

University of Dundee

A comparative evaluation of the effectiveness of the planning system in protecting the cultural heritage values invoked by battlefields in England and Scotland in the face of developmental pressure.

Crowe, Sarah

Publication date:
2020

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in Discovery Research Portal](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Crowe, S. (2020). A comparative evaluation of the effectiveness of the planning system in protecting the cultural heritage values invoked by battlefields in England and Scotland in the face of developmental pressure. University of Dundee.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in Discovery Research Portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

University of Dundee

MASTER OF SCIENCE

A comparative evaluation of the effectiveness of the planning system in protecting the cultural heritage values invoked by battlefields in England and Scotland in the face of developmental pressure.

Crowe, Sarah

Award date:
2020

[Link to publication](#)

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



**University
of Dundee**

MSc in Spatial Planning with Urban Conservation

UP53001 Dissertation

This dissertation is the original work of Sarah Louise Crowe

Word count: 19,665

Submission date: 27th August 2020

**A comparative evaluation of the effectiveness of the planning system in
protecting the cultural heritage values invoked by battlefields in England and
Scotland in the face of developmental pressure**

Contents	Page
Abstract	1
Acknowledgements	3
Acronyms	3
1. Introduction	4
2. Chapter Two: Battlefield Protection: legislation and listing	8
2.0 Introduction	8
2.1 Values-based heritage management	10
2.2 Historic battlefields: general protection measures	10
2.3 Historic battlefield designation	13
2.4 England's Register of Historic Battlefields	13
2.5 The Scottish Inventory of Historic Battlefields	17
2.6 Conclusions regarding the nature and level of protection of historic battlefields	18
3. Research methodology	19
3.0 Introduction	19
3.1 Research design	19
3.2 Data collection and analysis	20
3.3 Benefits of the research	23
3.4 Limitations of the study	23
3.5 Ethical considerations	23
3.6 Conclusion regarding the research methodology	23
4. The Cultural Significance of Battles and Sites of Conflict, the Values They Invoke and the Roles They Can Play in Society	24
4.0 Introduction	24
4.1 Heritage, memory and identity	24
4.2 Historical figures, politics and the role of the media in influencing emotions and cultural values	26
4.3 The educational, social and recreational value of battlefields and sites of conflict	29
4.4 Battlefields, sites of conflict, sense of place and emotional value	32
4.5 Conclusions regarding the cultural significance of battles and sites of conflict, the values they invoke and the role they can play in society	35
5. Battlefield Planning Applications: case studies	37
5.0 Introduction	37
5.1 Bannockburn, Scotland	37
5.1.1 <i>Historical Significance</i>	37
5.1.2 <i>Cultural significance</i>	38
5.1.3 <i>Interpretation</i>	39
5.1.4 <i>Summary of recognised significance and values of Bannockburn</i>	39
5.1.5 <i>Battlefield boundary and proposed development</i>	40
5.1.6 <i>Public objection to the development</i>	40
5.1.7 <i>Response from Stirling Council and HES</i>	42
5.1.8 <i>Analysis of findings: public response</i>	43
5.1.9 <i>Analysis of findings: response from Stirling Council and HES</i>	43

5.2	Culloden, Scotland	43
5.2.1	<i>Historical Significance</i>	43
5.2.2	<i>Cultural significance</i>	44
5.2.3	<i>Interpretation</i>	44
5.2.4	<i>Summary of recognised significance and values of Culloden</i>	45
5.2.5	<i>Battlefield boundary and proposed development</i>	45
5.2.6	<i>Public objection to the development</i>	46
5.2.7	<i>Response from Highland Council and HES</i>	48
5.2.8	<i>Analysis of findings: public response</i>	48
5.2.9	<i>Analysis of findings: response from Highland Council and HES</i>	49
5.3	Towton, England	49
5.3.1	<i>Historical Significance</i>	49
5.3.2	<i>Cultural significance</i>	49
5.3.3	<i>Interpretation</i>	50
5.3.4	<i>Summary of recognised significance and values of Towton</i>	51
5.3.5	<i>Battlefield boundary and proposed development</i>	51
5.3.6	<i>Public objection to the development</i>	52
5.3.7	<i>Response from Selby Council and HE</i>	54
5.3.8	<i>Analysis of findings: public response</i>	54
5.3.9	<i>Analysis of findings: response from Selby Council and HE</i>	55
5.4	Bosworth Field, England	55
5.4.1	<i>Historical Significance</i>	55
5.4.2	<i>Cultural significance</i>	55
5.4.3	<i>Interpretation</i>	56
5.4.4	<i>Summary of recognised significance and values of Bosworth Field</i>	57
5.4.5	<i>Battlefield boundary and proposed development</i>	57
5.4.6	<i>Public objection to the development</i>	58
5.4.7	<i>Response from Hinckley and Bosworth Council and HE</i>	60
5.4.8	<i>Analysis of findings: public response</i>	60
5.4.9	<i>Analysis of findings: response from Hinckley and Bosworth Council and HE</i>	61
5.5	Conclusion regarding case studies	61
6.	Recommendations	64
6.0	Introduction	64
6.1	The provision of clear guidance on how change to historic battlefields should be managed	64
6.2	Consider the views of all stakeholders in the provision of such guidance	64
6.3	Involve local communities and stakeholders when drawing up LDPs	65
6.4	The provision of grants to help communities acquire threatened Battlefields	66
6.5	Consider the role of battlefield societies in the process of protecting Battlefields	66
6.6	Conclusion regarding recommendations	67
7.	Conclusion	68
	References	72

List of Figures	Page
Chapter Two: Battlefield Protection: legislation and listing	
1. <i>Heritage protection measures, agency with responsibility and government level</i>	9
2. <i>Battle of Chalgrove Monument</i>	11
3. <i>Battle of Naseby Monument</i>	11
4. <i>Radway Grange registered Landscape</i>	12
5. <i>Memorial Cairn, Culloden Muir</i>	12
6. <i>Map of registered and inventory battlefields in England and Scotland</i>	15
7. <i>LPAs and the number of designated battlefields they have responsibility for</i>	16
Chapter Three: Research methodology	
8. <i>Relationship between each stage of the research process</i>	19
9. <i>Flowchart showing the research process</i>	22
Chapter Four: The Cultural Significance of Battles and Sites of Conflict, the Values They invoke and the Roles They Can Play in Society	
10. <i>Remembrance Sunday in Stockton on Tees</i>	25
11. <i>Marine le Pen in front of statue of Joan of Arc</i>	28
12. <i>Tweet urging action against development on Culloden battlefield</i>	29
13. <i>Students visiting Little Round Top</i>	30
14. <i>Members of Tewkesbury Battlefield Society holding copies of a petition</i>	31
15. <i>Oradour-sur-Glane</i>	33
16. <i>Monument to the battle of Towton</i>	34
Chapter Five: Battlefield Planning Applications: case studies	
17. <i>Saltires surrounding statue of Robert the Bruce</i>	39
18. <i>Bannockburn battlefield inventory boundary</i>	40
19. <i>Reasons for public objection to development- Bannockburn</i>	41
20. <i>Stirling Council reasons for objection to development</i>	42
21. <i>Still from immersive film at Culloden Visitor Centre</i>	45
22. <i>Culloden battlefield inventory boundary</i>	46
23. <i>Reasons for public objection to development-Culloden</i>	47
24. <i>Highland Council reasons for objection to development</i>	48
25. <i>Henry IV performed at Towton battlefield</i>	50
26. <i>Boundary of Towton Registered battlefield</i>	52
27. <i>Reasons for public objection to development-Towton</i>	53
28. <i>Richard III's funeral cortege</i>	56
29. <i>Boundary of Bosworth registered battlefield</i>	57
30. <i>Location of test track in relation to registered battlefield</i>	58
31. <i>Reasons for public objection to development-Bosworth</i>	59
32. <i>Additional reasons for public objection to development</i>	60
Chapter Six: Recommendations	
33. <i>The Burra Charter process</i>	65
Chapter Six: Conclusion	
34. <i>Summary of case study findings</i>	70

Abstract

The governments of England and Scotland have placed an impetus on delivering economic growth and new housing, creating demands on land for development. This demand has impacted on historic battlefields, which have been the focus of planning applications in relation to these areas. The general and dedicated protection measures afforded to battlefields in England and Scotland through the planning system positions them as valued heritage and cultural resources. In addition, it has been acknowledged that battlefields are culturally significant places which hold an important place in a nation's consciousness. However, little research has been done which seeks to understand the specific cultural heritage values which are invoked by historic battlefields and how well these are protected through the planning system.

