at a broad number of cases increases our understanding, this approach lacks an adequate understanding of the subject to be analysed. Rather than looking at every internal differentiation, Skocpol asserts that we should start with a few units and build up historical and geographical understandings of the way in which these units are located temporally and spatially. Thus, Skocpol moves away from Ragin's fascination with cataloguing all the minutiae of cases and aims to locate internal differences within wider histories and spaces. For Skocpol the concern with cataloguing therefore creates too much detail where a better picture of reality may be built by looking at just a few internal units and asking what factors have enabled them to exist. In this way Skocpol aims to avoid the assumption that society can simply be divided up to make good experiments and to provide mathematical results. Instead she suggests that we

must begin with some examples of internal differentiation with cases to look at the way in which the factors that gave rise to these differentiation's are similar in different contexts. Consequently Skocpol, in her study of political revolutions, starts with a study of a few internal social units to understand the way certain factors between different political revolutions occur again and again. For instance Skocpol would suggest that if we took the Russian revolution and the French Revolution by looking for units of internal differentiation in these two cases we would be able to 'find' comparative data. Moreover because Skocpol singles out one or two points of internal differentiation the analysis therefore draws upon their comparable historical and contexts. However a problem with Skocpol's approach is that it is a historical method which looks at the internal differentiation between cases after an event has happened. Whilst this is a useful approach to historical data she provides little attempt to show the way this method has applications within contemporary social science. If social life is broad and complex the way we can be in several large phenomenon at once (such as a political revolution) to draw comparisons might mean that we would miss more of the everyday processes and micro-politics, which are at work in everyday situations. To look at one political revolution by its complexity would mean that we would be limited to what we could learn from it and thus an analysis which seeks to look at large phenomenon such as this in process is overwhelming. Thus where Ragin's analysis is concerned with charting the broadness of the internal variation of cases Skocpol's analysis falls down in these terms.

3: 7 Broad internal variation

Whilst these two approaches are different, the strengths and weaknesses of these approaches allows for a new interpretation of the comparative method. Thus the combination of both Ragin's broad analysis approach and Skocpol's more contextual study of internal variation within cases gives us a new approach. Firstly then, whilst Ragin's broad method is useful his fascination with cataloguing cases misses the value of an approach that singles out fewer internal units for say a historical and/or spatial analysis. Indeed, as I suggested Ragin's approach is that comparative method allows for theory testing, and this assumes that we need a lot of variables if we are too proceed with the search for the role of some parts than others in the production of

reality. On the other hand, Skocpol's analysis of a small number of internal units within cases gives us less opportunity to explore the role of differentiation between social phenomenon. In this respect, whilst Skocpol argues for an attention to time and geography in the analysis of internal variation in cases the way in which units in cases are very different is left wanting in her analysis. Incorporating both of these positions, I would argue that a method, which allows for a *broad analysis of internal variation,* is another way of looking at the method. Thus, by looking at internal variation between units, we might accommodate for the weaknesses of an approach that is concerned primarily with identifying as many units as possible (Ragin, 1987). However, by being broad simultaneously we can accustom our selves with the problems of looking at a few internal variations which does not consider the wider complexities of social processes in units (Skocpol 1984, and Hammersley, 2000). In this respect, because I was keen to search for key agents, a method which accommodated for both a broad analysis of conservationists, whilst not loosing the flavour of Skocpol's interest in the historical and spatial aspects of a smaller number of cases seemed a more applicable approach. Having built a model of broad internal variation between the combination of these approaches I now go on to look at the justifications for this approach.

3: 8 Justifications of the Broad internal variation method

The broad internal variation approach is useful in the study of key agents for two reasons. Firstly, the advantage of looking at the movement broadly means that I can identify key actors in a variety of social circumstances, which might not be achievable in a close case study approach. Moreover, the allocation of a broad approach means that I can also increase my chances of meeting key agents since a study that focuses on a few cases alone would not allow for such diversity. A reliance on a stricter qualitative approach would mean that an 'understanding' of whether I had met and interviewed key actors would rest with my understanding of the smaller number of internal units examined. However, the advantage of the broad internal variation approach is the way in which it prioritises the qualitative as the first starting block of the approach. Indeed, an immediate advantage of looking at smaller numbers of internal units is the opportunity to gain theoretical understandings of identity

construction as later revealed in the built heritage conservation movement. Indeed, because of the lack of experiential studies on the movement, little work exists on the identities and lives of conservationists and the way they attribute meanings to themselves. Thus, whilst statistical studies have pointed to the elitist role of the movement, the way in which conservationists actually understand these processes has been relatively unexplored (Civic Trust, 1976, Lowe, 1977, Larkham, 1995). In this respect, there were four major questions concerning these relatively unexamined territories:

Firstly, there was the question of how conservationists understood Englishness and whether its power could be comprehended simply through the act of inquiry. Secondly, as I suggested in the historical chapters, conservationists have interpreted notions of Englishness through forms of cultural and symbolic capital. However, given that the built heritage conservation movement is a complicated and charitable movement, to suggest that conservationists are inverted snobs is over-simplified. The way conservationists understand their role in representing the public, whilst also advocating forms of power and knowledge, was, therefore, a complicated issue in this work and one which needed further exploration. Thirdly, the way conservationists understand the dual nature of power relations was key to understanding the way in which discourses of Englishness and class are mutually constitutive. Fourthly, in relation to these issues, part of the process of identifying key agents also depends on those who do not see themselves as key agents. To gain an understanding of this, I will explore the way in which conservationists define themselves. Questions over whom are and who are not conservationists seems to be a useful starting point for a comparative strategy. This will allow me to examine the possibility that people have different levels of identification with the movement. Indeed, in this respect, do people even identify with the category 'conservationist'?

A second advantage of this method, then, is that it allows a thorough analysis of the relational production of power. In short I have chosen the notion of broad internal variation as a research strategy because I understand that it could be applicable to local analyses of the movement. An approach that is based on broad internal variation was seen as the most useful way for examining the built conservation movement in York and Leeds. Thus, I am suggesting that the built heritage conservation movement

in these areas might be understood to be composed of a few cases, which in turn contain within them a great number of sub-cases or internal units. Finally I would like to suggest that the broad internal variation approach is also the most suitable approach to tackle questions of relationality in the study of key agents. Firstly if the approach allows for Broadness within the units of cases then this was essential to a study of the case sites of York and Leeds. Rather than simply study their finer details I was interested in looking at the way different groups within these spaces were seen as prestigious or lowly. Secondly since, the approach allows for a specific analysis of individual sub-units across cases this could encourage a study of relationality in a wider context. In approaching the built heritage conservation movement in York and Leeds I was not simply concerned to look at these places as individual 'sub-cultures' composed of different varying parts. In adopting a relational concern with these sites and the views of Skocpol I was therefore interested in looking at the way these sites interacted with one another symbolically and whether conservationist spaces could be ranked as more or less prestigious.

3: 9 Summary

In this section, I have outlined the history of the comparative method and have developed the approach through two paths. Firstly by removing much of the ontological and epistemological baggage of the method I have turned to its practical methodological applications. By moving away from strict readings of the method which prescribe it as a methodology to analyse the naturally occurring fragmentary state of the social world I have suggested that there are no accepted divisions in society. Rather than taking this empiricist route I have suggested that the method be read in methodological terms as a 'good tool' for analysing certain social situations where phenomena or cases seem internally divided. Secondly in moving to these practical conclusions I have contended that the method be understood as a sophisticated instrument for looking at the way sub-cases or units within phenomena or cases are entwined in relations of power. Because of its combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches I have suggested that the method allows us to explore social spaces for key agents and to look at the way these agents of power are tied into the relationality between cases, sub-cases or units.

Secondly then I have suggested that this method can be developed through a further study of the writers surrounding quantitative and qualitative discussions of the approach. Rather than falling down one side of these debates a synthesis of approaches can allow for a new and interesting version of the comparative method, which I have described as *broad internal variation*. In the main I have understood this to be the most suitable method to search for key agents. Thus this method is useful by its capacity to allow for a *broad overview* of a number of sub-units in social spaces, phenomenon or movements. In this way rather than the case study method that focuses on maybe one or two cases the comparative method allows for a wider degree of *internal social differentiation*. However, the broad internal variation method is valuable in the way it encourages researchers to identify and isolate singular cases and to look at them in depth. In the search for key agents I am more interested in exploring which agents in the movement have more power than I am in cataloguing all the various aspects of the movement. Finally through the joining of quantity and quality, broadness and specificity I have suggested that my reformulation of the comparative method allow for a sophisticated exploration of the idea of relationality between sub-units. An approach that is both Raginian and Skocpolian means that I can look at the way cases contain internal mediums and units which interact with one another in power-struggles.

4 – Part Four – Developing a comparative methodology

Despite the value of the *broad internal variation* approach there are of course weaknesses that I would like to now address in order to demonstrate the way I sharpened the tools of my research. In what follows I point to three main disadvantages that include the problems of comparison, the nature of the quantitative-qualitative divide and the question of cases. Moreover, the discussion of the disadvantages of the *broad internal variation* approach leads me also to move from questions of methodology to notions of method. Having identified the disadvantages of my framework I direct the reader to the varying instruments and methodological devices I have used to strengthen my approach.

4: 1 The question of reliability and reflexivity?

Firstly, whilst the broad internal variation approach allows for an understanding of a number of cases, we can argue on the one hand that this method gives us no real study of variation by a focus upon cases within cases, or parts within in parts (in comparison to Ragin's approach). The lack of analysis of a wider number of aggregating cases in Ragin's terminology means that the question as to whether my study really examined a moderate number of cases in the movement is left open? Whilst I can of course provide no answer to this problem Ragin's method was simply inappropriate to an analysis of the conservation movement as I understood it. In this respect, I identified only *four* main cases in the development of the contemporary movement since an approach, which sought to identify a vast number of case's was simply impossible. Indeed, from the outset, I identified in the broadest possible terms that there were only four cases of analysis. However, in recognising, Ragin's criticism of case study method, the use of the semi-structured method as the main tool of analysis in this study meant that I could develop the basis of Ragin's philosophy of the value of broad patterns. Indeed, by looking at a range of cases throughout the research and by asking conservationists standardised questions, I could hold onto notions of comparability and establish patterns. By devising a semi-structured interview questions were divided into themes which were repeated again and again, throughout the course of the research. Again whilst I cannot argue that this approach was as representative as a more statistical based model, the isolation of four cases divided into sub units meant that there was a lot of room for analysing patterns. Furthermore within these sub-units or conservation groups there were sometimes more than 800 people in a group. In this way, and contrary to the Skocpol approach with its focus on relatively a small number of units, the size of my semi-structured interview survey meant that I could look at patterns and structural themes running between social actors.

4: 2 The qualitative dilemma?

If the comparative method might not meet with traditional quantitative definitions of good research, then similar criticisms might be made of the more qualitative side of this method, particularly concerning the notion of familiarity. More specifically by

familiarity I mean here the idea associated with qualitative approaches that these methods allow us to move beyond mere questioning to analysis of social processes at different levels (Bryman, 1989). Indeed, since the methodological approach adopted here involved sixty-three semi-structured interviews the question as to whether I really gained an understanding of the way conservationists live their lives is questionable. In short, a major criticism of my approach could be that in simply interviewing people about conservation matters, I have already suggested that the people I isolated identified with the term conservationist and understood this term as an identity. Indeed, a qualitative method such as ethnography which would allow me to spend more time with my respondents might lead me to look at the way in which conservationists live their identities in relation to a range of different conceptions and practices. Furthermore, we might surmise that an analysis of the conservationists in terms of their lives in process could allow me to look at the weight in which conservation is given in the lives of respondents. Indeed, as Bourdieu argues the interview situation is an artificial situation, and in meeting conservationists in my study I was often aware that respondents had come to the interview with the intention of talking about conservation and nothing else (Bourdieu 1996). In this respect and contributing to debates on 'elite movements', conservationists could be very professional in their meetings with me and this could mean that asking more personal questions was either inappropriate or simply rude. Here to remedy this situation the less structured aspects of the interview technique meant that I could go beyond the more structured aspects of the method. Indeed, by asking firstly comparative questions that focused on identifying diversity, and questions that followed the lead of the researched, I was able to move simply beyond rigid inquiring to more unstructured approaches. Furthermore initial interviews were crucial in the avoidance of positivist effects on the research. Thus before developing a semi-structured approach, I began from a completely unstructured approach so as to reflect upon my own questioning.

However, I adopted a range of other methods including participant observation, visual analysis and an analysis of journals rather than simply using semi-structured interviews alone. In particular participant observation was employed throughout the study given that after interviews conservationists often invited me to further conservation activities (and because I was interested in asking about key agents (see section below on access.) As well as being able to talk or listen to conservationists on

conservation issues, participant observation allowed for a wider understanding of the lived experience of their conservation practices and the activities they engaged in. In this respect, as well as attending more formal conservation meetings within groups, I was invited to attend heritage days and more social gatherings such as Barbecues and even one to one dinners. These moments of observation allowed me to identify key practices in the conservation movement, which are represented by the section on activities, membership and social attributes below.

4: 3 The problem with cases?

Finally a problem of the employment of the comparative method rested with the issue of comparison itself – or in short what are cases if these are the units to be compared? How do cases begin and end, and where do micro and sub cases fit into these cases if they are themselves internally differentiated. Indeed, we might argue that if the comparative method is primarily about making comparisons, then how many comparisons do we need to have before we satisfy ourselves with the idea that we have a 'general case'? In this respect, before conducting the research I built a model of cases to make clear the forms of internal differentiation that existed between them.

Again, whilst, there is no easy solution to this problem, these problems were lessened through an attention to reflexivity in the research process. Indeed, whilst, I have suggested above through a reference, to Bourdieu, that the selection of units is primarily theoretical, this does not mean that we should give up on trying to be as empirically rigorous as possible. Thus as Bourdieu suggests himself our recognition that the epistemic vector of theory resides above practice does not mean that we simply revert to an epistemological relativism. In his essay on interviewing Bourdieu argues that research is metaphorically a spiritual practice in that despite the limits of our interpretation we should at all cost seek to 'put ourselves into the minds of the researched' and to adopt their language. Thus, as Bourdieu suggests on the research process, reflexive research

combines the display of total attention to the person questioned, submission to the singularity of her own life history – which may lead, by a kind of more or

less controlled imitation, to adopting her language and espousing her views,
feelings and thoughts – with methodical construction, founded on the knowledge
of objective conditions common to an entire social category (Bourdieu, 1996:
19).

In taking these lines as a methodological starting point, I sought to get as near as possible to using the words of the researched. In this respect, my development of *4 cases* (including 3 sub-cases and 20 sub-sub-cases) was based on the language conservationists used to describe themselves. However, I would like to turn once again to the role of theory in the research to look at the way that conservationists were positioned by similar structural themes. Since my work was about the study of key agents, an approach, which simply *defined all conservationist groups as cases* seemed to ignore the different levels of power, which might exist in social spaces. Thus, whilst comparative methodologists refer to cases as naturally occurring things to be compared at both societal and individual levels, the way in which social phenomenon and groupings are different in size is less attended to in these analysis.

Drawing upon the idea that social spaces have varying levels of power relations, I have sought to position the built heritage conservation movement in York and Leeds into three kinds of cases. The first of these I shall define as *groupings* because by their very definition they were large cases that could contain a larger number of groupings inside them. In sum there were four kinds of grouping including historical groups, civic trusts, residence societies, and businesses. A second kind of case that I shall call *units* refers to the 20 sub-sub cases or conservation groups that I met in the study. As the following table shows below, there were more numbers of some of these groups in differing groupings than others. However, as I would like to argue it was not the number of units, which was important to this study, rather it was the isolation of key cases, which were key agents. Finally, and developing a broad internal variation model, I would like to include third level of cases in this study which I shall call *mediums*. In short mediums are those units which were smaller than groupings, but were bigger than the units themselves. In sum I identified three of these and they can be understood as conservation groups concerned to protect local

place, conservation groups concerned to protect a certain space, and conservation groups concerned to protect a historical green space.

1. Place – based groups
2. Space – based groups Not in my back yard (or NIMBY) – based groups
3. Green based groups.

In the section follows, I will turn to the reasons, I have given these groups the names or labels I have chosen. More importantly, I will also discuss the reasons why I have chosen these groups in the first place. In Table 1 below I would like to provide an overview of the cases of analysis providing the reader with a guide to the groupings, mediums, and units I have investigated. Furthermore, Table 2 points to the number of groupings, mediums and units, to demonstrate as clearly as possible the numbers of cases I was dealing with.

4: 4 Table 1: Overview of the structure of groupings and their internal dynamics

Groupings	Mediums -	Units
Historic groups		• Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society • York Georgian Society • Victorian Society
Civic trusts		• York Civic Trust • Leeds Civic Trust
Residents associations	Place-based groups	• Horsforth Civic Society • North Hyde Park Neighbourhood Association • The Oulton Society

		• Meanwood Residents Society • Rothwell and District Civic Society • Pudsey Civic Society
	Space-based groups	• Weetwood Residents Association • Little Woodhouse Community Association
	Green-based groups	• Friends of Poppleton Tythe Barn • Danesmead Residents and Meadows Association (DRAMA) • Friends of Rowntree's Park • Friends of Westbank Park • Friends of Hobsmoor
Businesses		• York Conservation Trust • York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship

Cases	Groupings	Description of mediums	Units
	Historical	-	3
	Civic Trusts	-	2
	Residents Societies	Place-based groups	6
	-	Space-based groups	2
	-	Green-space based groups	5
	Businesses		2
Total units	**4**	**3**	**20**

5 – Part Five –

Choosing key agents in York and Leeds

5: 1 Sampling at the local level

Having out lined the cases above, I would now like to briefly turn to the ways in which I came by the choice of these cases. Since, the movements in York and Leeds were different the ways in which I began to approach the sample were diverse. In York I began with directly approaching the York Civic Trust since; this appeared to the epicentre of conservation activity in the city area. Having rang up and talked to various people in the trust, I was surprised at the relatively low level of networks,

which this group had. However, hearing that there were various groups in the area, I went to the *Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies* at the University of York[29], which provided me with a loose contact with members of the Georgian Society. Despite the links these groups had with well-established members of the community, conservationists in the Georgians had some but fewer connections with the local amenity movement. In this respect, to gain access to groups in this way, I developed another strategy by turning to web sites concerning organisations and activities in the local area. Moreover, where these web sites were limited, I rang local government and ward councillors in the York area. Moreover, I also met with representatives from York's planning and conservation committee to follow up leads, and to make sure that there were no key local groups that I had not heard of. Here, following this strategy I was able to plug into the local amenity movement, although a lot of the process of gaining access rested on people I had met already. In this respect, my impression of the conservation movement in York was that there was no sense that conservation groups were entwined or socially linked to one another. Whilst York had a well-established history of conservationist heritage and a supporting wide range of groups in the area (Historical Groups, the Civic Trust and Business networks) very few of these cases were interdependent upon one another. Thus, whilst I thought sampling would be relatively easy given the historical tradition of conservation groups in these areas the lack of links between these groups meant that it was a harder task than first expected.

Gaining a sample in Leeds was less difficult and by contacting the Leeds Civic Trust I was immediately given the names addresses and contacts of a range of 18 groups from around the area. This included the West Yorkshire Group Victorian Society along with all the other groups that are included in this study. Getting a range of contacts in this way was simple but to address questions of representativeness, I widened my research to looking at internet sites of local organisations and once again I rang councillors in each of the wards in Leeds and contacted the planning committee. Compared to York, Leeds had a large residents association, but had very few conservation networks. In this respect, whilst conservation in Leeds was very much based in a local movement, the way in which the 'professional or city based'

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[29] This was mentioned as a useful resource for understanding the contemporary players in the movement in Artley and Robinson's *New Georgian handbook* (1985).

movement was connected to businesses and crafts guilds was less obvious. Finally, again like York, I felt that whilst conservationists in Leeds spoke of a movement, there was little evidence to support these ideas. In the first place, conservationists in the Civic Trust whilst connected to the residents societies by name, had very little to do with these groups. Indeed, as the following quote from one of the early Leeds Civic Trust reports shows this relationship was clear from the Trust's earliest days:

More Local Residents Associations and Societies have probably been formed in this City over the past year than in the past quarter century. This is encouraging. Their existence has shown that individuals are not only concerned about matters that effect them, but are prepared to do something, which is quite another matter. At the same time the Leeds Civic Trust must state that whilst it always tries to help, and may act as a liaison body, it is not always an umbrella organisation that will assist any local group in its endeavours, regardless of what ever its views might be. This trust has its views and its policy, as has any other local group and neither must necessarily expect automatic agreement with the other (Leeds Civic Trust Annual report, 1972: 3-4).

5: 2 The specifics of snowballing – key agency and disidentification

As I suggested above, I identified four different groupings, which I have described in terms of Historical Groups, Civic Trusts, Residents groups and Businesses. However, how I came to choose between these groupings, was dependent upon a number of factors. Indeed, it has been suggested in section one that key agents were picked according to the way they and others constructed them as 'prestigious/authoritative anti-elitists'. However, since the process of determining, whom and who was not a key agent was ongoing, my choice of conservationist groups and actors rested upon further definitions of power that were constructed during the research process. In particular I often interpreted notions of key agency between the interactions between the conservationist and myself. After conducting a lot of fieldwork and an examination of various transcripts and field notes, I felt that the central issue of determining notions of key agency rested with the way conservationists *viewed the*

purposes of my research. On approaching conservationists, I was often asked to write a letter to groups explaining exactly what my research was about and the way I saw it as being of value to the movement. My first letters were somewhat naively written implying that rather than being interested in conservation I was only concerned with conservationists themselves. An initial response to this was one of resentment: where conservationists defined my attempt to study them as 'politically correct' and insulting. For conservationists my focus on looking at their lives and responses as an examination of the issue of built heritage conservation was irrelevant. More specifically conservationists suggested that this focus on 'conservationists' meant that I was looking for problems and issues that resided with *them*. For conservationists then ultimately this was insulting since if my work was ultimately about issues of 'built heritage' then a study of contemporary architects, town planners and local councillors would be more profitable since these were the 'real agents' of contemporary concerns and issues. In this respect conservationists reflected high levels of 'referential reflexivity' or what May has also called an awareness amongst powerful social actors that they are being scrutinised by public professionals such as academics, members of local government or local journalists (May, 2002).

However, rather than taking conservationist accounts of their own 'down to earth' or 'non-elite identities' as credible, I began to understand this refusal to deal with their own elite status as indicative of the way they constructed their own power. Thus, as I have suggested above (see Section One) whilst conservationists often wanted to be regarded as authorities and their language to be understood as authoritative they also wanted to reject the 'elite identities' and 'discourses of privilege'. Thus, where conservation groups and individuals felt that their ideas, views and practices were above scrutiny (or above a critical research project like my own) was central to my selection of these actors as key agents. Having identified key agent 'conservationist groups' I then went on to meet the individuals within these groups. In total I conducted *63 semi-structured interviews* with members of the Built Heritage Conservation Movement over the areas of York and Leeds. Thirty-three interviews were conducted in York and twenty-nine interviews were conducted in Leeds. A further interview, which took place in Newcastle, was conducted with a consultant on the conservation movement in the West Yorkshire Region. However, whilst the number of interviews was approximately evenly distributed between York and Leeds

I often met and interviewed a great number of individuals in some groups rather than others. Indeed, in some instances I interviewed some twelve individuals in one unit and merely one or two in others. In other situations, I simply attended meeting and made notes on the way conservation identities and languages were understood and thus my meeting of one unit involved no interviews at all. In this way whilst I have met and acknowledged a variety of groups in this study a number of conservation groups were given less consideration.

Whilst this might seem a drawback of an approach which aims to search for key players I would suggest that it was part and parcel of my methodological aim. Indeed, a sceptical inquirer might claim that my choosing to interview more individuals in some groups than others might lead to my missing important people in other groups. Instead, my hypothetical critic might suggest that a study that involved an equal numbers of people in each group would maximise my chances to fully eliminate the chances of not meeting any key players. However, as I have suggested above part of my definition of key agency rested on the notion of 'relationality' which means that other people collude in the construction of 'authoritative non elitist (or populist) identities' even if they personally do not identify with them. In this respect, where I wanted to meet actors who constructed themselves as prestigious I also wanted to meet others who constructed them as prestigious. Thus, because some conservationist groups were pointing me to particular groups other than their own it seemed unnecessary to follow a 'representative sampling method' that would document the complete broadness of all group views in the movement. Moreover, a study that interviewed the same number of conservationists in each group would have given me less of an understanding of the dominant themes. My focus on some groups and the individuals within them meant that I could probe dominant themes that were absent in the discourses of other groups. However whilst I singled out groups and individuals I also maintained the importance of meeting groups and individuals who were relatively 'unheard of' in these conservation spaces. Often chance encounters with participants were not dead ends but represented new openings and conduits for the study of the movement and an analysis of definitions of conservation prestige. Moreover, these actors continually clarified wider definitions over who were and who were not key players in the local movements. In this respect, whilst my main aim was to identify meet and interview specific players, attention to the 'broad aspect' of the

Broad Internal Variation approach and questions concerning the relationality of groupings, mediums and units allowed for a development of the study of key agents. A brief and quick description of the four main cases or groupings, and the way that I understood these groupings as reflecting my definitions of key agency, now follows.

5: 3 Historical groupings

For the sake of definition I have described all those groups who profess an interest in the conservation of a particular historical period in the built environment as Historic Groups. In York and Leeds there were only four of these groups in total, but those groups that existed were defined by their members as central to the historical conservation legacies of the area. Following on from the section above, groups in this section were generally very busy or difficult to find in the first place, suggesting that they were not accessible to the local public. Moreover, members of these groups sometimes demonstrated initial surprise, at my proposal to research them, and in this respect, groups and group members use the session to reflect upon the way in which my research should be concerned more with issues of town planning. When these groups (and conservationists in these groups) were forthcoming to my research they were often difficult to meet and sometimes conservationists did not want to be met. However when I finally gained a chance to meet these groups often conservationists within them would repeatedly talk about the openness and inclusivity of their groups in self-awareness that they could be defined as elitist. Moreover conservationists within these groups also continually referred to the way that group members were highly committed to the City and 'the people'. In conducting research into groups within this typology, I eventually included the Yorkshire architectural and York archaeological society (YAYA's), the York Georgian society and the West Yorkshire Group Victorian society. I have defined these groups then as key agents.

5: 4 Civic Trusts

In this study I have also included the York and Leeds Civic Trusts. In some ways my choice, to describe these groups as a grouping in itself might seem strange since there are only two groups. However, I felt that these groups were very distinct from both

the historical groups and the other two forms of conservation grouping that I shall mention below. In this respect, a first decision, to include these groups was based on this difference, but moreover, it was the way in which these groups defined themselves in terms of my work that was significant. Indeed, rather than being forthcoming, I had to spend a great deal of time applying 'research pressure' to get these groups to agree to be interviewed. In terms of the Leeds Civic Trust in particular access was only achieved via my being allowed to come to key planning meetings. At these meetings I was also encouraged by individuals not to pester members of the trust and so it was only by developing friendships via socials, and other means that I was able to get people to agree to be interviewed. A second basis for my choosing of these groups, was also the great deal of public respect that they saw themselves as having. In many degrees, this identity was not imaginary, and membership numbers and the local press demonstrated that the trust in both these cities had a great deal of support from local business, local conservation networks. In this respect like the historical groups I have defined the Trusts as producing non-elitist populist identities that were buried in the wants and needs of 'local people'. Thus, like the Historical Groups I have defined these Civic Trusts as key agents.

5: 5 The Local Amenity Movement or Residents Groups

The Residents Movement was the largest movement in terms of its internal variation and so I have broken this large grouping down into three sub-sections or mediums. Residents associations in their broadest sense might refer to all those groups that have an interest, at some level, in the 'conservation' of a particular place, space, or green area, which can be found in the immediate vicinity, living area, or neighbourhood. Whilst, residents associations or what has been described as the local amenity movement, (in Chapter Three), might be connected to a local area which has been physically defined such as a village the conservation group might not necessarily have formed around this physical land space. Because of this varied character of the local resident's movement, I have divided this grouping into three mediums: place-based groups, space-based groups and green-based groups (as suggested above see 3: 3).

'Place based groups' are simply all those residents associations concerned with the idea of making/holding on to the character of local landscapes. In this respect, I have

called them place rather than space based groups because conservationists within these groups were interested in developing heritage, both physically and socially in these areas. Often these groups would form around well defined local areas, neighbourhoods or 'urban villages' and conservationists within these groups would display an interest in a range of activities from the conservation of local buildings, to the organisation of historical talks, events and walks (see below for an overview of activities). Formed in the early seventies, these groups might be seen to represent what the national civic trust has described as the local amenity movement, which formed in the 'Heritage in Danger era' (see Chapter Three). In the main I found no place-based groups in York, which might suggest that the local amenity movement did not develop in York given the extent that development always took place outside of the city (with a few economic exceptions – see section 2: 8 above). To say that all these groups could be defined as key agents would be unfair, since, I regarded many of the groups and their members, as having mixed and fractured identities of symbolic power. Thus, whilst some, members of these groups, demonstrated a particular conservation status, or prestige, many of these groups, were grass-roots community societies that were uncertain of the language of 'conservation' and often felt excluded from it. Nevertheless, I included these groups in the study by the way in which certain conservation groups had self-defined status'. In this respect I selected a mixture of groups because again conservationists within these groups presented a certain image or position as to the way my research should be directed and the way in which they felt suspicious of research on their conservation identities. Moreover, these groups demonstrated little or no interest in groups from other areas, and thus their own sense of being integral to a locale, was key to my definition of these groups as key agents.

Space-based groups - Whilst I met a number space-based groups, I have included a few of them in the sample, because I understood these groups to be different from the place-based groups. Formed mainly in the, mid to late 1980s these groups, were different from the place based groups by the means that they are uninterested in local heritage. In pure and simple terms, these groups might be defined as NIMBY's used by various writers to refer to those actors, who are uninterested in development taking place in areas near to their living spaces (Not In My Back Yard). In the main these groups, were not chosen, for their key agent status, but I included them by trial and

error in the early part of the research. Nevertheless, I have included them here since, like some of the place-based groups, they were key in creating links and snowballing to other groups who they considered more interesting.

Green-based groups - Finally green based groups, were the final aspect of these residents associations. Found mainly in York although there were some in Leeds I have defined these groups mainly in terms of their capacity to be interested in the preservation of a local green space, or a historic green area. At a first glance my reasoning for choosing these groups might seem suspect since, these groups might be said to belong to the green movement, than the built heritage conservation movement (Samuel, 1988, 1994). However, I decided to keep these groups in the study by the way, in which many of these conservationists viewed these spaces, in terms of notions of built heritage rather than wildlife or ecological motivations. Indeed, whilst some conservationists did hold these views, about these spaces, the way in which these spaces were understood to be either historic sites, or having a relation to a local sense of identity meant that they might be viewed as a development of the regular built heritage conservation movement. I have defined them as a third part of the local residents movement, because during the initial stages of my research I understood that they might reflect an ambiguity of conservation identities since the 'Heritage in Danger period' (See Chapter Three). Indeed, in the main these groups were found mostly in York (although Leeds did have some of these groups) and most of these groups had formed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Whilst I did not select these groups in terms of their key agent status, members of these groups expressed particular conservation identities and languages which were in keeping with languages found in both the Historic Groups and the Civic Trusts. In this respect, I chose these groups on the basis of their understanding of conservation others as authorities and more specifically anti-elitist or anti-intellectual identities.

5: 6 Businesses

The fourth set of grouping I have described as businesses. Literally these refer to business groups in York that were either involved in conservation through business enterprises through the buying or selling of listed properties or the selling of crafts skills. In this grouping I have included the York Conservation Trust and the York

Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship (YCCC). Since these businesses, were founded by the Civic Trust in York I chose them principally to get a sense of how civic trust values could be lived out in the business world. Moreover, as members of various societies in York pointed out, these businesses had a close relation to the development of the conservation movements in York and thus, they were central to its survival. Moreover, in the York Consortium for Craftsmanship in particular, conservationists in these groups had links to wider national movements, such as the *Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings* (SPAB) in London. In this way these businesses were ideal since they pointed out the links between the links between York and the national movement. However, rather than simply choosing these groups in terms of their network potential, I have included them since they often felt that their work belonged to a conservation culture in York, and moreover, conservationists in groups in both York and Leeds mentioned them in high regard. The York conservation trust and YCCC were therefore seen to emulate a philosophy of conservation and business, which they approved of. In short then whilst these conservationists were not difficult to meet, they were highly opinionated and moreover, they offered a great deal of support to the prestigious non-elite status of certain key agents.

6 – Part Six– Ethics, access, power and method

Conservationists were generally sceptical about the idea of being studied and therefore the way I presented my research to conservationists was crucial to the way in which I gained access. Here by access I am not simply referring to say interviews with members of the conservation movement, but rather the flow of the interviews themselves and the level of time and openness respondents were willing to give me. Thus in gaining access to 'conservationist lives' an issue as to how explicit I should be about my approach was central to issues of honesty and whether I was taking a clandestine or covert approach to the movement. Indeed, since I have also defined the built heritage conservation movement as an elite, some reflection on the way in which elite discourses were present in my negotiating access and meeting conservationists must be alluded to. Thus, as Hertz and Imber have suggested the whole research process and the way in which the researcher sees her/him self are often mediated by

the power of the researched in elite interviews (Hertz and Imber, 1995). Particularly then the question of how far we have a responsibility to the production of academic knowledge and the exposure of power relations in the research context seems relevant here. Moreover, having gained access, the way I sought to present my questions and the methods I used was also central to issues of ethics and representation. In this respect, the issue of forcing my meanings upon the research is addressed here. The final issues in this section turn, to the way I dealt with issues of anonymity and furthermore, the ethical problems involved in selecting some transcripts over others. Whilst these issues seem loose, here I argue that the role of ethics and representation are the main themes which tie my final discussion of method.

6: 1 Representing the research to the movement

As I suggested above (See Section Four) conservationists felt that since my research was about them I was simultaneously positioning them as a problem to be studied. An implication of this positioning was that conservationists presented a certain degree of reflexivity concerning the way that they could be taken to task and understood as 'old moaning whingers' with elite tastes. Because of my attempts to locate them at the centre of the research, in some cases, conservationists refused to be interviewed or if an interview did proceed it would be short and respondents would be less forward or friendly. Because of these uncomfortable moments I often began to present my research as a study of the aesthetic views of an often-misunderstood interest movement that needed more representation. Whilst this presentation of my research was of course one part of the reason for the study of the movement (I would not make up reasons for the study of the movement or choose words) the placing of this intention above others reflected a level of covert-ness. In this respect the decision to omit the full reasons for the nature of my research - namely the analysis of power - could be viewed to some degree as unethical by it being covert.

However, whilst there was a case for remaining ethically committed to my respondents, in terms of the reasons I chose to represent myself, I understood that I was responsible to the production of knowledge. Beverley Skeggs writes that as well as responsibility to the researched we also have an *epistemic responsibility* to the exposure and uncovering of power relations within and through society (Skeggs,

1997). In her own research Skeggs was faced with the dilemmas of studying the lives of working class women and their disidentification with the category 'working class woman'. Because of their continual disidentification with the category Skeggs was faced with the question of whether she should continue her work as a study of 'working class women'. However, for Skeggs it was this disidentification itself that was the very reason for the continuation of the research (Skeggs, 1997). Disidentification was key to the way these women reproduced their class identities through notions of respectability and class transition. Skeggs therefore justified the tensions in the research ethically through her commitment to looking at the way power was produced in people's rejection of 'power'[30]. In a similar way, then, in meeting conservationists it was their initial disidentification of the idea of being investigated and its association with *their elite identity* that was interesting. Indeed, it was the way conservationists reacted so strongly to the idea of being studied that demonstrated the way they understood themselves to be beyond scrutiny or simply well understood and unchallengable authorities – prestigious. Because of these processes then an omission of the issue of power in the research meant that I could get a more thorough understanding of the way conservationists negotiate their elite status through disidentification. An approach that would begin with a more challenging and overt elucidation of my aim to examine conservationists as elite agents could mean that much of this valuable understanding of the process of disidentification would be lost. It is for this reason that Section Three privileges the study of power over representation – or cataloguing – because I have an epistemic responsibility to understand the way conservationists construct power.

However, whilst I have made a commitment to the notion of 'epistemic ethics' I do not want to understate my obligation to conservationists. If my aim was to uncover power relations, I also sought to strike a balance between this concern to produce ethical knowledge and to represent the voices of the movement and to expose its aims and concerns to a wider public. Hopefully then Section Three of this thesis (the section that follows) does just this where I seek to point to some of the main themes and ideas that ran between respondent accounts. Moreover as well as representing the

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[30] This of course not to suggest that the women in Skeggs' study were an elite. Rather as Skeggs argues it was the way these women continually rejected the category working class woman, for the

views of respondents in this text, I have been asked to feed my interpretation of their ideas back to the movement. Indeed, whilst conservationists expressed that there were ideologies and central ideas behind the development of built conservation often respondents expressed that they did not have time to research these themes. Moreover, given the concerns of conservationists over declining membership numbers, I also suggested that this study would serve to represent conservationists through a portrait of how they understand themselves. In this respect, people were very welcoming to my work since, conservationists felt that they had a reputation as being snobs - and as suggested before 'old moaning whingers'. The possibility that an external researcher would come to elucidate conservation activity was therefore key to the way in which conservationists might shed these social stigmas. In some cases, conservationists were more critical of them and argued that my study would help the development of the movement, and the reduction of what they perceived as the institutional elitism of the movement. Often however, these respondents were more on the fringes of the movement that again suggested something about the way in which conservationist actors produce relations of privilege – that those with less power in the movement could often be more critical of themselves and others. Finally, where my research was not immediately relevant to conservationists, I often sought to pay back the favour of a research interview by providing a small writing to a local conservation journal or paper which asked for my experiences in a conservation site or space.

In sum then I have sought to balance epistemic responsibility with a responsibility to the conservation movement that seeks to weigh up the need to look at the reproduction of power with the construction of experience. One central example of the way I have sought to balance these issues can be demonstrated in the way I have chosen certain headings and titles in Section Three. For instance in careful scrutiny of Section Three the reader will notice that I have used terms such as totalitarian and politically correct that demonstrate the conservationists as reactionary and often quite expressive. Whilst these phrases and words sometimes did represent the language used by conservationists I do not want them to be regarded as defining over-arching statements concerning the actual beliefs of conservationists. Rather I have used

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notion of respectability, that was key to the way they were also located within the framework of an oppressive class discourse.

phrases such as totalitarian and politically correct to try and represent the very performative ways by which conservationists understood their own relationship to issues of built heritage and townscape. Thus, whilst conservationists might use these terms flippantly I have retained them to demonstrate the ways their beliefs were not simply understood as a set of philosophies but a way of living that was culturally performed and embodied. However, as well as these issues of power I have also included these titles because they also play to issues of representation. Thus whilst these titles are selective I have used them because I want to point to the various forms of social action, non-verbal communication and expressiveness that are lost in mere transcript analyses alone.

6: 2 The semi-structured interview method

As I have suggested above (in Section Four), I conducted a combination of methods, which included participant observation, semi-structured, interviewing, visual analysis, historical archiving and a small survey. I would briefly now like to discuss these issues and point to some of the ethical issues of accountability, or representation, which can be involved in the conduct of method in the first place. Indeed, as Bourdieu suggests, whilst the research space appears to be a neutral facility it is undoubtedly a social situation, and it is to the social dynamics of these situations that I turn.

After writing letters, I was often allowed a prior interview with one conservationist to assess whether I could meet and interview others members of a particular conservation group. In succeeding in gaining access to conservation groups, the way in which I could gain further interviews was dependent upon my presentation of self. Firstly, before I could conduct interviews, in many cases I was told to come to meetings or socials, and in these situations I was often asked to conduct a small talk as to the purpose of my study and the benefits of the research[31]. Meetings and socials

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[31] Here, at the beginning of the research I often wore a suit but since I began to realise that conservationists thought this to be too official and therefore intimidating I adopted more casual but smart outfits. Indeed, whilst I did not want to intimidate the researched, I was often aware that the some conservationists felt that my study was unprofessional by my focus on their opinions, and the more qualitative nature of the approach which was viewed as a poor substitute to statistics. Here then a casual but professional look was essential to gaining access. Whilst this information, seems relatively

were important to the development of the investigation since, at the beginning of the research I had not fully developed a series of questions and thus, these early meetings allowed me to understand at what level I should pitch my questioning. After prior meetings and participant observation, I began to gain a sense in both York and Leeds of the movements, or what Bourdieu might call a 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). After slowly identifying agents, I began interviewing and loosely the interviews were structured around conservation themes, which discussed the rise of the group, in question to more abstract questions on the nature of aesthetics and community. Often I decided to keep more abstract questions to last since, they required more thinking time, and moreover, conservationists felt slightly weary of my presence. In this way a very gentle and encouraging interview style was preferred over a more 'pushy' interview approach.

Here in developing this semi-structured, a second issue of forcing meaning on to the interviewees was essential here. Indeed, whilst I have argued in Bourdieuian terms that we always force our meaning on the researched, to increase the accountability of the study my early questioning was initially unstructured. Moreover, as a semi-structured interview took shape I often revised pieces of the interview schedule as the research developed. By asking questions and asking conservationists to review the interview at the end of the questioning I continually sought to be as representative of the researched as possible. One final reason for a less interventionist approach to questioning rested with the actual way in which conservationists responded to this kind of procedure. Thus, in one instance I asked Helen a question about suburbanism in Leeds, with an implied preconception that she would be 'snobby' about the subject. As the following statement shows Helen's response was one of irritation and defensiveness, where it seemed that she felt positioned by my questioning:

Andrew – Would you make the distinction for me?

Helen – Well yes. I am not sure it's a distinction, which is very valid. I

suppose the early suburbs had ... integrity of their own. [They had]

architectural style, which was thought through. They (the early suburbs) were

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unimportant here, I would like to argue that it was a focus upon presentation of self or the way in which conservationists reacted to myself and the aims of the research which was key to my interpretation of

well designed, they were one of a piece [and] they were appealing too ... I mean
your encouraging me to say things like this (Helen, Victorian Society).