To address this gap in knowledge, this dissertation evaluates the effectiveness of the English and Scottish conservation and development management systems in protecting historic battlefields and establishes the broad range of cultural heritage values associated with them. Through a comprehensive literature review, historic battlefields and sites of conflict were positioned as places which invoke a range of emotions, can be sites which can convey a strong sense of place, offer opportunities for education, recreation and social contact and have a strong symbolic and spiritual value. In addition, it was noted that the values and emotions invoked by battlefields and sites of conflict can be shaped through social memory and identity, literary influences, film and media.

Four case studies investigated planning applications impacting on historic battlefields in England and Scotland. These evaluated the extent to which public perception of value in regard to each battlefield was complementary with their protection and management. In keeping with the literature review, it was noted that each historic battlefield invoked a unique range of cultural heritage values, with these values influencing public objection within each case study. Analysis of the reasons for public objection to planning applications also revealed that they shared a number of common factors. These include the battlefield's ability to invoke spiritual, historical, social, communal and symbolic values.

Despite battlefields being places of cultural significance and sharing common themes in public objection to development, the level these were taken into account through the conservation and development management systems varied. Whereas the Scottish planning authorities made reference to a proposed development's impact on cultural heritage value, the English planning authorities made no reference to this. Furthermore, in only one case study, Bannockburn, did the views of the public, the planning authority and the government's heritage advisor align with regards to the impact of development on the battlefield and cultural heritage

value. This indicates a need for planning authorities and the government's heritage advisor to give greater consideration to these values, in keeping with the protection measures afforded to them. The recommendations in this dissertation provide guidance on ways this can be achieved, particularly stressing the need to engage with the community and other relevant stakeholders in defining cultural heritage values to ensure that the cultural significance of historic battlefields is retained now and into the future.

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks to Dr. Anne Cumming, my supervisor for this dissertation, who, despite my many emails, was always happy to respond to my musings on battlefields, values and cultural heritage in the wider sense. I would also like to thank David Bowler of Alder Archaeology and Murray Cook, of Stirling Council. Like Anne, David and Murray were influential in shaping the direction of this dissertation and were always responsive to my emails.

Writing a dissertation is always an exciting, yet challenging experience. However, writing one during a global pandemic brought its own unique challenges. I would, therefore, like to thank my husband, Stephen, for his unwavering support and words of encouragement throughout the writing of this dissertation.

Acronyms

HE- Historic England

HES- Historic Environment Scotland

LDP- Local Development Plan

LPA- Local Planning Authority

SNP- Scottish National Party

Chapter One: Introduction

In the United Kingdom, the planning system plays a fundamental role in influencing how land is used. It can support the delivery of new housing, establish the conditions for regeneration and economic growth and help to ensure modern development is sensitive to the historic environment. Within England and Scotland, the provision of new homes is high on the political agenda. For example, according to the Scottish Government (2019, a, p.05) the delivery of “more good quality homes” played a key role in stimulating planning reform and is classed as a “national strategic ‘social infrastructure’ priority”. Consequently, Scottish Government called “for national spatial planning to provide a clear steer on requirements for housing land across Scotland” (Scottish Government, 2019, b, p.05). Similarly, in England, the government believes that the planning system has a key role to play in ensuring that new housing is delivered. Currently, England’s National Planning Policy Framework states that “local planning authorities should identify and update annually a supply of deliverable sites sufficient to provide a minimum of five years’ worth of housing supply against their housing requirement set out in adopted strategic policies” (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019, p.20). Planning reforms aimed at stimulating house building in England were announced towards the final stages of writing this dissertation. At this early stage, the impact this will have on the planning system is unclear. However, it further emphasises the political will to deliver new housing.

In addition to house building, economic growth is another key priority for the English and Scottish governments. England’s existing National Planning Policy Framework points out that planning policies “should help create the conditions in which businesses can invest, expand and adapt” as well as placing “significant weight” on ensuring economic growth (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019, p.23). In Scotland, economic growth also takes centre stage, with the National Planning 3 emphasising that the planning system should stimulate regeneration (Scottish Government, 2014, a).

In order to generate the conditions for economic growth and regeneration and ensure the delivery of new homes, a fundamental prerequisite is the availability of land. This may require new land to be brought forward for development if it is not possible to use brownfield land. Currently, local authorities in England and Scotland set out long-term spatial strategies in the form of development plans, which establish land where development should and should not happen. In England and Scotland, the availability of land for development varies between region to region and is influenced by a range of factors. These include planning restrictions and impacts on the natural and historic environment.

Another factor which can impact on development is the quality of land which is available for this purpose. Brownfield land can be less appealing to developers than undeveloped greenfield land as it holds the potential for higher development cost and increased risk. Often, greenfield land is prized by the public for its heritage, ecological and amenity value. Thus, development on such land can result in significant objection. For example, almost 100,000 people signed a petition to object to development on greenfield land close to Culloden battlefield (McKenna, 2018). People did not object to the development solely for reasons of the development's negative impact on greenspace. For example, many objected to the development as they believed it would impact on the battlefield's future ability "to convey a sense of historical and cultural significance" and "as a memorial to sit and contemplate" events from the past (McKenna, 2018). These comments demonstrate that historic battlefields are not solely places of archaeological value- they are also important to the cultural identity of a nation. Thus, these sites "hold a significant place in national consciousness" (Historic Environment Scotland, nd, a).

In England and Scotland, historic battlefields can receive protection in the planning system through standard forms of heritage protection legislation. These include Sites of Special Scientific Interest, landscape designation and conservation area protection. Historic battlefields did not benefit from dedicated protection measures until 1995 in England and 2011 in Scotland. The need for specific protection measures for battlefields was influenced by a range of factors, including the threats posed by modern development. However, despite commanding their own form of protection through the planning system and being places which are culturally and historically significant, historic battlefields remain threatened by modern development. Consequently, three of England's historic battlefields were classed as at risk in 2019. As previously highlighted, there is a similar situation in Scotland, with proposed new developments on or close to historic battlefields meeting with public outcry. Taking into account the political onus that is placed on delivering new housing and economic growth, there is likely to be an increasing demand on land required for development. Consequently, historic battlefields and the wider landscape within which they sit, may increasingly be the focus of contentious planning applications in the coming years.

In light of the fact that historic battlefields may become more at risk of development, this dissertation aims to evaluate the effectiveness of the English and Scottish conservation and development management systems in protecting historic battlefields through the planning system and the broad range of cultural heritage values associated with them. To meet this aim, a number of objectives were set. These are introduced in this chapter.

The objective of Chapter Two is to investigate how protection for historic battlefields is conferred through the planning system, establishing what is protected and how it is protected. It introduces the core principles of HE and HES, before explaining the general protection measures which historic battlefields benefit from. Following this, details on the dedicated protection measures for historic battlefields in England and Scotland are given to provide contextual background. This includes reference to the fact that LPAs in both countries must acknowledge the wider cultural benefits that the historic environment offers. Examples are provided to complement the discussions throughout the chapter.

Chapter Three sets out the methodology and methods selected to meet the aims and objectives of this dissertation. It explains the ontological and epistemological approach drawn upon and the research design, data collection and analysis process. It also points out that the data collected for this dissertation is of a qualitative nature and investigates and analyses primary and secondary sources, collected using a desk-based methodology. In addition, it also establishes the benefits, limitations and ethical considerations of this study.

As this chapter has established, historic battlefields and sites of conflict invoke strong cultural heritage values and hold a significant place in a nation's consciousness. The objective of Chapter Four is to establish the battlefield as a valued cultural heritage resource. It seeks to gain a fuller understanding of the cultural significance of battles and sites of conflict and the values they invoke, exploring their origin and influences and the roles they can play in society. To achieve this objective, relevant literature was reviewed and thematically analysed to establish a range of values in regard to battles, battlefields and sites of conflict. The chapter is split into four sections, each addressing a specific theme to enhance understanding of these values and to establish the contextual and theoretical background for Chapter Five. As with Chapter Two, examples are provided to illustrate the points made.

The first theme in Chapter Four, heritage, memory and identity, provides an understanding of how these factors can influence the development of cultural heritage values. The second theme, historical figures, politics and the role of the media in influencing emotional and cultural values, explains how invented, unofficial knowledge, can be shaped by tradition, the media and film. It demonstrates how representations of people and events in the media can be manipulated to meet a particular objective and how this can shape cultural heritage values. The third theme, the educational, social and recreational value of battlefields and sites of conflict, positions these as places which can provide opportunities for education, recreation, tourism, social interaction and revenue generation. The final theme, battlefields, sites of conflict, sense of place and emotional value, provides an explanation of what is meant by sense of place and explores the different ways these sites can contribute to this. It makes the

connection between the physical characteristics of battlefields and their ability to stimulate an emotional and even spiritual response.

The objective of Chapter Five is to evaluate the extent to which public perception of value in regard to historic battlefields is complementary or consistent with their protection and management. It does this through analysing four case studies relating to proposed developments on historic battlefields in England and Scotland. It examines the cultural heritage values which are invoked by each battlefield and how these can be shaped and influenced, building on the findings from Chapter Four. Following this is an analysis of the public's response to planning applications for developments on, or close to, historic battlefields. Public responses were distilled from LPA planning portals, social media sites and petitions. These responses were collated, analysed and synthesised to establish key themes. Once these themes were established, consideration was given to how these applications were handled in the planning system, as well as the responses of HE and HES, as appropriate, to permit determination of the extent to which they aligned with public value.

The findings of this dissertation were used to inform recommendations which will help to ensure that the cultural heritage values relating to historic battlefields are given appropriate consideration through the planning system. Finally, Chapter Seven summarises the findings from this dissertation and reflects on the results of the research.

Chapter Two: Battlefield Protection: legislation and listing

2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to establish how protection for historic battlefields is conferred through the planning system in England and Scotland, establishing what is protected and how it is protected. This section also introduces HE and HES, their role in the planning system and their core values. Following this, the general protection measures which historic battlefields benefit from through the planning system will be established, along with some examples of battlefields which benefit from these measures.

Details on the specific protection measures for battlefields, in the form of registered or inventory battlefields, is given. This section details the events leading to the introduction of these measures to provide contextual background before outlining what battlefield protection entails in England and Scotland. These sections explain the criteria for designating battlefields along with who is responsible for their designation. Insights into how registered and inventory battlefields are considered in planning policy and the impact this has are also provided. Furthermore, a map showing the location of each registered and inventory battlefield is included, along with the century that each battlefield dates from. In addition, a table showing how many registered or inventory battlefields each LPA is responsible for is given to provide an insight into the management pressures each LPA faces.

Figure 1 lists the protection measures highlighted in the following sections, the agency with responsibility for designating sites and how changes to sites are considered and approved.

Classification:	Protection conferred under:	Designation (and government level in brackets):	Management, oversight and government level:
Scheduled Monument	Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979	England: HE carry out assessments and make recommendations to the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (Historic England, nd, a). (National) Scotland: Scheduling the responsibility of HES (Historic Environment Scotland, 2019, a). (National)	England: Scheduled monument consent required from the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport. (National) Scotland: Scheduled monument consent administered by HES. (National)
Conservation Area	England: Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 Scotland: Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas Scotland) Act 1997	England: Designated by relevant LPA or HE in consultation with the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (Historic England, 2019, a). (Local and national) Scotland: Designation responsibility of LPA or HES in consultation with relevant LPA (Historic Environment Scotland, 2019, b). (Local and national)	England and Scotland: Conservation area advice and consent administered by relevant LPA. (Local)
Listed Building	England: Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 Scotland: Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas Scotland) Act 1997	England: HE recommends buildings for listing to the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (Historic England, 2019, b). (National) Scotland: Buildings listed by HES (Historic Environment Scotland, nd, b). (National)	England: Planning advice and consent administered by relevant LPA. HE and National Amenity Societies must be consulted on certain applications for listed building consent (Historic England, nd, b). (Local, with national input when necessary) Scotland: LPA must consult with HES before determining a planning application (Historic Environment Scotland, 2019, c). (National)
Sites of Special Scientific Interest	England: Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981 as amended (primarily by the Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000) Scotland: Nature Conservation (Scotland) Act 2004	England: Natural England (National) Scotland: Scottish Natural Heritage (National)	England: Natural England protect and provide consent for changes to sites (Natural England, 2020). (National) Scotland: Scottish Natural Heritage protect and provide consent for changes to sites (Nature Scot, nd, a) (National)
Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (England)	Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000	Natural England (National)	Relevant LPA with advice from Natural England (Natural England, 2012). (National)
National Scenic Area (Scotland)	Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003	Scottish Natural Heritage (National)	Relevant LPA with advice from Scottish Natural Heritage (Nature Scot, nd, b). (Local and national)
Registered Park or Garden (England)	No statutory controls	HE (National)	Changes considered through the planning system by relevant LPA (Historic England, nd, c). (Local)
Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes (Scotland)	No statutory controls	HES (National)	Changes considered through the planning system by relevant LPA (Historic Environment Scotland, 2016, a). (Local)
Registered Historic Battlefields (England)	No statutory controls	HE (National)	LPA must ensure the significance of the battlefield is maintained and the impact of development is considered through the planning system (Historic England, nd, c). LPA must also consult with HE regarding planning applications which impact on battlefields (Historic England, nd, c). (Local and national)
Inventory of Historic Battlefields (Scotland)	No statutory controls	HES (National)	LPA must ensure significance of the battlefield is maintained and the impact of development is considered through the planning system (Historic Environment Scotland, 2016, b). There is an obligation to consult HES on proposed developments on inventory battlefields (excluding householder developments and existing buildings) (Stirling Council, 2019). (Local and national)
Non-designated heritage assets:	No statutory controls	May be identified through Historic Environment Records, conservation area assessments or local lists	England and Scotland: May still be afforded protection through the planning system.

Figure 1: Heritage protection measures, agency with responsibility and government level.

2.1 Values-based heritage management

As Clark (nd) points out, in contrast to a system of management and decision-making based on physical intervention, “the values-based approach to conservation decision making has become more common in the United Kingdom over the past two decades”. Moves towards “values-based decision making in the United Kingdom came with the publication of English Heritage’s Conservation Principles in 2008” (Clark, nd). In developing their conservation principles, English Heritage drew “heavily on the *Burra Charter*” (Brown, nd). The *Burra Charter* aims to ensure that the management of a historic place “is based on an understanding of the place, its cultural significance and its meaning to people” (Heritage Perth, nd). HE, English Heritage’s successor, retained the original suite of core principles, intended to guide “Historic England staff on best practice” (Historic England, nd, d). These cover evidential value, which relates to the “potential of a place to yield evidence about past human activity”, historical value, which is related to the “ways in which past people, events and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present” (Historic England, 2015, p.28). The remaining principles cover aesthetic value, “which derives from the ways in which people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from a place” and communal value, which “derives from the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory” (Historic England, 2015, p.30-31). Thus, the range of recognised values divide into two key groups. Those which relate to the physical properties of sites and those relating to the interpretation of the physical sites by agencies, communities and individuals. However, these two values are interdependent, as the next paragraph highlights.

HES, a statutory adviser to Scottish Ministers on heritage-related matters and a statutory consultee in the planning system, have also published their own suite of conservation principles. Like HE, these embrace the intangible significance of a place and recognise the need to “perpetuate cultural significance” (Historic Environment Scotland, 2015, p.03). Thus, along with conserving the physical aspects of a place, more intangible qualities relating to cultural heritage values are stated to be given due consideration by both HE and HES. The next section sets out the general protection measures which parts of historic battlefields can benefit from.

2.2 Historic battlefields: general protection measures

Individual features of battlefields in England and Scotland can be designated as listed buildings, scheduled monuments or can fall within conservation areas. For example, in 1968, Culloden battlefield was designated as a conservation area and features such as the Graves of the Clans, Memorial Cairn and Well of the Dead are also classified as Scheduled

Monuments. Furthermore, the monuments on Chalgrove and Naseby battlefields, figures 2 and 3, are grade II listed.



The grade II listed monuments at the site of the battle of Chalgrove (1643) (figure 2, left), erected in 1843 and Naseby (1645) (figure 3, right), erected 1936, provide a physical reminder of lives lost and a tangible link with the past (Historic England, 2017, a).