As I have suggested above conservationists viewed themselves and their interests as a minority movement that had been sidelined in an uncaring new British culture. In this respect conservationists often understood my position as related to this new form of contemporary establishment. Thus, my main reason for conducting a less interventionist style came from my interpretation of conservationists as incredibly nervous and resistant to the idea of being conceived of as elites. Rather than viewing my work as another student project, I interpreted conservationist understandings of my role as an 'academic researcher' as a chance for them to point out the way in which they were 'ignored' by 'contemporary power relations'. In this way the role of semi-structured interviewing was crucial to establishing rapport in a way that would not be necessarily achievable in a more rigid interview situation. The semi-structured interview with its informal format was therefore an ideal site for conservationists to relax and to vent their spleens at all the various 'injustices' of contemporary Britain. However, despite the role of a less interventionist take on semi-structured interviewing a criticism of this approach might be that, in continual revising the questioning I simply conducted an unstructured interview. In terms of this criticism, I would like to defend myself through two postulates. Firstly whilst questions changed, eventually I came to a 'set order' after a third of the research had taken place. Indeed, by a 'set order' I mean that after conducting over twenty or more interviews, I noted that certain key themes kept recurring in the speech of conservationists and thus, these topics were worthy of further development. Thus, in the first respect, the development of the semi-structured interview was developed with questions of accountability to the respondents by moving from an unstructured to a more structured approach. Secondly, where the semi-structured interview did fail in places, I understood this to mean that I had actually located places or fissures in conservation identities. Thus, as the research moved, it became quite clear that certain conservationists felt a lot more comfortable and/or uncomfortable with some questions than others. In this respect, whilst the issue of forcing speech into boxes,

them as key agents. In this respect, clothing and my adoption of the right language, manners and behaviour was central to the development of the research.

might be a common criticism of more structured approaches, I have argued here that whilst this is indeed, a problem it also contributes to the development of research. Indeed, the idea that there is a perfect unstructured interview in the first place for instance, negates the notion that ultimately any interview, no matter how loosely defined, is simply set according to the theoretical settings of the researcher (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 34-35). Interviews were recorded by tape recorder and sometimes in these situations I also bought spare paper and pens to make notes on the interview as it proceeded. In meetings and social settings I also brought paper and pen but used it with discretion to avoid intimidation. Indeed, as I have suggested above conservationists were very sensitive to these issues.

Given that conservationists could be defensive I decided to choose one on one interview situations rather than group interviews, although in one case in relation to the Poppleton Preservation Group in York I was faced with a focus group situation because the researched insisted on it. Given my experience of this situation and the understanding of conservationists, one to one interviews were the most appropriate method given that respondents often wished to vent their anxieties about development and clashes in their own groups. However, and key to my definition of key agents (and disidentification), the one on one interviews, were also interesting in that they allowed conservationists to express themselves and as I have suggested particularly in Chapter's Two and Three to *perform* acts of emotion. Thus, whilst I have not developed Butlerian theories in this thesis, due to room and space, there was a central way in which conservationists *performed* their own views and opinions to me. More specifically conservationists wanted to meet me sometimes to impress on me their singular passion and feeling for the work. Often I was met at the start of an interview situation by a conservationist who wanted to take me on a ride through the city, urban area, or village, where s/he lived to wax lyrical about her various likes and dislikes. Rather than seeing this as a disadvantage and a distraction in the interview process, I have felt that this was a crucial time between the researched and myself where bonds of trust could be forged.

However, these spaces were also very important to the conservationist because it enabled them to discuss the ways they felt that they and the spaces they dwelt in were so unappreciated and neglected by those in power such as local councillors,

developers and architects. In this way and extending upon the notion of an 'authoritative anti-elitist identity' conservationists often used these interview spaces to construct themselves and their colleagues as minority interest groups – like those of women's groups, ethnic minorities and gay movements. In this respect, I often viewed my own role in the interview process as one of 'power', where conservationists defined me as a journalist or spokesperson for a wider audience. In this respect, and in reflexive terms, the role of one on one interviews, was integral to conservationist senses of identity where the 'victimised respondent' had the opportunity to talk to a student that would possibly publish and make known their ideas to a wider audience. In some cases, I found that conservationists took a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction in showing me their favourite sites and even the ones they 'disliked', as spaces to vent their spleens. As well as car journeys I also went on walks and outings that was a chance also for conservationists to tell me their passions and anxieties. Whilst conservationists were clearly in positions of power, the notion that they were simply elite figures, who were unapproachable, is challenged by my own employment of method here. Moreover, and contra to some work on elite interviews, I understood conservationists to be sincere in their need to talk and to tell me of their anxieties about their local environments.

6: 3 Participant observation, visual research and archiving

The delivery of participant observation and visual research was something then that was conducted during the process of interviewing and prior to my taking up the research. In short I conducted these methods, as a fall back where conservation access was not forthcoming. Indeed, whilst, these methods, were not as valuable as the interviewing, they allowed me to make judgements about who and who not to focus on. When conservationists were busy I was often asked to attend meetings where I could take notes and observe the social settings I was involved in. These settings were also appropriate to the sampling because after meetings or during socials I could often talk about my research more widely and gain ideas and contacts from a variety of people. Particularly then, social situations were the highlights of the research since, they allowed me to discuss themes in the research and to develop theories, and without these moments this work would be less involved.

Aside from the purposes of access, however, I often adopted participant observation, visual research and archive research with all the group and interview situations for the purposes of gaining the broadest understanding of the built heritage movement as possible. Indeed, in the interviews, visual research was particularly apt, since, as well as talking to conservationists about conservation issues the style of houses, decoration, furniture, books and objects sometimes came up as subjects of discussion. Often, then the age of the house, the decoration, and the furniture was discussed in the way in which conservationists could express their love of certain aesthetic styles and moreover the contradictory nature of their ideas and possessions. However, if there was one method amongst my eclectic use of methods, it was the role that archiving played in the research. Indeed, in this bracket I use the word archiving to mean, my examination of all those documents in the research which were produced by conservationists and individuals which were textual. In this respect, as well as traditional historical texts, conservationists often pointed me to their own group internet sites, which I have looked at in order to write Appendix A which contains an overview of the groups (See Appendix A). Often these Internet sites were useful to gain a sense of the way in which conservationists presented themselves and they were a useful resource for downloading documents. However, if one empirical resource stood out from the others, it was the role that conservation group publications and annual reports played in my forming of opinions and ideas about the groups. Since conservationist practice involved a great deal of walking guide books, were often available to me, which highlighted the way in which conservationists understood their urban landscapes and the intricate connections they saw themselves as having to it. However of all this literature, the most useful writing in this work was the annual reports of many of some of the groups I met. As well as confirming theories and ideas I had about the groups they also allowed me to document the historical trajectory of certain ideas, and moreover the way in which the group had faced certain problems in its history. Finally the way in which annual reports were located was also key to the way in which opinions about conservation groups were formed. In some cases where conservation groups had a public standing, the availability of their reports was not readily available to the general public and in many cases I had to go to specific libraries in York and Leeds and negotiate further issues of access. Here

whilst the location of a few books could seem insignificant, I interpreted these issues as intriguing to questions of power.

In sum then, whilst the semi-structured interview was the main method in this research I adopted other methods to deal with issues of access and to further strengthen themes I understood to have developed in the interviews. Finally, where interview situations were cut short I also conducted a small phone survey, to develop an overview of the varying constitutions, practices, and activities of each of the groups. In this respect, whilst ultimately my approach was one based on the study of key agents, I also sought to gain more survey style data, or several closed or 'cataloguing based' questions that allowed for a broader understanding of the movement. Appendices A and B account for this survey by the more factual descriptions of the groups I encountered. In this respect, this survey served as an indicator, of the way in which conservation was understood in each of the groups that broadened my understanding of the groups and my method. Thus, by prior phone calls and the structured questions within the interview, meant that I was able to get a broader understanding of the movements and the groups. The results of this work therefore go to make up the overview of groupings, mediums and units, which are presented in Appendix A. This survey also included a survey of membership numbers, which are also presented for the purposes of clarity and accountability in Appendix B.

6: 4 Anonymity and transcription

Finally, ethical concerns of anonymity and transcription were central to the conduct of the research. Indeed, given conservationists were public figures, questions of anonymity were crucial to respondents in a variety of situations. Particularly conservationists might be caught up in neighbourhood disputes, and thus issues of anonymity were central not simply to 'planning disputes' but friendships, and even family and personal relationships. In expressing opinions, conservationists often told me to turn the recorder off and in some instances respondents asked that their views were not to be represented in written work. Since I often wanted to understand the value that certain practices had over others these issues of anonymity had to be dealt with carefully. For instance whether conscious of it or not, in some cases I might

refer to the practices of other conservationists to provide a frame of reference by which I could draw out 'powerful' and assumed understandings of things. In this way the balance between anonymity and the carefulness concerning how I drew upon examples to scrutinise assumed ideas within the conservation movement was fraught with ethical difficulties.

I cannot claim that I have completely avoided all of these ethical dilemmas. Indeed, there were many times when local conservation groups were in internal disputes. It was at these times in particular where I noticed that confidentiality was central since respondents knew that I had talked to people they were at odds with. In this respect, my involvement in these situations meant that sometimes the feuds between certain people could worsen. However, in observing these problems, I sought to adhere to confidentiality through the following measures. Firstly I *always* asked conservationists if I could use their speech in later writings. Secondly in Chapters Five and Six, where conservationist statements were inserted into texts, I have changed names and have avoided inserting phrases and public opinions that give the status of the conservationist or other conservationists away. Indeed, since some conservationists are well known for having a particular view whether in relation to aesthetic or political issues I have left these out so as to avoid identification. Finally, in conducting interviews, I also asked conservationists whether I could talk about the contents of an interview in further interviews if interesting thematics developed in discussions that were worthy of further exploration.

After conducting the interviews, I transcribed them immediately. However, given the number of interviews, and given the fact that some interviews were less relevant than others were, I often took notes when listening to an interview tape. As well as saving time, this approach meant that the sheer volume of interviews, transcripts, field notes and other archive resources collected during the research did not overwhelm me. Of course this method might be met with criticism since, an approach that involved the transcription of all the interviews would be the most accountable. However, by listening to tapes repeatedly, typing down significant themes and focusing on some transcripts as opposed to others, I was able to avoid the feeling of being overwhelmed by my own data. Finally in placing transcriptions into the text that follows, I have tried to show as comprehensively as possible the way participants delivered speech.

Since some conservationists spoke of their lives and townscapes in very romantic tones, I have sought to include all the pauses, silences and dramatic phrases to impress on the reader the very performative way in which they constructed their identities, visions and philosophies. A discussion of the data code that accounts for the participant pauses and action is presented in Appendix C.

One final ethical issue remains worthy of discussion here. Given my commitment to representing respondents as fairly as possible, I often wanted to place the transcripts into this text without punctuation in a way that seemed to draw attention to the pauses and the occasional ways in which, people sometimes speak incoherently. Often then I felt that this would be more true to an accurate representation of the respondents as comprehensively as possible. However, on reading the transcripts again I have punctuated these statements on the basis that, whilst representation is important epistemic responsibility requires that we also present our work in the clearest ways possible to demonstrate the role of power in the narratives of social actors – and particularly elite social actors. In this respect I have punctuated the speech of social actors – since of course speech is punctuated anyway – which enables the transcripts to become transparent and clear. Moreover where conservationists imply a certain thematic but hurry to another next point, I have sometimes included words in square brackets so as to demonstrate the point of an informant more fully (See Appendix C). In some respects this measure might appear unethical since a critical inquirer could ask whether my placing of words in the statement of respondents represents an actual imposition of words within an informants speech. Once again I would like to suggest that there is no immediate solution to this problem. However, whilst the inclusion of words to clarify phrases might be regarded by an epistemological puritan as unethical my defence in this measure is that the selection of certain transcripts and statements over others is a process of discrete interpretation and selection in itself that is entirely biased. In this way my use of square bracketed words allows the reader to understand the way I am situating the meaning of the respondents. Rather than a matter of unethical representation my use of brackets in this way allows me to demonstrate a certain level of reflexivity on my part on the way that researchers ultimately produce, rather than collect, data. Moreover, I want to suggest that the use of square brackets – and consequently the placing of words to situate transcripts – in the text also allows me to situate the other forms of symbolic exchanges and non-

verbal forms of communication that took place in interviews. Where informants were hesitant in completing a sentence, or ceased to use any more words in the middle of a sentence, the use of square brackets allows me to situate non-verbal understandings that occurred to clarify an incomplete sentence. The use of square brackets in these texts not only represents my interpretation of words, but also the interpretation of silences and the symbolic exchanges between myself and the respondent in these silences. Moreover where respondents assume that I understand the nature of the phrasing I use in a way that would not be obvious to a general reader I explain these assumptions in circular brackets. The reader will notice that the use of these brackets takes place in order to explain an ongoing conversation that is too large and irrelevant to quote in the text. For more details on my use of this coding please see Appendix C. Moreover where conservationists make reference to geographical places, spaces or local heritage spaces, buildings and communities I reference these in accordance to one of the four maps in Section 2: 6. Where conservationists refer to heritage spaces and buildings outside of these maps I try and illustrate their location through a footnote or omit the name of the place, space building or community because these details are generally irrelevant to the point being made. Finally where conservationists make reference to issues discussed that are institutional or organisational and therefore unknown to a general reader, I elaborate on these issues in more details in Footnotes. Particularly the reader will notice that the majority of these issues are abstract – referring to specific philosophical conservation terms – or temporal – referring to specific architectural-planning or conservationist histories.

6: 5 Summary

In this section I have focused on the notions of epistemic responsibility and representation. Since part of the process of gaining access was taking a more clandestine approach to all of my intentions and ideas of representation I was faced with the dilemma of whether I have adequately represented the people I have interviewed. However, given that conservationists constructed their elite identities through processes of disidentification with the notion of elitism I felt that an approach that was more covert in interpretation would lead to the elucidation of a more epistemic responsible knowledge. Moving from confrontation to non-confrontation

conservationists became very interested in talking to me to the point that they often used the interview space to vent their built heritage anxieties, emotions and scenes of performativity. Moreover a more clandestine and non-confrontation approach was also central to my gaining access to other respondents. Breaking with traditional literature on elites (Hertz, 1995) I have interpreted the conservationists as social actors who, whilst having a powerful role, simultaneously define themselves as non-elite and sometimes minority identities (see Chapter Five) that need to be heard in a world of wider movements for 'social justice'. As well as the issue of epistemic responsibility I also tackled notions of representation particularly in relation to the notion of interviewing and the necessity of one to one interviewing. Moreover in this section I dealt with issues of method and the way I dealt with situations where conservationists were unwilling to be involved in the research. Indeed, rather than compromise the issue of epistemic responsibility or issues of representativeness I often adopted alternative methods including participant observation, archiving and visual analysis to support my search for key agents. Finally in this section I also dealt with the issues of anonymity and transcription. Whilst committed to the study of power, above all, I was not interested in compromising the importance of anonymity to my respondents. Also in terms of transcription issues of representing my respondents fairly and ethically was also combined with concerns to deal with the overwhelming amount of data produced in accounts from the interview process. This final discussion therefore ended with the suggestion that by a thorough listening to the tapes and taking notes, as well as transcription, would lead to a more focused approach.

7 – Chapter Summary –

In this chapter then I have sought to develop the issue of key agents. More specifically, I have suggested that research should proceed not only by a focus upon key agents, but rather the way in which others view these agents. By focusing on the comparative method I have developed these ideas through the suggestion that one version of this method, a method of *broad internal variation* allows us to explore *conservation identities* in their varying contexts, whilst also allowing for the study of broad patterns. By applying this version of the comparative method to the built

heritage conservation movement, in York and Leeds I have argued that this is achievable through the development of an understanding of layered cases. In this respect, and turning from methodology to method, I sought to apply a comparative approach to the conservation movement in these cities by dividing the movements, between cases of groupings, mediums and units. After a discussion of these divisions I turned to my reasoning behind my choice of these cases through the way in which groups defined themselves as prestigious or were defined as prominent by others. After discussing these issues I briefly turned to the semi-structured interview and issues of representation asking the reader to consider the way in which a combination of both unstructured and structured questioning might allow for the development of broad internal variation. Moving from method, Section Four dealt with a case based overview of all the groups with the intention of providing the reader with a clear insight into the way in which the comparative method was fused with the built heritage conservation movement in York and Leeds. Section Five, was concerned with issues of ethics particularly in relation to questions of power and the value of the research and the conduct of interviewing. Whilst of course there are no immediate solutions to these ethical problems, I suggested that whilst I sought to be responsible to the researched I have an epistemic responsibility to the understanding of power. Moreover, in relation to the question of interviewing, whilst I have aimed for accountability, the way in which the interview can actually cause further fissures in our understanding of social relations, was argued to be a further bonus.

SECTION THREE –
THE ORGANIC SPIRIT OF CREATIVITY

CHAPTER FIVE

POST-WAR UTILITARIAN AND BRUTALIST

MODERNISM: THE CHALLENGE OF CREATIVITY

AND CRAFTS
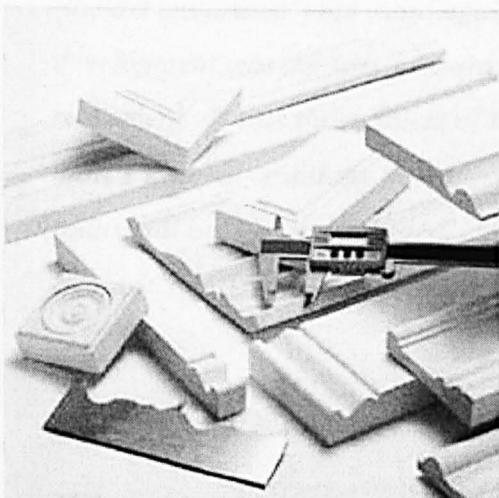
[32] Plate 10

[33] Plate 11
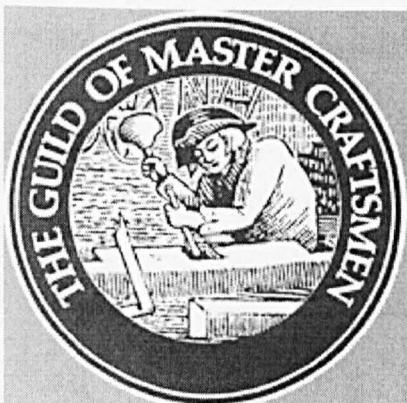
[34] Plate 12
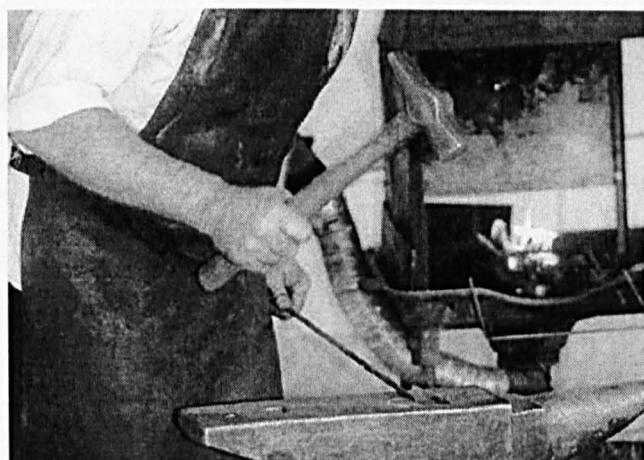
[35] Plate 13

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[32] BRITE MANUFACTURING INC. (No date) 'Craftsmen', Corporate Head Office, 2 Manchester Court, Bolton, Ontario L7E 2J3, http://www.britemanufacturing.com/ Moulding.htm page accessed February 2004.

[33] MANSELL PLC. (No date) 'Craftsmen-Hall_Tawse-Joiney_marLodger' JPEG, www.mansell.plc.uk/.../xq/asp/ iDocID.1121/qx/displaydoc.htm, page accessed February 2004.

Morris was active in the labour movement and though his emphasis on the bearing that history, design and craftsmanship have on human happiness never really found a central position in any political programme, (Engels called him 'the art enthusiast') his stand against the idea that commercial and technical development was the way forward continues as a central theme in the amenity movement. It was the ugliness of the industrial revolution and its destruction of **man's natural creativity** *that Morris so much hated; the protection of pre-industrial art was, he believed, essential in showing the right way forward again (Civic Trust, 1976,* **with my emphases added in bold***).*

*Helen - I have a fondness for ... not sure if I can analyse this ... older materials rather than more recent materials. It's hard to tell how far it's ones own feelings. It goes back to the fact we've been interested in people like [William] Morris for years and years and therefore his ideas [about] the craftsman and his dislike of the man made product (**Helen, Victorian Society**).*

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[34] THE GUILD OF MASTER CRAFTSMEN (2002) 'Guild of Master Craftsmen Logo', http://www.thegmcgroup.com/, page accessed February 2004.
[35] NUSSBAUM, S. Spectrum Publishing Co. (2002). 'blacksmiths.txt.gif', www.amish-heartland.com/ ?topic=-Amish+Culture, page accessed February 2004.

1 – Part One – Introduction

In this chapter I turn to the data produced from the 63 interviews conducted in York and Leeds with the Built Heritage Conservation Movement. In short, this chapter will look at contemporary conservation concerns over the role of 'modernism' in the loss of authentic roots and culture, which are seen to be more prevalent in a pre-war period in Britain. In Part A, I look at the way in which contemporary conservationists define 'contemporary modernism', as responsible for a loss of respect for old buildings in the way in which new buildings replacing the old. Secondly, conservationists suggested that 'modernism' be defined as responsible for a loss of respect for old buildings by the way, in which buildings were being restored in inauthentic ways in contemporary times. In these struggles for authenticity, conservationists drew upon class signifiers to suggest that particularly the layout of new middle class suburbs had been responsible for a pulling up of roots.

In Part B rather than focusing on modernism's relation to old buildings, I look at the way in which conservationists define modernism as responsible for a loss of a *pre-war culture in Britain*. I therefore look at one singular aspect of these notions that modernism has been blamed for the rise of a *utilitarianism and totalitarianism*, where the interests and creativity of the people have been wrapped up in a *politically correct* institutional and bureaucratic culture. In section five of this chapter, I want to draw attention to the way conservationists suggest that contemporary modernist buildings have been caught with a contemporary planning logic of uniformity. Here, rather than freedom of expression the new buildings of post-war Britain have sought to be bland and politically inoffensive to anyone. Secondly I look at the way in which conservationists suggest that a *utilitarian* post-war culture has brought with it a disconnection of the people from more simplistic and authentic relationships between themselves objects, surroundings, and most importantly, art. In this respect conservationists suggest that the institutions of post-war British modernism have enforced a celebration of this culture through a 'political correctness' of tackiness and low quality.

Moreover, in moving from utilitarianism to totalitarianism, conservationists point to a post-war world of modernism, which has not only celebrated 'low standards' but has imposed them on 'the people'. Firstly, conservationists suggest that the construction of building in an elitist modernist culture has sought to exclude the wishes of the people from the planning process, and subsequently the buildings which were produced after the Second World War have lost a genius loci of 'the people'. Secondly, conservationists suggest that, as well as a loss of a spirit of building; a utilitarian society of post-war modernism has brought with it a forced culture of welfare and dependency. With the loss of traditional industrial economies, conservationists also suggest that with the rise of a post-war economy this society had also celebrated a culture of affluence and consumption. More specifically conservationists argue that post-war consumerism has brought with it an enforced loss of self-sustainable forms of living, where people were dependent on themselves and their locales for economic production.

In response to this post-war culture, I therefore point to the way in which conservationists call for a culture of rejuvenation through a spirit craftsmanship and more specifically the arts and crafts. In opposition to the utilitarian nature of contemporary buildings, conservationists argue for buildings based on logic of creativity through detail, individuality and quality. In this respect conservationists are nostalgic for those pre-war architectural and building techniques where a craftsman had a very unique part to play in the formation of the building. Secondly, against the rise of a modernist celebration of 'low aesthetic culture', I suggest that once again conservationists argue for a recovery of a pre-war artistic culture through a narrative of craftsmanship. Here then in the logic of the arts and crafts, the vision of craftsmanship is one that is inseparable from the artist and an aesthetic education. I point to the way in which conservationists suggest that the rejuvenation of an aesthetic culture can be achieved by 'everyday people' having more exposure and a respect of craftsmen and the 'simplistic, authentic and organic' objects, furnishings and buildings that they produce. Moving from notions of utilitarianism to a symbolic totalitarianism and a culture of the 'politically correct' I suggest that, once again, conservationists call upon a symbol of craftsmanship to resist these processes. Firstly, in relation to the role of people in building, conservationists suggest that not only should the people be reconnected to building but also rather a spirit of the people and

the landscape should be reinstated into contemporary building. Again I therefore situate this nostalgia within a longing for pre-war buildings which are seen to be more authentic by their use of local craftsmanship and local materials[36]. What is central about these ideas is the way conservationists have decided that local craftsmanship lies with the spirit of the people. Secondly, in opposition to the development of an enforced modernist culture of welfare and consumer affluence, I examine the way in which conservationists make a case for a return to a self-sustaining imaginary of creativity in pre-war culture. In this way I explore the idea that conservationists yearn for a time where people worked with the land and depended upon self-sufficient 'crafts' communities.

1: 1 What is post-war modernism?

Modernism has received a number of interpretations in the last few years from various writers, which have defined it in terms of a period of self-defined progress and crisis (Wagner, 2001). However, rather than an academic discourse, the notion of modernism was not as pronounced or as clear as these narratives in the lives of conservationists. In this respect, I use the word modernism in this chapter in a pragmatic way to point to the way in which conservationists have been concerned with an era in British economics and culture, which has had certain effects. Thus, whilst some conservationists do use the word modernism in this chapter, many respondents were more unclear as to how to define this term and found to it hard to demonstrate precisely how this had led to a damaged present. In this way conservationists have used the term modernism to encapsulate a general dissatisfaction with the present which can be thematically linked back to a field of signifiers that exist in conservation discourse. Secondly, in this use of modernism I want to be careful as to how I understand the way in which conservationists have located this idea in relation to time. Indeed, whilst traditional histories of the conservation movement were anti-industrial (See Chapter Two), I will not suggest in this or the following chapter that conservationists in the contemporary movement were antithetical to a spirit of manufacturing work. Rather, in locating a specific

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[36] Once again, rather than having a machine made and anonymous feel, conservationists argue those buildings with a sense of local distinctiveness are central to a spirit of pre-war craftsmanship where

period of decline conservationists were particularly scathing of a post-war modernist culture in Britain that they see as intimately connected to a range of problems. In the main, as I shall suggest in the first section of this chapter, modernism has been connected to a culture that has disregarded the importance of old buildings in contemporary landscapes. However, as I shall go on to suggest, modernism has been related to the destruction of a particular pre-war culture in Britain which can be associated with ideas of aesthetics and a spirit of piety, and non-affluent humble living. In short, for the purposes of writing, the use of the word modernism can be situated in a chain of signifiers that I have defined thus both in terms of aesthetics and culture:

Table 3: signifiers of modernism through discourses of architecture and culture.

Modernism and architecture	Modernism and culture
Brutalist architectures	Welfare
Atemporal architectures	Reliance
Placeless architecture	Consumption
The loss of quality	Mass culture

Part A – Modernism and a loss of respect for old buildings

buildings were unique and locatable in their production.

2 – Part Two – Modernism has damaged the architectural appreciation of the nation's old buildings

2: 1 The role of old buildings in roots and community

Amongst many conservation concerns over the state of the contemporary British landscape the role of old building was the most central. In the main conservationists recognised that the job of conserving old buildings had been done by the late seventies (in the heritage in danger period – See chapter three). However, concerns remained over the way in which there was still a contemporary 'modernist' culture of renewal, which was based on the importance of new things, particularly buildings in cities. Conservationists were concerned about a tendency amongst planners and architects to remove old buildings on the basis that they were seen to be economically inefficient, and in the way of good new designs. In particular, conservationists were weary of the loss of building in terms of what were seen to be intangible roots or a spirit of place, which was seen to hold people to environments. Thus, James argued that the importance of old buildings rested in the way in which they could give people a sense of temporal continuity with the past:

> *James - I think it's the need for physical continuity ... that your surroundings the streets and buildings give you a sense of place [and] familiarity. If that changes too quickly you get disorientation ... yes. But it's a case of being rooted too (James, Victorian Society).*

> *Kathy - Only if you preserve what's here now (buildings) ...if you're knocking everything down (buildings) there is nothing to latch on (Kathy, Horsforth Civic Society).*

However rather than just a spirit of place or a 'genius loci' as some conservationists remarked, respondents argued also that old buildings were a reminder of a spirit of community. In short, buildings were seen to have 'pasts' attached to them which

were indicative of allowing people to read 'their' local histories to understand where they had come from and where they were going:

Felicity – I do believe that people need to be rooted in some sort of way ... The past bears down on us. It shapes us. ... One way of recognising the continuities between past and present is [to have] a stock of historical buildings. ...If you wanted to know what Leeds is ... you need to know something about the history of the city. [And its] visible history is its buildings (Felicity, Leeds Victorian Society).

However, aside from these ideas of roots, conservationists related the idea of old building sometimes to a 'spirit of community', where buildings were seen to provide access to a pre-intellectual spirit or a spirit of identity that was inspiring and identity forming. Here then the old buildings of York in their sheer age and the sense of beauty, which came with this age, meant that conservationists understood these buildings as having a nourishing effect on senses of self:

Here for those with eyes to see, the history of their country is written. Here the spiritual and temporal life of a great nation can be studied, as it were in miniature. 'The history of York is the history of England'... There is no more educative and humanising factor in daily life than surroundings which are well planned and beautiful: it is an influence which may almost be called spiritual, and a happiness drunk in without effort by children from infancy moulding their appreciation and raising their standards. An open space can be mean or just ordinary, or enchanting according to the imagination put into its layout (Shannon, York Civic Trust, 1996: 8).

2: 2 The role of modern buildings in pulling up roots

Conservationists were scathing of recent modernist buildings, which they argued were constructed as if in spatial isolation. Conservationists noted that they did not appear to be integrated into either the environment or society:

> *Ivan - More recent buildings are not that successful. They have been put up in isolation. ...I hope that there will be some revolution in society that would be able to further modernist architecture, which would be satisfying socially and aesthetically. ...[But in recent years architects have] just [produced] isolated buildings. And [these buildings are] not integrated into peoples' lives (Ivan, Victorian Society).*

Moreover conservationists reacted to new buildings in terms of the way in which they were seen to lack community. In this one statement Anthony argued that the feudal buildings in the 'core' of his township Oulton (see Map B) had more of an integral sense of community than the new 'commuter estate' buildings:

> *Anthony - I think people do react to that ummm ...(referring to the older buildings in the core of his town). The thing I can say definitely, [is that] there is more sense of community in the old feudal part in Oulton than there is in the commuter part (Anthony, Oulton Society).*

Conservationists identified the rise of mass suburban housing and new residential areas as lacking centres and having a sense of being endless without form and character. In particular they were critical of the idea that the lack of differences between houses would actually damage intuitive senses of individuality in people, which held up ideas of what a 'mixed' and organic community could look like.

> *Anthony - If you live in umm ... bland modern stereotyped houses there isn't so much community and they don't seem to encourage the community. If you get your sort of typical estate, rather like the one we looked at when we were going*

*up the motorway village. ... If they are all the same (referring to modern houses on an estate near to where he lives) I think it doesn't [give a sense of community]. I wouldn't like living ... in an estate like that ... and I feel it would be trying to cramp your individuality a little (**Anthony, Oulton society**).*

Thus, if old buildings inspired a spiritual nourishing effect on people's identities then for conservationists certain new buildings were seen as the antithesis of this. More specifically conservationists were critical of suburban buildings that were seen to have contributed to a temporal and aesthetic dulling of peoples' senses. For conservationists suburban buildings, as a contemporary example of the new inorganic building, were un-rooted and damaging to the aesthetics of 'the people'. For instance, and talking about his background, Anthony referred to the way bad buildings from his childhood left him with little appreciation of the importance of aesthetics:

*__Anthony__ - I think a lot depends on your upbringing. If you have been brought up in umm ... a building with character [or a certain] substance ... I think you would appreciate that (referring to the importance of aesthetics). Umm ... Both my wife and I were brought up in suburban houses. They were attractive suburban houses but ... err ... looking back I would not claim they had any great substance to their character (**Anthony, Oulton Society**).*

Moreover and again talking about his background, James suggested that a childhood of good building had encouraged his aesthetic senses in a way that a background of post-war contemporary buildings would not:

__James__ - I used to come from Leicester... and walking to school I used to pass by [a] great ...war memorial in [the] Victorian park. ... [It had] these great avenues. ... [As a result] I used to be impressed by things (buildings or art). It (the war memorial) made me notice a building ... [If I had grown up on] a housing estate, and you have got miserable semis and miserable clapped out

buildings, [I wouldn't have appreciated buildings]. ... I am quite lucky actually (James, Victorian Society).

2: 3 Summary: rootless new buildings

In this section I looked at the contemporary conservation concern over the role of 'a culture of the new' in a modernist architectural aesthetic. Conservationists suggest, that whilst the conservation of buildings since the seventies has become normative, there is still a tendency amongst contemporary developers to ignore the importance of old buildings in the contemporary landscape. In short conservationists define old buildings through organic metaphors in terms of their ability to give people a sense of place. In taking these narratives further they also suggest that certain new buildings have an inorganic quality and can remove people from their roots. In the second part of this discussion, conservationists suggested that suburban buildings in particular were defined as plain and uninspiring and subsequently had an inorganic quality.

3 – Part Three – Modernism has destroyed an appreciation of conservation techniques and an evolving spirit of the past

3: 1 The importance of conserving old buildings correctly

Conservationists, in relation to a modernist culture of renewal, were also concerned by the rise of what they saw as a very 'utilitarian approach' to the way in which buildings were conserved. Thus whilst conservationists emphasised the importance of safeguarding and even re-using old buildings they also stressed that buildings had to be protected in particular ways. Conservationists were not wholly opposed to facadism in city centres (for instance) because it allowed for a retention of the past, even if this was a last resort. The main problem with facadism and mixing old buildings with new buildings was the way in which it was seen to distort the 'time' of a building. In this respect and in the language of Ruskin (1880), conservationists such

as Helen argued that buildings had to deliver a sense of 'truth' to the viewer and to the public as a whole. Discussing people in general and house renovation, Helen therefore argued that if people lived in older or modern houses then any restoration or additions to the house must be in keeping with its age:

Helen - Yes well I don't want to be snobbish ... [but] ...I would much prefer people to have a fuller background and understanding of architectural history. And in a way that would therefore mean that you live in an old house and be true to that house, or you would have a modern house ... and be true to that (Helen, Victorian Society).

In this respect conservationists, and Helen in particular, were highly scathing of owners of 1930s properties who had put new double glazing in a building or had changed the doors:

Helen - Yes it's very important that an architect's design should be followed through even on simple little suburban houses. We live opposite some 1930s houses which would be very radical in their day with curved walls, curved windows, flat roofs and so on. [And these buildings] ... are just mistreated by people who don't see that they were designed in that way. [If you] ... change the window or you change the door your altering the architects design (Helen, Victorian Society).

Edward argued that, rather than simply conserving an old building, a second part of this process had to involve a conservation of the techniques and the procedures, which was involved in the spirit of building the dwelling in the first place:

Edward - One of the things about preserving an old building [is that] you have to produce the techniques that produced it originally ... [Ultimately then it's about] conservation of techniques. ... You have to have enough people with the expertise to be able to conserve buildings bringing machines [to conserve the

buildings where necessary. [You also need to know] how the techniques, which produced the buildings, evolved and be able to urr recreate the same ways of working. And so ... you [must] use appropriate waters, plaster finishes and painting techniques ...You don't just slap on modern paints, which behave in a different way and are going to produce a totally different appearance on the building – (Edward, York Georgian Society).

Finally if conservationists suggested that the restoration of buildings had to be truthful, they also maintained that the actual 'preservation' of buildings for the public should also 'keep' a sense of 'truthfulness'. For conservationists the notion of preserved buildings, meant those architectures that would be used for business, residential or public purposes. Here conservationists suggested that where old buildings had been re-used they often had a more unique spirit of place than a 'preserved building'. In one instance then James discussed the importance of was that they could be renovated and even re-used of 'old crumbling' buildings' in the fabric or extension of new ones to provide the viewer with a living spirit of place. Here in these notions rather than a celebration of the past, present or future James is celebrating the synthesis of these temporal moments in a way that allows for the development of a new form of architecture or organic building that is 'alive' and 'inspirational'. Thus as the following narrative shows, James' suggests that in particular the re-use of the crumbling remains of old stations allowed him to visualise a closer link or a more authentic connection to the past.

James – [It's the] same thing with restored railways. I would much like to go and see a ...real working station like Blackburn[37] ...You get the feel of things. Its [been] done up with flower baskets (James, Victorian Society).

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[37] I have sought to include James' reference to Blackburn station despite the confusion this reference might cause. I understand that James is referring to the main Blackburn Railway station being built in the Italian style by local contractors Stones & Hacking in approximately the 1840s. (For more information see the website of the Cotton Town History Society (covering the Blackburn and Darwen Built Heritage) http://www.cottontown.org/page.cfm?pageID=854. I understand that for James the Station's sense of being 'real' and 'working' lies in the retention of its Victorian Structure in a way that is harmonious with its contemporary design and evolution. In June 1999 overseen by Railtrack Ltd, the building's platforms were reconstructed and made accessible and the station was given an atrium roof in 2001. More details on these recent developments can be found on the Technical Access Engineers Ltd and MERO website who were both contractors involved in the demolition of the old roof and the production of the new one. Technical Access Engineers can be found at

In this respect whilst conservationists valued the importance of being true to the style of buildings, they recognised that buildings could never be understood in a vacuum. Moving away from a strict Ruskinian notion of truthfulness (as I have suggested in Chapter Two) the authenticity of buildings were seen in their instances of re-use and of relation where buildings could be connected to their contemporary landscapes and surroundings.

3: 2 Post-war Modernism and the distortion of the past

If conservationists argued for the importance of respecting the past in terms of building design and the incorporation of old buildings into the present, they were scathing of new forms of contemporary 'heritage culture'. More specifically heritage culture was seen to have misrepresented the importance of looking at buildings for other forms of material and social mores. Here conservationists understood 'heritage culture' to be connected to new forms of lower middle and working class identities which were concerned with fake impressions of buildings rather than the 'real'. For instance, conservationists were scathing of suburbanites who had damaged the authentic look of houses by adding pieces to buildings, which were inappropriate and tasteless. However conservationists suggested that, rather than the inappropriate attachment of untruthful styles to buildings, many new buildings themselves by the way they sought to reclaim signifiers from the past, were seen as essentially lacking any sense of truthfulness. In this formula conservationists were particularly critical of a 'heritagey mass domestic architecture' which draws upon an 'oldey worldly' 'Christmas' - style tackiness. In response then Helen talked about the changing nature of suburban houses and the way they had paid more attention to a heritage look to draw attention away from the fact that, aesthetically, mass domestic houses were bland and box-like:

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http://www.technicalaccess.com/casestudies1.htm; and MERO can be found at
http://www.merouk.co.uk/structures/2001blackburn.htm

Helen - Maybe comes down to that... sort of Christmas cardy tack, to make it look less the fundamental box it was (referring to contemporary suburban buildings). ...And I suppose that fits in with... the suburbs where a basic Wimpey[38] home can look anything really you know. Yes tarted up I suppose...[These homes are] given some features which suggest, oldey worldly, heritage [and] class. I think all these things come together (with reference to the suburbs) (Helen, Victorian Society).

Here, as Helen's statement suggests the central problem of these buildings is the way in which they were seen to have misused or abused signifiers of the past. However, rather than a notion of truthfulness Helen also recognised that these buildings were trying to draw upon a sense of 'class' that they had clearly misunderstood and thus they had a sense of pretentiousness about them. Again what is being criticised here is not aesthetic preferences but rather the aesthetic values of suburbanism that is seen to be symptomatic of the meeting place between heritage and a celebration of the oldey worldly and class. Thus, rather than 'signifiers of beauty', Helen's own narratives suggests a realist view, where a more real or more 'classy' and distinctive use of the past is available if one had been educated in the right way.

Helen - Well no, that sort of building (referring to suburban buildings) suggests an authority or class, which they (suburbanites) are trying to achieve. They (suburbanites) are trying to latch on to in some ways themselves. ... Because we don't educate people in an understanding of art, or architectural history, then it's sad because they (suburbanites) don't see how inappropriate it is ... how it calls attention to oneself by not using these motifs properly (Helen, Victorian Society).

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[38] By Wimpey Homes I understand that Helen is referring to the company George Wimpey Homes that has been associated with suburban domestic. As well as numerous complaints and protest internet web sites, George Wimpey Homes were the winners of the BBC's 'UK's Worst New Home Builder' prize. For more details on these protests and the prize see the Ridgewood Residents Association website 'What do you expect when you buy a house from George Wimpey http://uk.geocities.com/wimpeyhomes/.

In this respect, conservationist disapproval of the new heritagey buildings rested with the way in which these buildings were seen to have misused codes of distinction. Moreover in response to these innovations some conservationists were critical of a contemporary heritage culture which was seen to have rejected the importance of looking at the past 'authentically' for a market alternative:

Angela - And as for the word heritage ...conservationists regard [it] as a word with horrible connotations to it and one, which has become...(she pauses for a long time)

I would not say as far back as the 1980s... I would say during the 1990s. ...Yes its putting a price tag on to it (here she is referring to historic buildings and objects from the past more generally) and as a purist, which I do tend to be, [I feel] really its revolting the idea of putting price tags on to it (Angela, YAYA's).

Andrew - Why not use the term heritage?
Felicity - Two reasons... [Firstly it's a] cliché term...a fashionable term. I often associate it with crass commercialism. You are talking to someone steeped in left-wing politics. It is a resource for capitalism. I am opposed to the exploitation of the past for commercial purposes. [Secondly] I am suspicious of ... engineered nostalgia. You can't think of the present without the past ... there are dangers with nostalgia ... (Felicity, Victorian Society).

In this language of purity, conservationists rejected the way that a new heritage culture had placed the language of commercialism before authenticity. Moreover as Felicity's quote points out in particular conservationists were sceptical of a new contemporary culture that was seen to have engineered ideas of the past through 'historical' theme parks. As many of my respondents asserted new heritage theme parks, such as Beamish, were seen to present a very sanitised and prettified interpretation of the past. For instance as James explains in the quote below, the problem with theme parks, countryside historic houses, and museums was the way they were not connected to what was seen to be a living authentic environment.

Indeed, as James complained these forms of heritage were simply plastic and dead because they were disconnected from a more real landscape of everyday life:

James - If it's something made up [in] the last twenty years then I don't know. I think its (heritage culture) become what's nice about the past. It is twee [and can be associated with] with little tea shops ... umm yeah ... One place I really can't stand is that place near you (referring to my living in the Newcastle Area) the open air museum...

Andrew – You don't mean Beamish Open Air Museum[39]?

*James - Beamish! Yes! [They] (The general public) go around there, they drive up and they gorp at these Methodist chapels. But to me its just Disney land ... they may as well build plastic. And I will drive back home and there will be real derelict Methodist chapels burnt out or neglected. But that's not heritage people would not notice that. For most people their lives have been affected by [the] physical development around them. ... A response to that [is the sense] [that this is] ... far more important than a preserved railway or museum ...[For people their everyday environment of change] ...is the real environment it's far more important than preserved railway ...(**James, Victorian Society**).*

Thus in the creation of a culture of preservation and plasticity, that ignored the everyday role of change in peoples' environments, conservationists suggested that people were cut off from an evolving spirit of history. Thus as James' narrative pointed out the importance of an appreciation of the past could only be attained by looking at old buildings in the real environments of people. Here for James the problem of heritage was not that it was simply sanitised it was also seen to be separating people from their pasts. Rather than an isolated statement other conservationists pointed to this problem of heritage and particularly I wider cultural sense in contemporary Britain that people had almost be cut off from their roots or their past.

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[39] Beamish Open Air Museum is in County Durham, UK, some 12 miles north west of historic Durham City and 8 miles south west of Newcastle upon Tyne. Their website suggests that 'Beamish, Britain's favourite open air museum, set in over 300 acres of beautiful countryside, vividly recreates life in the North of England in the early 1800s and 1900s'. For more details see Beamish.org.uk

Felicity – I think I that people are cut off from their history ... Not only [are they] impoverished by it (heritage culture and contemporary society more generally) but they cannot understand the present properly they cannot locate themselves (Felicity, Victorian Society).

3: 3 Summary: Post-war modernism and class

In this section we have seen how conservationists project the notion of truthfulness in building and in 'heritage'. In the first part of this section conservationists suggested that where alterations were made to architecture they should be in keeping with the age of the buildings. In these analyses conservationists understood that traditional techniques of looking after old buildings had to *also be conserved*, if they were to maintain their authenticity. Finally conservationists discussed the idea that the 'preservation' of old buildings which were no longer in use by the public had to be constructed in a certain way. Thus, rather than preserving ageing architecture in the manner of a museum piece they suggested that old buildings should sometimes be re-used in relation to contemporary built environment. In this respect, whilst these narratives reflect the philosophies of John Ruskin and William Morris in the contemporary movement, these ideas can be interpreted through another vein. Thus as I suggested at the end of Section 3: 2 conservationists understood there actions through more organic metaphors and philosophies.

In this respect in the second part of this section, I sought to clarify these ideas by pointing to the way conservationists were scathing of contemporary house owners who were seen to have abused the motifs of the past. Conservationists, as opposed to critiquing the owners, were scornful of the 'houses' that were seen to have misrepresented the past by their drawing upon 'heritage signifiers'. However rather than the past alone, conservationists' understanding of these processes became tied to notions of taste where the use of heritage signifiers was also discussed by them as the way in which suburban houses latched on to a notion of class. In this process of

signification, conservationists suggested that these buildings and the people within them used class signifiers inappropriately. In this regard conservationists constructed a 'realist narrative of class' which suggested that there was a more 'real' or authentic way of acquiring distinctiveness through the design in housing. Continuing on this thematic of taste and distinction, and in turning to a discussion of historic houses, museums and heritage theme parks, conservationists understood these sites as tacky and inauthentic. Particularly then an important dualism develops in conservationist thought. Whilst conservationists are interested in the upkeep of buildings they were also scornful of the way contemporary people had a preservationist attitude to these buildings. Thus, where buildings were preserved and separated from their environments — conservationists also suggested that this vision of building and architecture was inappropriate. Thus whilst conservationists felt passionate about the saving of old buildings they were also fearful that this conservation could become preservation where buildings would emulate the objects and relics in a modern museum. Again what is being stressed here is a *way of seeing* that is based on taste and distinction. Specifically then the separation of old buildings from their natural environment is seen to be indicative of the spirit a tacky heritage culture that wishes to museumify things and construct buildings and life as easily definable objects.

Theoretically, then, these themes can be understood in two ways. Firstly, conservationists were keen to construct elite aesthetics of architecture and conservation through the construction of authentic ways of looking at buildings and their conservation. Secondly, conservationists constructed symbolic violence through the recurring way in which suburbs and particularly populist forms of entertainment were negated. In following the historical chapters, the conservationist legacy of constructing certain aesthetic cultural capital is still present in the contemporary movement. Moreover, in this process of constructing capital, conservationists build a more complex but less explicit way of positioning both new middle and working class identities. More specifically conservationists produce their own class power (habitus) through the relegation of suburban house styles and mainstream lower middle class entertainment.

Part B – Modernism and the crafts

Part 4 – The role of modernism in the construction of a spirit of the crafts

4: 1 Post-war Modernism and the loss of culture

Conservationists, whilst contemptuous of new suburban and middle class actors, were also more scathing of a wider cultural aesthetic and architectural ignorance encapsulated in the idea of post-war modernism. Particularly conservationists were critical of what they defined as indifference to the role that historical buildings should play in society. Thus conservationists were scathing of the way a post-war culture of modernism was seen to have brought *utilitarian* and *totalitarian* ideals. In what follows, I shall discuss these themes in more detail. By 'utilitarian' I refer to the way that conservationists were derisive of a new contemporary culture of buildings and aesthetics where quality was classified as being of second rate importance. I also want to be careful in my understanding of what conservationists saw as 'totalitarian'. By totalitarian I refer to the idea that conservationists understood post-war culture in terms of an 'over' imposing nanny state. However the use of the word 'totalitarian' must be seen through the lens of a linguistic performance, which serves to emphasise conservationists sense of authority. My use of the word 'totalitarian' is used here to epitomise the way in which conservationists expressed a 'performance of rage' over what they saw as a culture of Brutalism imposed on the people of England. In sections Seven and Eight I focus on two aspects of this Brutalism, in terms of a culture of building and welfare dependency, which modernist actors have enforced on to people.

However, I also want to suggest that the positioning of 'modernism' by conservationists construct a spirit of craftsmanship. Yet since the term the crafts or as it has been traditionally defined – the Arts and Crafts Movement – is such a complicated signifier, which has been interpreted in many ways (Cumming and Kaplan, 1991, Greensted, 1993, Bowe and Cumming, 1998, Harrod, 1999) a brief definition of the way I am using this word is required here. Firstly and drawing upon the ideas of Cumming and Kaplan, (1991), Greensted, (1993), Bowe and Cumming, (1998) and Harrod, (1999), I do not want the notion of a spirit of craftsmanship to be read as something to be understood through a set of aesthetic practices and techniques of art. Indeed, like these writers I want to contend that the idea of a spirit of craftsmanship and creativity be understood culturally and discursively. Thus like the notion of modernism, whilst the idea of craftsmanship refers to a set of artistic practices and even an aesthetic movement associated with the work of William Morris and others, it can also be understood as a signifier for a series of cultural ideas and ways of life. Moreover, as Harrod has so vigorously argued the idea of the crafts can be associated with many forms of Englishnesses (Harrod, 1999). In this way the notion of a spirit of the crafts, discussed in the text below, refers to a chain of signifiers that can be tied to a variety of practices that intersect and transcend ideas of physical craftsmanship and sets of artistic practices.

Moreover, like Cumming and Kaplan, (1991), Greensted, (1993), Bowe and Cumming, (1998), Harrod, (1999) I don't want to suggest that a nostalgia for the crafts movement refers simply to an idea of the crafts that existed in the late nineteenth century. Indeed, as Harrod points out in her informative work *The Crafts in Britain in the Twentieth Century* (1999) a culture of the crafts did not simply resonate with William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement but was something that was revived and reconstructed throughout the twentieth century. In this way, Harrod talks about a culture of the crafts, that was most explicitly revived in a variety of ways throughout the twentieth century and is therefore even a continuing movement today. Thus, since there are many aspects of this movement I do not want to suggest that the spirit of the crafts discussed in this chapter necessarily encapsulates the philosophies and practices contained in the whole of this movement. Indeed,

given the various pathways the crafts has developed in I want to point to two ideas that surface within the crafts movement that have a certain resonance with the conservationist idea of a spirit of the crafts. Firstly I want to draw attention to the way conservationists construct a spirit of creativity. Rather than contemporary ideas Harrod talks about the presence of these notions in the work of crafts authorities such as F R Leavis and Denys Thompson in the 1920s and 1930s branches of the crafts movement. Thus, as Harrod writes this part of the crafts movement was responding to an

Encroaching barbarism of popular magazines and music television, cinema and radio with invocations of the land and the past suggests a stasis amounting to a crisis in English cultural life which worked to the benefit of craft practice. In the pages of [F R Leavis and Denys Thompson writings] lost rural values were [set] against the poverty of suburbanism which was paralysing true feeling at the source.

Such ideas – a horror of the suburbs and of popular culture – were shared by makers. For Gordon Russell[40] creative life began when his father moved from an 'ugly monotonous, little suburb home in Tooting' to the Cotswolds (Harrod, 1999: 170).

In the interviews conducted with the contemporary conservation movement this idea of craftsmanship seemed to captivate a great deal of the responses I met with. In the following sections, as the quote from Harrod attests, conservationists talk about the importance of crafts or craftsmanship as something that can bring about a spirit of the 'creative life'. Moreover within this language the presence of nostalgia is evident in the way this creative life is understood and constructed since it is something that is related to ideas of both, aesthetics, culture and economics. In the following sections I point to the way conservationists are nostalgic for a language of the crafts that is said to reach into the heart of an internal spirit of the people of England that has long been

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[40] Gordon Russell was a post First World War furniture maker that made a break from small-scale craft production associated more with the late nineteenth century and the earlier Morrisian inspired movement. He is also associated with the an increasing concern with surroundings in the crafts movement and, as Harrod suggests, the idea that ones enivronment is crucial to creative inspiration (For more details see Harrod, 1999: 67-70)..

in need of release. Thus, with the construction of modernism in this chapter as utilitarian and totalitarian (despite how performative these phrases are) there is a certain sense that conservationists define a certain culture of modernism as having led the 'creative energies/spirit' of the people away from itself. Secondly then I also point to the conservationists construct a spirit of the crafts through the importance of a certain organic creativity. Again and drawing upon Harrod I want to suggest that these ideas stem from a 1920s visual ideal of the crafts movement that celebrated the importance of a way of viewing place, of examining a local area to understand both its physical and cultural contours. In this way Harrod discusses a culture of vernacular building crafts since the First World War that

Valued local skills and materials over drawing board plans ... [Starting from places such as the Cotswolds each] town and village was a lesson in regional architecture and vernacular skills (Harrod, 1999: 97).

In the interviews particularly in sections Seven and Eight these ideas are central to the way conservationists understand the importance of good architecture, building and the forms of community and economy that can emerge from these sites. However, in making the claim that these two themes are available to the contemporary conservation movement I do not want to suggest that the movement be simply read as yet another faction of the crafts movement in the twentieth century. Instead, and moving away from Harrod's position, rather than a description I want to draw attention to the complex ways conservationists are involved in the making of identity in subtle forms that attests to the production of power. More specifically I want to propose in the following sections that the way conservationists construct the crafts – through these two themes – is reified through a story of social rejuvenation and spirituality, a story that is bound to a normative and *evolutionary narrative*. What emerges in the themes, then, is the way a spirit of creativity and the crafts is understood *as an evolutionary rejuvenator of the English peoples and society*. Rather than mere nostalgia for a spirit of the arts and crafts, I want to claim that conservationists are nostalgic for the loss of an English identity that is defined as innate, biological, spiritual and ultimately transcendental. Here then whilst the contemporary movement has larger priorities than the townscape alone (as I discussed

in Section One) the evidence of a Geddesian discourse and its poetics haunt the statements and phrases we shall now explore in more detail.

5 – Part Five – The Post-war modernist culture of utilitarian buildings

5: 1 Modernism and utilitarian architectural standards

For conservationists, a first criticism of post-war modernism rested on what was defined as its promotion of utilitarian architectural standards. Firstly conservationists were critical of the quality of inner city building, identifying it as a major part of a new 'aesthetic tackiness'. Particularly conservationists felt that the problem of designing inner city buildings was their sense of self-reflection and the way in which they consciously sought *'to suit the needs of everyone'*. In this respect conservationists complained that architects, planners and other institutions were forming a new and worrying architectural design culture of 'political correctness' which was simply bland in its attempts to please all. Moreover conservationists were also very caustic of this logic of design because its 'politically correct' self-conscious appearance, had done away with the need for more decorative styles. Talking about the recent Northern Recruitment Buildings in York[41] Matthew reflected on these issues in more detail:

Matthew – It (the Northern Recruitment Buildings) tries to not draw attention to itself, it tries to use the 'right' materials, it tries to be self-effacing, it tries to play all the planning committees restricting and so on. ... It tries not to upset anyone and it ends up being so anodyne [and] so dreary. [It seems] to have this great fear of having anything which might smack of decoration ... ***(Matthew, York Georgian Society and the York Civic Trust).***

A key target in conservationist campaigns for improvement in architectural design was suburban building. In many statements conservationists were clear over what they meant by 'tasteless' suburban building. Indeed Helen, in the statement below, suggested that there were 'suburbs' and 'suburbs'. For Helen, whilst ambiguous, the Edwardian suburbs of the pre-war era had a certain sense of dignity, style and individuality which made them credible and aesthetically appealing.

Helen - So there [are] suburbs and suburbs ...Well yes I am not sure it's a distinction which is very valid [but] I suppose the early suburbs had an integrity of their own. ...[They had their] own architectural style which was thought through. They were well designed, they were one of a piece, they were appealing to ... (pauses) ...I mean they were appealing to middle class people who were looking for a better lifestyle than the cities were offering them. And so they were very fine suburbs... And I would include [in this list] the Plant and Garden Villages like Bournville, Rowntree and so on...(Helen, Victorian Society).

Thus, for Helen, if the pre-war Edwardian suburbs were elegant then post-war suburbs were simply a swarm:

Helen - But now suburbs since the last war have become pretty much a swarm (Helen, Victorian Society).

What is interesting about her statement here is that, like those descriptions given of the suburbs by planners, architects and conservationists in Chapter One, the new suburbs of the post-war era take on an animal like quality. Indeed, as I have suggested in previous Chapters, the use of the word 'swarm' conjures up an image of the suburbs as a cloud of bees and there is a sense of the way this 'species' of building is seen to be out of control. Moreover the suggestion that this species of building is out of control therefore conjures up the idea that it's out of balance with a natural urban environment. However, often conservationists, and moving away from an

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[41] At present the offices of Northern Recruitment Employment Agency can be found adjacent to the

animalistic description alone, understood the post-war suburbs through an industrialised, manufactured, or mass-produced metaphor. For instance Peter reported that the problem of the new suburbs was the way they were simply boxes, which implied a complete lack of decoration in their making. This idea connoted an image of suburban houses as units that, had fallen off a factory production line and, were simply 'dumped' on to landscapes without any sense of their relation to place:

Peter - Great boxes have gone up which again is another feature of it (Peter, York Civic Trust).

As a result of a lack of respect, or a lack of appreciation of past architectural styles, conservationists argued that new buildings were often built in historical as well as spatial isolation:

Richard - I think that one of the problems with some modern architects now is they tend to feel that their building is the most important building in the place. There is a culture of competition amongst architects to produce the most spectacular building. [Thus you get a sense that architects put up buildings whilst saying] 'It's my building, my baby ...I want to put my stamp on it' (Richard, Leeds Civic Trust).

Moreover conservationists were also critical of the way bland and under decorated contemporary buildings appeared to pay no heed to past architectural styles for fear of seeming conservative and 'nostalgic'. In this way conservationists suggested that new buildings lacked any sense of aesthetic direction and stylistic purpose and seemed to lack individuality. Again Matthew, by talking the new Northern Recruitment Buildings in York, argued that they were an anonymous set of large blocks that 'did not seem to know where is was' and 'what it wanted to do':

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main entrance of York's Museum Gardens.

*Matthew - Its (the Northern Recruitment Buildings) not what the Georgians or the Victorians more obviously would have done, or the modernists, or the arts and crafts period and its seems to be [in] a sorry sad [state]. [It's not] sure what to do (**Matthew, York Georgian Society**).*

If conservationists argued that post-war architectural and planning culture had lost a sense of the importance of history and of design-history, they also contended that this culture had also lost an awareness of the importance of beauty in their designs.

*Helen - The modern architecture [of the] 1960s and then the Brutalism of the 1970s [was] so unpopular with the people. ...[This era came with a] sort of architecture [that included] big concrete slabs. And [the buildings had] no windows in them [at] all... [The buildings had] no windows on the surface side...[Because they] were so unpopular then, I think architects in Leeds in the 1980s and 1990s softened on the sillynesses (**Helen, Victorian Society**).*

*Richard - Well Brutalism was round about the 1960s you know [such as] the festival hall in London. [So] basically its anything in concrete [or] big concrete [buildings such as] the University of East Anglia ... good example ...[or the] national theatre. [That's] concrete in a big way (referring to the National Theatre)...It's a very unfriendly sort of style. In a way it's very intellectual and rational and all the rest of it (**Richard, Leeds Civic Trust**).*

Moreover for my respondents another problem of contemporary architecture was the absolute lack of 'quality' in the production of these modernist buildings. Thus, conservationists talked of new brutalist buildings as having no careful sensitivity in their design and no guarantee of longevity:

Helen - The buildings we have got these days are simply not as goods as buildings of the past. [They are] not as well built, not as well designed [and

are] not intended to last as long...[They] destroy a spirit of place as well

(Helen, Victorian Society).

Felicity - And this brings me to modern architecture ... It is not that I don't like

the modern architecture that I see in Leeds... [It's just that] I don't like cheap

buildings ... that will fall down in thirty-five years, and they have no life in them

(Felicity, Victorian Society).

5: 2 Creating detail, creativity and quality

Conservationists in discussing the problems of new utilitarian building, which lacked decoration and a sense of the past and a certain quality in their production, also argued for a new age of building that embodies the reverse of these principles. Firstly conservationists discussed the importance of detail in architecture as being central to the development of less functional building:

Helen - Yes I suppose there's something about not just the Victorian building

but the Victorian City ...which appeals to me because it has developed and its

not planned it has accretions. Accretions [means those things that have] been

added piecemeal or sometimes rather higgledy-piggledy [to buildings]. And I

suppose a Victorian building in itself can have that impression it's not a clean

1960s Le Corbusier [building]. [It does not have] a profile like that ... It has

perlecues and urns and porticoes [and] this that and the other. ... And I

personally find that more sympathetic and I warm to it more than I do to [other

buildings] (Helen, Victorian Society).

Leonard - Homosapiens ... man ... needs ornament. ... We know of the history

of every civilisation [by] the ornament they have left behind, the paintings on

the wall ... and cave walls (Leonard, Georgian Society, York Civic Trust, and

the York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship)

Here as well as aesthetics, conservationists put forward the idea that the importance of detail is related to a certain human spirit, or human essence, to building that needs to be encouraged. Secondly, for conservationists if contemporary architects pursued a spirit of the new, and buildings of isolation, the development of 'good buildings' have to be based on past styles. Rather than ignoring the architectural styles of the past conservationists argued that contemporary architects should work within the aesthetic parameters of the architectural visionaries of the past. Prior to the contemporary mechanised age they maintained that the 'traditional architect' had only a vision of beauty in mind. Thus for conservationists prior to the contemporary mechanised age these architects of beauty were better known as Craftsmen. One conservationist named Daniel claimed that because of the loss of these traditional architects – or craftsmen – buildings had begun to loose a sense of spirit. In one aside Daniel in discussing Leonard's stone carving workshop[42] claimed that whilst the services of craftsmen were still in need in general the loss of craftsmen in contemporary society had led to an increasing loss of the soul of buildings since the 1830s

> *Daniel - I think that there are not the craftsmen around that there used to be.*
> *He (Leonard) and all the people who work for him are craftsmen and so they*
> *are still in existence. ...But I think that probably their services are not needed in*
> *the same way as they used to be. ...And so much is prefabricated. ...*
> *Architecture lost its soul after about 1830* (***Daniel, York Georgian Society***).

For conservationists the importance of focusing on past styles rests with the role they can play in contemporary design, where a spirit of 'beauty' can encourage architects to follow suit and push the limits of past modes. In this respect conservationists are nostalgic for older architectures, which were built by architects who were determined to push the boundaries, to be adventurous and to develop a certain sense of individuality and flair. In short conservationists understood that the well crafted buildings of the past to have a 'certain quality' to their appearance which is only captured by their uniqueness and their sense of being matchless:

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[42] This is located in York City Centre. I do not want to give the exact location of Leonard's stone carvers workshop for reasons of anonymity.

*Leonard - The point I am getting to is that the interiors of the historic houses in England were created by people with flair and individuality. They (architects and craftsmen) pushed the bounds, they were adventurous in their day or age and they created today what you would call the spirit of the age (**Leonard, Georgian Society, York Civic Trust and the York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship**).*

In this spirit of creativity and workmanship conservationists suggested that often the problem with contemporary building is the lack of care and time which has been fostered on them. The encouragement of architects to be inventive therefore revolves around the idea that they should have more time to create things to encourage quality over quantity, and to push the utopian. In this regard Conservationists valorised a spirit of the arts and crafts, associated with the work of John Ruskin and William Morris, which refers to the importance of 'creative time' in the assembly of things:

*Matthew – Well yes they (the Arts and Crafts Movement) were going back to a time when people used their own time to create things. ... And what had intervened between the Georgians and them (the Arts and Crafts Movement) they had disliked so much. ... [It was] Machine art [they disliked] ... (**Matthew, York Georgian Society**).*

In this logic of time, and a sense of slowness that has been lost from the contemporary production of building, conservationists also stressed the importance of an education in the trades and the crafts.

*Leonard - When I started my apprenticeship in 1949 woodcarving was quite an excepted craft [and] in most cities [there were] stain glass studios. ... The Festival of Britain in 1951 brought in modernism. ... You've got to understand that modernism swept away all the crafts and all the traditions... And little boxes, little boxes, ticky-tacky little boxes umm... (**Leonard, York Georgian***

Society, York Civic Trust and the York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship).

Indeed, what is suggested then by this quote symbolically is the way an apprenticeship is valued as a nurturing practice that is seen to lead to higher things. In short, Leonard's statement is embedded in nostalgia for a spirit of workmanship, which has to be developed and nurtured over time like a craftsmen in a post-war world of wood carving. In this way Leonard's rejection of modernism and the loss of these practices, meant that all that had been achieved from the loss of the 'crafts and traditions' was a new world of ticky tacky or low quality. In short Leonard referred to a world where the role of time and workmanship becomes lost to the mechanised production of low quality boxes, or 'suburban houses'.

In this regard conservationists discussed the role of detail and ornament in relation to a wider spirit of quality or the idea that architects had invested real time into building design and the instruction of the building itself. In short conservationists considered and focused on the importance of quality and workmanship in building.

> *Kenneth* – *I think it's to do with quality. That the buildings are distinctive umm... That they have been put together by architects that believe in quality...umm by owners who believe in quality. You see you see this (a spirit of quality) best in the [United] States where you get the sense that developers or clients want to put up the best possible building ... (Kenneth, Victorian Society).*

Thus Kenneth suggested that architectures made with a sense of care over time stand out amongst other buildings in cityscapes. Thus like the idea of uniqueness, discussed in Chapter One, Kenneth suggested that when buildings of quality or distinctive architectures are put together or placed against one another, an aesthetic of landscape can be produced.

5: 3 Summary: The importance of workmanship in building

In this section I have discussed how conservationists have argued that post-war modernism has produced a *utilitarian architectural culture*. Indeed, conservationists have positioned new architecture as representing blandness, quick, cheap, and poorly made buildings. In opposition to this utilitarianism, conservationists argued for a return to a spirit of creativity in new buildings. Thus they talked about the importance of detail as providing buildings with a sense of humanity and of working with past styles to enrich a heritage of architectural beauty. Moreover, in this spirit of creativity, they also talked about the importance of recognising the role that time for creativity and real craftsmanship can play in the construction of quality building. For the conservationists, in combining these various themes, the worship of pre-war architecture is based on a love, not of beauty but, of 'craftsmanship'.

6 – Part Six – The promotion of a utilitarian and consumer de-humanised aesthetic

6: 1 The culture of the tacky and the 'politically correct'

As well as the utilitarian nature of architectural standards, in the post-war era, conservationists were also scathing of a utilitarian culture, which was associated with the rise of consumption after the Second World War. Here conservationists' critiques were not aimed simply at social institutions, such as those of architecture planning and local councillors, but rather a culture of economic production. Specifically post-war culture was seen to be 'mass produced' in its aesthetic and was therefore dehumanising. For conservationists a major problem with this 'mass aesthetic' was its separation of people from an appreciation of quality in things, and material objects, that can be achieved by pre-consumer handcrafted products. One of my respondents Ivan argued that as a consequence of the rise of modernism, and particularly the rise of mass consumerism, contemporary culture had suffered a general loss of quality and had become increasingly mindless and trashy:

Ivan - Hmm umm ...If anything's tacky of course it's the products of this
civilisation. ... [There are a] huge amount of things (material products) which
are being flogged to people [and] they don't need them ... [We spend] our time
trying to make money out of mindless trash and [then we sell it] to our children
... (Ivan, Victorian Society).

Conservationists suggested, as a result of this mass consumerism and mass aesthetics a frenetic culture has developed where the value of appreciating the artistry in everyday things has disappeared. Indeed, because of the frantic production of newer and newer products, Matthew argued that people had lost the ability to sit and look at everyday things including objects, buildings and landscapes:

Matthew – [It is] a sign of our times [that] everything has got to be new and we
enjoy this one day and we enjoy that the next day. And maybe that's one of the
reasons why I enjoy the Georgians so much because there is a feeling of greater
calm and nowhere near such a frenetic lifestyle. ...There was an ability
(speaking of the Georgian era) to appreciate things and really an ability to
appreciate...things without hopping into the next fad or fashion (Matthew -
York, Georgian Society).

As Matthew implies here the pleasure of being part of the Georgian Society is that it allows members to recount times when people were more appreciative of aesthetics in a much slower and civilised way. However, rather than just a loss of aesthetics conservationists argued that society had promoted a new 'politically correct culture' that had made an interest in aesthetics and traditional high forms of culture an elitist activity. Thus Kenneth, in the statement below, talked of a post-war culture of Britain in terms of elitism, where a traditional respect for painting, classical music and other forms of 'high art' had become obsolete:

Kenneth - If you talk about cultural history that has smacks of elitism ... doesn't
it ... it doesn't to me...

Andrew – What is cultural history?

Kenneth - I suppose [that's an] unreadable question [and is] very difficult [to answer] ... I have a definition of cultural history which is really a way of looking at how all the arts, intellectual activities develop. [But it] ...smacks of elitism...if you use [the word] culture it smacks of elitism (**Kenneth, Victorian Society**).

Furthermore as well as rejecting aesthetic matters, conservationists maintained that the result of this new politically correct elitism had led to a society where mass standards and mass culture had become normative and socially acceptable. Thus, conservationists argued that middle and working class suburbanites had encouraged a culture of football and shopping:

Matthew - Why the working classes are so particularly interested in beer, football, shopping and not very much else... I mean I don't understand that. I think my brain would explode [if I tried too]. I couldn't bear the thought of that...Why is it that certain music I absolutely love and some music, like pop music and female opera singers, I find loathsome?

Is it something to do with a chemistry of the body? So I don't know is it because we have a keener sense of history, is it because we just feel comfortable with these things, that they speak to us in the way that a football match never can speak to me (**Matthew, York Georgian Society**).

6: 2 Connecting the people to aesthetic standards and quality

For conservationists, if modernist consumer culture had brought a celebration of the mass aesthetic in objects, materials and buildings, they suggested that for the improvement of society an appreciating of craftsmanship and an appreciation of the importance of hand made objects had to be rejuvenated. Thus, conservationists maintained that a spirit of craftsmanship buried into objects can return people to an

awareness of authenticity and the aesthetic. Thus, Leonard and Keith, in the selected transcripts below, talked about the importance of engaging in crafts as a way forward for the development of contemporary British culture.

*Leonard - We've [got] to go back to create things in the way they (the arts and crafts movement) did. ... Anyone has got the skills to fashion a latch in wrought iron. ...[There is a certain] joy of hand and [an] integrity of doing. Once you have lost the integrity of doing you become another consumer (**Leonard – York Georgian Society, York Civic Trust, York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship**)*

*Keith - I think that within a society it's terribly important to have people who are creative with their hands ... As I like to say [people should] use their head, their heart, and hand together (**Keith - York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship**).*

Yet, whilst conservationists talked about the re-education of architects, they also implied that unlike previous eras of the arts and crafts movement[43], the objects of craftsmanship had to be made available to a general populace. For instance, as Keith explained, in relation to two rocking chairs he had had made for him, the employment of local craftsmen to our everyday furnishings, whilst expensive was not impossible. Particularly he pointed out that whilst he did not bring home a large income he could afford the chairs by negotiating with a craftsman over a period of time about paying for things in instalments.

*Keith - I had got ...two rocking chairs they look good in any house. They look wonderful. ...I feel that I have shown that ordinary people, people that are not rich, can afford genuine art simply by negotiating (**Keith - York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship**).*

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[43] For more details of the critique of the Arts and Crafts Movement on these grounds please see Cumming and Kaplan (1991) and Harrod, (1999).

Unfortunately here again like the arts and crafts movement itself, this attitude naively seemed to convey the sentiment that people would be able to afford the art no matter how much money they earned. Nevertheless where conservationists argued that the new tacky objects of post-war commercialism had created inauthentic relationships between people and aesthetics, a renewed interest in 'simpler objects' was defined as a route to the redevelopment of more authentic lifestyles. Talking about one house in London for instance, Helen argued that the domestic interiors of the house were crucial to an ethos of the Victorian Society that we actually live our lives through well-made art. Here in the following transcript for Helen art seemed to be synonymous with the evolution of human life and society itself:

Helen – It (the house) fitted in with the ethos [and] the feeling of the Victorian Society, which was very Morris-ey that you live your life through your furnishings and surroundings ...I mean your aesthetics are shown in your surroundings (Helen, Victorian Society).

Thus, whilst conservationists talked about the encouragement of craftsmen into economic society and the role of crafted objects in our everyday lives they also understood that at the utmost the role of craftsmanship was central to the *development* and *evolution* of contemporary society. Thus as some conservationists suggested their vision was a radical one where the distinction between professionals and everyday people needed to be broken down. Thus in one statement, whilst suggesting that society should honour the craftsman, Keith also suggested that the respected acts of craftsmanship were important to *convince people* of the importance of this art.

Keith - But everybody should honour people who do that and give them opportunities ... There are so many talented artists and craftsmen and that's why we set up the York art network association to give some sense of identity ... [to the importance of craftsmanship]. And to convince people who don't do much with their hands but can appreciate what's done (Keith - York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship).

In this respect it seemed that for conservationists the role of hand made objects and an actual respect for a spirit of craftsmanship would allow for a rejuvenation of people's aesthetic senses. Thus conservationists suggested, having talked about the importance of craftsmanship, that the study of good design could also further this education and develop our awareness of beauty:

> *We should also, I would suggest, aim at educating public taste to appreciate*
> *good design in everyday things. Mass production cannot compete with the*
> *individual craftsmanship of more leisurely days, but there must be no quarrel*
> *between the **utilitarian** and the **beautiful**. It is for this generation to show that*
> *the two can be combined – and societies such as ours can be pioneers in this*
> *good work (**Princess Royal's**[44] **speech - President of the Georgian Society***
> ***1948-65, Quoted in Buttery 1989: 18 with my emphases added in bold**).*

Moreover a key spokeswoman of the Victorian Society, Helen, suggested that the value of studying architectural history, and particularly European craftsmanship which developed a spirit of detail and workmanship, would allow our present society to develop a higher level of visual consciousness. In discussing her school history Helen therefore seemed to claim that her lack of education in the visual arts had meant that she and therefore others with a similar background had suffered aesthetically and spiritually as a result:

> *Helen – But the visual element was entirely non-existent. I used not to be aware*
> *of my surroundings and that comes from someone with a good educational*
> *background. ...Then you know the mass of the people are not trained or*
> *encouraged to look at their surroundings. And I think that's to the detriment,*
> *not only of the surroundings which can then suffer because [people] don't see*

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[44] The Princess Royal here is referenced in Buttery, (1989: 18) as the Earl of Harewood's wife HRH Princess Mary. Born 1897 Died 1965.

them and therefore don't care what particularly happens to them, but also to

[peoples'] disadvantage (Helen, Victorian Society).

Conservationists therefore suggested that, working from the importance of good design and architectural history, 'the people' would consequently demand more from their own domestic housings and surroundings. Thus, Helen talked about the way a better architectural education would mean that current fondness for suburban half-timbering, and Mock Tudor, would be a thing of the past:

Helen - People need to be better educated. I think a lot of people are rather floundering around they see the architecture of the past or the architecture of the great country house. [Particularly the architecture of the great country house is] ...something which has some authority which they (people) can latch on to in some way and that would explain a fondness for a bit of half timbering ... (Helen, Victorian Society).

6: 3 Summary - The importance of craftsmanship in aesthetics

In this third section I have looked at the way in which amongst other things, post-war utilitarian modernism has been blamed for a general loss of 'culture' and a sense of quality in aesthetic architectural design in society. Indeed, whilst these ideas were discussed briefly in the section on buildings and architecture, in the last section it was suggested that the notion of a loss of quality in English society refers to something much more intangible than buildings. Conservationists implied that the role of modernism in the production of tacky objects and inhuman cultures of technology had led to a separation of people from their aesthetic senses. In addition, conservationists reasoned that a more organic sense of living can be achieved by living one's life through 'hand made' as opposed to 'mass produced' things. In particular the celebration of 'hand made' furniture and the actual practices of craftsmanship were said to generate a sense of spirit between the notions of hand, head and heart. However, conservationists suggested that, rather than the practice of craftsmanship

alone, the formation of a 'higher cultural society' can be achieved by encouraging a wider appreciation of good design and high quality in everyday things. Thus, conservationists suggested that an appreciation of good design in everyday things and architectural education in school, is the starting place of a higher visually conscious aesthetic society. In this respect, conservationists against the utilitarian contended that a spirit of craftsmanship is crucial to developing a higher aesthetic society that had been lost in post-war utilitarian modernist Britain.

7 – Part Seven - Post-war totalitarianism – Brutalism and the loss of the people in the building process

So far conservationists have talked about the role of a post-war modernist culture in the creation of utilitarian buildings and an approach to traditional definitions of high culture and art. Coupled with the rise of consumer culture after the war conservationists understood that there had been a celebration of tackiness and low quality. In addition conservationists suggested that post-war modernism has not only constructed an era of utilitarianism but had had a role in *totalitarianism*. Already I have looked at the way in which conservationists have understood the role of Brutalism in a contemporary architectural spirit. In the next sections I will discuss the way in which Brutalism is also translated from the aesthetic to the cultural one where it is defined in terms of the planning establishment of post-war modernist Britain.

7: 1 Modernism has rejected the importance of the people

If conservationists felt that architects had ignored the importance of a rich architectural spirit of the past, they were concerned about what they understood to be a general relegation of the importance of 'everyday' people

Iris - If there is a common fault that you get with architects it is that they think they have the right to judge things and they think that the man in the street does

*not know what he is talking about.   I don't go along with that. ...I think that obviously you need informed opinion (**Iris, York Civic Trust**).*

Conservationists argued that a reconstruction of society should begin with an encouragement of architects, and indeed people in everyday circumstances, to 'get back in touch' with the building process. They understood that the problem of contemporary buildings and townscapes came back to the way in which modern architects were not involving local people in their work. Thus, in going back to discussions about the failures of post-war modernism conservationists often sited council estates as the most major examples of these notions:

*Felicity - One of the problems in Leeds is the failure of inter-war council estates ... [In] a lot of council estates, [in] the 1950s or the 1960s there was a utopian quality... [However] they were failures, they were trying to build communities on green field sites.   But it did not work and it still does not work ... because they (buildings and people) are rooted ... (**Felicity, Victorian Society**).*

Moreover another key criticism of the new uniform and non-individual post-war housing, was the way in which it was seen to have ignored the wants and *needs* of local people. Indeed, as Ivan argued the rise of new modernist post-war townscapes, as well as being uniform, had been inspired by utopian ideas that had failed to consider the role of people in their production in an organic way.

*Ivan – I think after that (the Second World War) it (domestic buildings) became more remote from what people wanted. ...Planners wanted designed houses [and] flats for working class people. ... But it was remote [from the people] because there was no conception of involving those people in the designs.   And some of these planning disasters...(talking about post-war buildings generally).   There are examples of modern architecture I really like, but they tend to have been imposed on a particular site rather than taking their place in a rather organic way (**Ivan, Victorian Society**).*

Moreover at a micro level, conservationists reported that even in traditional townships and the centres of the 'new sprawls' another sense of place had been lost. In short Iris and Kenneth related this to a loss of natural or organic concentric circles which had traditionally existed in both urban and rural locales. Here conservationists argued that, rather than architects alone (as discussed in the previous section), planners had been responsible for a loss of place by their lack of interest in positioning buildings in relation to one another, and generally ignoring what were natural rules of harmony in spaces.

*Iris – It's not about size its about the design of (urban villages or suburban) houses. If you were to survey the neighbours of Haxby[45] they would these (their domestic houses) are boxes and they could be anywhere. They are built by Wimpey[46] or [other developers like them build these houses]. ... It's standard stuff churned out like a sausage machine (**Iris, York Civic Trust**).*

*Kenneth - [It's] not [about] dumping houses down but relating them to existing institutions... ... concentrically... there should be central institutions in the middle (of urban villages or suburbs) to give you a sense of community between a duck pond and a church... soooooooo things have got lost (**Kenneth, Victorian Society**).*

Finally, conservationists also talked about the role of buildings themselves in this loss of place. Thus, whilst lacking a sense of decoration, quality and individuality, they pointed to the role of new post-war buildings as having a placeless mass aesthetic. Again as conservationists suggested placelessness, was not simply part of a new neo-modernist or post-modernist minimalist look but reflected a contemporary sense of cheapness in the production of houses. Indeed, as Iris suggested, the design of

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[45] Haxby is a small village that exists outside and is to the North of the City of York. Having lived there I know that it is teeming with new estates and contemporary housing. To locate Haxby geographically please see Map A in Chapter 4 section 2: 6.

[46] Again by Wimpey I understand that Iris is referring to George Wimpey houses referred to in the footnote on George Wimpey Homes above.

contemporary housing was produced according to one mass design that was standardised and inexpensive to produce. Thus as Iris contended these houses lacked any attempt to acclimatise themselves to local vernacular styles.

Iris – [Contemporary housing lacks] design ... and ...vernacular in relation to the location. That applies [to these houses] throughout the country anywhere (Iris, York Civic Trust).

Because of these development processes, conservationists talked about a complete loss of place that was occurring in Britain, where there was a lack of involvement of people and local materials. In one instance then Helen illustrated this feeling by discussing her arrival in Leeds. As the following quote implies Helen suggests that whilst she felt that the city gave an impression of character in the 1970s she felt that if she had arrived today she was not sure that the city – like many other British – cities could provide her with these sentiments:

Helen - When I came to [Leeds] it just became special to me straightaway there was a very distinctive character to Leeds then. If I went to Leeds [today] I don't know whether I would detect a sense of place in the same way ... But it was very strong when I came in '72 it was very Yorkshire and very different (Helen, Victorian Society).

7: 2 The importance of the people in the local/regional

Conservationists argued that, if the architectural and planning culture of Britain had relegated the voice of the people, more consultation had to take place in the way buildings were assembled:

Ivan - The problem is isolated buildings dominating people and even the estates and so on. [The] high rise flats are obviously disliked by the people and no consultation [takes place] with people living in them (Ivan, Victorian Society)

However, whilst inclusion seems a simple idea, conservationists understood that people had to be involved in building in a more communal way. Thus, if conservationists suggested that a new architectural and planning culture had ignored the importance of people and roots, then quite simply they argued that rather than starting with professionals the way forward for an architectural future rested in nothing more than the 'people' themselves. In this fashion, conservationists identified the importance of a spirit of the local as something that was central to 'the people'. In these discourses, conservationists often talked carefully about the role, particularly of the 'working classes' in fostering a love of the local. In this respect, slippage between the category 'working class' and the 'local' was often made in conservationist ideas. However, conservationists often felt uncomfortable using the term 'working class' and this phrase would be submitted with other words such as the 'ordinary people', or 'everyday citizens'. For conservationists the use of these phrases softened the blows of elitism that could be avoided by referring to working class identity as uniquely tied to feelings of local and national pride:

Peter - You get this great sense of local patriotism ...wherein the ordinary people of York who love the place couldn't [this spirit] ...into words ... If you asked them they couldn't put it (this local patriotism) into words ... but they know what they like (Peter, York Civic Trust).