Battlefields may also receive protection for other reasons, such as parts of them being within National Parks, Sites of Special Scientific Interest or Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty. For example, the battlefield of Roundway Down lies within the Wessex Downs Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty and is also classified as a Site of Special Scientific Interest. In addition, the eighteenth-century registered landscape at Radway Grange and folly tower, figure 4 “overlooks and forms part of the setting for the Civil War engagement at Edge Hill” (Lovie, 2014, p.276). Likewise, the seventeenth-century designed landscape at Culloden House, figure 5, is closely connected with the Battle of Culloden as the battle took place “within the policies of the house”, which now incorporate “elements commemorating personages and events” of the battle (Historic Environment Scotland, 2003). LPAs must, therefore, consider the impact of development on designated battlefields on other designations and vice versa. The following section introduces the specific protection measures that battlefields may benefit from.



Figure 4: Radway Grange registered landscape (Geograph, nd). Aware of the estate's association with the battle of Edge Hill, Sanderson Miller laid out walks which took advantage of the views of the battlefield and constructed the battlemented folly tower on the site where the royal standard was allegedly raised before the battle (Lovie, 2014).



Figure 5: Memorial Cairn, Culloden Moor (National Trust for Scotland, 2019). Although the battlefield is not part of the designed landscape, any changes will affect the setting of the designed landscape and vice-versa. Figures 4 and 5 also demonstrate the connection between the historic battlefield as a place of both recreation and remembrance.

2.3 Historic battlefield designation

Battlefield designation was introduced in England in 1995 and Scotland in 2011. Prior to this, there was no dedicated protection for battlefields, other than areas which fell under other categories of designation or under the care of the National Trust. Designation offers specific protection measures for battlefields, born out of reactions to incidents on known battlefield sites, such as the impact of the construction of the A1-M1 motorway on the site of the battle of Naseby in the 1990s. This development also led to the establishment of the Battlefield Trust in 1991, a charity which seeks to provide “an organised voice to consultations on future building projects which impinge on British battlefield sites” (Bennett, 2017, p.116). Furthermore, discovery of soldier’s graves at Towton battlefield in 1996, a metal detecting rally on the battlefield of Marston Moor in 2003 and a recognition of the threat from routine development activities, also led to an acknowledgement of the need to afford battlefields more specific protection.

There are hundreds of historic battlefields in England and Scotland. However, only a small number of these are afforded protection through the planning system in the form of battlefield registration or inventory status. In both England and Scotland, this means they are a material consideration in the planning process. The following section details how battlefields are designated and protected in England and Scotland.

2.4 England’s Register of Historic Battlefields

The register is administered and designated at central level by HE. There are 47 battlefields on the register, as shown in figure 6, which also includes battlefields on Scotland’s Inventory of Historic Battlefields. HE emphasises that historic significance is the most important factor when considering a battlefield’s inclusion on the register, pointing out that this “will frequently be defined” by the battle’s political impact (Historic England, 2017, a, p.09). The examples stated by HE include the battle of Hastings in 1066, resulting in the Norman Conquest, and the civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century, which altered the roles of parliament and the monarchy (Historic England, 2017, a). A location which has been established “beyond reasonable doubt” and the battlefield being “still recognisable today” is the next most important consideration (Historic England, 2017, a, p.09). This requires that there is sufficient known evidence of the site and “usually requires a desktop study of published and archival sources, historic and modern maps and air photographs, to uncover details about the site” (Historic England, nd, e). This is followed by archaeological potential, topographic integrity, documentation, commemoration, biographic associations and military innovations (Historic England, 2017, a.).

England's National Planning Policy Framework was revised in 2019. However, the information in the following paragraphs reflects that contained within the previous document, published in 2012. It emphasises registered battlefields are designated "assets of the highest significance" (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019, p.56). Any harm or loss to the significance of such assets and their setting from proposed development should be "wholly exceptional" (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019, p.56). Furthermore, it discusses the historic environment more widely, pointing out that LPAs should plan for "the conservation and enjoyment of the historic environment", in a way which recognises the wide cultural benefits and "contribution to quality of life" that it offers (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019, p.54) However, there is no obligation for LPAs in England or Scotland to be proactive in establishing specific conservation strategies for registered or inventory battlefields where there is no immediate threat and where they do not fall under the protection of other forms of heritage designation. A number of conservation plans do exist as planning guidance, such as those relating to the Battles of Shrewsbury and Bannockburn.

In considering planning applications which impact on a registered battlefield, LPAs "should require an applicant to describe the significance of any heritage assets affected, including any contribution made by its setting" (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019, p.55). HE define significance as resulting from "the value of a heritage asset to this and future generations because of its heritage interest" (Historic England, 2019, c, p.02). HE explain that heritage interest is not limited to architectural or artistic aspects but "can symbolise wider cultural heritage values" (Historic England, 2019, c, p.16). Furthermore, HE acknowledge that battlefields are "treasured places" which invoke "emotional responses and understanding of our history in ways that can only be conveyed by their physical presence" (Historic England, nd, f). Thus, HE works with LPAs and developers to ensure these highly emotive places and their settings "are properly understood and not harmed by new development" (Historic England, nd, f).

With regards to setting, the National Planning Policy Framework defines this as being "the surroundings in which a heritage asset is experienced", with no fixed extent "and may change as the asset and its surroundings evolve" (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019, p.71). Should approval be granted for development which impacts on a battlefield or its setting, mitigation measures to enhance or conserve the site will be expected.

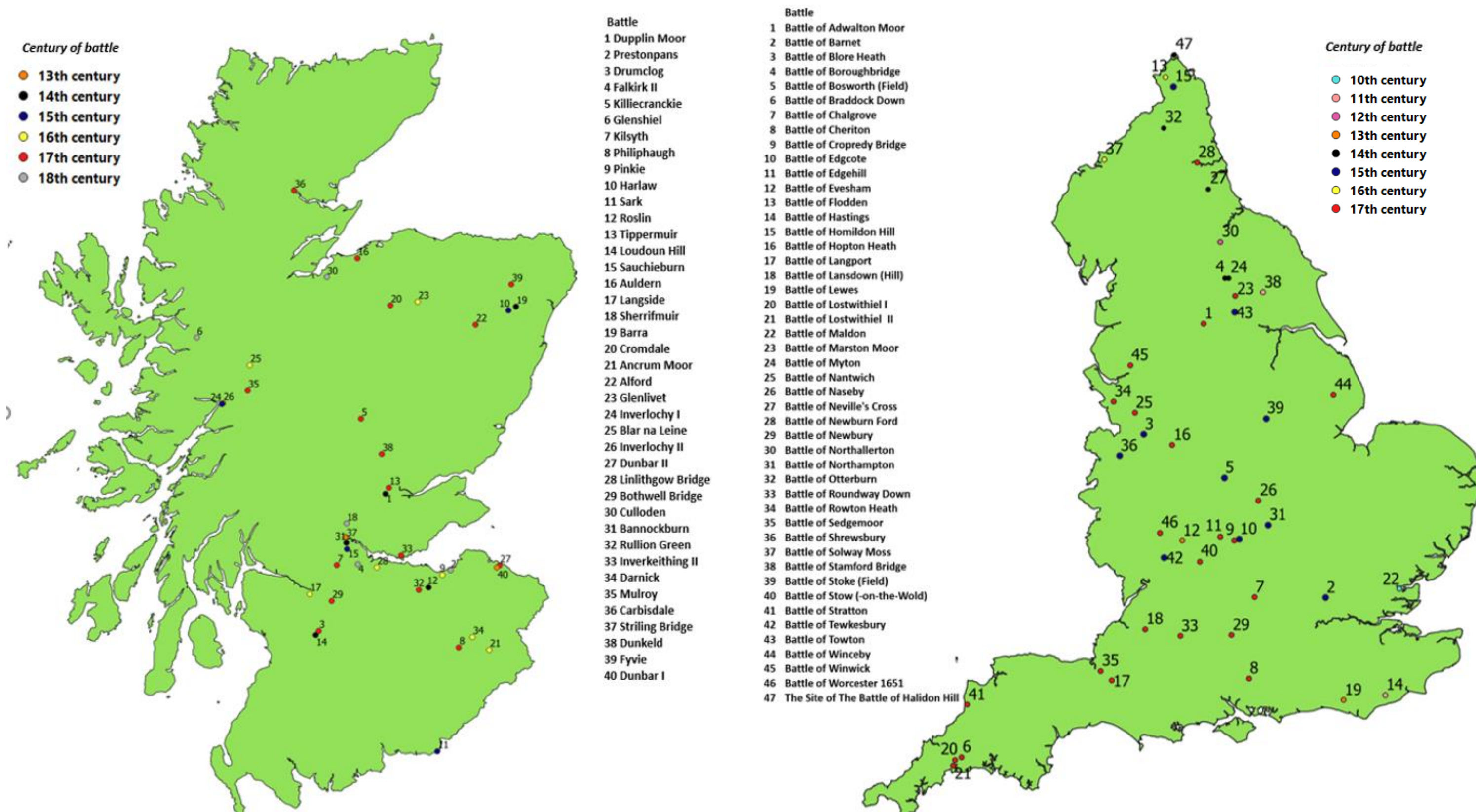


Figure 6: Registered and Inventory battlefields of Scotland (right) and England (left). The maps highlight the distribution of battlefields in both countries. **Figure 7** expands on this, listing relevant LPAs and the number of battlefields they have responsibility for. Both maps highlight a predominance of battlefields from the seventeenth century, reflecting the religious and political instability at this time and increased accuracy in dating and locating sites from this period.