Moreover, conservationists talked about the way in which harmony could be developed in existing urban spaces. In this respect, whilst conservationists did not suggest an outright return to the concept of a rural or urban village, they stressed the importance of neat urban locales or pockets which would foster more organic or natural ways of living. In the logic of these new buildings, both in terms of the sprawl of cities and residential areas, conservationists reasoned that the problem with the new 'mass aesthetic of building' was that it had destroyed an organic continuity within urban places. For conservationists, rather than a temporal continuity as discussed in Chapter Two, the new housing had broken with a natural aesthetic of local landscapes. In this respect, Iris argued that as well as the placelessness of the 'new

boxes' they had lost their sense of location by the way in which they had not grown from the ground like the traditional buildings and spaces they had been tagged on to:

> *Iris – And this comes back to what I was saying before, about these box like accretions which are tagged on to traditional villages. ... Really [they] have no place in that local vernacular because they do not come from the ground. ... Whereas the traditional heart of the village has ... it has grown ... as they say in the trade organically (Iris, York Civic Trust).*

In this respect conservationists were very nostalgic for Georgian or Victorian designs, by the way, in which these buildings were seen to have drawn upon local materials which had almost grown from the ground:

> *Daniel - I think that the Georgians some how managed to achieve and probably without knowing it a nice balance in their design ...They used local materials which is always a good thing (Daniel, York Georgian Society)*

> *Iris - Traditional materials, vernacular styles they haven't been forced (Iris, York Civic Trust).*

> *Angela - Especially if you are talking about vernacular buildings, which are made of local materials ... [they] therefore make the buildings look as if they are growing out of the local landscape (Angela, YAYA's).*

However for conservationists, rather than simply looking at places organically, an acute spirit of creativity and workmanship underpinned the organic. In this respect conservationists talked about the way in which natural materials could inspire a pre-intellectual spirit, which could be applied to places. In this spirit they rejected the idea that one needed to be intelligent or even an architect to produce the right surroundings. For conservationists, as opposed to a formal study or the fetters of contemporary architectural tradition, builders could see themselves as craftsmen who take their inspirations from nature and the spirit of their local surroundings:

Lawrence - You don't have to be particularly intelligent, you don't have to be
an architect, ... [to] understand ... the way light sunlight falls upon a building,
[to understand] the [importance] of natural materials. ... You don't have to
understand where the bricks have come from, but you understand that they are
*part and parcel of life (**Lawrence – York Civic Trust**).*

Thus Edward suggested that in the process of building new houses and dwellings the importance of recognising a distinct local spirit in the natural materials and surroundings was central to the furthering of a spirit of place:

Edward –[architects must take a different] attitude [to] building something on a
green field site [than] building on an area where there is a definite local style
*You don't have to copy what is there ... But you have to appreciate it (**Edward,***
***York Georgian Society**).*

Here then in this natural or innate spirit of the local, conservationists talked about an innate or psychological need which emerged from the relationship between the viewer – architect or local - and the built landscape. Particularly, then, Edward suggested that people intrinsically needed natural and local materials in their everyday environments since these were seen to serve as innate spatial markers. In short as the following quote implies Edward suggested that for local people to understand the where they came from and at what time a place the importance of natural and local materials was essential to this relationship:

Edward - Maybe it's an innate psychological need to have a feeling that you
know where you come from. ...We talked about the Welsh slate. ... [There is a]
type of building which arises because of particular... local needs. And [there
are] type[s] of building materials that are available [in an] area that produce a
distinctive vernacular style ...So you can identify where you are in a particular

region by looking at the buildings around you (Edward, York Georgian Society).

In sum, conservationists suggested then that whilst recent forms of architectural thinking were interesting the building of places could only really be achieved by a certain local and spiritual attitude to place. As conservationists suggested architectural training could not capture this local spirit alone and thus for many activists the most significant expert in understanding these relations would be locals or those who had grown up with their surroundings. In these narratives conservationists seemed to be valorising once again the importance of a divine or higher craftsman that was at one with 'his' landscape and the people that lived within it. Thus, Ivan suggested that a spirit of the craftsman had been traditionally understood in the ethos of the arts and crafts movement and a spirit of the people of England for years. In his interpretation of these ideals, Ivan proposed that part of its value of the arts and crafts movement was that it had recognised the 'real aesthetic wants of the people'. Indeed, Ivan, as the following narrative points out, reasoned that despite the rise of modernist styles a spirit of the local craftsman could not be repressed since it represented a 'socialist' architecture which seemed to rest at the heart of an innate and organic spirit of the people.

Ivan - [Today we] are finding vernacular styles in this country and using local craftsmen ... and I do see that as the nearest we can come to for a socialist architecture (Ivan, Victorian Society).

7: 3 Summary: Symbolic craftsmanship and the local

In the second part of this section I have looked at the way conservationists have suggested that, rather than simply being utilitarian (see Section Two of this Chapter), post-war modernist architecture has also been totalitarian. In this respect, conservationists have connected the Brutalism of architectural design with the

planning process, which was seen to have imposed and forced buildings on to people and local communities[47]. Thus, in the first section, conservationists understand the imposition of Brutalist architecture on the people in terms of the organic and the ideas that the planning process uprooted a 'genius loci' of the people. Further to these narratives conservationists, in the second section, constructed a vision of the future that was said to include 'the people' in planning and building. In this vision, conservationists talked about a spiritual link between people and place, which could be exploited in the construction of new buildings and housing. In this respect, conservationists 'understood' that the people wanted their urban houses and settlements to be built in local materials, as they had been done prior to the Second World War. Moreover, conservationists connected the importance of the local and its materials and natural boundaries through a spirit of craftsmanship, where local craftsmen and a spirit of the arts and crafts was 'understood' as the people's architecture. In this way, the use of local materials by local builders, pointed to an instinctive understanding of the locale in building, embodied in the notion of craftsmanship and the hand made that is, by its very definition, unique and localised.

8 – Part Eight – Post-war totalitarianism and the culture of affluence and dependence

Conservationists, in the previous section, located the problem of a post-war mass culture with the loss of a spirit of the people in the construction of buildings. Rather than involving people, conservationists argued instead that Brutalist architecture had been imposed on the people and had even oppressed the people in the post-war situation. In what follows, conservationists develop these themes through the idea that post-war modernism has also imposed, and made normative, a culture of welfare and dependency. Here conservationists argue that the Brutalism of this process lies in the way in which modernism has reduced the need for people and communities to work together as independent and self-sustaining actors.

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[47] Indeed, whilst social scientific work of this period indicates that people were often left out of the planning process (especially in Leeds, Ravetz, 1974), my aim has been to show which of these narratives of imposition were understood in terms of identity.

If conservationists, in the last section, complained about a loss of place in post-war Britain they were also equally scathing about the rise of a culture of affluence and the loss of a sense of self-reliance. Indeed conservationists suggested that a post-war era had led to the formation of a consumer culture, which was seen to separate people from a need to find more simplistic ways of living.

Louise – They (British people) base their lives on more material things, they have more money, they want material things [and] they want holidays. ... When there wasn't as much money they (British people) had to be more careful with what they did. ... [They] had to make their own amusements and this is why they were involved in things. ... As a child I still had to make my own amusements. ...Now the world's opened up to everybody and its altered people's perspective on life (Louise, Horsforth Civic Society).

As Louise's quote implies, conservationists suggested that whilst consumer culture had provided people with a sense of identity, it was not seen as something that could be relied upon as a way of living. Indeed, as Louise suggests consumer culture had led to a loss of self-entertainment, which she regarded as a wider example of a loss of a spirit of self-reliance. Particularly then conservationists suggested that the new society should be termed an 'affluent society' where money had made people less self-reliant. For conservationists then, the development of the consumer society and the loss of self-reliance could be tied to a new system of state welfare where it would seem that one economic class community looked after another:

Daniel - And those who have had more wealth ... look after people not so fortunate as themselves...I am not saying that certain people shouldn't be helped...But the whole system should not be put out of bounds (Daniel, York Georgian Society).

Following this statement Leonard suggested that the post-war culture of welfarism and the rise of new service sector professions had led to a culture where 'the people' were less 'creative'. Leonard understood this to be responsible for a squeezing out of the creativity of 'people' by its obsession with regulation and formality which hindered them from exploring their own instincts:

Leonard - We now have a population that ...[is] controlled and they're fed on. They are given holidays in the Mediterranean. ...They are completely incapable of surviving they need the system and the system needs them to exist. ...I worry [that] the spirit of our nation has become dependent on a Nanny state **(Leonard, York Georgian Society, York Civic Trust, York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship).**

Leonard - We've got a mediocrity today of dumbing down of de-skilling call it what you will. ...Our architecture ...no longer has any proportion any dignity any understanding of the streetscape ... but it is all the result of the planners... we have got ourselves into a bureaucracy which we cannot control and now you cannot put tea leaves on the compost heap in your garden. That's the bureaucracy that's coming from Brussels ...What stage have we got to ...I think we have gone too far down the road to change. We are going to end up more totalitarian than a totalitarian state frankly **(Leonard, York Georgian Society, York Civic Trust and the York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship).**

Moreover, as well as being too reliant upon consumption and the state, the new non-independent society had also lost an individual sense of aesthetic culture which they had once been able to achieve and understand. Thus Kenneth talked, in discussing a once 'well understood appreciation of aesthetic things', about the rise of a new culture where *accessibility* was valued *over quality*. Previously it was indicated that conservationists complained about a loss of quality in the utilitarian building culture of Britain. However, in Kenneth's contempt for the contemporary New Labour philosophy of art, his irritation was connected to the way art has been made more accessible by a politically correct post-war system. For Kenneth, by the way

aesthetics are defined in an egalitarian way, he was anxious about the loss of a spirit of aesthetic discovery and creativity that could be achieved by going to galleries and exploring 'art' on your own terms.

*Kenneth – [It would seem in recent years that it is] important that art galleries got rid of their pictures and put them into pubs. [But this ignores] the fact that there would not be the staff to do it and they would need insuring and [therefore] it does not seem a suitable to place to do it (**Kenneth, Victorian Society**).*

In this respect, Kenneth suggested that the idea that art is to be understood as something to be made accessible represented a new form of elitism that was repressing a real independent spirit of artistry. As Kenneth implies in the following statement then these measures can only be defined as elitist as a mechanism of anti-art and anti-culture imposed on modern people. In relation to the instigators of the idea of placing art in public houses Kenneth suggested that these ideas reflected about a 'egalitarian elitism' where quality was not seen to matter:

*Kenneth – The present government is acting elitist small department of culture...Chris Smith... It's the formal elitism that quality does not matter umm what real matters is accessibility yes umm (**Kenneth, Victorian Society**).*

8: 2 The spirit of craftsmanship austerity, and self-sufficiency

If conservationists argued that post-war modernism had encouraged a period of reliance and affluence, then for the development of a more organic and healthy society, they advocated a return to more simplistic notions of consumption and living. More specifically conservationists were nostalgic for a time when people and communities were seen to have a certain sense of independence and a joy in human creativity. In this respect, conservationists argued that a pre-war period nurtured a spirit of creativity and realisation that was based on the importance of understanding one's own skills. In this respect, unlike the post-war cultures of the present,

conservationists were nostalgic for times when even in hardship people got 'off their feet' and learnt a new 'trade':

Leonard – When horses ceased to exist and all the stable lads lost their jobs...
they didn't sit there and expect the government to keep them for the next three
generations, which is the mentality in some of our industrial communities
(Leonard – York Georgian Society, York Civic Trust and York Consortium for
Conservation and Craftsmanship).

However, rather than a spirit of self reliance as an individual phenomenon conservationists understand these notions as part of a wider pre-war economic infrastructure where a spirit of creativity and independence was rooted into a network of crafts and interdependent actors:

Leonard - What's missing is the simple interdependence of one craft upon
another. [For] example, here, (referring to his stone carving workshop)[48] we
teach people to make their own tools. ...A tool is a piece of steel forged and
every village had its blacksmith. [The] forging of steel in a community was an
everyday thing like a bus stop if you know what I mean...

In this modern age people don't know [about] blacksmiths, they don't know
what they do and if they can't buy it at B & Q then it doesn't exist. ...And that's
what I [mean by] the interdependence of society you know. ...I had to give a
talk the other day and I had to say that certain things [such as this] had
disappeared from our society, from our community, from this rich tapestry of
interdependence **(Leonard – York Georgian Society, York Civic Trust and the**
York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship).

Here conservationists understood nostalgia for a spirit of creative self-reliance through the idea of a 'crafts community' where people were woven together in their independence and creativity. Moreover conservationists suggested that, rather than

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[48] I do not want to give the precise location of Leonard's workshop for reasons of anonymity.

just the knitting of community and work, this spirit of creativity was very much tied up with landscapes where, rather than relying on the welfare society, people worked with the natural resources 'at hand' in their local spaces. Thus, Daniel was nostalgic for a early twentieth century vision of the traditional landscapes of Yorkshire where communities were dependent upon the natural materials, which were at hand to sustain their own communities.

Daniel - Back in the 1930s people in the West Riding[49] [were] proud of their particular little valley. ...You know the mills (referring to mills in West Yorkshire communities) formerly relied on water supplies streams and all the old mills were built on these valleys. Things progressed they (people) remained there...People were keen on their own small valley (Daniel, Georgian Society).

Moreover Angela talked about this nostalgia in terms of vernacular building. Rather than the continuation and appreciation of local spirit Angela understood that the use of local materials for vernacular building stemmed from an important tradition of local convenience, usage and sustainability

Angela - One of the fundamental definitions of vernacular building [is that you] use the materials, which are closest to hand. ...Because if you have got a horse and cart, or only people power, you are not going to go and bring stone from the West Riding of Yorkshire to build a cottage on the North York Moors. ...[More likely] you're just going to [go to] the back of the moor and fish out some rocks up there (Angela, YAYA's).

Conservationists also suggested, in discussing these 'crafts communities', that within their work and their utilisation of the resources of the 'valleys' they lived in, a spirit of creativity or craftsmanship was physically embedded in the places they inhabited.

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[49] The West Riding has been traditionally defined as one third of the Ridings (or spatial parts) that has made up the idea of Yorkshire. For more details please see the Pevsner Guides to Yorkshire.

For instance, Edward, in a discussion of a spirit of the vernacular, suggested that this idea had been associated with the notion that people had literally 'woven'[50] together the literal resources available to them.

> *Edward – [By a spirit of the vernacular I mean] a weaving together of place, and the literal resources and the people and how they use what is available to them ... It's about localism ... (Edward, York Georgian Society).*

In these discourses, conservationists were often very scathing of suburbia on the terms that the people, in these areas, did not live and work there and did not derive their own 'living' from these spaces of residence.

> *Iris - Those people (suburbanites) who live in those houses (suburban houses) tend to commute they don't get their living from the village from which they live. In other words they get their convenience from the Haxbys' and the Wiggingtons'[51] in which they live (Iris, York Civic Trust)*

Thus, if conservationists were critical of the culture of suburbia which had seen to have split the English from their 'local sustainable habitat', then they often demonstrated great nostalgia for traditional forms of pre-war working class living. Once again the construction of these settlements were those which were seen to be based on the idea of a united set of people working together in sustainable, 'crafts-based locales'. What is explicit about these narratives is, rather than a mere nostalgia for working class identity, is the celebration of a sense of independence and a spirit of creativity which is seen to have accompanied these communities. For instance in talking about the traditional townships of Leeds Simon commented that they had their own identity:

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[50] I would like to suggest that the use of this term also carries a symbolic narrative of craftsmanship by its reference to the notion of weaving.

Simon - If you look at the eighteenth century then there were distinct out

Townships (in Leeds) such as Kirkstall [and] places like that. ... So they had

their own identity and they had their own facilities ... (referring to work houses)

... (Simon, Leeds Civic Trust).

Moreover Helen, explaining why she liked these township communities in Leeds and elsewhere, conveyed this nostalgia through the idea of a spirit of unity that was seen to be present in these places:

Helen – All those gritty West Riding industrial towns that ... [left] behind their

industrial imprint. [I have] a nostalgia ... for what one rather sentimentally

sees as, you know, an ethos or spirit which united peoples working largely in

the same sort of industry [such as] the woollen industry. ...Yes and [it's a

nostalgia for a time when] the same sort of values etc [were] relatively

unchanged. ... I mean [know] this is sentimental [and] to some extent it fits in

with J, B. Priestley and John Betjeman (Helen, Victorian Society).

8: 3 Summary: The symbolic self-governing 'local crafts' community

In this last section then I have indicated how conservationists were critical of a post-war modernist era of 'totalitarianism' in the way material culture had become normative and over-powering. However, rather than just the rise of post-war consumer society alone, the negative effects of over-affluence in this period was defined in terms of its capacity to have led to a system of support or welfare where the masses were 'led and fed' with material goods. In this respect, conservationists suggested that the logic of these procedures had led to a culture where independence and creativity had been stifled and controlled by a politically correct and overly autocratic state. In this respect, I looked at Kenneth's example of contemporary art

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[51] Like Haxby, Wiggington is a village about four or five miles north of York. For more information on these geographical details See Map A in Chapter 4, Section 2: 6.

where the experience of looking at art in galleries independently had been destroyed by government efforts to 'bring art to the people'.

In opposition conservationists talked about the importance of creating a culture of independence and self-sufficiency. Again and following the theme of this chapter a spirit of the crafts was seen as key to these developments where conservationists talked about the importance of the traditional (pre-industrial and pre-war) crafts and trades. In short, these were seen to symbolically embody a spirit of independence where different crafts and trades were entwined within one another and were separate from the fetters of dependence upon the state. In this respect a spirit of the crafts was connected to the notion of locales where conservationists were also nostalgic for crafts communities, which carried a feeling of sustainability and independence in the way in which, they depended upon local landscapes. Whilst the notion of community might seem paradoxical to the idea of independence and a spirit of creativity, I am not suggesting that conservationists are nostalgic for a spirit of Thatcherism and the idea of entrepreneurial self-reliance. Rather what is being celebrated here is the idea that, pre-war arts and crafts nostalgia for self-sustaining units of craftsmanship and authentic work relied upon the local materials at hand. In this respect conservationists are nostalgic for a vision of England where land spaces were composed of pockets of communities where people were dependent upon their own little valleys, and were self-reliant without need of the 'affluence of the post-war welfare state'.

9 – Part Nine – Chapter Summary

In this chapter I looked at contemporary conservation concerns over the role of 'modernism' in a loss of authentic notions of roots and culture which were seen to be more prevalent in a pre-war period in Britain. In Part A, I look at the way in which conservationists define 'contemporary modernism', as responsible for a loss of respect for old buildings in the manner in which new buildings replace the old. Secondly conservationists suggested that 'modernism' be defined as culpable for old buildings being restored in inauthentic ways in contemporary times. In these struggles for authenticity conservationists drew upon class signifiers to suggest that

particularly the layout of new middle class suburbs had been responsible for a pulling up of roots.

Rather than the devolution of an appreciation of the importance of old buildings alone, I showed how conservationists regarded post-war modernism as having damaged and devolved aspects of English architecture and culture. More specifically I explored conservationists focus on the rise of a post-war welfarist and consumer culture as principally responsible for the devolution of English architecture and culture in post-war Britain. In the sections that followed I therefore dealt with these issues in two ways, through the notions of utilitarianism and Brutalism or a 'performative totalitarianism'. Firstly in sections three and four I dealt with conservationist understandings of post-war modernism in Britain through the theme of utilitarianism and what was seen as the rise of poor quality architectural and aesthetic culture in Britain. Secondly in sections five and six I investigated conservationist considerations of post-war modernism in Britain, through the theme of totalitarianism and what was seen as the development of Brutalist planning and culture of dependency. In section five I scrutinised the way in which Brutalist architecture had been imposed on the people and had separated them from a general 'genus loci' of place. Finally in section six, I looked at the way in which material and welfare culture was blamed for a loss of self-reliance and a spirit of creative independence.

Thus, in opposition to this post-war modernist culture of utilitarianism and cultural Brutalism, I looked at the ways in which conservationists were nostalgic for a spirit of craftsmanship, the arts and crafts, and an organic way of living. Firstly conservationists, in a rejection of the blandness of contemporary modernist architecture, argued that future design should return to the beauty of pre-war style which was rich in detail, independence and most importantly quality and a spirit of uniqueness. Secondly conservationists, in a rebuff of a post-war consumer culture of material affluence and tacky objects, advocated a return to an appreciation of the hand made and the actual practice of craftsmanship and a general visual appreciation that this was seen to symbolise. After looking at conservationist denunciations of the utilitarian culture of modernism in sections five and six I considered the way in which conservationists were disapproving of a new Brutalist totalitarian post-war culture. In section five in a dismissal of the post-war planning process, conservationists therefore

called for a spirit of local craftsmanship, which involved the employment of local materials and local resources in building. These processes were seen to be representative of a more inclusive building culture, in which conservationists understood a spirit of the local intuitively. Finally in a rejection of the post-war culture of dependence, conservationists argued that a spirit of craftsmanship had to be restored which was based on self-reliant communities which were intricately tied to their local 'landscapes and valleys'.

In short, I have suggested in this chapter that conservationists view the rise of post-war modernism, and its twin themes of the utilitarian and the Brutal, as essentially devolved and inorganic. Regarding craftsmanship both physically and as a signifier of a whole cultural way of living both geographically and economically, as employed by conservationists, *I have argued that this spirit of craftsmanship was defined as an evolutionary rejuvenator of society.*

6 - CHAPTER SIX

THE 'PRE-INDUSTRIAL' LANDSCAPE OF YORK
AND THE 'NEW CLEAN CITY' OF LEEDS.
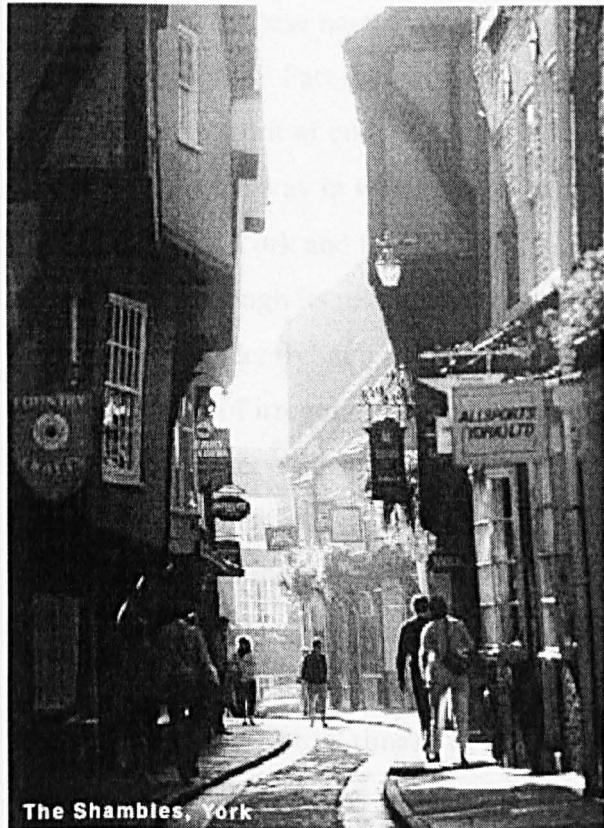
The Shambles, York

[52] Plate 14   [53] Plate 15

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[52] SALVO INTERNET (1997) Historic Tour Virtual Walking York: 'York Shambles' 360 x 500 pixels
- 32k, www.salvonet.com/yorkweb/walk/5/screens/56.jpg, page accessed February 2004.
[53] BREAZEAL, S. (1998-2003) 'Picture of Leeds Townscape' UK-ENG-Leeds-skyscraperpagecom...
589 x 599 pixels - Salt Lake City, Utah BREAZEAL, S. (1998-2003) www.worldcityphotos.org, page
accessed February 2004.

1- Part One - Introduction

In this work I want to take the theme of a *spirit of creativity* in order to look at the
way it is negotiated through the landscapes of York and Leeds. Rather than suggest
that the production of these identities is clear, I investigate the ways in which
conservationists construct these narratives within the architectural, cultural and
economic background of these cities. For conservationists, while some landscapes
live up to these narratives, others are seen as failures that need to be rediscovered and
established. Part A of this Chapter deals with the way conservationists understood an
organic spirit of creativity within the townscapes of York and Leeds. In this part I
look at the way in which conservationists drew on a narrative of 'uniqueness' to
describe York and Leeds. Firstly I investigate the idea that conservationists construct
York through its relationship to a medieval landscape, which has built up
'independently' and therefore 'naturally' over the years. Specifically I scrutinise
notions of irregularity, visual highs and a feeling of time in the City to point to the
way conservationists understand the City as having a unique life of its own. Leeds,
on the other hand, was viewed in terms of 'inorganic' growth by the influence of
industrial and post-war modernism in the City. However, rather than discussing the
worth of the City, conservationists suggested that these inorganic landscapes were
hiding an essential city within, and a 'natural layout' that stretches back to medieval
and pre-industrial times. In this respect, conservationists talked about the importance
of a re-discovery of the real organic city within Leeds through a process of 'inorganic
demolition' or the lancing off of unwanted architectures and spaces. I discuss these
conservationist acknowledgements of an 'inner city' of contrast, diversity,
punctuation marks and boundedness, and interpret these narratives as evidence of
attempts to construct the Leeds townscape through ideas of distinctiveness and
uniqueness, which amounts to their having grown up independently. Moreover, I
suggest that these discourses construct Leeds against an 'other' city that is seen to be
non-independent and entwined with landscapes from other cities and urban

environments. The inorganic 'other' city is encapsulated in the landscapes of industrialism and post-war modernism.

In Part B of this Chapter I look in more detail the way conservationists define their cities in terms of their being able to meet up with a spirit of creativity. Specifically I explore the way conservationists construct a spirit of self-determination through notions of economic history, built community and a narrative of communal self-sustenance in York and Leeds. In Section Four I examine the way conservationists have given York authentic status through the suggestion that the periods of industrialism and post-war modernist growth have passed by leaving the City with a bounded organic community. Conservationists suggest that the City had also retained a sense of community by its compactness and the feeling that both the physical place and its people had a unique connection. Secondly I investigate conservationists assertions that the evasion of industrialism and post-war growth has meant that the city has retained an aesthetic and organic 'arts and crafts culture'. Thus quite literally conservationists (in both York and Leeds) actually talked about the City in terms of its having an authentic crafts community which was a model for cities in the future. Finally, because the fetters of the industrial revolution and post-war modernism was seen to have past York, conservationists suggested that the community within the City had kept a certain economic simplistic dignity and self-reliance. In this instance the notions of economic simplicity and independence was tied within a popular sociology of the York community as independent and sustainable. Accordingly, then, conservationists suggested that the York community could be characterised by its status as 'poor, pretty and proud'. From the discussion in Chapter Five on a spirit of creativity, York was the epitome of this spirit by its sense of local and economic independence. Whilst York did not live up ultimately to a conservationist organic utopia of an interdependent world of crafts, it kept 'its self-respect' and a certain pride in its 'poverty'.

Leeds, on the other hand, with its industrial and modernist backgrounds was viewed in very different terms as a site that had fewer authentic roots. Firstly, as well as a recovering the natural foundations of the City, conservationists implied that the architectural culture of the City had to recover from a culture of industry and modernism. Like the age of Brutalism, conservationists suggested that the local

government was tied to specific, uniform and overly dogmatic rules of architecture and planning which had 'stagnated' an architectural spirit of creativity in Leeds. In 'recovering' a spirit of architectural independence conservationists talked about a new way forward that would encourage a quality in building and a sense of workmanship. Secondly, conservationists suggested that, rather than the production of new building alone, that 'the people' of Leeds needed to be allowed to experience the importance of workmanship in the architectures of the landscape. As well as building new architecture, conservationists talked about the importance of opening up the City to the 'walker' and the discoverer who would be able to permeate the City and understand its well-worked details. For conservationists these processes would also allow for the construction of a new culture of creativity and independence, where the people of Leeds would a demand more from their City's architecture. Finally, rather than just an aesthetic component, conservationists suggested that the production of new buildings (and an appreciative architectural culture) would be an inspiration for further creativity - and particularly new forms of financial entrepreneurialism - that were developing in and around Leeds. What is striking about these discussions is the way in which Leeds is constructed through narratives of 'local patriotism' and an ethos of 'economic and social recovery' which is akin to a spirit of localism. Specifically conservationists such as the Civic Trust were developing an ethos of 'economic forward thinking' and the idea that Leeds was quickly becoming an well defined space and place with its own financial and aesthetically independent community.

1: 1 Urban landscapes

As the interviews in both York and Leeds developed, a major theme in the responses of conservationists was the importance of urban landscape. Whilst the notion of landscape was not available to all the conservationists I met, key cultural agents in the field often talked about notions of urban landscape and townscape as if they were 'aesthetic truths'. In this context, the notion of the urban landscape should be understood as a particular key point in the development of (politically) ambiguous conservation philosophy in both cities. I have interpreted the role of the differing 'physical landscape' heritages of York and Leeds as having a part to play in the way

in which conservationists constructed the 'urban landscape'. I have decided to include sections here on York and Leeds as separate entities in the conservation and construction of space, due to the way in which physical landscapes were picked up and utilised as tools for producing identities. This dividing of sections is not my way of suggesting that the physical entities of York and Leeds have distinct essential landscapes, rather that their differing historical material becomes embedded within two different discursive frameworks. I have chosen to focus on York first because the way in which conservationists constructed these discursive frameworks, by the predominance of what described as its 'well-defined urban landscape', was clearer. Thus, whilst conservationists pointed to the possibilities of multiple readings of the York townscape, they were able to suggest that the City had a master landscape or organic heart from which have landscapes has descended. In one instance Angela talked about the City of York as having grown organically from a Medieval core:

Angela - And it (York) has grown organically. ... As the City has grown it has incorporated what were once outlying areas. ... So the City's expanded and extended. ...I mean we started with the Medieval City in the wall and like ...Lincoln and Berkley [it has]... a circle of villages at a certain distance from the edge of the walled City, the Medieval City. ... And the whole [City is] set in a green area (Angela, Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society, The York Georgian Society and the York Civic Trust).

Moreover Frank talked about York as a Medieval City in the sense that it was almost a 'species' or a particular kind of City that could be captured by this singular term:

Frank - Bath is a Georgian City, York is really Medieval but with some good Georgian buildings (Frank, York Georgian Society and the York Civic Trust).

I have placed a discussion of Leeds later because of the way conservationists described Leeds as a place 'in a period of growth', and ultimately as a site that did not have a 'well understood landscape identity', in the same way as York. Leeds conservationists provided mixed signals as to the nature of its landscape and described

it as essentially more complicated and diverse. Conservationists in Leeds felt that, unlike other 'historic cities' or market towns with well-defined notions of heritage, Leeds was to be viewed as a city that was in a process of *becoming*:

> *Cities are fascinating, ever changing and in many ways surprising. Citizens who recall this city in the 1940s and 1950s will remember the smoke and grime that cloaked the streets and the austerity that wartime brought about. Nostalgia is fine (were they the "Good old days"?) but would we really like to see the "peasouper" smogs again? Leeds today is clean, bright and colourful; some of the buildings even sparkle! Such changes have brought about a dramatic re-appraisal of the role of the city in the 21st Century (**Godward, from Leeds Civic Trust book 2001: 5**).*

Drawing upon my own interpretations of conservation history in both cities, Leeds becomes a place or space that represents the future of conservation discourse and philosophy. Conservationists in Leeds, unlike their York counterparts, were therefore interested mainly in change and the way the landscape could and would look. However, as I will suggest below, their forward-looking approach was always underpinned by an explicit historical philosophy.

Part A – The organic aesthetics of York and Leeds

2 - Part Two - The established York aesthetic

As the semi-structured interviewing developed two central questions seemed to emerge with the production and understanding of the data: Is there a 'landscape' or 'landscape aesthetic' of York?

In answer to these questions conservationists in York often rejected the idea of there being a particular landscape of York. Often, as I suggested in Chapter Five, a notion of a discrete landscape was related to the idea of a heritage signifier, which was seen to encapsulate the notion of townscapes. In the statements of conservationists such notions of the urban landscape were unrealistic and hid the reality of the more multifaceted nature of York:

Angela - York itself in effect its probably [made up of] several landscapes (Angela, Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society, The York Georgian Society and the York Civic Trust).

Despite this initial rejection of the idea of a distinct notion of the urban landscape, conservationists produced an idea of the York landscape that seemed to have *three* central themes: irregularity; visual high points; and the historical.

2: 1 Irregularity

The second aspect of a less than explicit conservation understanding of the landscape rested in the idea of irregularity or that York had an essence of nooks and crannies in its townscape. In the background of these views conservationists in the Georgians repeatedly propounded that the role of an irregular 'labyrinth structure' made up the fabric or the 'feel' of the essential York landscape. Indeed, as Matthew said:

Matthew - The perfect city is something that has grown [and has] developed its character and its idiosyncrasies over centuries. ...

It's [the] quirkiness [and] idiosyncrasies. Look at the things that appeal about York, I mean [you just have to look at] Mark Jones' 'Snickelways'[54].

And these (quirks and idiosyncrasies) are not things you would build in. If you

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[54] For an extract of Mark Jones's text please see Map C which describes the various alleys or *snickets* as they are known parochially in York.

did build them they would be dreadfully artificial (Matthew, York Georgian Society and the York Civic Trust).

This conception of York developed from an indirect discussion between Matthew and myself about the conception of the perfect city. Yet Matthew was loathed to point to an ideology of the York landscape, the prominence of what he described as York's essential idiosyncrasies seemed to be a feature of a wider aesthetic landscape. Developed from a tradition of conservation philosophy in York, these ideas can be traced back to the 'organic architect' (Pexton, 2000) George Pace and his recommendation that the York aesthetic be recognised for its 'Propinquity' (Pace, 1961/2). The propinquity of the City, which Pace described as the 'life-blood' of the York aesthetic (Pace, 1961/2: 15), refers to the bar Walls and a distinct idea of streetscape. Pace suggested that the Walls of York have led to the construction of

A spiders web of streets, lanes, snickets, innumerable 'T' and 'Y' endings, undulations, dog-legs, continuous built up frontages, numberless little irregular places, squares, piazzas, spatial leaks, keyholes and the like. All these play their part in creating the York Aesthetic. All are very delicate in principle and easily destroyed, especially by large-scale development (Pace, Annals of the York Civic Trust 1961/2: 16).

However, as well as an aesthetic philosophy, these discourses point to another more latent signifier. Matthew suggests, with reference to Milton Keynes, that the construction of the idiosyncratic is not something that can be achieved merely by the building of a City. For instance in his discussion of York, Matthew contends that the idiosyncratic is something that is not simply available to any city but is something that is essentially unique to the city. Whilst pronouncing an aesthetic of the landscape, such constructions for both Matthew and Pace were essential to the heart of York. So while Matthew notes that other cities could achieve these

effects, his reference to the literature of Mark Jones, points to a cultural conservation history of the City as the centre or the home of the irregular. Indeed Jones' locally famous *A Walk Around the Snickelways of York*, is a testament to an image of York as a landscape of complex alleys and little narrow street ways which hint at the uniqueness of the physical structure of York and its 'well-understood aesthetic'. (Jones, 1997). The construction of the city as irregular plays to a narrative of the city as something that has grown up uniquely and independently and therefore has an organic life of its own.

2: 2 Visual highs and roofscape

Another feature of these aesthetic pronouncements for conservationists was the role that high drama or visual physical high points in York played in the idea of an urban landscape. Here ideas of the York aesthetic were centred on particular buildings and structures, which were seen to personify York. In the main these buildings and structures were the Minster and the Walls of York, which were defined as the ultimate features in the ability for these architectures to dominate the City in terms of their scale:

> *Lawrence - One of the Ancient folklores of York was that all the buildings must be no higher than the top of the buttress of York Minster... (Lawrence, York Civic Trust)*

Moreover, ideas of the York aesthetic through the notion of 'visual highs', were not something to be gathered by concept alone. Conservationists argued that the importance of these buildings was based on another experience that could be gained in York: the importance of roofscape.

> *Lawrence – oh yes [they are] very important they (church spires) articulate the view, they provide visual breaks [and they] focus [your] attention. [If you could look over the rooftops of York your attention is] moved around [and then]*

*stopped by a majestic spire, (St Mary's in Castle Gate), [it's a] wonderful spire umm beautifully proportioned with a lovely weather vane on top **Lawrence, York Civic Trust**).*

*Nicholas - York depends on its appearance ... [such as] the higgledy rooftops ...you can see round the top of the Minster (**Nicholas, York Civic Trust**).*

In this understanding of York conservationists suggested that, as well as irregular townscape, the York aesthetic was to be understood through the way the City's roofscape had an irregular pattern; a pleasing York aesthetic is viewed through the role of different buildings, which stand out against a sky during the day and night. The role of skyline was therefore important to the way in which conservationists wished to press the importance of viewing from the perspective of the visitor and the good citizens of York (or members of the York conservation societies). Thus, as well as experiencing the York aesthetic, conservationists suggested that a vision of the City could only be achieved by actual physical engagement with the townscape. For instance conservationists contended that in order to get a sense of the aesthetic experience observers should find high points to examine the skyline, where they would be visually stunned:

*Lawrence - The Minster is always going to ... tower up above and provide great views of the City (**Lawrence, York Civic Trust**).*

*Lawrence - There are opportunities in York to see York from on high we... stop at Marks and Spencer[55] there is a fantastic view of the Minster... (**Lawrence, York Civic Trust**).*

For conservationists, in these terms, the special feature of the Minster and York's Walls is that they are understood to be 'treasures' that cannot be found elsewhere.

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[55] York's Mark and Spencer is located in Pilgrim Street in the centre of York's commercial shopping area.

For instance the roofscape was not simply interpreted as a natural occurrence of many different cities, but rather conservationists saw it as something unique, distinctive and one of a kind. The conception of the viewer and the experience of the 'York aesthetic' allowed for a further extension of its artistry. Thus, as the body of 'walking literature' (Buttery, 1982, Jones, 1997) was to point to, the chance to walk through the City and experience its high points were unique in themselves, singular moments in time that could only be captured by being there.

2: 3 The 'historical city'

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, a conservation understanding of York came through the notion of history - which could seem to be a signifier of heritage and therefore might be a point of dispute. However, for the conservationists, the history of the buildings, the Cathedral, the Walls and the activities which take place around these buildings become less important than what was seen to be their 'one of a kind originality'. For instance, as Peter suggested, this one of a kind originality could be found in the way in which the Minster was the largest North of the Alps and that it has a wealth of stain glass. Elaborating upon this uniqueness Peter and Nicholas talked about the way the City Walls of York were also truthful to a spirit of originality which upheld their earliest features:

Peter - I have often wondered when you come to think of it ... it's (The Minster)
the largest cathedral north of the Alps and ...it's the most beautiful cathedral
north of the Alps. I think that. Err well Canterbury [is] more attractive but it's
the sheer size of [the] place (referring to York Minster) and the wealth of stain
glass ...medieval stain glass (Peter, York Civic Trust)

Peter - And that brings me to another thing I mentioned... Micklegate Bar[56]
because that's another incredible feature of the city ... the Walls ... That the
Walls have been retained they have got the original gateways (Peter, York
Civic Trust)

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[56] The Micklegate Bar walls can be located in the City centre. For more details please see Nuttgens, (1989) or Shannon, (1996).

Nicholas - I think that ...a very important part of the York aesthetic [is] of
course the Walls. [It's] the symbolism of the Walls. They were built originally
by the Romans... to keep out the invader and the fact that the Roman Walls still
coincide with a key part of the medieval Wall...[57] *(Nicholas, York Civic Trust).*

Here, as I have suggested above, through notions of irregularity and roofscape the
dominant theme behind these narratives was the role of a discourse of uniqueness
through its historical architectures. In addition, this theme of uniqueness was not
simply extended to singular historical buildings and structures alone but rather the
whole of the 'historical York' landscape:

It is unique in that it possesses a more complete cycle of the architecture of all
ages than any other City in England. Within its Walls can be found beauty,
culture, history and inspiration (York Civic Trust Membership Pamphlet,
2000).

As well as being the only one of its kind because of its physical character and
history, these feelings of uniqueness meant that the City was also defined as a
separate whole in a wider landscape.

Nicholas - The walls are [a] very important aspects of York's character as a
city ...and again the fact that it is entirely surrounded by countryside...
         It's a definable and separate whole (Nicholas, York Civic Trust).

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[57] Although Nicholas does not finish this sentence I understand the pause after this sentence as
indicative of what we takes to be a well understood idea of the originality of the York Walls. For more
details on the Walls of York see Nuttgens, (1989) or Shannon, (1996).

The uniqueness in this statement is essentialised through an organic temporal metaphor of the City as a unique creature, or as Nicholas suggests here a definable and separate whole.

<div align="right">

2: 4 Summary

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Despite the various ways in which the Built Heritage Conservation Movement in York has constructed a non-explicit aesthetic philosophy, this artistic vision is related to a language of identity. Thus, whilst conservationists offered notions of irregularity, roofscape and the historical to the essential aesthetic of York these narratives were underplayed by a certain essentialised discourse of the city. In short these terms are rolled into a collective bid for a York identity, which is based on the notion of uniqueness and exceptionality. In what follows, I turn to the Built Heritage Conservation Movement in Leeds and the more difficult and complex ways in which this discourse was interpreted and understood.

<div align="center">

Part Three –

' Rediscovering organic roots' -

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*If Leeds looses these buildings (historic buildings), it might just as well be a bit of that international nothingness which is turning so many of our historic and international cities into cheap imitations of America (**John Betjeman, 1968 in Derek Linstrum for the Leeds Civic Trust**).*

<div align="right">

3: 1 Inorganic demolition

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Conservationists in Leeds, unlike those in York, recognised that the City had a distinct industrial and post-war modernist architectural heritage. Indeed, as several of them were to suggest some classical industrial and Victorian buildings were of immense value because of the sense of a certain unique presence of place that these

architectures could emit. For instance, conservationists often mentioned the essential blackness or dirtiness, which referred to a presence of the local and a spirit of individuality that could not be captured elsewhere:

Helen - When I came in '72 ... it was still a Victorian City and it was dominated for me by stone. ... And when we came in '72 it was still black stone... and there is black stone [here today]. Everything was practically black. When I knew I was coming to Leeds... Leeds was in the news and I remember watching it and the interviewer was standing in front of the Town Hall and it was half black and half white and this will be '72 because they cleaned half of it and [had] not finished it...

*And I remember when we moved into Leeds actually crying as we entered the City because the poor motorway extension drove right into Leeds and we came through all the back streets. Everything was so black and dingy and seemed so depressing and that was the character of Leeds for me black stone Victorian very complete City (**Helen, Victorian Society**).*

*James - I came up here (Leeds) after University when it was filthy black. And it was black and mucky umm. ... [I] got a flat in Hyde park Corner[58] where you could see clearly ... I would not want to live anywhere else but actually Leeds or this part of Yorkshire Leeds (**James, Victorian Society**)*

However, in general conservationists maintained that, with the exception of a few good buildings, the connection between Leeds and an industrial and modern past were less important than they had been. Thus Kenneth argued that whilst the City had had a strong industrial-Victorian presence it had mostly gone:

Kenneth - Betjeman came here ... he made a film about Leeds ... in the late '50s early '60s and he said it was a city of chimneys. ...[He took] photographs of Leeds on the train ... and that's (his visual portraiture of the City) virtually

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[58] Hyde Park Corner can be located near to Leeds Hyde Park in the centre of the City.

all gone[59] and working chimneys have all gone ... Leeds [is] no longer an

industrial city ... umm ...

...

On the south it's more working class ... with back to backs, factories, mills

[and] warehouses ...have been demolished ... its become a graveyard

(Kenneth, Victorian Society).

Moreover, despite certain exceptions and even modernist exceptions (as I will discuss below), conservationists were generally uninterested in the merits of the industrial buildings of Leeds.

Janet - I don't think the Civic Trust has an overwhelming interest in the

industrial heritage although there are bits of it, which you know we have

investigated. ...But we are not industrially driven (Janet, Leeds Civic Trust).

However, conservationists suggested that behind the historical landscape of these buildings Leeds had architectural roots that needed to be 'rediscovered' if the City was to develop aesthetically, and they often talked about 'medieval roots' and a certain 'natural street pattern' that was the foundation of the City. Thus Simon argued that, despite the City's renowned links to a range of aesthetics, Leeds is built upon a pre-industrial street pattern that has *given birth* to a Victorian industrial aesthetic:

Simon - So when I look at Leeds I see a Medieval street pattern and see

significant reminders and remnants of the Georgian town. ... Then of course,

ok, the Victorian City is superimposed on that and you would have to say

certainly that Leeds basically is primarily ... a Victorian city dating from about

1880-1890. ...[Indeed] the arcades, the Edwardian buildings [and] a whole

host of things [impresses] people coming to Leeds ... Simon, Leeds Civic

Trust).

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[59] Here I understand that Kenneth means that the industrial nature of Leeds has all gone rather than the visual photography of Betjeman.

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Moreover, in recent and often cherished writing on the Leeds landscape, Ken Powell comments that Leeds' foundations rest on a rapidly expanding clothing industry which predates the 1700s. Here again, whilst resisting a language of nostalgia, an unspoken pre-industrial spirit of Leeds haunts the way in which conservationists attach meaning to the contemporary landscape of Leeds:

> *Leeds is, at first glance, a Victorian city, with all the characteristics that term implies. It has grand public and commercial buildings (and something of a tradition of civic pride) but also miles of terrace streets, warehouses, industrial buildings, - 'the obsolete fabric' which the planners of the 1950's and 60's were determined to erase completely. Leeds was, however, an important city long before the accession of Queen Victoria. It was the leading town in the West riding by the 1700, a busy market centre expanding rapidly on the proceeds of the clothing industry (Powell, Save Publication July 1986: 1).*

Thus, as well creating new buildings and trying to give Leeds a new face, conservationists were also conscious of a wealth of pre-industrial and industrial architectural heritage in the City that had to be recovered if the City was to move forward. Thus Simon contended that much of the new wealth pouring into the City was allowing for a rediscovery of the innate built heritage of the City:

> *Simon - So much the great success of the last ten or twelve years has been all the investment that has gone into the City Centre. Happily most of the Victorian buildings and the Georgian ones of course ... have been renovated and this has brought out that great character that's been there...(Simon, Leeds Civic Trust).*

Moreover as well as rediscovering the past conservationists also discussed the idea that the renovation of the old buildings of Leeds was contributing to the unique development of new and evolving landscapes into the future.

Kenneth - There is a new office block with fairly discrete frontage between two very good listed buildings. ...

*...Next to that is a cradle of '60s development. But all of these [buildings] now are being turned into bars [and the] same thing [is] happening to former Victorian banks ...umm its lovely (**Kenneth, Victorian Society**).*

Again conservationists viewed the architectural heritage of pre-industrial and pre-war Leeds as a starting point for countering the rise of ugly industrial and post-war architecture, which was tasteless and unimpressive. Thus, Kenneth talked about a process of *'inorganic demolition'* where streetscapes of '60s buildings were being demolished and original townscapes were installed. Within these narratives, rather than loosing a spirit of Leeds, the essence of the city was buried almost within the landscape:

Kenneth – uh [in the] redevelopment [of] Leeds a sixties development will be knocked [down] and the original streetscape will be reinstated umm bizarre thing... [People acknowledge that] this is the C&A[60] and its is not very interesting...

*...It's inorganic demolition ... the inorganic in reversal ... ummm neighbourhoods have had identity (**Kenneth, Victorian Society**).*

Of course within this process of 'inorganic demolition' conservationists did not rule out the possibility that that certain industrial and post-war modernist buildings were worth keeping. However, as I have suggested already, rather than wanting to construct an industrial landscape of the city, which they recognised was a predominant and wider stereotype of Leeds, conservationists were only interested in one off pieces of industrial or Victorian architecture. In what follows I therefore suggest that through a process of inorganic demolition and a forward looking approach conservationists wanted to rediscover what was seen to be a natural pattern within the City. In this section I have suggested that conservationists understood this

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[60] By this slightly abstract aside I understand that Kenneth is referring to the C & A building that was located in Boar Lane in Leeds. Please see Map D for details on the location of this street.

natural pattern to be tangible in the way new buildings were knocked down to restore the old. I would now like to argue that conservationists also had an idea of the natural pattern of the landscapes of Leeds was something intangible and had to be built upon by recognising a 'genius loci' or spirit of place. I will look at this intangible spirit of presence through the notions of *contrast and diversity* and the concept of *punctuation marks and boundedness.*

3: 2 Contrast and diversity

Reflecting upon a spirit of the city, conservationists were keen to point to the role of an aesthetic notion of diversity in the Leeds landscape. Simon, Richard and Felicity were all specific on these points:

Simon - It seems to me [that] the contrast between modern buildings and good quality Georgian Victorian building works extremely well in Leeds. ... I want to see the city progressing and its architectural style developing and [so] you do nothing for a good Victorian building by putting next to it a pale imitation (Simon, Leeds Civic Trust)

Richard - [When] the fabric of the city is richer, you get more experiences, more quality (Richard, Leeds Civic Trust).

Felicity - The city should have a range of buildings, [it shows] the life of the city (Felicity, Victorian Society)

As with notions of contrast developed in Chapter One (and Law, 2004), conservationists reasoned that the essence of an intangible aesthetic in the City was encapsulated by a need for difference, where new buildings would not simply emulate traditional ones but evolve in their own right. Thus, Felicity contended that, like other cities, Leeds had a 'feeling'; or a spirit of rootedness; or naturalness, that emulated the diversity of the countryside. For Felicity, where the countryside is a mixture of trees, woods, lakes and animals, Leeds reflected this rooted diversity, with a variety of

buildings from the past and a variety of buildings of different sizes, which allowed for an assorted roofscape.

Felicity – I like the countryside for its diversity and it's the same for cities. ... A city that is uniform would be dull. ... What you should try and get in a city is as many different types of buildings and architecture as possible [and] that enriches the environment... I would be as anxious (referring to the importance of conservation) about an inter-war bank as much as a Victorian bank. ... It's about the nature of the urban for me... it should be rooted in a sort of diversity (Felicity, Victorian Society).

Thus, in this quote Felicity's discussion of the conservation of buildings of different standing suggested that a spirit of diversity in Leeds had to be continually maintained. In this respect as well as conservation Felicity also suggested that the improvement of Leeds rested on the building and encouragement of high points such as church spires since they were integral to a continual rediscovery of the City's richness and variety:

Felicity - But they (church spires) are crucial to any townscape...
    It is about richness and diversity, it's not about creating a rural image.
...The spire was very important visually in the Victorian period [and] they would be the largest buildings [in a city]. ... No one would build higher than church steeples (Felicity, Victorian Society).

In pointing for a need for the City to rediscover itself, conservationists like Simon, Richard and Felicity had an interest in constructing new buildings that would fit into the rich tapestry of the old. Thus, in developing the new they were also stressing the importance of roots, and emphasising the natural feel that buildings of the past could give. As well as pointing to the importance of future building, conservationists suggested that these buildings must rest on in the intangible foundations of the architectures of the past if new and interesting diversity was to be developed. Indeed, as Felicity's implied discussion of the modern period suggests, the problem with

uniform buildings is their inability to encourage diversity. This emphasis on continuing diversity suggests that conservationists had an intangible idea of a natural layout of the city as being one that has grown in a natural and continuous way through its irregularities. Following on from the notion of inorganic demolition, the implied suggestion that modern uniform buildings stifled this natural flow suggests that conservationists were pointing to the importance of a pre-war city within the Leeds landscape.

3: 3 Punctuation marks and boundedness

For conservationists, a second theme concerning the 'natural layout' of Leeds rested in the idea that the city had a natural centre and boundaries. Nevertheless, as with the notion of diversity, conservationists suggested that with the growth of post-war modernist development a sense of centre and natural confines had become lost. In one statement, Simon suggested that Leeds had had the potential to become a nowhere place or an indistinct environment:

Simon – This is one of the things we were very worried [about], that Leeds was becoming a bland indistinct place and ...our view was that we wanted buildings in the City which were unique and that would give a sense of place (Simon, Leeds Civic Trust).

In response to these measures conservationists discussed the importance of developing new landmark buildings that would give the City punctuation marks:

Kenneth - Churches are important they have interesting sorts of shapes in the cityscape or townscape. ...

Punctuation marks, they define spaces they define vistas. ... If you look along Briggate[61] and Boar Lane[62] with the towers sticking up, it gives a different scale to the street (Kenneth, Victorian Society).

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[61] See Map D.
[62] See Map D.

In this discussion Kenneth refers to the idea of distinct boundaries that could be located along the old market areas (the Briggate) and the Victorian architectural medley that was Boar Lane. As Kenneth suggests below, the natural pattern of the city has a role in shaping the future growth of the City, even if this pattern remains 'visually absent' at first glance. Kenneth argued that a fleeting look over the landscape of Leeds reveals an almost embedded sense of the organic, where buildings are separated from buildings allowing for natural borders and even breathing spaces:

> **Kenneth** - *One obsession [I have is] with spaces; [such as those spaces] going through the town centre, [the] city square, [and those] outside the library[63] and the Millennium Square[64]. ... [It's the sense] that you can walk through the City and go through big office blocks [and then you] come to [more] open space [and a] bit more [and then] through other buildings and [you] find another open space. So to that extent ... they are lungs if you like... punctuation marks ... people have said it before (**Kenneth, Victorian Society**).*

Yet for conservationists, rather than looking at these remaining borders and outlines in Leeds, the idea of parameters was important in order to set the City back on the 'right track' and to rescue the landscape from the sprawl and growing placelessness of post-war modernist architecture. Indeed, as conservationists were to point out, Leeds has a need for beginnings and endings, where the placing of buildings at certain points is key to rounding off the City into set pieces. In this discourse, it seems that the function of landmark buildings was to provide what would become a 'natural' sense of distinct beginnings and endings for the City. Thus, Simon and Richard argued that landmark-based buildings allowed for 'natural' senses of distinctiveness of beginnings and endings

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[63] See Map D.
[64] See Map D.

*Richard - You've got to look at a building not just as a building but where it is in a street, where it is in a city, exactly what its doing... I mean there are some buildings, which have got to be landmarks, because they are on a corner. [They are] important junctions, they define an end of the view... That's a building where people are going to say I know where I am now... If your walking along a street and there is a row of buildings on either side and you don't really want one of those buildings to jump out at you and be painted bright yellow... But you might want the one at the end to painted bright yellow, because it says that where I am going ... so it's making a statement in the townscape (**Richard, Leeds Civic Trust**).*

In these narratives conservationists in Leeds presented a case for developing new boundaries and a sense of compactness through the feeling that post-war development had become uncontainable and inorganic. In this language the contemporary conservationists of the built heritage movement in Leeds shared much of the cancerous fear of development that I have pointed to particularly in the 'Heritage in Danger' moment discussed in Chapter Three. For conservationists, the construction of new boundaries within the City revealed a certain complex of urban fear for a sense of place and the sense that new punctuation marks and parameters would lead to the arrest and containment of the cancerous and inorganic modernist city. By looking optimistically towards new 'contemporary development and architecture', conservationists sought to recover its sense of place and natural compactness. Rather than something that was simply an abstraction, conservationists suggested that this meeting place between the natural outlines of the past and the new current architectures of the last twenty years were already available to people in Leeds. For example, as Helen's statement (below) implies this sense of an organic compactness or boundedness could be understood by new arrivals in the same way that tourists could understand the more tangible Walls of York:

*Helen - What so many people like about Leeds ... is that it is compact and that is even more the case with York... obviously York has its City Walls (**Helen, Victorian Society**).*

Kenneth - I think [there is] a sense [that] Leeds [is] expanding within its boundaries. But there are geographical limitations ... (Kenneth, Victorian Society).

In summary, I have suggested that, whilst conservationists pronounced the loss of an essential natural layout in the City with the ravages of post-war development, an intangible spirit of boundaries and compactness remained embedded in the landscape of the City. Firstly conservationists advocated a rediscovery of the natural organic outlines of the City as a way of revitalising it; and, in the face of the uncontainable growth of post-war development, proposed that the City could be built upon the intangible shadows of this 'city beneath the surface' by good new architectures. In these statements the conservationists suggested that good new buildings would serve a fundamental purpose in arresting and containing the uncontrollable spread of post-war development. The reference to a hidden and natural layout in this city (in Helen's quote, above) suggests that, despite the process of making and remaking, Leeds is essentially a historically rooted landscape, that is unique and has its own life like that of a plant or animal. The emphasising of boundaries through punctuation marks is not about remaking the city through the modern but enforcing an idea of the city through the old, which conservationists wish to perpetrate in order to advance the idea that Leeds has an authentic layout or pattern within.

3: 4 Summary – The spirit of creativity

In Part A of this Chapter I have tried to demonstrate the way in which the homogenisation of urban landscapes, through certain aesthetics by conservationists, has further repercussions for a language of identity. Indeed, whilst conservationists constructed these landscapes in different ways, I would like to suggest that within both these spaces a spirit of organic creativity is constructed. Firstly conservationists, by turning to an 'historic' imaginary of the 'York landscape', have sought to construct a language of the townscape as distinct and unique. Here buildings of renowned importance become part of a wider language of the city, which is one of irregularity,

visual highs and a temporal essence. In these spaces a spirit of creativity is negotiated through the idea that the city has built upon itself over the years in a progression of natural organic layers. Here the reference to the City as having an irregularity is the essence of these ideas, where the diverse contrast within the city is seen as indicative of a natural process that produces idiosyncrasies and peculiarities - almost like the evolution of a species. Moreover the referencing of the city as a space of unique sights and emotional responses, through notions of visual highs and a temporal essence, enforces these points. Indeed, conservationists in York through a construction of the landscapes as unique and distinctive seal the idea that the city should be treat as a species of plant or animal which has an independent, evolving and maturing life of its own.

Secondly conservationists in Leeds, in turning to a 'rediscovery of the city under the surface', have sought to construct the city as something that needs to return to its invisible roots if it wants to recover a sense of its own creative organic spirit. Conservationists referred to the idea that whilst the industrial and Victorian landscapes of the city were certainly important, they were underpinned by natural organic layers which were waiting to be exposed. They referred to the notion of 'inorganic demolition' or the 'inorganic in reverse', to point to a current process of reconstructing Leeds' real links with the past through the bringing up the older medieval street patterns and buildings. For example, as I have shown, above, Kenneth suggested that many of the older Medieval buildings and Victorian arcades were being rebuilt, where post-war sixties developments were knocked down. By turning to the notions of contrast, diversity punctuation marks and boundedness I also looked at the way conservationists sought to develop Leeds the future with a philosophy that the natural layouts of the past could be recovered through new architecture and the placing of buildings in space. In relation to the notions of diversity I suggested that conservationists, firstly, wished to join a past city with the present by recreate visual contrast in the city. Secondly, by making buildings 'mark out' the City, conservationists sought to reinstate traditional boundaries that had been damaged by post-war development. Like York, I have suggested that these measures have been put in place with the intention of bringing the City back to life and to rediscover the City's spirit of architectural growth: an organic spirit of creativity is enforced by an imagery which represents the City as a plant or animal which has been

strangled by inorganic growth which is now being freed by the natural organic spirit of creativity and growth within. Again, like Chapter Three these organic poetics construct the landscape of Leeds like a sick animal which needs to be cured before it can rediscover its sense of itself and can grow naturally again.

PART B – The spirit of cultural creativity in York and Leeds

Conservationists were also nostalgic for a spirit of organic creativity through other discourses. Moving from the idea of cities as independent organic organisms which are unique in their own right, in what follows I examine the way conservationists understand an organic spirit of creativity as a cultural phenomenon. Indeed, rather than nostalgia for organically creative cities, conservationists constructed nostalgia for a spirit of *craftsmanship, community and independence*. Secondly, in relation to the construction of these ideas, nostalgia for craftsmanship, community and a spirit of independence was constructed through the differing city's relationship to their economic and cultural pasts. Whilst always working optimistically with the landscapes of their cities, conservationists measured these spaces against their relationship to a cultural background of industry and post-war modernist culture.

4 - Part Four

'Established organic roots' - The 'pre-industrial landscape' of York

York Civic Trust the First Fifty Years; Preserving, Restoring, Enhancing, Enriching, England's Second Capital **(Shannon, 1996: Cover title of the York Civic Trust's recent book celebrating its 50 years of conservation work).**

Nicholas - York is basically a market town entirely surrounded by

countryside ... [and] it has no industrial straggling links with other areas...

And I think this ... plus [the fact that] historically [it is the] second largest

city in the country; I think this has resulted with people living in York having a

closer feeling of identity, than if it did have all sorts of physical links with other

towns. ...[I] think this is one of the reasons why people have pride in the City

(Nicholas, York Civic Trust).

4: 1 York history and the bounded community

Conservationists often pointed out when discussing the 'landscape' and 'community' of York the connections between the passing of industry and the remains of an architecture that represented the spirit of York as a 'market town'. Conservationists argued that the architecture and the commerce that went on within the City made the associations between York as a city in the present and the past explicit. Frank was specific about these ideas, arguing that York's medieval architecture and culture could be contemplated through, not only history, but also an, organic relation between the people and the buildings of the City. In Chapter Three I discussed these ideas through the notion of a spiritual nexus which has existed between the people and the landscapes of England. However, furthering these discourses conservationists suggested that rather than a general landscape of England the nexus between people and townscapes must be considered locally:

Frank - You've got a special identity in terms of the intimacy of York; its not

Bath which is on a grand scale its essentially medieval and I think people

identify with that and I think that's [where] York ... gets its sense of place

from... (Frank, York Georgian Society and the York Civic Trust).

Nicholas – York's history is a very important thing that people do identify with

(Nicholas, York Civic Trust).

In the discussions of Frank and Nicholas the construction of architecture and community become entwined where the medieval and pre-industrial presence of the City was seen to essentially fuel the spirit or zeitgeist of local people. In this respect, along with the walls and landscape mentioned above the people of York were essentially viewed as a bounded, compact and well-understood organic community. Drawing upon pre-industrial ideas of the relation between old city walls and their peoples, conservationists argued that the buildings of York were seen to have formed a sense of boundedness, or a landscape pocket:

*Lawrence - You can ...get a feeling of place (referring to York) and a context of confinement. I think we all need an understanding of our limits ... [and] it's quite easy in York to achieve that (**Lawrence, York Civic Trust**)*

The role of York's walls was central to these ideas, where the boundaries of the fortifications served as 'natural marks' for the way the City was to be understood: the city had a front and a bottom, with well-recognised breathing spaces, beginnings and endings.

*Nicholas - The walls of the City has an effect on peoples minds ... the City is a magnet ... They (the people) are not repelled by the walls they are attracted inwards [and] this is part of the unique attraction of York (**Nicholas, York Civic Trust**).*

In this way conservationists talked about an inner and outer York where the real city was located within the walls meaning that those architectures that were immediately outside these boundaries did not have the same status of authenticity:

Peter - It's within those walls that you get the real York you know... When people talk of York ...people don't think of Haxby, or Wiggington, or

*Strensall[65], or suburbs they think of York and they think of the Minster [and]
they think of the walls (**Peter, York Civic Trust**).*

If conservationists talked about the physical boundedness of the City they also
suggested that the people or community of York had a distinct relationship to this
sense of boundedness that could often be expressed through a narrative of
conservation. Conservationists pointed out that whilst the everyday people of York
were not immediately interested in the activities of the city they would not allow any
harm to come to the landscape. As many conservationists suggested, whilst the
people were generally uninterested in the 'higher matters' of architecture they had an
invisible and organic relation to the townscape they lived in which could be captured
in the notion that they knew what they liked:

*Peter – You get this great sense of local patriotism ...[that] the ordinary people
of York, who love the place, couldn't put into words. ... If you asked them
[about it] they couldn't put it into words ... but they know what they like (**Peter,
York Civic Trust**).*

Commentating on this sense of pride in York, Lawrence extended these arguments,
through his suggestion that these senses of pride could also be felt in times of crisis or
when new developments where seen to jar with a feeling of place. For example with
reference to the 'Coppergate Scandal'[66] in York, Lawrence and Iris felt that with the

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[65] Strensall is another suburb of York located north of Haxby and Wiggington. See Map A.

[66] 'The Coppergate Scandal' developed in 2001in response to proposed developments around the site
Clifford's Tower which, is in the southern area of York City Centre. It is called the Coppergate
Scandal because Clifford's Tower is next to a shopping area known as Coppergate, and the scandal
rests in the way in this shopping area is to be extended to the vicinity around the tower. The initial
proposed developments have been met with a great deal of disapproval from the YAYA's, the York
Georgian Society and the Civic Trust who have argued that the suggested Shopping area is incongruous
with the townscape. Because of these objections and a rise in local public protest described as the
Castle Area Campaign (this is a built conservation campaign see http://www.yorkcastle.com/) and the
Shoppergate Campaign, (this is a green conservation campaign under the grouping York Local
Environment Action Forum, (LEAF) see http://www-users.york.ac.uk/%7Esocs203/shoppergate.htm
for more details) a two-year public inquiry developed. On the 10th of September the Housing and
Planning Minister, Keith Hill, agreed with inspector Bingham that the plans were an over development
of the site. Following these debates on the 24th of September the council conceded that the proposals
were dead and buried (see http://www.yorkcastle.com/pages/news.html for more details).

local inquiry into the development of the Coppergate Area, the real people of York without any previous interest in architectural concerns had 'risen up' in the defence of the townscape:

*Iris - I think that if you were at the [Coppergate] inquiry[67] (referring to the inquiry at Scandal) you would have seen ...the pride [of] people...(referring to local people). Without being patronising...quite a lot of uneducated people (referring to local people) came and [demonstrated their] pride in the City and the fact that they felt that this (the Coppergate development) was not good enough for the City (**Iris – York Civic Trust**)*

In another statement Lawrence reiterated these ideas but in relation to the example of a broken television set. Lawrence suggested that whilst the people of York did not seem immediately concerned by the City's heritage like a broken television set if the spirit of the City's heritage was damaged– as he was suggesting in relation to the proposed Coppergate development – the people would rise up and demonstrate their fury.

*Lawrence - The trouble is you don't have to understand [architecture and built heritage] to enjoy [it]. ... When it's taken away these people (referring to the people of York) feel perceptively diminished. ... It's like understanding the television. You don't understand how it works you press the button and there you are. [However] if it blows up you are upset and umm... (**Lawrence, York Civic Trust**).*

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[67] During the Coppergate Scandal the local council proposed an inquiry to way up all the various factors of economic interest, public support and rejection and the conservationist angle. (see http://www.yorkcastle.com/ for more details)

In these narratives conservationists construct an image of the 'ordinary people' of York as actors who have an instinctive connection and love of 'their' place. However, as these narratives suggest, rather than a love of place alone, conservationists constructed an image of the people as having a defensive love of place that could almost be translated in terms of a form local patriotism. Indeed, as Peter contended, whilst having an inaccurate sense of history, 'the people' would 'not allow any harm' to come to York:

> *Peter - The people, the ordinary people if there are such people ... and I don't think the people of York are ordinary people because you see... they love the place, they love the city [and] they won't allow any harm to happen to it. And although their (referring to the people of York) history is not always accurate ...they feel it around them ... [even if] in some cases not quite rightly (Peter, York Civic Trust).*

In these narratives some conservationists talked about an educative spirit of the York landscape, which was unique to the people of the city since it had been 'drunk in' in their infancy:

> *There is no more educative and humanising factor in daily life than surroundings which are well planned and beautiful: it is an influence which may almost be called spiritual, and a happiness drunk in without effort by children from infancy moulding their appreciation and raising their standards. An open space can be mean or just ordinary, or enchanting according to the imagination put into its layout (Shannon, York Civic Trust, 1996: 8).*

In these discourses I have shown the way conservationists construct a cultural portrait of the city and its community as bound together as an organic whole. Furthermore, with the idea that York could only be known through its immediate walls there was a policing of this space as an organic whole through a symbolic reference to the immediate spaces and the outside of York as not belonging to this holistic centre. Referring to the people of York, conservationists talked about the community, as

having a distinct spiritual link to the landscapes that was understood not in academic or intellectual ways but through an instinctive love of the place. Again, as with a policing of space, the well understood boundaries of the community of York were also defended through the idea that the people would rise up together as an organic community in response to the crisis of development. Thus with regard to the current 'Coppergate crisis', conservationists constructed an organic nexus between the people of York and their townscape through an intangible spirit of place and people which is woken when threatened.

4: 2 York and an authentic pre-industrial culture

Conservationists also argued that York, by its general evasion of an industrial landscape and community, had retained a traditional arts and crafts culture. Moreover conservationists also talked about notions of the arts through a wider spirit of the arts and crafts. Here, as well as viewing York as having an arts scene, conservationists argued fervently that this arts culture was not a current phenomenon but something that had be retained from a previous pre-industrial culture.

> *Leonard – No York retained its arts and crafts...*
> *Basically ... the crafts survived in York because it did not have this*
> *industrialisation and there was less of a giant rush for development (**Leonard,***
> ***The Georgian Society, York Civic Trust and York Consortium for***
> ***Conservation and Craftsmanship**).*

Thus conservationists often talked about the importance of maintaining a 'medieval feeling of artistry', which was encapsulated particularly around street performers and entertainers in the city:

> *Lawrence - All the different markets we have introduced like the French market*
> *...its part and parcel of the ... return to the medieval feeling of stilts, jugglers,*

musicians and entertainment. And York is quite [unusual] because anyone can

*busk in York unless people object. (**Lawrence – York Civic Trust**).*

With the arrival of the York Civic Trust in the City in 1946, conservationists
developed the *York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship*, a business
community that sought to celebrate the importance of traditional forms of
craftsmanship. Indeed, whilst this consortium has a powerful role in the economy of
York, the way in which conservationists discussed this 'guild' had powerful effects on
the way they saw the city and its future. In the first place, with the city having missed
the effects of the industrial revolution and the effects of the rich, conservationists
liked to argue that it had retained its traditional trades. However, the key point here is
the way in which conservationists discussed these trades and crafts, since they were
not seen to be things which the Trust had encouraged, but rather they were natural
aspects of the city which had remained with its pre-industrial cultures. Moreover,
conservationists suggested that the role of the arts and crafts in York is fundamentally
linked to the idea of the bounded community at different levels.

Frank - There's also a huge pool of first class craftsmen in York. There [are]

stone craftsmen and that probably emanates from the history of the Minster ...

and also from William Anelay's[68] and one or two other firms that take on

apprentices. There are [also] two or three absolutely first class people

(referring to local craftsmen/women) who are doing work all over the world. I

was getting some stone work sorted out for our gates (referring to his own

private house) ...And this is all coming from local craftsmen, which I think is

very encouraging [and there is] a lot of work there for them and its work of the

very highest calibre. ...Hmmm local craft well I think if you look at York, if you

look at the stone, look at the iron work glass, you've got the York Glaziers

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[68] William Anelay Ltd – Building and Restoration – Murton Way, Osbaldwick York YO19 5UW.

Trust[69] which is a world leader ...You've got the largest woodcarving workshop[70] in Europe in York...(Frank, York Georgian Society).

Helen - York is still fundamentally a fine Medieval City. ... Umm there's still numbers of craftsmen in York who work... The Minster... has its own staff (referring to its own craftsmen)... for example (Helen, Victorian Society).

Here conservationists implied that, not only was an arts and crafts community historical and authentic, it was also something that was tied to the notion of community. As Leonard and Kenneth's quotes suggest below, York's arts and crafts scene was itself a community that was interactive and interspersed around the city. However, this view was not shared by everyone, as some conservationists in York felt that the pedestrianisation of the city had led to the loss of a more close knit spatial meeting place between the crafts. Nevertheless, conservationists talked with fondness about what they saw as a past and current working community that was intertwined and symbiotic:

Leonard - It was a working city with interesting people in it, which was a joy to come across. When I had my studio in Grape Lane[71] there was a metal spinner, there was a cabinetmaker, there was a French polisher and there was a restorer. ...These were people in a small town in a small street (Leonard, the Georgian Society, York Civic Trust and York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship).

Kenneth- York as a city seems to me to be interesting. It does seem to be remarkably self-contained [its] arts and crafts society largely pulling in a vast [number of people] some of which because of the Minster [do some] ... work. ... And it does seem to work as a sort of community which is capable of generating

[69] The York Glaziers' Trust – Stained Glass Conservation – 6, Deangate, York YO1 7JB.
[70] For more details see York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship www.conservation.york.org.uk
[71] Grape Lane is located is near low Petergate in the City centre – please see Map C.

lot of interactivity in the way that Leeds is quite the more dispersed (Kenneth,

Victorian Society)

In these accounts York is constructed as the home of an independent arts and crafts community embedded in traditional practices and trades. However, rather than a nostalgia simply for practices, the understanding of the City as an arts and crafts community allows conservationists to advance ideas of the City as a place of interdependence where people rely on one another in an organic locale. As well as York, this idea of the city as a independent community was held by conservationists in Leeds as the selection of quotes from members of the Victorian Society demonstrate. Further, amongst conservationists in Leeds the status of York as the home of arts and crafts suggested that the built heritage conservation movement held the symbolic status of the City more widely.

4: 3 York's dignified organic working class

Finally, a major theme that underpinned the notions of an arts and crafts city was the role that a spirit of economics played in York both historically and currently. Whilst conservationists understood that York had been constructed through an 'image of wealth', they suggested that primarily the City should be conceived as non-prosperous. Conservationists argued that York could be understood through a spirit of financial humility, which can be contemplated in its architecture. Although York had some of the finest aesthetic buildings in the country conservationists rejected that it had buildings representative of affluence such as the Georgian banks and Victorian town halls found in other cities such as Leeds. In addition, for conservationists the main reason York had retained its non-affluent landscape was its 'escape from the industrial revolution'. As the statements below suggest, conservationists made clear links between the idea that York had missed the industrial revolution and the notion that York has not become wealthy:

Leonard - I think that we have been fortunate in many ways ... that we never

became wealthy. Umm the wealth of the industrial revolution and the

nineteenth century past us by with the exception of the Railway... (Leonard,

York Georgian Society, York Civic Trust and The York Consortium for
Conservation and Craftsmanship).

Charlotte - We have wonderful stained glass but it's not a grand city (referring
to York)... It has always surprised me that there is not some huge grandiose
town hall [having] coming from a modest Lancashire town...

> *It's not grandiose... and I think its outlook is the same. ... One of our*
friends who was born here and always lived here has always said that York's
not a rich place ... (Charlotte, York Georgian Society)

More specifically, as Frank, Charlotte and Leonard were to argue, York is essentially non-affluent since 'rich' people were not seen to have come to the City. Indeed, when Frank discussed the construction of the York community as proud of the local in Section 4: 1, he advanced these themes in relation to a particular identity of financial independence. As the following transcript points out, Frank suggested that the people of York were 'poor, pretty and proud' a term used to encapsulate the spirit of the people of the city.

Frank - York, you've not doubt heard it in your interviews is poor, pretty and
proud. ... [And that's] often quoted about York and that really bears out what
we have been saying that there was no local money [here] (Frank, York
Georgian Society).

As Frank's narrative implies, what is significant about the people of York is that whilst poor but also did not want to have the 'fetters' of wealth pollute their community. In adding to these statements Daniel, Charlotte and Leonard contended that, unlike cities such as London and Bath, York had not attracted 'rich people' in the same way.

Daniel - But one thing about York apart from Rowntree's and Terry's [is that]
there were no really rich people in York. ... [In the] eighteenth century [York]

had [its] town houses ... [but] ... in the latter part of the eighteenth century
there were no very very rich people in York (Daniel, York Georgian Society)

Charlotte - There's a lot of money in Yorkshire but it [has] never come to York
... even with the Railways [arriving]. It doesn't have the look of a rich place.
When people had money they went to London and Bath [and] they did not come
to York. ... They didn't come here... (Charlotte, York Georgian Society).

Leonard – ... The towns that grew with the result of the Industrial Revolution
and the growth of ...nineteenth century industry, like Leeds and Manchester and
Birmingham, ...all created areas of middle class housing, which York doesn't
have. ... York has no middle class housing ghettos whatsoever other than the
ones which [were] created in the '50s, the '60s and the '70s (Leonard, York
Georgian Society, York Civic Trust and York Consortium for Conservation
and Craftsmanship)

What is interesting about these statements, particularly Leonard's, is that while acknowledging the presence of industrial growth in York it was seen to not have had a large effect on the 'real community' of York. Thus, the explicit disassociation of York's society from rich people serves to symbolically construct an image of the community of the City as essentially working class. However, as I am suggesting the image of working class life presented here is one of an organic working class community that had no need for the wealth of other cities. In this notion the idea of a organic working class community is defined as something that was established long before the industrial revolution. Secondly, out of all of the statements above, Leonard's suggestion that York had no middle class ghettos also connects these discourses with other wider themes that I have discussed in this thesis. The notion of a 'middle class ghetto' can be read as a signifier for the suburbs once again. As well as avoiding the industrial revolution and its rich people, the authenticity of the organic working class community of York is doubly enforced by the idea that it has evaded an 'over-indulgent rise of wealth' associated with the culture of middle class life. Moreover the reference to the idea of the squalor of middle class ghettos exemplifies the way in which conservationists want to pour shame on these forms of community,

which like ghettos are seen to be ultimately charged with failure and deprivation. Whilst the people of York were poor, the construction of suburbs as ghettos refers to the idea that the money of the new middle class community is superficial and inauthentic. For conservationists, in this celebration of York as a site for the arts and crafts a space of homogeneity and finally a place of 'humility in poverty' for the people of the city were constructed as an independent and self-reliant 'organic working class community'.

4: 4 Summary

In this section I have therefore pointed to the way conservationists understood York. In these various descriptions, conservationists were firstly adamant that the City was a self-contained unit where people had an intimate spiritual connection to the place. In developing these themes, conservationists discussed the way that in times of crisis the physical and spiritual connections between people and their landscapes could be viewed and understood. In relation to the recent Coppergate Developments in York, it has shown how local pride and love for the environment could be registered in the forms of patriotic resentment that 'everyday people' showed to the proposals. Secondly it was implied that as well as having a tightly knit community, the people of York had retained a culture of aesthetics and the arts and crafts. Rather than simply showing a pride in place, conservationists suggested that the people of York had side stepped cultures associated with the industrial revolution. Unlike other cities, York was defined as a place that has retained a medieval sense of culture in the City and a spirit of crafts that were self-sustaining and interdependent. Whilst conservationists recognised the impact of the tourist sector on York, there remained within the City a spirit of sustenance and mutual pre-industrial workmanship. Finally for conservationists, as well as having a well-established pre-industrial aesthetic and creative culture, the City has retained a spirit of economic and financial sustainability. Thus, as well as avoiding a loss of culture, conservationists suggest that York's avoidance of the excesses of 'industrial wealth' had meant that the dignity of a pre-industrial financial humility has remained. Conservationists talked of the people of York as 'poor, pretty and proud' an expression of their ultimate pride in the City, and a characterisation of themselves as self-reliant, self-sufficient and in no need of 'outside support'. However, as I suggested in this section and the ones that preceded

it, this construction was understood in relation to a suburban other. As well as avoiding the inauthenticity of industrial wealth, the authenticity of York was doubly affirmed by the idea that the City has no middle class ghettos. York retains an essential 'organic working class community' proud in its economic humility and dependent from the fallacies of industrial culture and post-war community.

5 - Part Five – Leeds as a City in 'recovery'

In the sections that follow, I shall suggest that for conservationists the recovery of Leeds was based on four separate themes that would allow for authentic organic growth. In short these four themes can be understood through the rejection of a post-war culture of architecture and planning; the recovery of a culture of good quality building and craftsmanship; the encouragement of local aesthetic appreciation; and the recovery of a local spirit of financial and economic community. However, whereas in the last section I talked about the way these themes were well established, in this section I will discuss the way Leeds was constructed as being in a process of *becoming*.

5: 1 The spirit of building within the City

Where York had links to an authentic past, for conservationists in Leeds the relationship between the City's links to industrialism and modernism meant that these notions were harder to establish. In Section Three I talked about the way conservationists understood a rediscovery of the natural layout of the City from an organic medieval pattern within. In addition conservationists understood that for the future growth of the city both architecturally and culturally, rather than *discovery*, Leeds also needed a process of *recovery*. Conservationists understood this recovery of Leeds as taking place through a separation of the city, from both the architectures of industrialism and post-war modernism and from a uniform and stale modernist culture. In Section Three conservationists rejected a general image of an industrial aesthetic of Leeds for a wider, natural and unique organic landscape that existed

'within the city'. This was not to suggest that certain industrial and indeed Victorian buildings were of no worth (as I suggested above), but rather that the City had distinct roots which surpassed the immediate impression of its industrial townscape. For conservationists in Leeds, as well as discovering a city within, the City needed to 'recover' a spirit of building and an independent architectural style, which had preceded the industrial growth.

Evidence of the need to look to a culture of architectural style and independence emerged mainly through rejections of what were deemed to be a 'Leeds-look' paradigm, that conservationists argued had held an architectural spirit 'back'. Given the massive amount of development that had occurred in Leeds, conservationists argued that although the council had accepted the conservationist paradigm of resisting bad development, they had taken this message too literally. Thus conservationists argued that local councillors had developed a homogenising aesthetic - described as the 'Leeds look' - to defend the City from concrete glass style architectures which were incongruous. According to a spokesperson of the Leeds Civic Trust, the 'Leeds-look' had been a policy that was standardising the City within a certain 'Victorian industrial aesthetic'.

> *Simon - The question... was what is the Leeds [look]?[72] And as a result of that the City Council produced a memo which said effectively [that] within the city centre they would favour buildings erected... in a traditional style. And that was taken to mean red brick grey slate pitched roofs, a certain amount of polychromium brick work and so thereafter it became very difficult for developers and architects to get planning permission for any scheme that didn't have the slopey roofs ... (Simon, Leeds Civic Trust).*

Conservationists such as the Victorian Society and the Leeds Civic Trust had originally welcomed these approaches in the late 1960s and 1970s, as they had fought to defend the City from modernist development and architecture. Specifically, the Victorian Society and the Leeds Civic Trust had been concerned to stave off an

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[72] Here Simon is referring to the general questions councillors were asking themselves about the way townscapes should look in Leeds in the future.

attitude of 'replacement', whereby perfectly good Georgian and Victorian buildings were replaced by modernist designs because they were less expensive to repair and maintain. Following the example of the Council, Leeds conservationists had sought to campaign for the re-use of city centre industrial buildings as new housing, with the express purpose of saving the City's heritage. Along with these campaigns conservationists also sought to bring to the fore the value of city living,[73] by encouraging the re-use of existing building and the construction of new building on brown field sites. However, with these various battles won - with the exception of the more recent policies - conservationists argued that they had no need for the Leeds feel look in the late 1980s. They argued that in trying to resist the uniformity of modernist development the new 'Leeds-look' by its concern with a singular style had failed to appreciate the way in which the spirit of Leeds architectural heritage was one of diversity and independence. For example, Simon suggested that the problem of the new 'Leeds look' buildings was that they were offensive because they were inoffensive and had no sense of aesthetic self-determination:

> *Simon - Now the thing was that Ken Powell wrote an article in the Architects Journal, which was called the 'offence of the inoffensive'. [This] was more or less saying [that the 'Leeds look' buildings whilst] inoffensive ...are offensive because they have got no style and they are very bland and boring (Simon, Leeds Civic Trust)*

Moreover Richard suggested that the rule bound nature of the 'Leeds look' meant contemporary architects were afraid to build anything outstanding and as a result the City had simply not been given landmark buildings:

> *Richard – We (referring to the Leeds Civic Trust) are very keen on the good new modern architecture and we are really rather disappointed that there hasn't been anything in Leeds that stands out. Urrrm [or] puts the City on the map in terms of its modern architecture ... (Richard, Leeds Civic Trust).*

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[73] To encourage a more socially inclusive Leeds with a mixed social centre.

For conservationists, rather than the traditional darkness associated with the idea of 'Victorian industrial buildings', the architectural outlook of the City for the future should be one of cleanliness, brightness and style:

> *Simon - Leeds is looking for stylish modern looking buildings (Simon, Leeds Civic Trust).*

> *Simon - I wanted to say to people when they come to Leeds, come and look at this... this is really rather good. [So] you (referring to conservationists generally) want to conserve the best of the past but you want some startling and stylish new buildings...(Simon, Leeds Civic Trust)*

Talking about one Leeds building Simon suggested that it was this kind of architecture that gave the City back a sense of distinctiveness through its individual building style:

> *Simon - You look at the building it's the sort of building you almost want to go up to and stroke. ...*
> *...It's nicely executed [and] it's an individual building. You look at that building and you could probably say to yourself ... well you see that building oh that's in Leeds it gives distinctiveness... (Simon, Leeds Civic Trust).*

In this section I have suggested that Leeds conservationists, unlike those in York, engaged and worked with the idea that the City had an industrial and post-war modernist architectural history. However, rather than just 'rediscovering a city within', conservationists in Leeds were trying to *recover* a spirit of creativity in the landscape and buildings of the City. Again, like the notion of intangible townscape foundations, conservationists suggested that this spirit could be recovered from the building of 'good new quality architecture'. Within this language conservationists

sought to encourage a new vision of creativity in building which was diverse and independent in style. By specifically rejecting the uniform rules of Leeds City Council conservationists were calling upon architects to recover and encourage a New World of creativity.

5: 2 Encouraging the community to observe detail and craftsmanship

For conservationists, encouraging good workmanship was seen as central to the development of this architectural independence. Conservationists looked to recover a culture of architectural appreciation, which would allow onlookers and the community of Leeds to regain a spirit of workmanship. Part of the process of developing a culture of appreciation rested in the way people could walk through the City to look at the details that existed in the design of buildings. As opposed to previous attitudes in their history[74], conservationists such as Kenneth therefore suggested that cleaning buildings such as the Leeds Town Hall[75] would reveal the wonderful details underneath.

Kenneth - what was underneath (the dirt) was actually chosen because it was going to be eye catching. Umm it's like being able to see the detail on the Post Office Building[76] when that was cleaned... its about detail ... (Kenneth, Victorian Society).