Own maps. Basemaps: GB National Outlines (2005), using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service. Location data: (Scotland) Contains Historic Environment Scotland and Ordnance Survey data © Historic Environment Scotland - Scottish Charity No. SC045925 © Crown copyright and database right [2020], (England) © Historic England [2020]. Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right [2020] The Historic England GIS Data contained in this material was obtained on [19th June 2020]. The most publicly available up to date Historic England GIS Data can be obtained from [HistoricEngland.org.uk](https://historicengland.org.uk).

LPA (Scotland)	Battlefields
Perth and Kinross Council	4
East Lothian Council	4
South Lanarkshire Council	2
Falkirk Council	1
Highland Council	9
North Lanarkshire Council	1
Scottish Borders Council	3
Aberdeenshire Council	4
Dumfries and Galloway	1
Midlothian Council	2
East Ayrshire Council	1
Stirling Council	4
Glasgow Council	1
Moray Council	1
Falkirk/ West Lothian Councils	1
Fife Council	1

LPA (England)	Battlefields
Bradford Metropolitan District Council	1
Barnet Council	1
Staffordshire County Council	1
Harrogate Borough Council	3
Hinckley and Bosworth Borough Council	1
Cornwall Council	4
South Oxfordshire District Council	1
Winchester City Council	1
Cherwell District Council	1
South Northamptonshire	1
Stratford-on-Avon District Council	1
Wychavon District Council	1
Northumberland County Council	4
East Sussex County Council	1
Stafford Borough Council	1
South Somerset District Council	1
Bath and North East Somerset	1
Lewes and Eastbourne Council	1
Maldon District Council	1
Cheshire East Council	1
Daventry District Council	1
Durham County Council	1
Gateshead Council	1
West Berkshire Council	1
Hambleton District Council	1
Northampton Borough Council	1
Wiltshire Council	1
Cheshire and West Chester	1
Sedgemoor District Council	1
Shropshire Council	1
Carlisle District Council	1
East Riding of Yorkshire Council	1
Newark and Sherwood District Council	1
Cotswold District Council	1
Gloucestershire County Council	1
Selby District Council	1
East Lindsey District Council	1
Warrington Borough Council	1
Malvern Hills District Council	1

Figure 7: LPAs and the number of designated battlefields they have responsibility for. Some LPAs have responsibility for a larger number of battlefields than others. However, due to the location of some battlefields, an LPA may receive multiple planning applications for development impacting on a single site. (Author's own table).

2.5 The Scottish Inventory of Historic Battlefields

The inventory is administered and designated at central level by HES. There are 40 battlefields on the register. As with England, battlefields should be historically significant places to justify inclusion on the inventory. This means they must be associated with “historical events or figures of national significance”, have “physical remains and archaeological potential” and there should be “interest and evidence” in “the wider landscape around where the battle took place” (Historic Environment Scotland, 2016, c, p.07). Battlefields deemed to meet these criteria include Bannockburn, the location of Robert the Bruce’s victory against English forces in 1314 and Prestonpans, the site of the “opening battle of the 1745 Jacobite rising” (Historic Environment Scotland, 2011). As with England, a battlefield will only be considered for inclusion if the location of the battle can be securely determined (Historic Environment Scotland, 2016, c). This involves a research process and site visits to determine the boundary of the site (Historic Environment Scotland, 2016, c).

Scottish Planning Policy points out that “planning authorities should seek to protect, conserve and, where appropriate, enhance the key landscape characteristics and special qualities of sites in the Inventory of Historic Battlefields” (Scottish Government, 2014, b, p.35). This should be achieved through ensuring LPA “development plans include policies that identify battlefields and outline criteria for their protection, conservation and management within the planning system” (Scottish Government, 2014, b, p.35). Similar to the situation in England, Scottish Planning Policy requires local authorities to acknowledge the wider contribution that heritage makes to cultural identity and quality of life (Scottish Government, 2014, b).

LPAs must consult HES on planning applications impacting on battlefields to gain their input and advice (Stirling Council, 2019). From March 2019, LPAs were required to provide Scottish Ministers with certain information when they receive an application for planning permission impacting on a historic battlefield. This includes a description of the battlefield’s significance and setting (Scottish Government, 2019, c). In this context, setting is defined as being “more than the immediate surroundings of a site” and relates to “the view from it or how it is seen from areas round about, or areas that are important to the protection of the place” (Scottish Government, 2014, b, p.75). If development which impacts on a battlefield or its setting is approved, mitigation measures to enhance or conserve the site will be expected.

In summary, it is reasonable to state that the designation of historic battlefields and the management of them in the planning system is broadly similar in England and Scotland. Both countries designate battlefields largely in terms of their historic significance, location of the battle being securely established and the site’s archaeological potential. Their management through the planning system requires LPAs to acknowledge the battlefield’s ability to have a

positive impact on cultural identity and quality of life. In both countries, if planning permission is granted for a development impacting on a battlefield, mitigation measures are required.

2.6 Conclusions regarding the nature and level of protection of historic battlefields

This chapter started by explaining the shift in focus from the physical conservation of a place towards a consideration of the importance of cultural heritage values in heritage conservation practice. It established the general protection measures that parts of some historic battlefields benefit from, before explaining that battlefields in England and Scotland command their own form of protection through the planning system. It was noted battlefield designation does not confer statutory protection in either country, but it does mean they are a material consideration in the planning process. Furthermore, this chapter highlighted that battlefields in both countries are designated by the central agency at national level and that their management is a responsibility of both national and local levels of government.

It was noted that in both England and Scotland, the principle criteria for designating battlefields relates to historic significance and a secure location. This is followed by other factors, such as the potential for archaeology, topographic integrity and physical evidence related to the battle. The impact of designation criteria was demonstrated in Figure 6, showing that both countries have a predominance of battlefields from the seventeenth century, highlighting the political and social instability during this time and increased accuracy in locating and dating sites from this period. Figure 6 also demonstrated that Scotland has no designated battlefields from the eleventh, twelfth or thirteenth centuries and has seven fewer designated battlefields than England. Figure 7 expanded on figure 6, demonstrating that the criteria for designation results in a geographically and temporally uneven distribution of battlefields in both countries. Furthermore, this chapter highlighted that the governments of England and Scotland state that they value the historic environment for its ability to improve quality of life and promote cultural benefits.

Finally, this chapter introduced examples of battlefields and related features, for example, monuments to remember the fallen and towers and walkways designed to take advantage of a battlefield's setting. Such features demonstrate the different values invoked in relation to a battlefield, and the varied purposes they serve. Chapter Four introduces and investigates a wider range of values in regard to battlefields and sites of conflict to position these as valued cultural heritage resources.

Chapter Three: Research methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter sets out the methodology and methods selected to evaluate the effectiveness of the English and Scottish conservation and development management systems in protecting battlefields through the planning system and the broad range of cultural heritage values associated with them. In addition, the benefits, limitations and ethical considerations relating to this dissertation will also be addressed.

3.1 Research design

Raadschelders (2018) claims that there has been a tendency to address methodology and methods before considering ontology and epistemology. According to Crotty (1998, p.10), ontology is “concerned with ‘what is’, with the nature of existence and the structure of reality”. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007, p.07) claim that epistemology is the process of making assumptions “which forms the very bases of knowledge” and “profoundly affects how one goes about uncovering knowledge about social behaviour”. Furthermore, as Grix (2002, p.177), writes, ontology should be “the starting point of all research, after which one’s epistemological and methodological assumptions logically follow”. Therefore, the impact of the ontological approach on the epistemological approach was given consideration from the outset of this dissertation. This impacted on the choice of methodology and methods utilised, which, in turn, influenced the type of sources drawn upon. Figure 8, provides a demonstration of this, highlighting the relationship between each stage of the research process.