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[74] The Leeds Civic Trust also showed signs that it wished to keep a certain patina of age which linked the City with an industrial aesthetic. In 1971 an interesting feature in the Trust's annual reports was the discussion of the Leeds Town Hall (designed by Cuthburt Broderick) and whether it should be cleaned. Here the sense that the Hall should be not cleaned implies that the Trust wished to remind the public of an industrial past in Leeds

> *And now alas to the Town Hall – to clean or not to clean. In spite of the Press Reports the Civic Trust is not 'split down the middle' – we are against the cleaning of this building. Alone of the buildings in Leeds, we would wish it to stand as a symbol of our industrial past and as a reminder to future generations of the air pollution, which the City is so successfully combating (Annual Report, 1971: 5).*

[75] The Leeds Town Hall (designed by Cuthburt Broderick) can be found between Westgate and the Headrow. Please see Map D.

[76] The Post-Office Building in Leeds can be located on the North West Side of the City square. See Godward (2000) for more details.

As this statement implies, Kenneth's emphasis on the importance of detail is buried within a chain of inter-related conservation references championing the notion that detail is a sign of workmanship and an illustration of the importance of craft activities. However, as well as cleaning the City or creating a bright new sparkling City conservationists suggested that part of the process of encouraging a new culture of architectural appreciation rested in the development of walkway guides and plaque schemes. Both the West Yorkshire Group of the Victorian Society and the Leeds Civic Trust had their own guides and plaque schemes, which served to guide walkers towards the finer details and 'hidden craftsmanship within' places. For conservationists the process of walking through the permeable buildings allows the reader and walker to 'discover' and contemplate the intricacies of the City and its details:

Leeds Civic Trust is delighted to join with the City Council in preparing and publishing Leeds Heritage Trail. It is a comprehensive tour of historic and modern features of the centre of our city, inviting us into places we do not know and discovering that our city does indeed have a past well worth visiting. There is much that we are still discovering and this book records the facts and depicts them in a way easy to read at home as well as being a guide if you want to see them on foot (Godward, 2000: Foreword, Leeds Civic Trust).

Kenneth – [The] Victorian Society did two heritage trails in the 80s. ... I think there is an enormous interest in that sort of heritage (referring to built heritage). I think people are quite genuinely interested in the history of where they live [and] how cities come to be what they look like (Kenneth, Victorian Society).

Moreover, from its earliest phases conservationists argued that part of the development of the Leeds Civic Trust was not simply about the preservation of new buildings but to encourage a culture of aesthetic citizenship amongst the people of Leeds. In one statement then Simon suggested that the Trust wished to encourage the people of Leeds to almost 'rediscover' their immediate surroundings:

Simon – It's always been clear to me over the years that people don't look at their city. ...When I take people around on walks, (referring to the Leeds Civic Trust's walking programme) people almost always say to me [that they] have lived in Leeds for thirty years and they have never noticed [things]. So part of the philosophy of the [Trust's walks programme] is to get people to look at their city and appreciate it (Simon, Leeds Civic Trust).

Thus, because of these experiences, conservationists argued that there was an emerging demand from the people of Leeds for better standards, which were even emerging in the suburbs and the outskirts of the City. Particularly Kenneth argued that there was an emerging demand from the people in the suburbs and the outskirts of the City for better architectural standards in their own domestic designs:

Kenneth - I think the interesting thing about suburbia is the way in which standards have risen. Umm in the past 15 and 20 years I think people [want something] better than dinky boxes. They want some sense of design about them (referring to the contemporary domestic houses of Leeds). ...

An interesting amount of this housing is retro Victorian, or retro Arts and Crafts. ... [And] basically [these houses use] the language of an arts and crafts house ... with slightly curved deep eaves [and] relatively small windows (Kenneth, Victorian Society).

In this final quote the spirit of the arts and crafts can be seen to be underpinning everyday people's perception of quality and craftsmanship in suburban and domestic housing. Indeed, some of the imprint of York's aesthetic narrative seemed to serve as a paradigm for conservationists, with Kenneth's suggestion that the remaking of Leeds through the demand for quality and the arts and crafts being central to the philosophy of the people of Leeds as a whole. In their demand for senses of place and quality in workmanship conservationists understood that the authentic spirit of Leeds had not been 'lost' but upon the 'higher standards and a growing consciousness

of place'. Rather than simply encouraging a spirit of workmanship in the City's contemporary buildings, conservationists were therefore encouraging the community to embrace the importance of well-crafted buildings.

5: 3 The construction of Leeds City centre as organically local

Conservationists in Leeds, as well as a spirit of independence in building and the promotion of a culture of architectural appreciation, also talked about the development of a spirit of local independence. Already I have suggested conservationists wished to construct the City on intangible foundations that served to mark out and construct the City as a bounded entity. However, conservationists also sought to construct the City as an independent space socially using both economic and cultural definitions. Evidence for the development of this localising spirit could be found in early annals of the Leeds Civic Trust where conservationists talked about a new spirit of economic vitality after a period of relative decline. What is interesting about these statements (below) is the way the Trust does not conceptualise Leeds as a city with wider economic problems but conceives its 1970s economic slump as something that is simply a local struggle:

> *1970 has been an interesting year: more changes have been effected within this*
> *city than ever before. Leeds is showing its vitality, a trait, which seemed to*
> *some to be lapsing a few years ago. This area has been taking a deep breath*
> *before plunging into the 1970s ...*
> *It seems to us that Leeds is unified as never before in its desire to improve*
> *its image and its surroundings and to create a better and greater city. It may be*
> *unfashionable in some quarters to be patriotic for one's own city, but we do not*
> *think so (Leeds Civic Trust Annual Report, 1970: 3).*

> *We are 'patriots' for Leeds (Leeds Civic Trust Annual Report, 1972: 3).*

The construction of the City as a local independent space is also enforced here through the way the Trust envisages the changing economic nature of the City.

Indeed, with a growing sense of a changing economic climate, the Leeds Civic Trust construct their place in the recovery of the City as one of extreme 'local Patriotism' that is synonymous with traditional displays of British or English nationalism. In recent years the 'Lets put Leeds on Aire project', was a major part of the development of this ideology with the redevelopment of industrial buildings surrounding the river Aire, which runs through the City's Centre. Conservationists argued that a renewed emphasis on Leeds 'historic riverside' would enable tourists and locals to enjoy the City as their own distinctive environment:

> *Let's put Leeds-upon Aire was a campaign promoted by the Civic Trust almost thirty years ago. London has the Thames, Newcastle the Tyne and Liverpool can promote itself with its ferry across the Mersey! Very few people outside West Yorkshire are likely to know that the Aire runs through one of Britain's largest cities. And the river was the most important factor in the development and the growth of Leeds...*
>
> *The navigations through Leeds were used well into this century despite competition from the railways. However, blight descended upon the waterfront in post-war years. Fine warehouses were no longer needed and fell into decay. Rescue came in the 1980s and 1990s when the former busy industrial Wharves were transformed into a pleasant and welcoming environment for living work and entertainment (Godward, 2000: 82).*

What is striking about this language is not that the City has suffered decay but the way that the writer argues that Leeds should be viewed as a distinct place, in competition with other cities such as London and Newcastle. As with discussions of nationalism and a process of othering, the reference to urban others allows conservationists to champion their City 'as one of a kind' and independent of other areas. Moreover, with the arrival of a post-industrial economy and new City Centre buildings, conservationists pointed to the rise of new architectures in Leeds that were said to be giving the City a certain status or authority:

> *Simon – Leeds ...over the last ten or twelve years has become a really powerful legal and commercial centre ... [Indeed, the new arriving] big city solicitors do*

want impressive buildings. ... Look at Princes Exchange[77] it is a 'status symbol'
(Simon, Leeds Civic Trust).

This spirit of financial independence was also tied to the recovery of a communal pre-industrial identity, epitomised in the idea that the community of Leeds could always be understood by the diversity of its past industrial base.

Janet - Leeds is based on industry and textiles, which collapsed in the eighties and the industry which came in was IT... and more retail... these call centres ...the economy diversified it was not around one particular industry and therefore that's why Leeds is successful (Janet, Leeds Civic Trust).

As well as this financial construction of the City as economically self-determining, conservationists in Leeds also suggested that the City was developing as an independent cultural capital. However culture in the City was defined narrowly as 'traditional culture', including classical music, the arts and opera:

Janet – You cannot have culture unless you have a prosperous city. ... People don't build art galleries unless there is money around... and Leeds only started being interesting around in the 90s...(referring to the arrival of money in the City) (Janet, Leeds Civic Trust).

What is striking about these themes is the way conservationists are entirely focused on the City Centre to the point that it becomes a space that needs to be constructed as a badge of status. As such, conservationists were keen to encourage the development of 'high quality' public amenities that were 'unique' and 'distinctive'.

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[77] The Prince's Exchange can be found in Aire Street. It is a massive glass structure that has reflective glass and a sense of self-importance. For more details please Godward, (2000: 64-65).

Simon - We are making big waves over city (inner city) amenities. [Particularly we are interested in] the need for a concert hall, an exhibition centre, a conference centre and an arena and that has absolutely nothing to do with conservation whatsoever and is public amenity...(Simon, Leeds Civic Trust).

Janet – If you are a successful city then that generates money and people ask what can we have to make the city even more successful and this is where people say we need a conference centre and artistic people say we need a concert hall (Janet, Leeds Civic Trust).

In this respect it would seem that the focal point of these narratives was to encourage an image of Leeds as a cultural centre in competition with other cities.

Janet – We thought at the Leeds Civic Trust we should have a cultural strategy; and [people felt] that ... [we were] not developing as quickly as Manchester and Sheffield in terms of having land mark building. ... And lots of members were saying we ought to have a Leeds concert hall in Leeds (Janet, Leeds Civic Trust).

Whilst these examples of improvement can be read within a wider framework acknowledging post-industrial cities in Britain as sites of cultural identity (such as the recent City of Culture Bids - 2003). The emphasis on extreme localism and the reference to the history of an independent community in Leeds - that has had to work out its own problems and draw upon its own resources - smacks of a wider identity of a self-reliant community. In short, a reference to a resourceful City of trade that has had a culture of local diversity in order to survive is part of this nostalgia. Moreover, the focus on the City Centre as a new independent space of culture and community, at the expense of a wider image of the City, meant that conservationists increasingly saw the inner city of Leeds as a bounded space of cultural independence. The

conservationist increasing rejection of other parts of the City for new forms of inner-city patriotism painted an image of the Leeds as a townscape organically bound into localised units of physical space and community.

5: 4 Summary

In this section I have sought to build upon some of the themes of the previous chapter by elucidating the more complex ways in which notions of an organic creativity have been understood in Leeds. Firstly, rather than the history of authenticity allowed by the architectural heritage of York, Leeds' industrial past was seen to have had a cultural impact upon the city. Specifically, industrialism and post-war modernism were seen to have led to the development of an architectural culture of uniformity and sterility, which was largely directed by local government. However, conservationists suggested that by creating a new culture of architectural brilliance and 'good design' a spirit of architectural independence could be recovered and developed. Secondly, as well as the development of buildings, conservationists also looked to buttress a renewed culture of quality in building that would allow onlookers and the community of Leeds to regain a spirit of architectural quality. Conservationists implied that the rise of good quality buildings in Leeds was leading to a culture of 'higher standards' whereby the people of the City were demanding more from the architecture in the City Centre, in the suburbs and on the City's outskirts. Finally, in the last section I discussed the 'recovery of Leeds' through what conservationists described as the development of a sustainable local culture of financial independence, aesthetic maturity and distinctiveness. I suggested this financial sustainability was often based in a form of local pride where the community of Leeds was increasingly seen as a collective organic whole, rather than a series of indifferent parts. For conservationists, with the development of a spirit of good new building and architecture, the City was beginning to realise its natural roots as a townscape and culture of independence and of pre-industrial, pre-modernist self-reliance and creativity.

6 – Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have suggested that conservationists have constructed an organic spirit of creativity through the landscapes of York and Leeds. However, as I have endeavoured to show, these constructions take place on different grounds and within different parameters. Firstly I have suggested that conservationists build an organic spirit of creativity through the construction of cities as independent evolving entities which like a species of plant or animal are subject to periods of growth and evolution. However, conservationists also defined the development of cities through notions of inorganic growth and therefore devolution. As I suggested in Part A, these ideas featured heavily in the way conservationists viewed the townscapes of York and Leeds. York was a City, which was a prime example of a naturally evolving City. In a discussion of the townscape conservationists enthused over the way the landscape had evolved naturally where each period of building integrated producing natural inconsistencies and irregularities. Leeds on the other hand having had an industrial and post-war modernist architectural heritage was in a process of rediscovery. In these terms conservationists suggested that rather than a course of natural growth Leeds was in need of a series of inorganic demolitions where the devolved sites of its industrial and modernist past needed to be cut out and lanced off to reveal the City's natural pattern and foundations. In this discussion of the townscape conservationists suggested that this process of rediscovery and demolition would involve the search for an organic city within, or under the ruins of the townscape. For conservationists, as opposed to viewing the City as 'dead', the aim of this work was to bring the City back onto its natural evolutionary course by retaining and re-developing both pre-industrial (and good examples of post-industrial) architectures and streetscapes.

In Part B I also suggested that conservationists constructed an organic spirit of creativity in York and Leeds through the construction of these cities through a language of cultural independence. Thus, whilst in Part A I spoke of the way the physical landscapes of York and Leeds were constructed in terms of independent and naturally occurring growth, conservationists also highlighted the importance of naturally occurring urban cultures as an extension of this metaphor. For conservationists in York, as with its townscape, the culture of the City had developed

naturally as an independent organic entity. For the main part these ideas were affirmed by conservationists in the way York was said to have evaded in a large part the economic extravagances and inauthentic cultures of the industrial revolution and a post-war modernist culture. In sum conservationists maintained that having avoided industrialism and post-war modernism the City had naturally retained three pre-industrial (or possibly medieval[78]) cultural elements. Firstly conservationists suggested that York had retained a pre-industrial spirit of community which could be encapsulated in the notion of a bounded space where the landscape and community were intricately tied. Secondly conservationists understood that York had maintained a pre-industrial culture of aesthetics and the arts and crafts. In this respect conservationists argued that, along with the idea of a bound physical townscape and society, York's arts and crafts heritage had enabled the formation (although its structure had changed slightly in recent years) of an interdependent arts and crafts community. Finally conservationists argued that York had retained a pre-industrial and pre-post-war modernist spirit of financial humility and dignity. What was valorised in this instance was the idea of an organic working class community.

In the section on Leeds however, conservationists could not maintain these narratives of authenticity. Unlike York conservationists in Leeds argued that the City's developing cultural independence had been side tracked by the City's obvious industrial and post-war modernist heritage. Rather than talking about community the starting point for Leeds conservationists was the issue of rebuilding a new *architectural culture* which was part of the way in which a process of cultural growth could be re-established. Firstly, conservationists suggested that if a spirit of culture was to develop in the City it must begin with a relaxation of a post-war Leeds aesthetic (or Leeds-look) that had homogenised the City architecturally and even culturally. Thus conservationists contended that, as well as the damage caused by industrial and post-war building, the City's architectural culture had also suffered and was now in need of a process of *recovery* where an independent building culture was in need of production. Secondly conservationists reasoned that a spirit of architectural culture had also to be related to the experiences of the community of

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[78] I want to keep these terms open here about the way conservationists understood a cultural pre-industrial authenticity. Indeed, conservationists were not specific as to the exact time or traditional

Leeds. Thus conservationists mapped out their cultural strategy to bring people into Leeds and to rediscover the landscape as their own. As well as constructing a spirit of the locale conservationists were also concerned to point out the more detailed nature of the buildings of Leeds and the fine workmanship that had gone into their production and making. Conservationists encouraged a growing appreciation of the crafted buildings of Leeds that sought to construct 'a spirit of craftsmanship' in order to 'recover' and encourage a new cultural nostalgia for creativity both amongst architects in the city and its local community. Thirdly conservationists also encouraged through the construction of Leeds as a new financial and cultural centre. As well encouraging new forms of localised patriotism (against a field of 'other' cities) these narratives can be interpreted as conservationists attempts to construct the City as economically and culturally 'independent', 'self-reliant' and organically creative. As one respondent pointed out it was the idea that Leeds had a diverse economy, community and spirit of workmanship that it could always fall back upon even in times of slumping prosperity.

In sum conservationists negotiate an organic spirit of creativity through their specific townscape cultures. In both these cities, whilst different, an organic spirit of creativity is realised through the idea that as well as being physically independent, the cultures of York and Leeds are culturally independent. However, as I have suggested these processes of cultural independence are constructed through different narratives and conservationists employ different histories and material entities to enforce this spirit of creative identity. Thus, where York draws attention to an already well-defined community, arts and crafts culture, and spirit of economic humility, Leeds is in a process of reconstructing itself. The process of 'recovery' as I have claimed is one that is based on notions of developing architectural independence, the encouragement of architectural appreciation and a spirit of local patriotism and development. Finally, in both these cities part of the process by which a spirit of organic creativity is achieved is through a positioning of industrialism and post-war modernism. In York the spirit of organic creativity is made explicit through a silencing of the City's links with an industrial past and the purposeful encouragement of particular localist themes of community arts, crafts, and financial dignity. If York

period by which a pre-industrial identity could be located. Thus, words or signifiers such as 'pre-industrial', 'medieval' and sometimes an implied 'feudalism' could be used interchangeably.

had escaped mass-architecture, then Leeds is a City, which is seeking to recover and realign itself onto a more 'natural', 'evolutionary' or 'organic' course. Thus, in Leeds the reproduction of a spirit of creativity is achieved through a positioning of the City's industrial and post-war modernist past, through the idea that the City must recover from the cultures of Brutalism. From the ashes a spirit of creativity will be born again through the nurturing of new architecture, an architectural culture, and a new spirit of independent urban community.

CONCLUSIONS

1 - Conclusion

In this thesis I have sought to develop an understanding of the role of the built heritage conservation movement in the construction of a organic Englishness. I have argued that the movement constructs this identity through *four positions*. In sum these are the idea of townscape, a pre-intellectual spirit of creativity, a construction of an 'inorganic other', and the development of a language of self-authority. In the conclusions that follow, I will explore these four themes to assess the complex ways in which they have been constructed through landscapes, nostalgia and discussions of identities both cultural and economic. The *first conclusion* deals with the notion of townscape aesthetics and their connections to the organic. The *second conclusion* deals with the idea of the spirit of creativity and sub themes of the creative spirit of buildings, the importance of craftsmanship, and the idea of self-reliant 'cultures of sustainability'. The *third conclusion* builds on the first two by looking at the role that an 'inorganic other' plays in the construction of an organic discourse of Englishness. Thus, in this section I contend that the notion of the inorganic and related binaries of natural and unnatural, evolved and devolved enforce its linguistic opposite the 'organic'. Here I suggest that conservationists enforce an inorganic discourse through a positioning of industrialism, modernism and modernist agents. Finally in the *fourth conclusion* I look at the way an organic discourse is normalised through a construction of *'strategies of class power'*. Thus, rather than focusing on class positioning alone, I suggest that an analysis of class power enables us to understand the way conservationists maintain their own elite identities of authority and the tastes and organic visions which are wrapped up in this self-equanimity. In this way I propose that the organic is maintained through the role of conservationists in the construction of a narrative of reasonableness and equanimity. I suggest through an adoption of Pierre Bourdieu's theories of cultural and symbolic capital that these processes take place through the production of populist and performative narratives. In sum ideas of townscape and a spiritual identity of creativity are reified and are

made symbolically persuasive by populist and performative texts, speech and social action. In terms of populism I argue that the normalisation of the organic takes place through tropes of anti-professionalism, patriotism and the idea of nature and evolution. As a performative discourse, I suggest that a middle class identity plays a background role in the sealing of the conservationist legitimisation of an organic discourse. By constructing discussions of the conservationist aesthetic against industrialism and post-war modernism I have argued that these binaries are also located within the arena of taste and the production of cultural capital. As well as providing the reader with a theory of conservationists and an organic Englishness I am also suggesting something about the way in which historical discourses are reified in the present. As well as looking at the way conservationists draw upon the past to reconstruct the future in this final conclusion I have also sought to show the way in which historical discursive identities are reconstructed through subtle forms of symbolic persuasion. Finally by moving from the historical to the present this work I have also sought to point to the way in which discourses and these modes of power are reconstructed in the present through these strategies of symbolic persuasion.

Moving on from these summaries the thesis concludes with a more detailed look at key themes that came from the interview material on the Built Heritage Conservation Movement in York and Leeds. In this discussion I shall pay particular attention to the notions of disidentification, the politics of individuals, the ways individuals claimed the cultural authority to speak on their issues and the social networks constituted through and constituting the Built Heritage Conservation Movement.

2 – Summary of thesis

2: 1 Townscapes

In this thesis I have looked at a discourse of 'townscape aesthetics' and the way aesthetics are to be understood in the construction of an organic narrative. Section One investigated writings from the nineteenth century, through to the 1970s to look at the way in which a discourse of the townscape emerged. However, rather than a term

with no political connotations I suggested that the construction of the signifier 'townscape' and a chain of related signs were not neutral. Rather as I have suggested the construction of the 'townscape' was always/already connected to a language of the organic that was normative in its production. In Chapter One I looked at the way in which notions of townscape were tied to notions of individuality and variousness in the discussion of good looking buildings and landscapes. Here notions of individuality and variousness were seen as beautiful and aesthetically pleasing because like nature they grew of their own accord and like weeds and flowers could be said to produce odd and differing shapes and characteristics. In this respect the importance of individuality and variousness rested in its often aesthetically disconcerting images, which like nature were ultimately beautiful and natural. In Chapter Two I examined the way in which townscapes were constructed through narratives of aesthetic-architectural tradition which had been passed down and were held as sacred. Here the notion of architectural tradition and contemporary harmony were constructed as beautiful and just right for any English townscape because like flowers they were seen to have grown correctly over time through the natural growth of the aesthetic spirit of English building. Here ideas of maturing building rested on the idea that through time good architecture had simply grown on itself like the layers of soil in the earth. In Chapter Three, I investigated notions of 'townscape' through notions of spirit, emotion and the body. Here the aesthetics of townscape were not something to be simply looked at and understood aesthetically. Rather conservationists suggested that aesthetic experiences between the viewer and townscapes were also things to be drunk in spiritually and emotionally through the connections between people and buildings. In this respect, through the connections between townscape aesthetics and proper ways of understanding buildings an organic narrative was sealed by the idea of their being natural or organic links between people and their places.

2: 2 The pre-intellectual spirit of creativity

In this thesis I have argued that the construction of a *pre-intellectual spirit of creativity* was essential to the construction of an organic discourse of Englishness. Section Three looked primarily at the role of this pre-intellectual spirit of

independence, although there were many elements and hints at the existence of this discourse in the first section of the thesis. In Section Three I suggested that there were three main aspects of this argument which could be divided between the following notions: An independent spirit in the buildings and landscapes of England (and specifically York and Leeds); the notion of an authentic spirit of craftsmanship; and the notion of a independent organic culture which was self-determining and creative in its self-reliance.

2: 2: 1 Creative spirit in buildings and landscapes

Firstly in Chapter Five and Six I investigated conservationist nostalgia for a spirit of creativity in the buildings and urban landscapes of England. In Chapter Five I examined the way in which conservationists pointed to this spirit in architectures which were detailed, and had been through a consideration of past styles and an attention to quality in the production of the building. In this respect conservationists drew upon an arts and crafts aesthetic of building which was seen to valorise a spirit of the craftsman and the notion of authentic architectures which had been painstakingly built and were unique in their construction. In short this uniqueness was emphasised by the way in which unlike contemporary repetitive architectural productions – such as post-war suburbs – the buildings of a pre-war era were seen as one off products. Taking these themes even further conservationists also emphasised these narratives in the way in which they were also nostalgic for the importance of a cultural celebration of hand made objects and furnishings. Thus, conservationists talked about a pre-war culture which had appreciated the value of the hand made and the actual practice of craftsmanship and a general visual appreciation that this was seen to symbolise. Conservationists talked about the importance of living our lives through these objects and furnishings since the craftsmanship buried in these materials was said to radiate a spirit which would raise ones aesthetic appreciation of everyday life. As well as a celebration of the hand made conservationists suggested that an appreciation of the hand made and craftsmanship should be conducted widely throughout society.

In Chapter Six I repeated these ideas through an exploration of conservation ideas of the landscapes in York and Leeds. For conservationists York was therefore defined as an exemplar of a spirit of creativity in the English townscape, which had developed over the years in an organic process. Conservationists focusing on the irregularities, the visual scenery and a spirit of time understood the city as a site of a spiritual creativity because its landscapes had developed from one another. In this respect, conservationists suggested that the York aesthetic was one of natural progression where each building and space flowed from another across time. The space of York was a site of visual contemplation where one could take in the development of a spirit of creativity across the centuries. Moreover, given the way in which York had been allowed to 'grow' in a free and distinctive way meant that conservationists also stressed the feeling of uniqueness that this city gave. Notions of craftsmanship where therefore not far behind these poetics of uniqueness where the idea of a one off or natural city was celebrated over places which had a more uniform appeal and had been more tightly controlled in its development.

Whilst conservationists did not claim that Leeds had the same temporal sense of organic flow, a spirit of creativity was not seen to be absent from a construction of the landscape. Indeed, with the arrival of the service economy and a new series of buildings in Leeds conservationists pointed to the way in which new buildings were developing which adequately reflected a spirit of creativity. More specifically conservationists suggested that the spirit of the new buildings made this possible through the way they captured attention to contrast, diversity, walkways, details, and a sense of urban marking and boundedness. All things considered these buildings and the spaces they were seen to create subsequently allowed for a spirit of the unique which could not be captured by techniques of mass-produced buildings and aesthetics. Like York I suggested that the focus on a spirit of uniqueness helped to forge a sense that conservationists were nostalgic for an idea of a townscape as a crafted and one off landscape which could not be produced again. In this way the construction of Leeds as a unique landscape was connected to a poetics of the importance of the crafted, the hand made, the unique and distinctive which was placed above the mechanised and 'mass produced cities'.

2: 2: 2 The importance of craftsmanship

As well as time invested and types of design invested in building I argued that a spirit of creativity was also constructed in the way conservationists understand the role of the peoples of England. Rather than an intangible spirit of a pre-war landscape and its culture conservationists often valorised the importance of a spirit of creativity through physical practices. Here the notion of craftsmanship (and spirit of the arts and crafts) was essential to these notions where ideas of quality and beauty were positioned above the utilitarian. Thus in this rejection of the tacky and mass produced conservationists discussed the importance and merits of hand made objects things and furniture. However, rather than a study of aesthetic alone conservationists also implied that if English society was to develop and improve itself culturally people should also be educated and get involved in the practices of craftsmanship. In this nostalgia for a pre-industrial spirit of craftsmanship, conservationists therefore suggested that a love of the handmade in a pre-war world be also simultaneously connected to an appreciation of aesthetics and a wish to see 'quality' in material things more generally. In Chapter Six I also explored these ideas through notions of crafts communities. Indeed in discussions of York conservationists suggested that as well as have a strong communal identity the city had a strong crafts based identity by the idea that it was seen to have missed a culture of industry. In this way conservationists talked about York as having an authentic crafts community which contained a spirit of unity by virtue of its traditional crafts which were seen to be reliant upon one another for their existence. In Leeds however these ideas were more complex where because of its industrial background conservationists could not claim for the same level of authenticity. Nevertheless as I pointed out through discourses of detail the importance of creating a culture that was highly appreciative of the crafts was still strongly relevant to conservationists in Leeds. Thus, as I suggested with regard to the development of walking programmes to look at the detail and workmanship of buildings in the city conservationists wished to encourage a broader culture of the importance of craftsmanship. However, given the industrial background of the city conservationists were not trying to force a culture of craftsmanship on the people in a crude way. In short as I implied through discussions of better well-crafted buildings and the encouragement of a new culture of architecture in the city conservationists suggested that the people of Leeds were

developing a wider understanding of the way they could demand quality. In this respect conservationists in Leeds symbolically implied that a spirit of craftsmanship in the city was beginning to merge in the construction of suburban developments (with arts and crafts designs) and a resistance to the traditional Leeds building traditions of standardised boxes.

However as well as visually studying and taking part in the act of craftsmanship conservationists also suggested that this spirit of creativity was something that was buried in the connections between craftsmen, people and their houses/buildings. In Chapter Five in particular I pointed to these ideas in the way conservationists rejected modernist approaches to building which were seen to be imposed on the people. The key to this rejection of the modernist building process was defined by the way it was seen to break a natural spiritual link between people and the building process and the landscape which is tied to this spiritual triangle. In this way conservationists talked of the importance of a spirit of craftsmanship through what was seen to be more authentic pre-industrial and pre-war understanding of building which connected a triumvirate of craftsmen, people and their houses/buildings. More specifically conservationists suggested that prior to the war people had been more dependent on processes of building that embraced a spirit of the local both in terms of the aesthetics employed by local builders and the techniques and materials that was involved in this process of building. In this respect the buildings, architectures and landscapes which, were produced by this culture of building were more authentic because they were seen to have grown from the people and the surroundings. Here conservationists often suggested that a spirit of the people was synonymous with the use of local materials, which were seen to act as cultural markers for local identities. Furthermore, they also talked about the importance of local craftsmen who were seen to be synonymous with the spirit of local communities and therefore new and understood what the people wanted. Here then in opposition to the modernist ideas of building, for conservationists the peoples of England are understood to be essentially local and regional in nature. In Chapter Six, these narratives were extended further through discussions of the building cultures of York and Leeds. York then by its 'disconnection' with 'suburbia' and 'out of town estates' was seen to encapsulate a spirit of the local, where its disassociation with 'sprawl' meant that it maintained and affirmed a spirit of independent building. Conservationists in York suggested that the

city was tied closely to the spirit of the people and even some suggested that the townscape had its 'patriots'. Secondly York maintained a culture of local building by the way in which the buildings of York were made with local stone and which had therefore used local and regional architects and designers for their production. Leeds on the other hand was therefore viewed as a more complex place which had not been connected to a spirit of creativity in the way that York was seen to capture these notions. In the discussion of Leeds conservationists therefore talked about the city as a place which had been merged into its suburbs and had not had any decent buildings in many recent years. However, with the reformulation of the city through a service economy, conservationists suggested that Leeds is involved in a process of 'inorganic demolition'.

2: 2: 3 The spirit of sustainability

Secondly a spirit of creativity was tied to the idea of *independent communities*, which had existed before the war in a self-sustaining way drawing upon *local skills* of craftsmanship and the local resources of the land. Such communities and their subsistent spirit of creativity were seen to be authentic in the way they did not rely upon a national state and the welfare cultures, which this state provides. Nostalgia for a spirit of creativity in pre-war communities was therefore seen as a crucial way by which people could divorce themselves from these technological constraints.

In Chapter Six these narratives were more complex where narratives of sustainability where interpreted against the backdrop of the 'aesthetic, work and economic landscapes' of York and Leeds. However, as I suggested in this Chapter that the interpretation of the work and economic landscapes of these cities was itself a social construction that was based once again on a selective form of nostalgia. For conservationists in York because of the lack of 'industrial and post-war modernist' heritage, the city had retained its traditional trades and the arts and crafts. In this respect, conservationists discussed the existence a craft community that was seen as an independent spirit of artistic production in the city. Moreover, because of the lack of what were considered to be the 'economic constraints' of industrialism and post-war modernism York had retained an authentic community which had few 'middle-class ghettos'. The discussion of the idea of the people of York as 'poor, pretty and

proud' was therefore construed in terms of a sustainable and independent community, which could 'look out for itself' (the community and the locale) and was therefore held together by an interdependent bond. The construction of the people of York in terms of their being 'poor, pretty and proud' - working class - was understood as a measure of their own independent and creative aesthetic virtues.

In Leeds however conservationists spoke of these discourses differently. With an industrial and modernist heritage conservationists suggested that within Leeds a spirit of independence and sustainability had been lost. In this process conservationists talked about 'inorganic demolition' once again, where the arrival of a new economy had built upon a spirit of the people of Leeds as having a 'diversified heritage' of industries and work. However, whilst conservationist talked about industry and work this was seen to refer to a spirit of work-independence and that largely pre-dated the industrial revolution in Leeds. In this way the recent process of inorganic demolition was leading to an increasing self-awareness amongst the people of Leeds and a change in the community and culture of the city. Firstly because of the change of fortunes in Leeds city centre conservationists talked about the importance of a new spirit of independence abroad both in the city and its outskirts. Rather than seeing Leeds as a large 'joined-up' city conservationists suggested that the rise of new finances and independence were turning the city into its more natural landscape of independent communities. In this respect, conservationists advocated an independent city centre and outer township communities, which had the echoes of a new sense of self-reliance and self-dependence. Here this project was enforced by the powerful attempts by conservationists to seal Leeds City centre as a bounded economic and communal locale independent of its outer townships and surroundings. As well as enforcing these boundaries financially and physically conservationists also wanted to see these boundaries established symbolically at a cultural level. Thus, whilst Leeds did not have an arts and crafts heritage they discussed the importance of revitalising the city centre as a 'cultural capital'. In this way the reconstruction of the city within a new aesthetic cultural climate which could compete with other cities meant that conservationists were keen to construct the city as a place with its own cultural identity and a spirit of independence. In this respect conservationists spoke in patriotic terms about Leeds as a place, which 'could put itself on the map', and be a real contender against other great 'cultural' cities in Britain.

2: 3 The role of an 'inorganic other'

Thirdly I have contended that conservationists have enforced an organic discourse of Englishness through the construction of the inorganic. In short I am suggested that an organic Englishness has been maintained in conservationist discourse by the production of an 'inorganic other'. Here I do not want to suggest that an 'inorganic other' 'really exists', but rather that the notion of the inorganic has a binary function. In short the existence of the notion of an 'inorganic identity' helps to maintain the idea there is something called an organic identity. In this way whilst I have suggested that an organic Englishness is produced through notions of townscape and a spirit of creativity the organic is also produced in what it is not, or its opposite.

In what follows I shall now outline these arguments in greater detail. Moving from a discussion of Section One to Section Three in this text I want to suggest also that an inorganic signifier is largely produced through the landscapes and cultures of an imagined geography of industrialism and post-war modernism. Here I do not want to suggest that this inorganic discourse was an explicit or even a well understood narrative of conservation discourse but was something that was constructed as a poetics of the texts and speech of conservationists. Thus, rather than something to be merely taken for granted I would like to suggest that this imagery is essential to the way in which an organic discourse is made normal or is reified. Moreover, with the status of signifiers such as the inorganic (and its opposite the organic) within scientific, chemical and biological discourses, the idea of the inorganic in conservationist discourse also seems to hold to a certain scientific and expert status. In short the use of the 'inorganic' has a pseudo scientific authority.

2: 3: 1 The inorganic, the unnatural, diseased and the devolved

An inorganic identity is maintained throughout this thesis by the textual positioning of industrial, post-war modernism and modernist agents as inorganic 'others'. In this first instance I have suggested that conservationists constructed a geographical imaginary of the landscapes and cultures of industrialism and modernism as

something which is essential unnatural or incongruous with its environment. In Section One this was seen largely in relation to the discussion of post-war modernist townscapes which were seen to be incongruous and unnatural with their historical foundations and surroundings. In Chapter One, conservationists suggested that post-war modernist townscapes and their architectures were understood as non-unique or bland and therefore lacked an organic aesthetic of individuality and uniqueness. In Chapter Two conservationists contended that the rise of industrial buildings to the development of the boxes of the fifties and sixties were also inorganic or unnatural in the way they were said to work against a canon of well developed aesthetic styles. Here the inorganic incongruity of the modernist landscape and its buildings was constructed in the way it had ceased to acknowledge a 'socially well-substantiated' notion of good taste and style. Moreover conservationist writers proposed that as well as being out of context with past styles the new modernist landscapes were also incongruous in their lack of spatial harmony. In this respect, conservationists suggested that these modernist buildings were built in isolation and unlike organic buildings they failed to consider their neighbours. Finally in Chapter Three conservationists perceived the crushing developments of post-war landscapes and buildings as simply incongruous, with not just time and space but the spirit of the townscape both spatially and temporally. Thus, in Chapter Three I suggested that the production of an inorganic other is not simply constructed through the realm of aesthetics but is also produced through a language of spirituality. Here the inorganic power of modernist landscapes and buildings was seen as incompatible with a nexus between a spiritual identity of England and Englishness and the townscape. Modernist landscapes and architecture were therefore seen as having broken this spiritual connection by the sense that they had no emotional and corporeal feeling in their production.

If conservationists constructed an inorganic signifier with the intention of stabilising the essence of an organic narrative, then I also suggested that this process of reification did not rest with discussions of aesthetic and spiritual congruity alone. Indeed, as I have suggested throughout this text the notion of the inorganic was connected to other signifiers such as those of the 'decay', 'disease' and 'devolution'. In this way for conservationists industrial and modernist landscapes and cultures were not simply inorganic, that is they were not simply 'out of place' with a natural

understanding of place and culture, rather they were seen as devolving and evolutionarily unstable. In Chapter One the narrative of devolution was present, in the way in which conservationists talked about the intervention of post-war suburbs. Rather than their imposition on the people alone, conservationists suggested that these landscapes were almost like a biological swarm of animals that had run out of control and were suffocating a host landscape. In short the construction of the suburbs in the first section was akin to seeing them as an aesthetic wart or polyp that was becoming too big and needed to be stopped. In Chapter Two these ideas were repeated by conservationist discussions of traditional architectural style in buildings and the way in which certain styles were held sacred as exemplars of good taste and production. Firstly then in relation to the forefathers of the built heritage movement, a narrative of devolution was central to the idea that the production of new buildings which lacked all sense of style represented a devolution in good taste and a tradition of good aesthetics. Moreover, in Chapter Three the importance of old buildings was repeated however, narratives of devolution were more explicit in the face of what was described as a heritage crisis. Indeed, in this Chapter I looked at conservationist reactions to the late 1960s and mid 1970s great loss of traditional building, which was leading to the development of new developments both residential and commercial in city centres across Britain. Here in the face of this loss conservationists constructed this loss in corporeal terms through narratives of rape (as I have suggested above) but also medical narratives and ideas of health. Indeed, as well as the devolution of a spirit of Englishness in contemporary building, conservationists suggested that the rise of new modernist development in cities was like a disease which was cancerous in its make up. The suggestion that modernist landscapes needed to be lanced off and cut from urban spaces therefore enforced the idea of a healthier organic landscape where a spirit of man and the people was upheld.

In Chapter Six these discourses were explicitly emphasised through conservationist conceptions of the York and Leeds landscapes. Indeed, with its industrial and post-war modernist buildings conservationists suggested that Leeds had not traditionally been a place of 'growth' both architecturally and culturally. More specifically an industrial and post-war modernist past was understood to mean that the city had not been allowed to 'grow freely'. Understood in this way the city therefore needed to be subjected to a process of inorganic demolition. In this respect by missing the

industrial revolution and a great deal of post-war modernist architecture, the landscapes and culture of York had developed naturally as an example of idyllic urban evolution. More specifically, York was seen to have retained a culture of the arts and crafts, which was seen to be naturally occurring in most cities before the war. In this way the emphasis on places like Leeds as culture-less was key to the suggestion that modernism had not only damaged the landscapes of these cities but also the natural and organic cultures which had been perceived to have grown within them. Modernism was therefore the cancer upon the landscapes and cultures of the cities and towns of England. In sum conservationists through the labelling of post war modernism and its agents as 'destructive' could enforce a poetics of disease and devolution. Specifically, the positioning of the modernist as cancerous further enables the enforcement of organic identities of townscape and a spirit as 'natural', 'healthy' and 'progressive' in 'evolutionary'. In this respect within the discourse of devolution conservationists are suggesting that rather than just the unnatural nature of post-war modernism, the landscapes and cultures of this period must be effectively reversed for the purposes of aesthetic, spiritual, social and even biological progress of the 'English'.

2: 3: 2 The implied organic alternative

If conservationists constructed modernism and modernist agents as inorganic then the alternative suggestion that organic townscapes and a spirit of creativity should be reconstructed once again, were described in *evolutionary terms*. In particular I showed that conservationists talked about the way in which landscapes and communities should be allowed to grow freely without the constraints of the modern which was said to have strangled natural progress. Secondly I also talked about the way in which a spirit of creativity was seen as a way to 'revitalise' the landscapes and cultures of the people. In short in a plant-like narrative it was constructed as a way of returning the people to their roots and a metaphoric architectural soil.

However, one final point remains concerning the way these narratives were constructed. Indeed, whilst the modern was positioned by conservationists as essentially damaging the way forward via a townscape and a creative movement was not seen as something which should be forced on to the people. In this way then, I

would like to suggest finally that these discourses pointed to a level of reflexivity and a certain internalisation of the discourses of devolution and evolution. In short they pointed to the idea that conservationists viewed the reconstruction of a pre-war spirit not as something that should be entirely lost in a nostalgia which would surely take the people away from what they were currently used to. Indeed, as conservationists suggested in Chapters Two and Five, in relation to the notions of preservation and conservation, one could not simply seek to 'copy or recreate the past'. Thus as I suggested in these Chapters conservationist discussion of these ideas was seen as an affront to the ideas of architectural truthfulness to building. Rather than a reconstruction of the past the reconstruction of nostalgia was therefore seen to be a forward process and thus in this 'progressive' or 'forward thinking' approach to nostalgia I would like to suggest that the essence of an evolutionary and organic discourse and identity is sealed. Indeed, the notion of progress from all forms of the past – including its mutations and bad architectural and cultural stock – maintains the idea of an evolutionary narrative as something which is ultimately about the progress of buildings and cultures from bad stock to higher architectural and social organisms. The construction of the evolutionary is therefore the pursuit of a spirit of the natural in building and culture and therefore ultimately a quest for the organic. I would also like to suggest that the inorganic narrative also had a role to play in these textual constructions. But more specifically the employment of a language of devolution enforces the organic through the suggestion that there is and has been a more natural way of looking at landscapes and culture. Particularly this idea of a more healthy and more evolved state of identity allows conservationists to enforce the notion of the organic through the idea that there is a natural or common aesthetic which 'we all share' and intuitively understand. The construction of an organic townscape and a spirit of creativity as natural are therefore essential to the way in which conservationists are also asserting a language of a biological identity. Thus, an identity of townscape and a spirit of creativity are not simply organic or natural rather it lies at the essential biological nature of the 'real peoples of England'.

2: 4 Self Authority Vs Populism and performance

Finally I have maintained that conservationists have constructed an organic discourse of Englishness through a narrative of social class. Drawing upon the work of Pierre Bourdieu I have suggested that in the preservation of an organic identity conservationists produce cultural capital and textual acts of symbolic violence. However, rather than a strict Bourdieuian class analysis I have suggested that his theory provides us with a way of theorising the production of elite identities and rhetorical techniques of power. Here I want to be explicit that I do not want to leave out the role of class elitism in the lives of conservationists since I have implied that it plays a central part in the way they construct their identities. However, my focus on Englishness has meant that I have been interested in the way in which *strategies of class power* come to be used in the maintenance of this organic vision. In this way rather than class positioning alone, I have suggested that the production of cultural capital and symbolic violence by conservationists allow us to theorise the way these actors construct themselves as 'authorities' and 'patriots' in the legitimisation of their tastes.

In this way I have suggested that this construction of 'self-authority' is constructed in much the same way as Pierre Bourdieu describes the production of cultural and symbolic capital. Firstly to strengthen their arguments conservationists seek to build cultural capital or cultural signifiers of prestige and status. However, rather than traditional forms of cultural capital such as listening to classical music, reading canonical literature or going to art galleries I have suggested that conservationists forge the validity of their own identities through reference to narratives of populism. Here then rather than constructing themselves as experts or aesthetic connoisseurs I have suggested that conservationists assert their authority and the validity of their arguments through 'anti-expert', 'anti-intellectual' and even 'anti-politically correct' discourses. In this way I am suggesting that the enforcement of the organic is reified through the way in which conservationists ask 'the reader' or 'listener/audience' to accept the 'down to earthiness', 'common-sense' and/or 'practical' of their views. Moreover with the active description of planners, architects and local governmental councillors as overly rational (or intellectual) conservationists assert their views as

patriotic and against a new wave of modernist ideas and peoples whose sole focus is bureaucracy and unreasonable 'political correctness'. Secondly I have suggested that conservationist self-authority is also constructed through a form of symbolic violence. Thus, rather than a traditional notion of Bourdieuian symbolic violence, associated with linguistic and social acts of 'distinction' and 'snobbery' I have suggested that conservationists forge the validity of their 'organic capitals' or discursive identities own position through textual, speech and active performances. Thus, as well as constructing an 'inorganic other', conservationists normalise the validity of their organic discourse through their creation of performances of outrage, patriotism, and a sociologising of new forms of post-war modernist society. In this way I suggest that conservationists maintain their authority and organic identity through a rejection of new forms of post-war lower middle and working class culture and identities of utilitarianism and most significantly totalitarianism. Furthermore since the construction of cultural capital and symbolic violence are produced in the name of 'the people' I am suggesting that these populist and performative produce a further effect. In short the conservationist construction of populism in speech and emotion therefore allows for an underlying suggestion that the organic discourse of Englishness are not simply the subjective aesthetic but are the aesthetic of the people.

2: 4: 1 Populism: anti-experts, patriots, moralisers and spiritualists

The production of cultural capital by conservationists is achieved by the construction of industrial and modernist landscapes and cultures as 'out of touch' with the 'wants and tastes of the people'. Thus rather than being inorganic alone conservationists aim to accomplish this positioning through a depiction particularly of 'modernist agents' as ignorant philistines, as vandals and as utilitarian. In Section One I suggested that conservationists produced this linguistic positioning through a discussion of the actors involved in the rise of the post-war architectural and town planning movement. In Chapter One post-war architects and town planners were seen to be conformist and statistical without thought and feeling for the townscapes they lived in. Moreover, in Chapter Two these narratives were extended specifically to architects prior to, and after the Second World War who had increasingly developed an ethos of isolationism and had ignored sacred architectural traditions of England. More specifically these

agents of modernism were not simply tasteless but were disloyal to a spirit of architecture and architectural good manners which was seen to be invested in pre-industrial and even Georgian and Victorian Building. Furthermore, these agents of modernism were seen as being too concerned with the whims of developing uniform styles in line with the wants and virtues of a uniform post-war society of equality and standardisation. As well as lacking moral fibre the new architects and their landscapes were simply seen as too anodyne and anti-septic in their production of the post-war modernist style. Chapter Three also explored post-war town planners and local councillors in unison as the 'culprits' of a heritage crisis in the 1970s where 'good buildings' were being knocked down for the 'shoddy'. These agents were criticised for particularly ignoring the role of an innate relationship between the architect (and craftsman) and the landscapes in which s/he worked and thus again they were defined not simply as unpatriotic but lacking all sense of spirit.

In Section Three these ideas were repeated in a discussion of utilitarianism particularly in Chapter Five. In this writing the agents of modernism were defined as having lowered building standards in Britain and were accused of encouraging the development of buildings that were lacking detail, architectural appreciation of roots and quality. Conservationists argued that the spirit of utilitarianism was ever present in the way in which the agents of modernism had proffered a contemporary culture of bland new buildings. Secondly in this chapter conservationists also argued that modernism has helped proliferate a culture of low quality which celebrated consumer culture and particularly low quality. In this respect conservationists suggested that as well as a damage to the landscape this new post-war culture had made high standards and quality seem elitist. Thus modernists were constructed as being influenced and shaped by a tacky new post war world of consumerism and economics which was placing low cultures over high standards and the role of quality and art.

Thus, rather than a positioning of class identities alone, I suggested that these narratives helped to produce an implied self in the language of conservationists. In Chapter One if the town planners and their architects were depicted as overly intellectual conservationists constructed themselves and the wants of the people as emotional and beyond rationality. In these discourses where the town planner followed the codes of an intellectual tradition the construction of the conservationist

as 'practical' and versed in 'common-sense' was seen as akin to the wants and desires of the everyday man. In Chapter Two if the emerging architects of the twentieth century (and particularly the post-war period) were viewed as disloyal to the nation then conservationists positioned their own selves and views as patriotic and subservient to traditional styles of building. Here conservationists discussed this traditional style as not just tasteful but representative of the aesthetic wants and tastes of the people. Moreover, if conservationists defined these agents as concerned with the production of an equal society and an accompanying uniform architecture, then they constructed themselves as the champions of individuality and aesthetic inspiration. Again rather than resting with the tastes of the conservationist, writers such as John Summerson suggested that the appeal of individuality reflected the real structure of society, which is not flat but is variegated and stratified. In Chapter Three if the town planners, architects and councillors of the seventies were defined as lacking a spiritual connection between place, conservationists therefore constructed themselves as actors not unashamed to wax lyrical about their 'emotional' and 'corporeal' understanding of space. In this third Chapter I suggested that the production of populism in the language of conservationists was not something simply achieved through patriotism but rather a wider language of spirituality which smacked of a religious patriotism. The production of this spiritual identity was therefore key to the way conservationists forged an organic vision as not simply a matter of taste or love of ones nation, but something deep and rooted in the townscapes of England.

2: 4: 2 Performance: languages of decline, disease and brutalism

The production of symbolic violence by conservationists is achieved by the construction of industrial and modernist landscapes, cultures and agents as being detrimental to the identity of traditional landscapes and the people. However, rather than being simply being inorganic and devolved I suggest that the symbolic violence involved in the positioning of modernist landscapes and cultures is key to the production of conservation authority and the organic vision. Thus, as well as striving to be popular I suggest that conservationists also maintain their authority through textual, speech and performative acts of outrage. In Chapter Three I drew particular attention to the way conservationists succeeded in producing these performances

through the idea that the built environment was in the late Sixties and Seventies was increasingly in 'Danger'. Moreover as well as performative reference to decline conservationists suggested that modernist agents had not simply damaged the landscape they had 'raped it' in the suggestion that rather than a fear of loss it had already become a reality. Here conservationists expressed a position of anger and sorrow for the loss of a blighted landscape.

In Chapter five rather adding to these narratives of danger and loss conservationists constructed performances of angry 'sociological commentary' on the state of post-war British landscapes and culture. Particularly conservationists pointed to the way post-war Britain had been 'damaged' by the influx of townscape aesthetics and cultures of *totalitarianism*. Thus conservationists outlined three aspects of this totalitarianism by investigating the role of post-war modernism in a totalitarian culture of aesthetics, planning and a welfarist damage to English culture. Firstly, Conservationists suggested that totalitarian architecture had been imposed on the people and had separated them from a traditional culture of building where people, place and local building materials were said to be entwined and self-sufficient. Secondly, the construction of totalitarianism was also related to the development of a post-war welfare state, and a welfarist culture of decadence that was said to have created cultures of reliance and dependence. Moreover, in Chapter Five conservationists talked about post-war consumer culture as contributing to this decadence, where people had a lower sense of the importance of subsistence and basic living. For instance conservationists were scathing of new material technologies and holidays, which were seen to have spoilt people and taken them away from a very basic life which was nearer to the organic ideas of community and landscape. Thirdly, conservationists suggested that a post-war world of welfare culture had also produced a culture of led aesthetic experiences where people *had to be shown* the 'beauty in things'. Rather than leading people to artistic expression this culture was seen to have removed peoples aesthetic faculties. Specifically then conservationists understood this culture as totalitarian by the way in which it was seen to have imposed aesthetic values on people rather than letting them discover the 'importance' of aesthetics in their own way.

Again, rather than a positioning of class identities alone, I suggested that these narratives helped to produce an implied self in the language of conservationists. In Chapter Three if the landscapes and architectures of England had been damaged and raped then conservationists positioned themselves often as 'men of action' who were ready to 'stop the onslaught'. Here specifically conservationists drew upon Churchillian narratives to point to the way the landscapes of Britain had been bombed by a second Luftwaffe. In summary then if modernist destruction was interpreted through metaphors of the war-stricken landscape and totalitarianism, these rhetorical tropes highlighted the way conservationists were not simply connoisseurs for *'higher taste'* but Churchillian fighters for *'the people'*. Secondly in Chapter Five if modernist landscapes and cultures were constructed as totalitarian conservationists suggested that they were not simply 'preservationists' but people fighting for the 'aesthetic and cultural freedom' of the people. Thus, if modernism had imposed totalitarian structures of building on the people – the buildings that had been dumped down in space –through fighting performance conservationists talked of the importance of recovering the people's architecture. Here conservationists therefore enforced the importance of local craftsmen and 'an arts and crafts culture of the locale' as being a true expression of the people's aesthetic. For conservationists rather than being dumped down on the people 'local craftsmen' by their 'localness' were seen to have grown from the people and their landscapes. Secondly if modernism had imposed a culture of welfare on the people conservationists, as fighters for freedom, discussed the importance of a culture of independence. In this regard rather than forcing people into authoritarian states of dependence, conservationists suggested that the encouragement of a spirit of self-reliance represented the natural wants of the people. Finally if post-war welfarism with its cultural equality had pushed people into a controlled appreciation of aesthetics, conservationists suggested that a recovery of a spirit of natural aesthetic curiosity needed to be built again. Rather than being dictated to by the whims of the new politically correct post-war middle classes conservationists suggested that the people wanted to find their own organic connection to art and creativity. In this respect the conservationists construction of themselves as fighters for buildings and the aesthetic-freedom of 'the people' allowed for the maintenance of an organic vision. If the totalitarian modernists had repressed the building cultures of the people then they could be saved by encouraging a spirit of creativity which was embodied in traditional

forms of craftsmanship, a spirit of self-reliance and a natural and free exploration of the arts. In short the construction of symbolic violence against modernists allowed conservationists to reify the notion of an organic Englishness.

3 – Discussion –

3: 1 Conservationists, cultural authority and disidentification

Throughout this thesis several themes have emerged that I will now elaborate upon to produce a clearer understanding of the way conservation identity is enacted. Firstly I want to explore notions of cultural authority. In this theme I shall propose that conservationists construct a language of authority through the importance of not only conservation but also a *theory of aesthetics*. Particularly I shall contend that a celebration of aesthetics is connected to a theory of cultural and human evolution where art is seen as key to the continual maintenance of economics, work and community. Secondly I shall explore the way conservationists construct themselves through strategies of disidentification. In short conservationists are weary of the elitist discourses buried within their cultural authority and respond to these problems through an explicit anti-authoritarian reflexivity. Rather than the imposition of aesthetics onto the people, I claim that conservationists suggest that their cultural theory is non-elitist by the contention that 'high aesthetics' can be found within them in a pre-intellectual and therefore organic way.

3: 1: 1 Cultural authority: aesthetics and rejuvenation

Within contemporary built conservation studies notions of cultural authority have played an important role. As I suggested in Chapter Two conservationists have been constructed as 'down to earth experts' (Civic Trust, 1976, Lowenthal and Binney, 1984, Andreae, 1996, Hunter, 1996, Stamp, 1996). Moreover I claimed that

conservationists have been read as aesthetic connoisseurs with a nostalgia for a pre-industrial way of living and Englishness (Wiener, 1981). However, in this thesis I have maintained a different story. In many respects my understanding of conservation cultural authority is similar to the suggestions of Patrick Wright in his text *A Journey Through Ruins* (1991). In this critique of conservation Patrick Wright contends that conservationists derive their authority from a story of decline and revival:

> *First there was the war, recalled here as the last moment of national greatness,*
> *a trial by fire from which the nation emerged purified and triumphant like*
> *Wren's cathedral. Then came the peace, which quickly betrayed the promises*
> *of war and degenerated into a forty-year period of destructive modernisation.*
> *Against this background the present rises up as an urgent moment of choice.*
> *...The present offers the opportunity or, in Charles's phrase the 'second*
> *chance' we never dared hope for: the miraculous moment of reawakening when*
> *the return to true values can begin (Wright, 1991: 360).*

Particularly like Wright's description of the Prince the conservationists in this study appealed to narratives of post-war decline and a sense of rediscovery in the present. In this respect, rather than being nostalgic (See Wiener, 1981) the contemporary Built Heritage Conservation Movement saw itself as a progressive movement involved in a reconstruction or revivalist project. However, whilst the stories of decline and revival exist in this thesis, I have also wanted to suggest something more complicated about the way conservationists have defined their cultural authority. Specifically I have wanted to be critical of the idea that conservationists always/already viewed themselves as 'conservationists'. Thus as the social actors in this study have maintained preservation and even sometimes the word conservation seemed to refer to a social identity of nostalgia that was to be avoided:

> *Simon - I think [we were] very conscious that the Trust was tagged with the*
> *logo Leeds Civic Trust 'the conservation body'. I think we were held back*
> *certainly earlier on by the concept of the view of particular developers that*
> *Leeds Civic Trust was a preservation body and that we limited we restricted the*

development of the City by our perceived emphasis on conservation and
heritage (Simon, Leeds Civic Trust).

Instead, for many conservationists, the role of aesthetics and the importance of aesthetic knowledge were seen as more important to a sense of identity than conservation itself. Here then I have not contended that notions of aesthetic knowledge were constructed through simplistic narratives of taste (and therefore Bourdieuian debates about social class, see Bourdieu, 1984) but rather a story of society and its 'evolution'. Thus, a 1964-65 report of the York Civic Trust that ended with a quote by Eric Gill[79] sums up a general theory of contemporary conservation that contends that aesthetics and progress are undoubtedly entwined:

The right and proper and natural development of human life unsullied by an
insubordinate commercialism no more leads to ugly towns than to an ugly
countryside. On the contrary, the town properly thought of is the very crown
and summit of man's creativeness and should be the vehicle for the highest
manifestations of his sensibility, his love of order and seemliness, of dignity and
loveliness. (Eric Gill quoted in The York Civic Trust Annual Report, 1964-65:
21).

Conservationists wanted to be understood as patrons of the art who were trying to revive a world of aesthetic appreciation that had increasingly been forgotten. In this way conservationists therefore understood that they had a role to deliver this aesthetic revival and to bring 'high art to the people'.

Matthew – I am going to try and work on how to make things more popular but
I don't know all the answers yet. ... I am definitely going to try and make it

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[79] Eric Gill (1882-1940) was a sculptor, engraver, typographer, painter and artist. He studied lettering at the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London under W.R. Lethaby and has been described as having developed the Arts and Crafts Movement after the First World War (For more details see Harrod, 1994: 102-126).

(referring to the York Civic Trust) not just the middle class preserve that it is.
And I think the only way to do that is to get out to the working men's club ...
and offer to talk to them for free about York and show them things would
interest them (Matthew, York Georgian Society and The York Civic Trust).

However, within this language I do not want to contend that conservationists were implying that art was simply central to the promotion of 'high taste' in society. Rather the suggestion I have drawn upon is that art itself was read as key to the actual development of all facets of society – from senses of place and community. Thus, in one statement Matthew argued that an importance of an appreciation of 'conservation aesthetics' (from buildings to objects) allows us to develop a higher appreciation of our surroundings and good environments:

Matthew – [It gives] an ability to appreciate things and really an ability to
appreciate things without hopping into the next fad or fashion. [And a love of
beautiful buildings encourages us to explore] the quieter side of life the more
contemplative side. I very much enjoy [the] feeling of place and community
and the feeling of belonging and the feeling of really knowing an area well,
[learning about] the people and what's gone on before you ... (Matthew, York
Georgian Society).

Moreover, rather than identity conservationists recognised that the production of beautiful places also had an important role in the development of both economics and society. Thus, whilst recognising that economics could develop without the presence of aesthetics, conservationists argued that a combination of aesthetic and economic considerations could generate a more interesting and dynamic economy. Indeed, as I tried to show throughout Section Three conservationists understood that the role of creative arts (and craftsmanship) had a strong role to play in a contemporary spirit of sustainability. In sum throughout this thesis I have therefore maintained that conservationists construct their cultural authority through these ideas of aesthetic rejuvenation and particularly of modern cultural discovery and improvement.

However, rather than a recovery of the greatness of England, (as suggested by Wright) I have proposed that the structure of this story has been constructed through a theory of evolution. Thus, whilst I have contended that conservationists draw their authority from a theory of aesthetics and revival I have also maintained that this language has longer historical origins that draw upon a Geddesian language. Rather than a story of nationalism that emulates from the post-second world war period, I have claimed that the story of conservation and aesthetic rejuvenation is one linked to a story of evolution and the organic that is undoubtedly pre-war and stems back into the nineteenth century.

3: 1: 2 Disidentification: finding the self within

Within recent social science notions of disidentification have increasingly become a useful category to define contemporary processes of reflexivity and the working of power relations. Here the work of Beverley Skeggs (1997, 2003a, 2003b) and Steph Lawler (2000) can be regarded as pioneers behind the use of this notion although this idea might be said to have its roots in early sociology's of embourgeoisment (Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1968) and working class youth subculture (Willis, 1977). In short, the notion of disidentification has been used to describe the way social actors respond to their own subordination, through forms of self-reflexivity, that enable individuals to disidentify with their own subjugation – such as the category working class. What is interesting about the notion of disidentification, then, is that like Bourdieu's own theories (see Bourdieu, 1984) it is a way of looking at the dominated and gives reasons for the way subjugated groups also take part in their own domination. However, in this thesis I have sought to use the notion of disidentification in a way that calls for an examination of this technique of power on more complex grounds. Rather than examining this technique of self as something that rests with the powerless I have also looked at the way this reflexive strategy is used by elites. In this way elites have a relationship to the idea of disidentification not because they want to see themselves as 'powerless' but rather that the role of this function allows the powerful to distance themselves and to even moralise the conditions of their own privilege. Disidentification therefore has a powerful role in elite studies, where we must begin to look at the way actors maintain and even justify

their own privileges through a disidentifying discourse that continually points to the 'non-privileged status' of their identities.

Here then in this thesis, I have suggested just this; that conservationists are an elite that construct themselves through processes of disidentification. Indeed, whilst I want to claim that elitist conservation identities and disidentification were produced through class, gender, age and sexuality, I have mainly looked at the role of cultural authoritative identities – or organic Englishness – and disidentification. Specifically, then, whilst conservationists espoused their own cultural authority they were also highly critical of the idea that their authority could be bound up with elitism and privilege. Following the themes of this thesis I want to propose that at the dualism of privilege and disidentification was produced through the idea of the *organic*. Indeed, conservationists did not see theories of aesthetic rejuvenation as elitist since they suggested that their own 'higher aesthetic' preferences and cultures were *organically innate* to 'everyday' and 'ordinary' people. In this way conservationists understood that, rather than imposing taste on others, their valorisation of aesthetics was simply a process of self-recovery that must not be understood as an elite process of teaching the 'uneducated masses'; but awakening their own innate ways of knowing from within. In this respect rather than an expert/non-expert binary, conservationists constructed their cultural authority through the idea of spirit:

Keith - Creating spirit does not demand anything from the people other than the people themselves (Keith, York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship).

Moreover, in these notions of disidentification conservationists maintained that the Arts and Crafts Movement (expressed particularly in Chapter Five) had a central role in these ideas of self-discovery. Here then conservationists did not construct the Arts and Crafts Movements through explicitly elite discourses - as the 'highest form of

aesthetic' that had ever existed[80]. Rather a celebration of the arts and crafts was related to the idea that this aesthetic tapped into an innate 'spirit of the people'. Thus, in these discourses conservationists described the Arts and Crafts as a 'socialist movement' – and architecture – that had emerged from the people. Here in one of Ivan's statements the Arts and Crafts Movement epitomised a socialist architecture because, unlike modernist architecture, it was not 'imposed' on people:

Ivan - The craft movement associated with Ruskin and Morris ...I do see it as moving towards a socialist architecture.... [And it] was breaking away from classical architecture and foreign styles imposed upon [people]... (Ivan, Victorian Society)

Thus, for conservationists the appeal of the Arts and Crafts Movement was that it seemed to reinforce and reify the idea that its work and writings was key to the rediscovery of a human and evolutionary cultural spirit. Particularly then as I implied in Chapter Five, conservationists such as Lawrence pointed to a joy of doing that rested in the notion of craftsmanship itself:

Lawrence [There is a] Joy of hand and the integrity of doing [in craftsmanship] (Lawrence, York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship).

However, conservationists also hinted that, rather than a rediscovery of self alone, the Arts and Crafts Movement allowed people to reconnect with the beauty and spirit of places. Thus, whilst conservationists often talked about the way the materials from which the objects of the Arts and Crafts Movement were made contained a spirit of place. Indeed, in one instance, as I discussed in Chapter Five, Keith talked about how he had had several well-crafted chairs made for him by local craftsmen relatively cheaply. As well as the positive economic attributes of these chairs, Keith also contended that their quality rested in the way they carried a spirit of local distinctiveness within them:

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[80] Indeed, as I have shown conservationists celebrated a variety of architectural heritages from the Georgian period right up to the contemporary buildings of Leeds (see Chapter Six).

*Keith - What was very nice when I came to see him (the craftsman) was that he used timber coppice from the wood from the edge of his field and that's where they got the wicker rushes from for the actual seat. [It gave] a genuine local distinctiveness [and so] the real spirit of the Arts and Crafts is captivated by these wonderful chairs (**Keith, York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship**).*

If conservationists reified their cultural authority, then I have contended in this thesis that this identity is allowed through the power of a particularly organic theme of disidentification. The power of conservationists is achieved by the idea that their values and aesthetic preferences are not simply their own but the values of the people. Moreover given the preference for an organic philosophy the construction of these organic ideas means that conservationists never need consider democratic surveys to establish whether the general public respected these ideas. Rather as I am suggesting through a spirit of the organic, the conservationist claim to representation is sealed as something that does not need to be ascertained by democratic polling since it goes deep, spiritually and instinctively into people and place. Especially then conservationists in the valorisation of the Arts and Crafts Movement enforce an organic identity of disidentification. Indeed, for conservationists, rather than a specific aesthetic preference, the Arts and Crafts was something that had tapped into a spirit of the people and particularly a spirit of place. Specifically, then, the interpretation of the Arts and Crafts Movement employed throughout Section Three therefore resembles much Geddesian thinking in the way it produces a symbiotic language of place, work and organic community. The conservationist construction of the Arts and Crafts points to a transcendental idea of the people as not only connected but also evolving with the landscape or townscape.

4: 1 'Other' categories of power and avenues of research: compassionate conservatism and paternalism

Throughout this thesis I have proposed that the Built Heritage Conservation Movement is a central site for the production of power relations and particularly the production of an organic Englishness. Whilst I do not want to contest this statement, I do not want to leave the reader with a sense that the movement might only be understood in relation to the notion of an organic Englishness. Instead I want to make the case that the Built Heritage Conservation Movement has had a central role in the production and reproduction of class, gender, age and even discourses of sexuality. Whilst there is not the space to look at all these themes here, I want to pay a little bit more attention to the role of class since this has been a central factor in this thesis (particularly – in Section One). Moreover rather than propose that the Built Heritage Movement always/already produces and reproduces class through the medium of Englishness I want to look at the role of this category on its own terms. Particularly I want to explore, in the following discussion, the way other narratives of class have had their own specific histories and identities that take place from other various and moments and cultures that are external to the Built Heritage Conservation Movement. By looking at class discourses in this way I therefore want to critique the idea that the Built Heritage Conservation Movement should read as a 'movement' and an 'identity' in any straightforward way. In this respect, I want to critique the idea that everyone I have met within the movement (in respect to the work in York and Leeds) were all self-consciously concerned with conservation and consciously defined themselves as conservationists or that they defined themselves as belonging to a 'conservation movement'. Here then I also want to propose that middle class agents inform the production of the movement in a way to reproduce economic and cultural privileges that have little to do with conservationist voluntarism. In this way this final section discusses the construction of middle class identities that are enabled and reproduced in the production of conservation philosophy and action. Firstly I want to explore contemporary middle class politics and the way the movement aided the development of new forms of 'compassionate conservative politics'. In this discussion I therefore

look at the notion of a 'voluntarist'[81] conservatism to describe the 'varying politics' of conservationists. Secondly I want to look at the production of historical middle class networks, groups and committees to describe the way voluntarist conservative politics were lived out locally through the sites of York and Leeds. Particularly by looking at notions of paternalistic middle class voluntary networks I investigate the way conservationist networks serve an important function in the reproduction of these historical and contemporary identities.

4: 1: 1 Middle class politics: the varying politics of conservationists

Urry, (1990, 1995, 1996), Wright, (1991) Samuel, (1994) Chaney (1997), Skeggs (1997, 2003a, 2003b) and Savage, et al (2000, 2001), amongst others have looked at the impact of new forms of middle class politics since the 1950s in Britain. Whilst these writers differ in perspective one interesting output of this work has been the tendency to write about middle class politics in terms of its perceived radicalism. Here for some (and particularly Samuel, 1994) middle class politics has been critical to the formation of new social movements and a cultural critique of what have been defined as pre-war hierarchical structures. For others through notions of reflexivity (Urry, 1990, 1995, 1996, Wright, 1991, Savage, 2000, 2001, Skeggs, 2003) middle class politics and particularly the construction of ideas such as voluntarism and altruism have been tied to other forms of more subtle forms of symbolic domination. Indeed, whilst these writers have maintained that middle class actors sought to break away from traditional class structures since the war – rather than the breakdown of class – they have increasingly sought to replace these modes of power with their own forms of symbolic domination. Here, then, one striking narrative within the post-war construction of middle class political identity has been the notion of a popular or charitable conservatism. Specifically then in his text *A Journey Through Ruins* (1991) Patrick Wright provides a useful insight into these ideas where he suggests that figures of cultural authority such as Prince Charles have drawn upon these narratives of charitable conservatism. Here Wright's contends that Charles constructs a language of class that presents certain class actors – such as himself – as having links

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[81] Here by voluntarist I refer to those individuals who have become involved in voluntary bodies and

to an idea of 'the people' – or the working class.   In these terms then Wright proposes that Charles's speeches

show us a republic of ordinary human beings ... whom the Prince presents himself only as first among equals. Like the ordinary Briton, he is an 'amateur' struggling to be heard in a world full of experts (Wright, 1991: 358).

In these new discourses then the old boundaries of class are not seen to apply anymore and what is constructed instead is a narrative of 'voluntarism' and 'charity' where those in positions of cultural power (such as upper-middle or middle class subjects) are responsible for the support of the subjugated. However rather than addressing social inequality, the form of conservatism adopted here is one of *paternalism* where both middle and working class subjects recognise their status and limits. Whilst avoiding the language of social justice middle class actors understand they have a responsibility to support 'the lower orders'. Moreover in this viewpoint working class subjects also recognise their own cultural limits and their sense of belonging in a subjugated class position.   Thus, whilst I have given credence to forms of organic Englishness in this thesis, I want to suggest that these forms of new post-war middle class politics of charitable conservatism had a central role to play in the construction of conservation. Particularly these narratives could be most explicitly seen in the way conservationists viewed their own relationship to the local communities they lived in. Whilst conservationists recognised their own views could be considered a minority – and sometimes expert discourse – in general they dismissed claims that their own aesthetic narratives were unrepresentative. Rather conservationists suggested that had a special and often unrepresentative – or pre-intellectual link to the people in the Cities they represented. Thus, in one statement Peter implied that in essence the York Civic Trust a 'special understanding' with the 'local people' or more specifically, as he implies here in the following quote, the working classes of York:

charity based organisations.

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*Peter – The working classes ...might never think of the joining the Georgians or the YAYAS. ...[They would] never dream of it. But they care deeply about the City. It's a funny thing that. [They are] prepared to leave the running of it over to us. But they (the working classes) love the place. [The] supporters of York come from the working classes. We couldn't ... be without them (**Peter, York Civic Trust**).*

Here then what is important about this statement is the sense of charitable conservatism and a paternalism that is forged through Peter's love of the working classes of York – 'we couldn't be without them'. However, in these narratives rests the paternalistic symbolic domination of these statements as he paints the people of York as a working class that knows its limits and is prepared to hand the authority of looking after the city to the conservationists. Thus, throughout the thesis I would like to propose that this class politics of compassionate conservatism and self-defined paternalism has been a major discourse in the construction of conservation social action. Thus in Section Three in particular conservationists often described themselves not only as cultural authorities but as the 'guardians' of the City's they lived in. However, as I am claiming here this version of guardianship was not only directed towards the idea of the City and its heritage but the people living within the townscape.

In this way whilst conservationists often rejected the idea that their movement could be defined as political I want to make the case that this charitable conservatism had a major role to play in the varieties of political subject positions they took. In this respect, where conservationists maintained that the movement was apolitical I have understood this statement as indicative of the way a charitable conservatism is defined as a neutral subject position that is beyond notions of right, left and even the notion of democracy itself. Thus, in talking about the Leeds Civic Trust Janet suggested that this conservation group had been set up to be 'non-political':

Janet – The Leeds Civic Trust is] set-up to be non-political and indeed it would not seem to be expressing political views. [But] I think [a] pressure group like

the Civic Trust can affect more change than a political organisation and I feel that's the future for democracy in this country (Janet - Leeds Civic Trust).

What is interesting about these statements then is the way the Leeds Civic Trust therefore becomes a new form of political movement in these terms. Rather than being democratic it is seen to represent a new want of the people which is anti-democratic and compassionately conservative and paternalistic. This discourse therefore recognises and acknowledges a new turn in middle class politics where social actors are now resisting the idea of traditional expert figures[82] for new more 'rooted modes of representation' that are seen to be intimately tied to people. Thus, whilst I do not want to suggest that conservationists wanted to see the end of democracy the valorisation of local networks, groups and committees meant that conservationists wished to see what they described as political representation at a 'grassroots' level.

Finally then in the development of these ideas, I want to talk briefly about those conservationists that did identify themselves within a political movement. Indeed whilst I have suggested that conservationists exhibited a charitable conservatism an exceptional few described themselves as socialists or anarchists. For conservationists in relation to these two forms of political position, socialism or anarchism was often defined through the vein of the Arts and Crafts Movement and particularly through the work of William Morris. Whilst I do not have the space to explore debates concerning the status of socialist identity, what was interesting about these identities was the way the legacy of Morris was constructed once again through a form of guardian/paternalism narrative. Indeed, whilst conservationists recognised that Morris was a socialist this socialism was often defined as something tied to the idea of cultural authorities and an organic working class. Here like local York industrialists such as Joseph Rowntree, Morris was defined as a cultural leader before a socialist and a figure that understood 'the people'. Within this discourse, as I have tried to imply in Section Three, the celebration of Morris was connected to the valorisation of a worker craftsman – and of course a crafts society –as not simply spiritual but

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[82] As I have suggested throughout this work traditional expert figures might be defined by roles such as politicians, welfarists, town planners and architects.

organically working class. Here in this way the celebration of a craft society was also a celebration of traditional class narratives where cultural leaders recognised their role in relation to an immobile, unmoving and instinctive crafts society/community – working class – who knew their place. In the data on York these ideas where most explicit in Chapter Six, when conservationists talked about a York crafts community that was not only English but proud of its lack of prosperity or working class status.

4: 1: 2 The role of networks, groups and committees

Another theme within contemporary middle class studies has been the role that voluntary networks, groups and committees play in the construction of social and physical spaces (Lowe, 1977, Urry, 1990, 1995, 1996, Jacobs, 1994). Here John Urry has been particularly apt in outlining these notions and especially his study of new middle class professionals and their relationship to locales elucidates the often-complicated relationships between networks, place, space and landscape. Rather than finding these sites as spaces of explicit power, Urry claims that the role of these middle class voluntary identities can serve as locations of resistance and reflexivity in the production of subtle forms of powerful place making. Thus, whilst Urry contends that these groups are often elitist the nature of their relationship to local social and physical spaces is one which espouses the merits of community and their links with it:

Although [these] civic societies may not literally be 'locals' they often articulate a strong sense of nostalgia for that place. They will suggest that there is a profound sense of loss of one's 'home' and resulting from various economic and social changes. This in turn depends upon a particular structuring of the collective memory, which is reinforced by various enacted ritual performances. However, much of the nostalgia and tradition of the place may in fact be invented by these conservation groups who articulate a set of particular aesthetic interests often based on the concept of community (Urry, 1995).

Taking these ideas as a starting point, I want to propose that Urry's comments have a major role in the way I have understood the role of networks, groups and committees in this thesis. Thus, firstly – with the exception of a few openly exclusive groups[83] – generally these networks, groups and committees were interpreted as spaces of voluntarism, activism and charity. Rather than being elitist conservationists defined the role of these networks, groups and committees more generally as social spaces open to the whole community and as sites of community orientated volunteers. However, whilst Urry's theory of new middle class social movements is relevant to this argument, I want to be much more critical in the suggestion that once again this voluntarism was often understood through a compassionate conservatism. Thus like the notion of apolitical Built Conservation, conservationists understood the notion of a conservationist network (and associated notions of the group and the committee) as a historical entity bound up with ideas of altruistic figures and paternal neighbourhoods and communities. Here then whilst themes of reflexivity (and disidentification) run through these ideas, social actors understood the role of the conservationist network – the group and the committee – as a site to live out and perform middle class identities.

Firstly then social actors contended that conservation networks were connected to much wider networks and organisations that had a long history and culture of charitable conservatism. Particularly then social actors stated that these networks were made up influential employers – including Rotary and Lions – and could be understood as spacers where industrialists and post-industrialists had sought to give 'something back to the Cities and spaces they lived in'. Particularly in York then conservationists often mentioned the links between groups such as the York Civic Trust and the employers of Rowntree's that had sought to establish a good relationship between business and the local community. Here the tradition set by Joseph Rowntree – and a Quakerist form of Capitalism – was seen to epitomise the spirit of these networks:

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[83] Here by openly exclusive I am referring to all those groups who were not afraid to suggest that the role of their conservation group was the protection and conservation of their own landscape and culture with absolutely no lenience on the subject of local development. As Urry suggests these groups might therefore be defined through the acronym NIMBY that refers to the phrase Not In My Back Yard, and is a label often used to categorise new forms of middle class voluntary society (Urry, 1990).

Nicholas - [York has] been fortunate to have more than its share of
industrialists who have had a very deep concern for the community. We had
Joseph Rowntree who set a wonderful example to society and all right so did the
Cadbury's ... I mean [also] we had Terry's who in their own way also made an
*important contribution (**Nicholas, York Civic Trust**)*

In Leeds whilst social actors did not profess to the same roots similarly the influence
of industrialism and particularly post-industrial figures were seen as key to a trickle
down effect spirit of economics where places were regenerated by the financially
influential:

Kenneth - I think what's happened certainly in Leeds and probably in York [is
that] there [has been an] increasingly affluent professional middle-class... and
*this is driving the redevelopment's of the City centre (**Kenneth – Victorian***
***Society**).*

In these narratives then as well as economics the paternalism of these networks was
also tied to a language of unity and community. Thus, in a spirit of the
employer/employee relation conservationists also understood reflexively that
networks, groups and committees were heavily tied to a feeling of unity and a sense of
place. Moreover, conservationists claimed that this spirit of unity, place and
belonging could be captured in the social spaces – the networks, groups and
committees – of groups such as the York Civic Trust. Here then in a discussion of the
York Civic Trust Nicholas pointed out that rather than concerned individuals the
members of the group and its committees were pillars of community:

Nicholas - I think one reason for the feeling of unity in York is because many
people have worked their working lives for their employers and the employers
themselves have encouraged that feeling of unity in the City. ... [But] those

same employers have themselves played an important part wearing other hats

in the formation of the Civic Trust to bring back that sense of community

(Nicholas, York Civic Trust).

Sometimes these notions of voluntarism were also understood through the notion of guardianship where groups such as the Civic Trust were almost like night watchman patrolling the City for the people:

Simon - I think we certainly feel that we are guardians of the City's heritage. I

certainly feel that we are one of the checks and balances of the system (Simon,

Leeds Civic Trust).

In these narratives then a central part of the contemporary conservation movement was that it was not simply a movement concerned with conservation anymore but a linking place – an organic link – between business networks and 'the people'.

Simon - We know from our corporate members, because we talk a lot to

business, and businesses think that we should have a new concert hall and

facilities. [And] we are saying to the council 'look around you'. 'If you want

the City to remain prosperous these are the things we must do' (Simon, Leeds

Civic Trust).

However, the notion of the conservation network was not only a space for conservation but a space for wider forces of class paternalism that had a long history both in the City of York in Leeds. In this respect whilst the networks, groups and committees have served an important role in this thesis I do not want them to be read as an expression of a discrete conservation identity. Indeed, rather than a clear cut conservation identity as this example shows the Built Heritage Conservation Movement comes into being at certain points in time for the production of certain kinds of identity. In this regard I do not want to propose that my treatment of the

movement be read as a clear Social Movement since it is often read through other forms of identities and as I am maintaining here class networks.

Finally whilst unelected conservationists suggested that networks, groups and committees often had important and wider links to the community. Particularly the employment of group-labels such as the York Georgian Society or the Leeds Civic Trust was itself a key to the production of the idea that the movement was embedded in local community. Indeed, the name the 'Civic Trust' itself connotes the idea that a community of people has elected a group of individuals who they entrust to look after the local environment and the interests of a Civic community. Secondly the construction of these group-labels with reference to a specific geographic area seemed to imply that as well as being authorities on the townscape they were always/embedded in the physical spaces and social communities they were there to protect. Thirdly this construction of the group-self was enforced by the way groups such as the Civic Trust endorsed plaque schemes.[84] The major role of these plaques then was that they represented the power of a committee to name a building as worthy of being considered built heritage in the first place. In this respect as well as the construction of paternalism, I want to make the case that the role of networks, groups and committees had an important part to play in the idea that conservation groups and committees were not simply representing the people but had 'emerged' from the people. Moreover then these social sites therefore reinforced a middle class compassionate conservatism performatively. The production of these networks, groups and particularly committee politics had a central role in the furthering of new democratic politics that was seeking to relegate the role of political parties for non-democratic local committees.

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[84] For more information see details on the York and Leeds Civic Trust in Appendix A, Section 1: 2.

APPENDIXES

A - APPENDIX -
AN OVERVIEW OF GROUPINGS, MEDIUMS AND UNITS

The following section now provides a more factual overview of the cases and the sub-divisions within them selected for the purposes of the study. To make this writing clearer to the reader I have organised the groups in terms of the macro social units, the historical, civic trusts, residents associations (including their micro-social units) and the business and political movements. The groups are represented in this order due to the approximate nature of the time in which these groups came into existence in the wider conservation movement. However, as can be noted, the last section, which deals with businesses and movements contains groups, which range from the post war period to very recent protests in York and Leeds. These movements subsequently do not follow a historical pattern in formation, nevertheless, in the main the businesses in York formed after the Second World War, and the political movements have occurred more recently. In this respect, whilst I have grouped these cases together, I would like to argue that they form a historical pattern in their coming into being. However, since, this study is small, I did not want to break down these movements, into smaller categories, because this research would too big.

Another point, which needs to be outlined, is the use of referencing in this section. The data produced on these movements was the result of a survey, which was conducted after the interview process. Thus, data extracted here for the purposes of these descriptions rests on a combination of notes taken via interview surveying, and the descriptions of the groups themselves from group documents that were given to me during my research with the groups. Moreover, given the size of some of the constitutions of these groups, conservationists often directed me to their respective web sites to download copies of their constitutions. In the descriptive writing, which follows, where web information has been used in the text, I have directly referenced the page of the web site. Finally some of the data which I have used for these descriptive purposes are based on my own field notes of the conservationists collected on meetings, day outs and less formal socials. If the text subsequently reverts to a more ethnographic style, I have done this to provide the reader with a sense of the

conservationists as I met them in everyday situations. In this respect, some of the data produced here is based not simply on field notes but on memory.

1: 1 Groups with a historical theme

1: 1: 1 The Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological society (YAYAS) – 1842

The Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society (YAYAS) formed on the 7th of October in 1842 and was described by a spokesperson for the group as having a prestigious status by the nature of a membership composed of clergy and people with social standing. The Society was originally founded

> *to promote the study of ecclesiastical architecture, antiquities, and design, the restoration of mutilated remains, and of churches which may have been desecrated, within the county of York: and the improvement, as far as may be within its province, of the character of ecclesiastical edifices to be erected in the future (Murray, 2002).*

However, as a spokeswoman, Angela, argued these original aims where very much tied up in ethos of an early Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) philosophy. In particular, Angela reported that the society was originally concerned with the preservation and restoration of gothic churches. However, as Angela was to suggest like many of the major conservation societies in York the YAYAS were not interested in any particular historic age of buildings. Thus, in recent times the society's main aims were associated with the

- ❑ *Preservation and care of historic architecture in the Yorkshire area*
- ❑ *Preservation and care of York Archaeology*
- ❑ *Preservation and encouragement of interest in local history within Yorkshire and particularly within York* (Angela – YAYAS).

However, despite widespread interests in a variety of historic buildings like other major conservation societies in York (see below), Angela argued that the YAYAS expressed their own institutional differences. In the first place, Angela reported that the society was a particularly 'serious' society with learned and academic interests. Indeed, whilst membership was specific recruiting from the third age, unlike the Georgian Society, it was seen to be less social. Moreover, a difference between the York Georgian Society, the York Civic Trust and YAYAS was that the YAYAS plays less of an active role in the development of York's conservation.