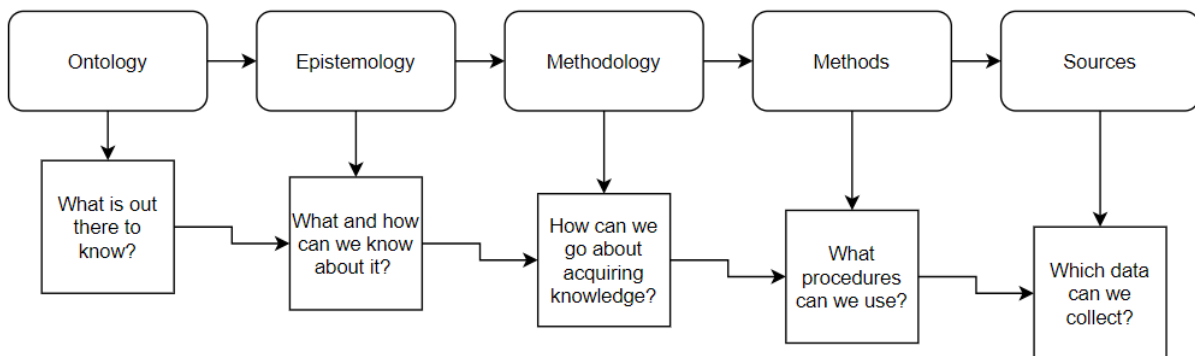


Figure 8: Relationship between each stage of the research process (adapted from Hay, 2002).

Following consideration of how philosophical assumptions could influence this dissertation, it was decided that a constructivist ontological approach would be utilised. As Scales (2013, p.04) writes, in this approach, “things and meanings don’t exist independently, rather humans have to construct the meanings”. Consequently, this approach is claimed to be subjective (Levers, 2013).

Utilising this ontological approach led to the selection of an interpretive epistemological approach. This involved providing an explanation of the researcher's comprehension of a specific phenomenon (Jupp, 2006). Correspondingly, it must be recognised that as the researcher is an integral part of the research, they "can never be fully objective and removed from the research" (Brown, 2017). Thus, it is necessary to consider that the results from this dissertation will not be free from bias. To minimise the potential for researcher-induced bias as far as possible, several steps were taken. For example, public responses to planning applications were not scanned for a specific theme, rather, the theme was allowed to emerge from the data itself. Furthermore, responses were sought from a range of online sources, which assisted in obtaining a cross-representation of respondents. Finally, as Williams (2006, p.09) points out, the interpretive approach is "a context-specific research method and therefore generalisations should be avoided". For example, designated battlefields are unique in England and Scotland as they have had to meet a specific set of criteria to warrant listing. However, Williams (2006) points out that a benefit of this method is that it permits the emergence of a theoretical standpoint.

This dissertation drawn upon an inductive approach, with an overall aim of establishing the effectiveness of the planning system in England and Scotland in protecting battlefields and the broad range of cultural heritage values associated with them. This was considered to be a suitable approach as it starts with the researcher drawing observations then seeks to find explanations for emerging themes (Rubin and Babbie, 2007). Examining the patterns arising from the data collected and analysed allowed a theory to emerge (Jebreen, 2012). This theory was used to inform the recommendations in Chapter Six. In keeping with the inductive approach, data collected and analysed is qualitative in nature.

3.2 Data collection and analysis

The qualitative data collected for this dissertation is of a primary and secondary nature and was collected using a desk-based methodology. Chapter Two investigated how protection for historic battlefields was conferred through the planning system. To meet this objective, policy documents, guides and websites were consulted to establish how battlefields are protected through the planning system and what is protected. This was deemed to be an appropriate method as it is in line with the constructivist ontological approach. Specifically, it allowed the foundations to be laid on which later analysis would be constructed.

Chapter Four establishes the cultural significance of battles and sites of conflict as well as the values they invoke and the roles they can play in society. It also investigates how these values are influenced. It does this through thematically analysing and interpreting relevant literature, on a range of interdisciplinary themes, to establish a scale of values in regard to historic

battlefields and sites of conflict and to position them as valued cultural heritage resources. This sets out the theoretical framework for the dissertation.

Chapter Five investigates the extent to which public value is complementary or consistent with the protection and management of historic battlefields. To meet this objective, the public's reaction to planning applications were obtained from online sources such as LPA planning portals, petitions and social media websites. To fit with the remit of this dissertation, only heritage-related responses were considered. In cases where responses resulted in thousands of comments, these were read until a saturation of themes was reached. These reactions were grouped as appropriate, along with the number of times each theme was mentioned. The information gathered during this process was coded and categorised to identify recurring themes. Recurring themes were analysed within the specific context of the literature review and the historical and cultural significance of each battle. Themes from each study were also compared with each other to ascertain similarities or differences between the case studies. Thus, this process allowed the generation of theory, which was used to inform the recommendations in Chapter Six. Figure 9 shows a flowchart highlighting the research process, aim, objectives, methods and results and the relationship between each stage.

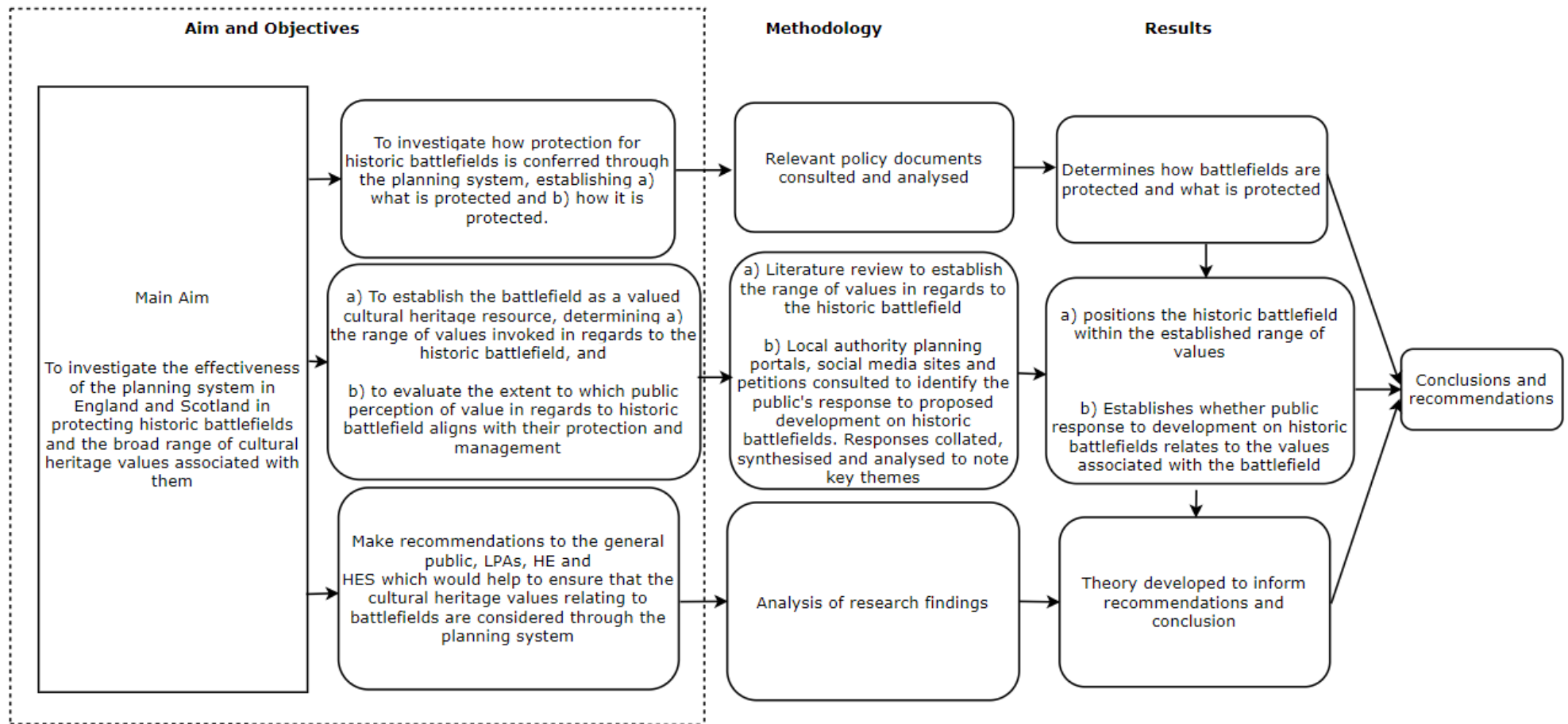


Figure 9: The research process, aim, objectives, methods and results and the relationship between each stage (author's own flowchart).

3.3 Benefits of the research

As the introduction to this dissertation established, there is an increasing pressure on battlefields as a result of economic growth and need for housing. However, the introduction also noted that battlefields are places associated with profound cultural significance and hold a place in the identity of the nation. Therefore, there is a need to comprehend the intangible values associated with battlefields and how these are formed. This dissertation adds to the limited body of research which links heritage, social, cultural and emotional values to the historic battlefield in order to achieve this aim. The purpose of this is to ensure these values are appreciated and afforded appropriate consideration in the planning process to safeguard the cultural significance of the battlefield. In addition, there is value in highlighting examples of less successful practice to ensure that lessons are learnt.

3.4 Limitations of the study

For practical purposes, this research was restricted to an English and Scottish context. Furthermore, case studies were restricted to four, again for practical reasons. Thus, the findings from this research are limited in scope.

3.5 Ethical considerations

This research was undertaken in a way which conformed to the University's research ethics policy. Research into public opinion regarding development on battlefields was undertaken through analysing objections to planning applications submitted to the relevant LPA. These responses were anonymised. Viewpoints collected from printed and online sources, were also anonymised. All sources referred to have been acknowledged and plagiarism was not committed.

3.6 Conclusions regarding the research methodology

This chapter set out the philosophical assumptions that influenced the research methodology, as well as the specific research methods that would be utilised to meet the aim of this dissertation. It highlighted the wider benefits of this dissertation and pointed out limitations and proposed solutions. Finally, it pointed out that due to the methodology used, the research cannot be free from some element of bias, however, the research process was carried out to minimise this, as far as possible.

Chapter Four: The Cultural Significance of Battles and Sites of Conflict, the Values They invoke and the Roles They Can Play in Society

4.0 Introduction

As Gold and Gold (2003) and Bird (2014) explain, battlefields and other sites of conflict around the world are places of profound cultural significance which trigger strong emotional reactions and a range of cultural heritage values. Stewart and Strathern (2003) and Carman (2005) claim that these emotions and values can also be shared by a community. These comments highlight that battlefields and sites of conflict can invoke strong emotions and values. They do not, however, explain the origin and development of these, particularly in response to events which happened hundreds of years ago, outside of living memory.

The aim of this chapter is to gain an understanding of the cultural significance of battles, battlefields and sites of conflict, the range of cultural heritage values they invoke and the roles they can play in society. It seeks to establish the origin and development of these values and emotions and the factors which influence them. This chapter is split into four sections, each addressing a specific theme. The first section introduces the argument that heritage and memory are intertwined and that memory is closely connected with identity, unity and group preservation. The second section explains how historical figures can be allied to a particular cause, how the media can influence memory and perception of events as well as the role of social media in mobilising people behind a cause. The third section positions battlefields and sites of conflict as valued educational, social and recreational resources. The final section analyses how battlefields and sites of conflict can convey a strong sense of place, provide a link with the past and invoke powerful, emotive responses.

4.1 Heritage, memory and identity

Whitehead and Bozoğlu (2017, p.02) argue that research in the field of heritage studies should acknowledge that it is inextricable from “other scholarly concepts such as memory, not so much in the psychological sense as in its ‘social’ and ‘collective’ iterations”. In recognition of this, this section investigates factors which influence the development of personal and shared memory and how this contributes to a sense of identity. The purpose of this is to understand how this can influence the development of the cultural heritage values introduced in this chapter.

Memory is considered to be fundamental to our personal identity and provides us with a sense of continuity. As Klein and Nichols (2012) explain, our memory of past episodes cements the fact that we actually existed in the past. Furthermore, as Olick et al (2008, p.156) suggest, a memory of the past can allow groups to “claim a continuous identity through time”. Thus, even

if the physical evidence of a particular way of life has been wiped out, the memory of such ways of life can live on through those that survive and be inherited by subsequent generations.

Maurice Halbwachs (1992, p.51) believed society was fundamental to the construction of memory, writing that “the mind reconstructs its memories under the pressure of society”. As García-Gavilanes et al (2017) write, Halbwachs argued for a theory of collective memory, claiming that “individual memories are only understood in the context of a group, unifying the nation or community through time and space”. Similarly, Misztal (2003, p.05) claims that the process of remembering “is closely connected with the unity of a society and the conceptualisation of collective memory as guaranteeing social identity”, figure 10.



Figure 10: Remembrance Sunday in Stockton on Tees (Stockton on Tees Borough Council, 2019). The act of group remembrance displays the unity within this community in response to the horrors of conflict.

Traumatic events such as war are “cataclysmic events that shatter the basic fabric of society”, with the memory, remembrance and commemoration of such events spanning generations (Hirschberger, 2018). In addition, as Hirschberger (2018) points out “the memory of traumatic events can be shaped by later generations of survivors who may remember and construct the narrative of events in a way that weaves the connection between trauma, memory and ontological security”. Thus, the memory of events can be reframed or reformed, the purpose of this being to promote a sense of healing, foster a collective, perhaps national, identity, preservation and a sense of cohesion.

Continuing the discussion into how memories can be shaped over the years, it is worth noting that there has been debate around real and invented tradition and how this influences the formation of a collective memory. For example, Hobsbawm’s, *The Invention of Tradition*,

published in 1983, claimed that tartan is a “retrospective invention” developed following the union with England (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983, p.15). Buchanan (2010, p.253) argues that Hobsbawm’s point “was not to mock such fictions but to highlight the ideological importance of at least the perception of continuity with the past”. Thus, it does not matter whether the link to the past is founded in truth. What matters is that it inspires a link to the past, which has helped to shape a collective identity. This is supported by Pèrez-Torres (1995) and Glaveanu (2013) who claim myth, legend and folk tales are fundamental in creating a shared memory and cultural identity.

In conclusion, this section explained why it is difficult to extricate heritage from the concept of memory. It also demonstrated that the memory of events can be used to influence a collective and continuous identity, even in those who were not alive at the time, and that memory can be manipulated through invented traditions. Through identifying and understanding these concepts, a better insight into the formation and evolution of cultural heritage values can be obtained. This will inform and enhance discussions and analysis within this and the following chapter.

4.2 Historical figures, politics and the role of the media in influencing emotional and cultural values

In addition to being subject to the influence of collective memory, cultural heritage values can be shaped by invented or “unofficial knowledge”, such as television, art, tradition and film (Gourievidis, 2019, p.04). This section explains why people can relate strongly to stories and events, even though they were not there, building on the discussion in the previous section. It then highlights how representations of events and people in popular media can be manipulated to meet a particular objective. The purpose of this is to provide evidence of how the development of cultural heritage values can be influenced by these factors. This will further assist analysis and recommendations in the following chapters.

In his seminal tome, *The Past is a Foreign Country (Revisited)*, Lowenthal (2015, p.310) mused that events in the past always felt as having happened to him, “even if they happened to someone else”. This suggests that if events are described with enough intensity, they can feel as if they actually happened to us. Researchers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology carried out an experiment which supports this theory. They proved that “vividly imagined events can leave a memory trace in the brain that is very similar to that of an experienced event” (Brynie, 2013). Trindale (2019, p.22) adds that in the case of visual media, the movement of the camera “makes it possible for us to live the reproduced perception of the shot as our own” and makes “it feel as if we were effectively there”. Thus, film and television

productions have the ability to influence our memories and perception of events and potentially, how viewers identify with characters within a film or programme.

Füssel (2016) expands on these points, arguing that battles are events which invoke strong emotional reactions which can be shaped by cultural representations, propagandistic media and social perspectives. Furthermore, Gourievidis (2019) claims that myth and cultural narratives can be used to forge links with the past which influence emotion and subjectivity in order to meet political objectives. For example, *Braveheart*, released in 1995, was a hugely popular film. It contained many scenes of battle and depictions of torture eliciting sympathy with the victim and anger towards the perpetrator. McCrone (2001) points out that the film's ability to invoke an emotional response meant it was adopted by the SNP who used the film as an opportunity to drum up political support. To coincide with the release of the film, the SNP issued a leaflet which stated, "you've seen the film, now face the reality" (McCrone, 2001, p.128). Thus, this can be deemed a deliberate attempt to take advantage of any anti-English, anti-unionist sentiment, arising from the film. As Edensor (1997, p.15) remarks, this tactic proved to be effective, "indicating the powerful impact of the film on Scottish audiences". This example provides further evidence that visual media has an impact on emotions and strengthens the argument that it can be used to manipulate how viewers feel about historic characters or events.