Thus among other things Angela argued that the YAYAS minor activities include a small council which deals with planning developments in the county and the city. A second theme includes lectures on relevant architectural and historical subjects, including visits to relevant architectural and historical sites. In connection with this work the YAYAS also record and preserve 'cultural heritage' by means of photographs, manuscripts, printed material and any other appropriate medium. At present the society had 12 members on its council and 220 non-council members. However, as Angela commented membership of the group was reported to have declined over the years. Thus despite what was described as its serious academic side, the YAYAS had failed to attract younger members, (particularly students) and principally over half the current membership was described as being retired. In terms of membership Angela described the conservationists as predominantly middle class, however, society members were seen to be from more academic backgrounds or occupational backgrounds that related to the YAYAS. Members of the YAYAS were said to overlap with the York Civic Trust and to a small extent the Georgian Society.

1: 1: 2 The York Georgian Society – 1939

Originally a branch group of the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeology Society, the York Georgian Society was formed in 1939. However, as the reports and representatives have reported the York Georgian Society was soon to develop its own culture and rationale. Thus after the war and the development of the society the first

report of the society spelled out the message for what was to become a philosophy of the future:

Amongst all members, however is the common bond of our declared purposes, the strong desire, a desire of becoming increasingly better informed and more strongly insistent – that the wealth of this period (Georgian period) which York so abundantly possesses shall be adequately protected, studied as it deserves, be put to good use for our modern needs, and preserved – not merely as interesting survivals, but as living centres in our community and as examples by which modern York may be guided. It is thus that York will retain its dignity as the capital city of the North, and preserve all the historical glory and regal beauty which are enshrined in its buildings, and streets and waterways (York Georgian Society Annual Report, 1944-5: 4).

As was suggested by a committee member of the society, this philosophy has not disappeared and compared to other groups in York, the Georgian Society has been credited with a particularly traditional preservationist stance (Buttery, 1989). However, as I have suggested in the writing above, the York Georgian Society with the development of the preservation of Georgian buildings over the years, have expanded their interests to a general remit of 'buildings of historic interest'. In this respect, their work like that of the YAYAS can be found to cover even those buildings and spaces formed in the twentieth century.

As a committee spokeswoman suggested the unique aspect of the Georgian Society lies in its social character, in which socialising takes up a major part in the society's activities. Principally then, the activities of the York Georgian Society can be divided into three, with the first two of these activities being representative of a great deal of other conservation groups. Firstly the group has a small and regular historic buildings committee which deals with planning developments concerned with Georgian buildings only in the York area. Secondly there are lectures which are usually given by guest speakers, although most of these lectures are rarely based within contemporary academic debates. However, thirdly and most distinctively the society

has very social open outings, which include organised walks and visits to Georgian and regency buildings, in spring, summer and Autumn-Winter periods.

In terms of membership numbers there have been varying patterns over the years. In its early birth the group started out with approximately 250 members, but as the Georgian Society faced the mid sixties (the rise of the development surge - recorded in Chapter Three,) Pallister has recorded that membership ran to roughly 600 members (Pallister, 1974: 13). However, in more recent times (in the last twenty years) with 'battles won' the numbers in the Georgian Society were said to have declined. Although there is little hard data on the actual fall and rise of memberships in recent years the last Georgian Society report demonstrated that 'membership was fairly stable with numbers at around 450, of whom about 200 support the various activities fairly regularly'. Whilst the committee of the society deals less with planning matters (often because many of the Georgian battles have been won) there is a committee of 15 of which 2-3 members deal with local planning. A committee spokeswoman described the Georgian Society as being mostly retired, with some younger members drawn from conservation related occupations. Indeed, some younger members of the society were working for the National Trust, or were solicitors selling, Georgian properties. Another feature of the Georgian was the high number of old ladies in the society. When discussing Georgian Society history, the chairman explained that this was due to the late 1930s idea that the society was viewed as a safe place to be. Indeed, when pressed the chairman revealed that ladies often joined the society because it was seen to be a fairly classy society which would free from the wrong sorts in society, and moreover the society was seen as a safe place from the advances of certain types of men.

A committee spokeswoman described members of the Georgian Society as being predominantly middle and even upper middle class, with some members being drawn from the local aristocracy. In this respect, at the odd function it would be possible to find members who either had titles, or who owned regency buildings in North Yorkshire. When asked the chairman denied that class was still a feature of the society although one or two members felt that the society still retained links with a 'social class-based establishment' where outings were followed by 'tea on the lawn' (*Angela, York Georgian Society*). An interesting feature of this membership

however, was that as a member of the committee pointed out regulars to the society were mainly middle class whereas the members with more upper class backgrounds attended less regularly. Members of the Georgian Society were said by one spokeswoman to overlap with the York Civic Trust and to a very small extent the YAYAS.

1: 1: 3 The West Yorkshire Group (WYG) Victorian Society – 27th of April 1974

Following the rise of the Leeds Civic Trust a related society the West Yorkshire Group for the Victorian Society was inaugurated in Leeds. Formed in 1974 its early constitution was set out as follows:

- ❑ *To evaluate Victorian buildings within the area and recommend to the department of Environment that selected buildings should receive statutory protection by listing.*
- ❑ *To monitor planning applications and make reasoned objections where buildings of merit are threatened.*
- ❑ *To compile basic documentation on important buildings within our area.*
- ❑ *To offer constructive advice to local planning authorities on the formation and implementation of conservation policies.*
- ❑ *To encourage interest in the art and architecture of the Victorian and Edwardian periods (West Yorkshire Group of the Victorian Society, Newsletter 1, 1974).*

Formed in 1974, a spokesperson of the society, James said that the initial rise of the Victorian Society reflected an advancement of the aims of the Leeds Civic Trust since its focus was based on the conservation of the rich Victorian and Edwardian architecture of West Yorkshire. Thus members of the Victorian Society were concerned with the conservation of Victorian and Edwardian buildings mainly within the Leeds and Bradford areas. Whilst members understood that West Yorkshire was a fairly big region they understood that their remit for building conservation did not venture too far south on the West side of the county. Moreover as James suggested a

North Welsh Buildings Committee also took a major conservation interest in the south of West Yorkshire and thus had a central role in a watchful gaze on this area.

As well as these concerns James argued that the WYG of the Victorian Society also defined its everyday philosophy was to look after the built environment of the area. In this respects conservationists reported that attention was not only paid to architecture but rather other parts of the urban landscape including paving stones and the general, look and feel of cityscapes. In terms of the group's activities, conservationists in this group reported that with one sub-committee at present the Victorian Society's main concern was with looking at planning applications. In this respect, whilst the group was said to have a wider remit of activities James reported that in recent years activities had been run down and there had not been an events programme for some time. Thus whilst the Victorian Society used to conduct lectures, some walks and coach trips, James commented that there were now only 1-2 coach trips running a year. Unlike the Leeds Civic Trust, James argued that the focus of the WYG Victorian Society was more concerned with planning than local activities. Moreover, James argued that their work is less community focused than the Leeds Civic Trust and thus the promotion of their own views and particularly their last aim to encourage interest in Victorian architecture seems less of a feature of this group. In this respect, the focus of this society is similar to York Georgian Society with the exception that this group does not provide the range of activities that the York Georgian Society conducts.

James argued that membership of the WYG Victorian Society had waned in the last few years (and was not presently moving), with conservationists reporting that whilst membership of the national society in London had increased the regional groups had declined and remained static. Membership of the Victorian Society was composed mainly of people over the age of fifty and above, and in this respect compared to the historic societies in York members of the Victorian Society were a lot younger. Moreover, as James commented the make-up of the background of the Victorian Society was middle class, but as conservationists were keen to point out this middle-class was based more upon those from academic backgrounds. Thus as one member of the Victorian Society commented there was a high degree of members of the group who came from scientific backgrounds.

1: 2 Civic Trusts

1: 2: 1 The York Civic Trust – 1946

The York Civic Trust came into being on the 18th of July 1946. The Trust in its early formation proposed 25 special objects of the constitution, which covered a wide range of interests and action (York Civic Trust Annual report, 1946: 1). However, to summarise these twenty-five objects of interest the York Civic Trust's main aims were to

- *preserve for the benefit of the public the amenities of the city and neighbourhood*
- *protect from dilapidation, disfigurement or destruction, buildings and open spaces of beauty or historic interest*
- *acquire land or buildings for that purpose to hold or develop them themselves, or hand them over to the city or to the nation; to encourage good design and craftsmanship in new erections*
- *and the creation of new beauty within and without the walls (York Civic Trust Annual report, 1946: 1).*

As opposed to the York Georgian Society the York Civic Trust, then has been credited often with a wider remit of aims and principles. Indeed, as can be found in the texts of the Georgian Society and the York Civic Trust, both groups argue that whilst the Georgians remit lies with a particular era, the purpose of architectural protection is extended to all the Civic Trust position. Moreover as the later trust reports point out, the trust felt that its job is to the 'whole' of York rather than a particular era. Activities of the York Civic Trust may also be divided into three. A first section of the Trusts' work involves restoration and particularly the

refurbishment of old houses, paintings, furniture, antiques and ornaments, which have had long or intriguing histories. A second part of the Trusts' work involves the designation of plaques to various historical sites, and the construction of 'local cultural activity'. In this respect, from its earliest days the Trust had sought to promote a festival or arts which would include plays and other activities all akin to the ideas of 'cultural quality' and 'craftsmanship'. Finally the third part of the Trusts' work is concerned with planning which not only deals with new applications, but more specifically smaller applications which cover the transformation of architectural decorations.

The York Civic Trust until the mid-1960s was a relatively small society with about 200 members. However, the York Civic Trust has showed sustained growth after this point from 200 in 1961 to 750 in 1971 (Pallister, 1974). In the last report membership was at 835 members. Again members described the York Civic Trust as being predominantly of the new retired living in the area, although, the membership secretary suggested that many of the new members where also both national and international members (and sometimes tourists) who were 'lovers of York'. Indeed, in this respect, I felt that this national and international membership might account for the large membership numbers of the trust, which were the highest in my study. In terms of social class backgrounds, the membership secretary pointed out that the majority of members came from 'social class A' or upper middle class backgrounds with a small presence of members from both the middle classes and the working classes in the surrounding area. As a society with 'connections' the York Civic Trust was not ashamed to display its links with aristocracy and the royal family with its own restorations and symbolisms linked to an aristocratic and royal past. Conservationists reported that members of the York Civic Trust were said to overlap with the Georgian Society but less so with other groups in the York area.

1: 2: 2 The Leeds Civic Trust – 1965

Formed in 1965, the Leeds Civic Trust came into existence due to a fear for the increasing rise of development in Leeds and the destruction of buildings of merit

which was becoming more common place. From its formation the Trust began to quickly set out its objects of interest:

- *To stimulate public interest in and care for the beauty, history and character of the City and locality*
- *To encourage high standards of design, architecture and town planning*
- *To encourage the development and improvement of features of general public amenity*
- *To promote and organise co-operation in the achievement of these objectives (Leeds Civic Trust, 2000/2001).*

As the Director suggested activities of the group might be divided into three[85], which includes a planning committee, which deals with applications in the wider Leeds area, but is mostly concerned with the centre of Leeds. Secondly, the Trust has a plaques committee, which is a major feature of the Trust's image, and aim to promote the importance of local heritage awareness. Finally and most interestingly the group has an Activities & Membership Committee which meets monthly to prepare and organise a variety of events, including, supper walks, visits, meetings and lectures. As well as activities this committee also focuses on the promotion of membership, which to a certain extent involves a degree of reflexivity and an interest in the image of the Leeds Civic Trust. Overall conservationists in the trust described the age of the membership of the Trust as being from 40 upwards with a great deal of non-committee members being from the newly retired age group. However, Leeds Civic Trust were keen to point out that they were also attracting a small but growing membership from people from their late thirties. An interesting aspect of membership detail was that conservationists from the committee of the Trust suggested that on the whole committee members were largely different from non-committee members by socio-economic status. Indeed, as Richard and Janet commented whilst committee members were drawn from middle class professions such as small businessmen, architects and academics, the non-committee members were said to be from 'social

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[85] The trust has a range of activities within its remit; however, I have outlined these to demonstrate the activities, which dominate their outlook.

class A'. Here conservationists pointed to a geographical aspect of this class-based membership with Civic Trust membership largely ascribed to the areas of Headingley and the North of Leeds.

1: 3 Residents associations – place based groups

1: 3: 1 Horsforth Civic Society – 1971

As the chairman of the group stated 'The Horsforth Civic Society' was formed in 1971 at the initiative of the Leeds Civic Trust. Indeed, the chairman argued that the group developed in response to the clean up campaigns of the Leeds Civic Trust which were designed to encourage the picking up of litter and the cleaning of natural areas. However, with the formation of the group, the society was invited by the Leeds Civic Council to comment on planning applications in the area. In this respect, the group became established as a civic society and began to take note of planning applications and the built character of Horsforth more generally.

As the chairman stated activities of the group can be divided into four main concerns. The first priority is a large consideration of planning applications. The second area of interest involves organising a series of public meetings on topics that members of the community will be interested in. In particular then, either planning problems or local history is therefore a central part of these meetings. The third are of concern is with environmental projects, which have included among other things 'the conversion of a disused burial ground into a garden of rest' (Chairman of the Horsforth Civic Society). This work therefore involves a great deal of environmental work such as the cleaning up of rivers and cutting down of foliage. The final concern of the group 'has been to create a degree of environmental consciousness in the inhabitants of Horsforth' (Chairman of the Horsforth Civic Society). Two of the recent examples

have included the development of a shop front competition, where the residents of Horsforth have sought to make their shops visually pleasing through colour and historic memorabilia. Moreover another major event in the construction of this consciousness has been through the construction of a Millennium stone, which is said to celebrate a thousand years of Horsforth. The committee has 10-12 members, with, along with the chairman of course, a secretary and treasurer. However, in terms of non-committee members the chairman stated that there are between 70-75 members. In terms of the social characteristics of the members, the Chairman argued that membership was mainly of the third generation with a membership mostly of the newly retired.

1: 3: 2 North Hyde Park Neighbourhood Association – 1971

A spokeswoman of the society suggested 'The North Hyde Park Neighbourhood Association' (NHPA) formed in 1971 to resist what was seen to be the demolition of Edwardian terrace houses. The houses were to be replaced with new urban developments but locals objected to the demolition of the properties, because the houses seemed to be of good condition and they fitted with a local aesthetic. However, with the formation of this initial conservation the association extended its aims to a broad philosophy too simply 'improve the quality of life' in the area. Defined in these terms the quality of life was seen as the physical and social quality of life, which was seen to be under threat with a growing, and an increased development process in Leeds. In more recent years, these issues have become ever more pertinent as Landlordism has developed in the area which has led to the loss of traditional community ties and the fleeing of original residents as high prices increase and renting becomes the only option. In this respect, the NHPA holds a very strong feeling towards landlords in Leeds and students in the neighbourhood who are not seen to respect the physical and social culture of the area.

Indeed, as a spokeswoman argued activities of the group includes a planning committee, which deals primarily with the landlord student problem and the rise of multiple occupancy housing (HMO's). However, outside of this committee the group organises a variety of social events, which include an annual barbecue and Bonfire

night, and other various activities associated with walks and nature based activities in the local area. Further to this compliment, the society also bought a piece of grassland in the late 70s, which existed between the various houses in the North Hyde Park area. The Grassland, which has been personalised and called Dagmar, serves as a central point for the Barbecues, bonfires and other forms of social activity and it therefore serves as a site for the community. There are 19 members in the committee and up to 250 members outside of the committee. The North Hyde Park neighbourhood association was made up of a majority of members of the third age. However, as members pointed out their age remit was also based on a number of 50+ residents in the area who had taken an interest in the movement since the seventies. In this respect, and compared to other residents societies I found the NHPNA to be a 'family' association with links to the younger community and even children.

1: 3: 3 The Oulton Society – October the 7th 1971

As the chairman argued 'The Oulton Society' formed in 1971, by two pioneers in the Oulton area. Initially the Oulton Preservation Society rose to control the systematic demolition of Period Houses, the development of inappropriate architectural styles and the neglect to a perceived building of importance the Oulton Hall. These threats led to the formation of a committee, which in turn led to the formation of a constitution, which might be defined by the following themes:

- ❏ Preserving the character of old Oulton
- ❏ Keeping people aware of what is happening (planning)
- ❏ Providing a voice for community
- ❏ Initiating projects the community is interested in and
- ❏ Hope – fostering community spirit (Brocklesby, 1996: 23).

Thus, as the Chairman stated the activities of the group include committee meetings, which discuss the planning applications in the area. Secondly the group also does much to keep up the maintenance of the green environment in their area. As well as cleaning untidy areas, this work also involves planting trees, shrubs and bulbs. Thirdly, the Oulton Society has developed and fostered certain kinds of community

project, which have included the refurbishment of the Oulton war memorial, and the refurbishment of the walls, which mark the roads into Oulton. Fourthly, the group sees itself as having a vital role in maintaining community spirit (as mentioned above in terms of the constitution). In meeting members of the Oulton Society I understood aspects of this 'community spirit' to have been both inclusive and exclusive. In terms of the more inclusive aspects the Oulton Society has raised money for village signs which were made in a particular stone and which print the village name in gold paint. In more exclusive terms, the Oulton Society resisted the development of the Oulton Hall into a prison (Brocklesby, 1996: 1). Moreover, and perhaps even ethnically exclusive the Oulton Society resisted a proposed council space for Romanys who wished to live in the area. Whilst little reason was given as to why the 'gypsies' were not welcome, a document written on the societies history expresses 'problems' of these groups to local understandings of noise and tidiness (Brocklesby, 1996: 7, 20). The Oulton Village Society committee is made up of ten members. The wider non-committee members make up the majority of the members and this membership has increased and decreased over the years however, at present it is at the approximate number of 200. The chairman argued that membership was again, as a majority, of the newly retired although younger members with a growing degree of more middle-aged and commuter based individuals being involved in the group. In this respect, the group was similar to Horsforth.

1: 3: 4 Meanwood Village Association – October the 5th 1972

Another well-developed local group in Leeds, was the Meanwood Residents society. As Doreen Wood (a biographer of the society) argued the society was formed in 1972 to tackle the growing demolition of stone built properties and the need to retain the 'strong architectural quality of the stone cottage tradition'. As well as cottages, this conservation action also included the protection of a 'nearby church school and village institute'. Moreover the group emerged to document 'memories' which were seen to speak of 'long lost days' (Wood, 1997). In this respect, as well as being concerned with architecture, the residents group has sought to protect what they see as a well-defined culture. Their constitution therefore speaks loudly on these ideas:

❑ *To research, record and preserve in all possible ways the history of Meanwood*

❑ *To preserve the Meanwood village atmosphere and environment (quotes from Wood, 1997).*

As well as the typical vetting of planning applications, Wood argues that the activities of the Meanwood Village Association, have included environmental work. In particular the group has administered local area clean ups, which also included Civic Trust style themes, such as the tidying of shop fronts and shop pavements. The formation of environmental work led to the development of a footpaths group, which has meant that group activities now include guided walks of urban and rural environments. Moreover, the construction of 'village atmosphere' has revolved around an appeal to local people to bring historical material and photographs to the group. Here an important aspect of this process was the idea that the work conducted was research into the history of the 'Village' which had until recently remained unexamined. This work was and is presently the discussion of slide shows, and meetings to record memories, are part of the association's activities on a regular basis. In short the committee of the Meanwood Village Association has seen itself as being 'responsible' for a programme of events each years which, include talks, walks, slides, visits and communal social gatherings (Wood, 1997: 20). Membership has varied over the years; however, at present there is a committee of 12 and a non-committee following of approximately 100. Information on the history of membership was not kept, but it was stated that membership numbers reflected the degree of community spirit at present. Again conservationists reflected that whilst membership was of the newly retired, there was a presence of more 55+ conservationists who still took a part in activities.

1: 3: 5 Rothwell and District Civic Society – 1973

The Rothwell and District Civic Society formed in 1973 and it was said that the society was established for the following purposes:

- *To provide forum for discussion and to stimulate public interest in the area of benefit*

- *To promote the liaison between the statutory authorities and general public in the areas of benefit*

- *To work for the improvement of amenities for working living and recreation in the area of benefit*

- *To promote high standards of architecture and planning in the area of benefit*

- *To secure the preservation, protection, development and improvement of features of historic or public interest in the area of benefit (from the constitution of the Rothwell Civic Society).*

Activities of this society are large and in this case too large to list. Nevertheless, I will summarise the major themes of group as follows. Firstly the groups main focus like other groups is the role of building and planning in the area. However, after this, activities are slightly different since, members of the Rothwell Society place an emphasis on the role of charity in their work. Moreover, the society saw itself as having an important historic role in making the community aware of their built heritage. Thus activities included the publishing of papers, reports, maps and plans concerning buildings of beauty or historic interest. This work subsequently involved the promotion and delivery of meetings, lecture and exhibitions. Membership has varied over the years however at present the group has approximately five members per committee with a following of 40 non-committee members. Reports on the group's history do not exist, but verbal accounts suggest that membership increased at the end of the 1970s and all though the 1980s with membership at about 80. However, since the 1990s conservationists reported a decline in membership. Conservationists in the committee argued that membership was mainly of the older generation and the newly retired.

Pudsey Civic Society was formed in 1974 by a group of local residents, independent of the Leeds City Council. As the chairwoman argued the society formed with the merging of the borough of Pudsey, which includes the smaller hamlets of Calverley and Farsley into Leeds[86]. As the chairwoman argued the group had been formed to give voice to the people of Pudsey since the joining of Pudsey with Leeds was seen as a move which might leave the needs of a well established community ignored and unrecognised. In this respect, whilst Pudsey was not relatively affluent given its position on the far west of Leeds conservationists felt that the council might overlook its needs given the need to facilitate economic regeneration in the south of Leeds. In this respect, as opposed to other civic societies, which had formed on the basis of rising development fears, the Pudsey Civic Society had formed on the basis of the need to promote economic interest in the area and a feeling that Pudsey had an independent identity. Indeed, whilst it was irritating being part of Leeds, as the chairwoman of the society was to put it to me in other respects being part of Leeds was not bad for Pudsey as long as Pudsey's interests were being served. In the same with respect to the Leeds Civic Trust the chairwoman felt that, whilst the Trust was not immediately useful to the society's interests, the Trust was not something that should be ignored by Pudsey given its value to the development of the heritage and identity of the area. In terms of the constitution of the Pudsey Civic Society, the chairwoman argued that the society had four main interests:

□ *To benefit the borough of Pudsey and the old borough*

□ *To stimulate public interest*

□ *To promote high standards of architecture and planning*

□ *And finally to secure the preservation, protection, development and improvement of features of historic or public interest (Chairwoman of the Pudsey civic society)*

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[86] Pudsey, Calverley and Farsley, which between 1937 and 1974 formed the Borough of Pudsey, lie between the two large conurbations of Leeds and Bradford, rising to the south of the Aire valley to a height of 600 feet.

In terms of the activities of all the local residents' societies I found in Leeds, the Pudsey Civic Society seemed the most active in terms of its wish to construct identity and heritage with the community. Indeed, unlike other groups the Pudsey Civic Society also delivers separate monthly meetings to invite members and the local public to contribute to the development of the society and its plan of events. Like other groups however, the Pudsey Civic Society holds monthly meetings concerning planning matters. The group also has two sub-committees. One sub-committee deals with history and the second committee addresses rights of way and the places in which locals may walk in the area. Whilst focusing entirely on the local and only being interested in local matters the chairwoman argued that the society wished to draw in a wider national and even international interest to it. In this respect with thoughtful and insightful work into local and national cultural agents, the chairwoman argued that the society has got involved in the National Civic Trusts' (based in London) 'Heritage open days'. Moreover along with the Leeds Civic Trust, the Pudsey Civic Society has its own web-site where it draws upon people from around the world who may have been a resident of Pudsey (or who have had family there) to make contact. Like other place-based groups the society also includes 6 winter talks, comprising local history lectures. Moreover in the summer period the group organises evening walks in the neighbourhood, 'generally with experienced guides passing on their knowledge of the area'. The society distributes two half yearly Journals giving details of the Society's general activities as well as including informative articles, photographs and sketches on various aspects of Pudsey's life and buildings, past, present and occasionally future. The numbers of members in the Pudsey Civic Society is very large in comparison to other groups. Indeed, the size of the membership of the Pudsey Civic Society could compete with those of the Leeds Civic Trust itself and moreover the chairwoman argued that the society was very 'proud of this fact'. In terms of membership the chairwoman reported that the main committee contained 12 members with approximately 12 members in the two subcommittees. In terms of non-committee membership no actual number could be given however, the chairwoman reported that the maximum total of society membership amounted to 450 households, which would suggest that non-committee membership might range between 410-420 households. Moreover, the chairwoman reported that Pudsey Civic Society that the newly retired made up the majority of the membership. Despite the narrow age group, the chairwoman reported that attempts

were being made to have a Junior Civic Society and to therefore attract younger members.

1: 4 Residents associations – space based groups

1: 4: 1 Weetwood Residents Association – 1988-1989

The Weetwood Residents Association formed between 1988 and 1989 in response to the proposed development to green spaces in the area of Weetwood Leeds. As a group the Weetwood Residents Association, are self-consciously NIMBYISTIC (Not In My Back Yard) and as the Chairman suggested the society formed on the grounds to 'preserve' rather than 'conserve' the Weetwood area, which is comprised largely of a few streets. In respect, the Chairman argued that the constitution of the group was simply based on the notion that the group sought to 'preserve the neighbourhood'. Activities of the group were very small and in the main the Chairman argued that the sole group activity was discussions of planning. Firstly, the chairman argued there were 3 planning committees a year and one annual general meeting every year. These discussions were mainly based around the problem of houses of multiple occupancy, in which student landlords were seen to be lowering the standards of the Headingley area, by buying and renting out houses to students. Here as the Chairman argued the problem of landlords then was that rather than purchasing houses in a wider remit in Leeds, because of the closeness of Headingley to the University, Headingley was becoming a 'student ghetto'. Secondly on the side of students, the chairman complained that because of the influx of students, there had been a rise in cars and litter in the area and a general untidiness in gardens. To tackle these problems, the chairman argued that the Weetwood Resident's Association was connected to the wider network of conservation groups described as the Headingley against Landlords

association or HeAL. In terms of members, the chairman reported that there were 7 members of the planning committee and a further 60-70 non-committee members. Although, the chairman could not give exact numbers, he argued that membership was less than it had been. In terms of the social characteristics of the group the chairman argued that the group was mainly elderly and middle class.

1: 4: 2 Little Woodhouse Community Association – 1993

The Secretary suggested that The Little Woodhouse Community Association (LWCA) formed due to the rising problem of car parking spaces (because of life in the inner city) and the proposed demolition of Victorian houses in the area. As a small group, the Secretary argued that the groups' constitution is concerned with more formal concerns, which maybe broadly defined through two themes:

❑ *To promote the benefit of those working and living in the community*
❑ *To promote the improvement of the neighbourhood (Secretary - LWCA)*

From a collection of street based groups, which had existed in the last ten years, Secretary argued that the LWCA was seen as an accumulation of these groups and a way of strengthening community action. However, compared to other residents' societies in Leeds, the LWCA was one of the smallest groups I examined and thus the activities it conducted reflected this. In this respect, the Secretary argued that the LWCA has defined itself more as a planning committee as opposed to a group interested in community. Nevertheless, in the last few years with one planning committee, the LWCA has developed a community forum between itself and the local council. In more recent times the Secretary stated that it has gained lottery funding and developed a charity-based group which has dealt with the planting of roses in a local millennium green. Previously, whilst support for community activity has become less common place, the LWCA have had community festivals. In terms of membership the Secretary said that the LWCA has 13 committee members and an approximate non-committee membership of 60-70. However, whilst members of the association were drawn from the older generation of Leeds residents once again,

conservationists reported to me a high number of over 40s in the societies remit. In this respect, the Secretary argued that as a new society the age of the members was also relatively young in comparison to other local residents' societies in the Leeds area.

1: 5 Residents Associations – green based groups

1: 5: 1 Poppleton Preservation Group – 1989

As the Chairwoman said 'The Poppleton Preservation Group' formed in 1989 with the intention of resisting housing development on the site of a 'manor farm area', which contained most 'importantly' a 1600s tithe barn. Initially developers wished to build a small development on the site between 4 and 6 houses, and it was this original proposal that led to the formation of the preservation group in 1989. In the first place, the Poppleton Preservation Group argued that whilst small in number these houses would detract from what essentially was a set piece of historical landscape. Indeed, as the Chairwoman commented the landscape of the area had a 'special rural character' and the development of new housing in this case would be out of keeping. Moreover, as well as a visual aesthetic, the Chairwoman also argued that the importance of the Manor farm area rested also with the 'historic atmosphere' and indeed, an ambience that was projected by other historical architecture in the area. In particular the Chairwoman sited a Norman church, a Manor Farmhouse and Dovecote, a Moatfield the site of the original 12/13th century Manor House, and a more recent 18th century Cart shed, and Millennium green as essential spaces in the construction of this ambience (details of these can be found in Craig, 2002a).

With the recognised importance of these areas, the Poppleton Preservation Group began to become dormant and separate committees formed with the intention of preserving and conserving the aspects of this site and other 'built heritage sites in Poppleton'. The first group, which formed in 1994, was the friends of the Poppleton

Tythe Barn, developed through a scheme to 'restore the Barn and preserve it for the community' (Craig, 2002b). As their web site suggests 'The Friends became a registered Charity, with objectives covering restoration, maintenance and use of the Barn' (Craig, 2002b). With the development of the friends of the Tythe Barn the Chairwoman argued that two separate groups formed after a space of a year. These were a Cart shed trust, a wildlife group, (which included the upkeep of the Moatfield site) and a Nether Poppleton Millennium Green group, (formed later in 2000) which sought to develop a green space near the site as a community breathing space. Whilst this preservation conservation group sees itself as an amenity group for the local area the chairwoman argued that its aims do not role over into community activities. Community activities are seen to be the responsibility of other people in the local area. In the main then the fragments of the Poppleton Preservation Group as the Chairwoman suggested see itself as contributing to the aesthetic character of the 'rural area' and a preservation/conservation philosophy which points to the importance of building reuse without the risk of new housing development. Thus, as the Chairwoman argued the branches of the Poppleton Preservation Group therefore means that there are four committees. The Tythe Barn group has 15 trustees, and the Millennium green group has a further 10 trustees. The Cart shed group has about 10 members in its committee whereas the wildlife group and conservationists of the moat field site have only six members. Moreover, one member said there was some overlap between members of the Poppleton Preservation Group and the York Georgian Society.

1: 5: 2 Danesmead Residents and Meadows Association (DRAMA) – 1993

As one spokesperson stated the 'The Danesmead Residents and Meadows Association' formed in October 1993, after the formation of a new housing estate on the edge of York. In the building of the new housing estate and the selling of land from the council to developers, Beezer homes, a green space defined as the Danesmead Meadow was placed under a restricted covenant. In this respect, Beezer homes would have to build in accordance with this green space, and maintain a distance between housing and the space. With the development of housing in this area and the formation of the meadow the new residents who moved in formed the

residents group with the expressed purpose of looking after the meadow, and proliferating community activities around it (Bainbridge, 2001). Thus, whilst a spokesperson for the residents association said that there was no constitution of the group, the chairman has suggested in the groups annual report that its twin aims are those of looking after the meadow and fostering community spirit around this space:

I am sure everyone will agree that the Meadow is looking better as each year progresses, the maturity of the trees and bushes along with the general setting provides a pleasant hideaway from the traffic queues, fumes and congestion that we see daily along the A19 corridor...

...We are seeking to build our community spirit and at the same time maintain the valuable natural environment we have on our doorsteps (Bainbridge, 2001).

As a spokesman for the society, Harold said The Danesmead Residents and Meadows Association meets every two months to discuss local planning issues, both within the immediate area and the wider York context. Moreover, at a 'local' level it organises various activities from Neighbour watch to community related fun events on the meadow. The Meadow is also the site of local education projects and as Harold stated at the millennium the meadow was 'graced' with four Millennium stones, which were unveiled by the Lord Mayor. In more social terms, Harold also said that the meadow is the meeting place for community, children's activities and annual events such as Barbecues and Bonfire nights. Whilst there is no record of membership numbers Harold said that there are 64 houses on the estate, with a mixed population of both elderly and family based residents. In interviewing Harold, it was reported that approximately 12 people take part in the committee meetings.

The Friends of the Rowntree's Park were founded, as the Chairwoman suggested, because of an increasing lack of care on the part of the local council (which it is owned by) to maintain. Whilst the Friends of Rowntree's Park have no constitution their broad aims have been addressed in a circular:

- *Remember and commemorate the original purpose of the park (as first world war memorial)*
- *Promote the well being of the park*
- *Support and encourage all schemes which will enhance the park*
- *Support the different interests of the various users of the park (Sinclair, 1999).*

Thus, as the chairwoman stated since 1996 the Friends became a consultation group for *the local council* and now the Friends have regular monthly meetings with the local council to decide on the state of the park. As members involved in the consultation process however, the chairwoman argued that the Friends have a great degree of say over the nature of the park and the buildings within. In this respect discussions of the buildings in the park and the aesthetic considerations of the park are major issues for the council of friends, which include everything from the painting of railings to the internal colour of the parks café. Whilst I would not like to state that this society is 'plugged into a local community', it does provide activities for the local community and the park has become the focus of both historic, heritage and social for citizens living around the park. Indeed, as the chairwoman stated the main activities of the Friends involve historic walks around the park, and the arrangement of the yearly celebration of the Parks birth in 1919. Moreover, the chairwoman argued that as well as these social activities the group conducted green related activities in terms of the parks management and maintenance. The parks' council has been said to have around 20 members whereas it is said that there are roughly 110 non-council members. In terms of the group's social make up the chairwoman argued the majority of members are said to be of a retirement age, and generally middle class. In particular as the chairwoman noted, it was difficult to get more working class people

from the local area to get involved with the group's activities. Indeed, in a somewhat uncertain manner the chairwoman commented that she felt that a local council tenants group in the nearby area had not joined the group given the status of the Friends as a middle class organisation.

1: 5: 4 Friends of Westbank Park – 1994

As a spokesperson for the group, Ian argued 'The friends of Westbank Park' were formed in the early part of 1994 with the aim of preserving and conserving York's Westbank Park. As a historic green space, James related that the park was bought and occupied by a 'nationally renowned firm', owned by Sir James Hamilton. The green space and gardens was used as 'a show piece' for Sir James Hamilton's customers, and eventually Sir James was said to have built his home on it. As Ian suggested the Friends of Westbank formed in a protest response to a suggested joint development by the local council and the Joseph Rowntree Trust to build houses on the space. Having won the immediate planning battles; Ian stated that the Friends of Westbank Park got the council to recognise the case for the park as a site of community, and communality. However, a planning committee consisting of 6-7 members meets 5-6 times a year, and council and local alterations to the site are evaluated and sometimes vetted. The activities in the park are now green based with conservation efforts made to preserve trees and wildlife in the park. Moreover the park exists as a space for local activities and community events, which happen every year in the summer, and which are connected to other amenity groups within YNET and more recently Friends of Hobsmoor. Like other residents groups Ian said that this group carries out walks around the park with discussions of its history. Membership of the group is quite large with approximately 80-90 families involved in activities and events.

1: 5: 5 Friends of Hob Moor – 1999

The Friends of Hob moor was set up in autumn, 1999, and in short they developed with an interested in conserving the ecology of Hob moor. However, as the Friends of Hob moor developed into a larger group their chairwoman told me that the objects of their constitution grew to embrace the following

- *To conserve and enhance, in co-operation with others, the character of Hob moor as a conservation area and designated wildlife site and as an open space amenity for quiet enjoyment.*
- *The group seeks to promote research into the history of and ecology of hob moor and little Hob Moor and to encourage their use as an education resource (Chairwoman – Friends of Hob Moor).*

Activities of the group's committee, the chairwoman suggested have included the development of a management plan, which is concerned, with the use of the moor by the wider public. These concerns have been particularly stretched in recent years since friends of Hob moor rejected the proposed development of a new cycle path and disabled access on the moor. The friends rejected these ideas on the basis of the more being a unique ecological site and a unique historical site, with potential archaeological significance to the city. However, due to council pressures and somewhat reluctantly the chairwoman argued that the group accepted the new proposals and a cycle path has been laid over the moor. Outside of Hob moor, I interpreted the friends of Hob moor as being uninterested in other citywide developments unlike the Danesmead Residents and Meadows Association. In this respect the group is representative of much of the 'place and space based residents groups' I met and interviewed above. As well as management considerations, the chairwoman stated that the committee discusses how awareness may be raised in York concerning the moor, and in this respect, the group has developed guided walks (for the city councils walks programme). At present the chairwoman said that the group is thinking about the production of an educational programme to produce archaeological interest in the moor. The Friends of Hob moor include a committee of 9 and a wider membership of 85. The Friends were made up of the newly retired although the chairwoman argued that there was a middle-aged population in the membership.

1: 6 Businesses - From the mid 1940s

Founded in 1945, the York Conservation Trust was a company called Ings Property Company Limited. As the former chairman of the York Conservation Trust has argued the original aim of the company had been to buy medieval property in York, which were then 'restored and rehabilitated'. Initially then the idea for the company had sought to preserving medieval York since they thought that such properties would eventually disappear if neglect was not 'arrested and reversed' (Morrell, 1981). After the death of JB Morrell however the company became a charitable trust, and in 1976 the name of the company was changed to the York Conservation Trust Limited. Here then a major element of this conversion was that properties would be sold only on the condition of leases thereby allowing the charity to have some control over their future preservation (Morrell, 1981). As a charity with a not particularly big following and a charity which lacks an immediate activism in the local York community it would seem strange that I have included this trust in the research. Indeed, as a charity with an economic ethos, this trust does not organise the usual activities of many conservation societies in my study, which include such things as lectures and walks. Nevertheless, on networking with various actors it seemed relevant to meet the one employee or secretary of this Trust by the sheer impact this charity has been seen to have had on the general face of conservation in the city. In this respect, debts to this company emerge quite heavily in the early work of the York Civic Trust, and by meeting the secretary of this small but important group I sought to gain a further understanding of the practical workings of York Civic Trust's conservation and development philosophy.

1: 6: 2 York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship – 1946

The guild of craftsmen formed with the development of the York Civic Trust in 1946, and in many respects this guild has a similar role to the York Conservation Trust. However, the YCCC defines itself as contributing to the conservation of a whole way of life, which may be represented through arts and crafts. In this respect, instead of the conservation of buildings through business, the YCCC seeks to preserve a heritage of York craftsmanship through business. Again, like the York Conservation Trust, I have included this group since, whilst it might not be seen to have had a direct effect

on the political conservation movement, it has contributed to the development of a conservation culture in York. In this respect, from their web site a sense of this conservation spirit can be drawn from their general aims, which are

- To promote to a wider audience the skills, knowledge and Capabilities available in York, over a wide and growing range of conservation specialisms, in order to attract additional work and funding

- To build on York's reputation as a nationally and internationally recognised centre for conservation practice and research, and for related craftsmanship by:

  - Attracting additional practitioners in the field of craft and conservation to settle and work in York

  - Promoting York as the natural United Kingdom meeting place for conservation conferences, seminars, exhibitions etc

  - Attracting more people to York to learn about Conservation at both the theoretical and practical craft level

  - Showing off the successful conservation of York's buildings. Archaeology, and related heritage

  - Enabling more to be successfully conserved

- To encourage and promote the conservation of the cultural, historic and artistic heritage

- To encourage and facilitate the training of more practitioners in the theory and skill of conservation

- To share York's experience and expertise on a worldwide scale with who ever can benefit from it (York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanship Constitution – date unknown).

Business activities of the group range from everything from architectural design, blacksmiths, and glaziers and stone and wood carvers. In total the YCCC has 13 craftsmen and 22 related firms and organisations.

B – APPENDIX –

OVERVIEW OF MEMBERSHIP NUMBERS

1: 1 - Table 4: Overview of membership numbers -

Groupings	Cases	Number of Councils / Committees	Approximate number of members in councils/ committees	Non-council/comm ittee members	Total
Historical Groups	Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society – 1842	1	12	220	232
	The York Georgian Society – 1939	1	15	435	**450**
	The West Yorkshire Group of the Victorian Society – 1974	1	30	100	135
Civic Trusts	York Civic Trust – 1946	2	-	-	**835**
	Leeds Civic	4	Committees	-	**502**

	Trust – 1965		vary 21-4		
Residents Associations	Horsforth Civic Society – 1971	1	10-12	70-75	85
	North Hyde Park Neighbourho od Association – 1971	1	19	250	270
	The Oulton Society – 1971	1	10	190	200
	Meanwood Village Association – 1972	1	12	100 approx.	112 approx .
	Rothwell and District Civic Society – 1973	1-4	5	40	60
	Pudsey Civic Society – 1974	3	12	450 households	**450** people minim um
	Poppleton Preservation Group –1989	4	6-15	250	250-300
	Weetwood Residents Association – 1988-1989	1	7	60-70	60-70
	Danesmead	1	12	64 households	64

	Residents and Meadows Association – 1993				people minim um.
	Friends of Rowntrees Park –1993	1	20	110	130
	Little Woodhouse Community Association – 1993	1	13	60-70	60-70
	Friends of Westbank Park – 1994	1	6-7	80-90 households	80-90 people minim um.
	Friends of Hobsmoor – 1999	1	9	85	94
Businesses -	York Conservation Trust - 1945	-	-	-	-
	York Consortium for Conservation and Craftsmanshi p – 1946	-	-	-	-

The highest numbers are represented in bold.

C – APPENDIX – DATA CODE

The following describes the key for transcription:

BRACKETS

Square brackets

Description of speech where the participants discourse is confused or jumbled due to the actual circumstances of speech. For example as the interviews moved participants often became tired and often used words they did not mean too to represent their meanings. Square brackets are therefore used by myself when I have understood in this problem and have therefore inserted a word so that their own speech and meaning becomes more clear to the reader.

[text placed in here]

Circular brackets

Description of speech where the participants discourse refers not only to the meaning of the text but rather the context of the interview itself.

(text placed in here)

Summarising brackets

Description of action where the participants performativity refers not only to the meaning of the text but rather the context of the interview itself.

{text placed in here}

DOTS

Three dots

Three dots prescribe a pause in the participants text

...

Three bold dots

Where new paragraphs or lines begin with three dots behind them indicates an edited break on the part of the author.

...

...

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