Historical figures and events have long been used to convey a particular message or provoke a certain reaction, specifically in regard to politics. An example of this in practice is the manipulation of Joan of Arc by key political players who have been trying to claim the saint and the values associated with her as symbols of their own cause (Jardine, 2012), as demonstrated in figure 11. This has prompted people to reject or accept her as a figurehead for their own values. The following chapter will revisit this concept, specifically how the battle of Bannockburn and Robert the Bruce has become associated with Scottish nationalism and independence.



Figure 11: National Front leader, Marine le Pen in front of a statue of Joan of Arc in Paris (Goldfarb, 2012). The National Front has adopted Joan of Arc as their symbol, prompting “French Catholics to distance themselves from her because they did not want to be associated with the far right” (Cireau, 2020).

As Hunt and Myerly (2020) write, forms of media have long been effective in inspiring a sense of camaraderie. Furthermore, as Raivo (1995) and Withers (1996) point out, media can act as a powerful driver for social action. In the present day, social media provides a wide-reaching and influential platform for the promotion of articles which stimulate social action. For example, in 2017, a Tweet urged fans of the popular television series, *Outlander*, to oppose housing plans on Culloden battlefield, figure 12. As figure 12 shows, the post resulted in 57 re-tweets and a number of comments expressed outrage at the development, with people asking how they could help to fight the development. This illustrates the ability of social and visual media to invoke emotional reactions and demonstrates how popular media can act as a platform to promote the protection of historic places.



whiskygirl6 @whiskygirl6 · Nov 22, 2017

@Writer_DG #Outlander @SamHeughan @catrionabalfour Local opposition about housing plans on #culloden battlefield needs YOU. Can you help?



16

58

78



Figure 12: Tweet urging *Outlander* author and actors to oppose development. The choice of language in the tweet is persuasive and emotive and demonstrates the ability of the series to stimulate action. (Whiskygirl6, 2017).

In conclusion, as well as the influence of personal and shared memory and invented tradition, cultural heritage values can also be shaped by visual and popular media and politics. Furthermore, social media can provide a platform for social action. Thus, attention will be given to these factors when considering the development of cultural heritage values in the following chapter.

4.3 The educational, social and recreational value of battlefields and sites of conflict

This section positions battlefields and sites of conflict as places which provide opportunities for education, recreation, tourism, social interaction and revenue generation. Furthermore, it introduces the role that battlefield societies can play in generating new knowledge about battles and in raising awareness of threats to the battlefield.

Dark tourism has increased in popularity in recent years, with people seeking to visit the locations of where some of history's most violent events have unfolded. Foulk (2016) writes that many visitors come in search of knowledge or understanding. Furthermore, Baldwin (2017) claims that the popularity of battlefields and sites of conflict with visitors is that it allows

them to directly engage with historic events “in a way that provides greater local contextualisation and a visceral connection to the people who lived through it”. As Faulkner (nd) points out, being physically present at battlefields and sites of conflict allows people to “remember who we are and why we are” and “offers insights beyond any book, movie or television show”. Page (2016, p.41) enhances this argument, suggesting that physical space is powerful and can stir our emotions and imagination “in ways other connections to the past cannot” (Faulkner, nd). Furthermore, Tilley (1994, p.75) explains that a two-dimensional representation of a battlefield “fails and cannot substitute for being there in place”, figure 13.



Figure 13: *Students visiting Little Round Top, United States of America (Baldwin, 2016). Baldwin (2016) remarked that the visit allowed him to not only “better understand battle tactics” but it also “brought the battle of Gettysburg alive in a way that no textbook had been able to”.*

In addition to providing a physical means through which knowledge and understanding can be obtained, Sutherland (nd, p.08) points out that “at a local level, battlefields can provide a social focus” which inspires community spirit. Thus, positioning battlefields as a stimulator of social capital. Sutherland’s comments are echoed by the American Battlefield Trust (nd) who write that battlefields “provide unique social experiences that connect neighbours and visitors to one another and their shared heritage”. Furthermore, as Jones (2017, p.25) explains, events such as battle re-enactments, community festivals, rituals and ceremonial practices, can play a fundamental role “in the establishment of social value” and the generation of meaning at heritage sites such as battlefields. Furthermore, such events permit the transmission of memory, identity and values (Jones, 2017). Thus, battlefields and sites of conflict are not solely places of historic, educational and aesthetic value. They are also places which have the ability to generate and foster social and communal value.

In addition to being places which can stimulate social and communal value, battlefields and sites of conflict can also add value to the economy. For example, as the American Battlefield Trust (nd) points out, events on historic battlefields, such as re-enactments, can provide an economic boost to local and state coffers and can create local jobs. Thus, a battlefield has the ability to contribute to the wider economy, enhancing its existence value. However, as Sutherland (nd) points out, if a battlefield has been built over, or unpleasant to visit, people will not be keen to visit as the site will no longer be perceived as authentic. Thus, the perceived authenticity of the battlefield is crucial in ensuring it remains a source of visitor interest, a focus for social events and revenue generation.

A final point to make in this section concerns the ability of historic battlefields to stimulate the formation of interest groups, such as the Tewkesbury and Towton battlefield societies. Such groups, mainly comprising of volunteers, can make a valuable contribution in furthering the knowledge of the battle as well as organising guided walks of the battlefield and historical re-enactments. In addition, they can play a key role in raising awareness of the pressures which can impact on battlefields, such as the threat of development, figure 14.



Figure 14: Members of Tewkesbury Battlefield Society holding copies of a petition signed by almost 3,000 people, anxious to prevent a new housing development on the battlefield (Jenkins, 2017).

In conclusion, this section positioned battlefields and sites of conflict as educational, social and recreational resources, drivers of tourism and potential sources of revenue generation. In

addition, it highlighted that battlefield societies can play an important role in generating new knowledge about battles, can organise events at the battlefield and can raise awareness of threats to the battlefield. Furthermore, it established their ability to stimulate emotional and visceral responses. The impact of this will be analysed in the following chapter, specifically how these responses may impact on the public's reaction to planning applications which impact on historic battlefields. Furthermore, it introduced the link between the physical characteristics of these places and their ability to stimulate an emotional response. A concept which will be explored in more detail below.

4.4 Battlefields, sites of conflict, sense of place and emotional value

This section seeks to gain an understanding of what is meant by sense of place. Furthermore, explores the ways battlefields and other sites of conflict can contribute to sense of place. The purpose of this is to provide further evidence of how such places can stimulate emotional, even spiritual responses.

As Reilly, Nolan and Monckton (2018) point out, historic places contribute to a strong sense of place. However, sense of place is not experienced in the same way by the same people at the same historic place. Jones (2017, p.25) writes that "sense of place is made up of locally constituted meanings and values". Thus, sense of place is difficult to measure and is shaped by physical and social characteristics and external influences which are ever-changing (Graham, Mason and Newman, 2009). As scholars such as Agnew (cited in Convery, Corsane and Davis, 2012, p.02) point out, sense of place can be defined as "the subjective and emotional attachments people have to a place".

Jepson and Sharpley (nd, p.01) write that sense of place can be so powerful that it can "induce spiritual or emotional responses". Gold and Gold (2003, p.04) argue this is particularly true in the case of battlefields and other sites of conflict, which have become "interlaced with notions of sacred space" due to them being "sanctified by the blood" of the fallen. As Sikora (2013, p.32) points out, this sense of spirituality, induced by sense of place, can be a motivating factor for visits to battlefields, with these visits "akin to a religious pilgrimage" for many visitors.

Due to their associations with regret, defeat or loss, there are examples of sites of conflict which have been deliberately retained in a way which acts as a physical reminder of the atrocities of conflict, figure 15. Such places provide an outlet for expressing emotions, function as sites of pilgrimage and "challenge us to recall basic realities of historical experience, especially those of death, suffering and sacrifice" (Rainey cited in Gough, 2008, p.224). . Furthermore, the sense of place created by such landscapes and their links to spirituality ensure that they are experienced on a deep and personal level (National Park System

Advisory Board, 2001). Thus, this further positions sites of conflict as places which can invoke strong emotional reactions.



Figure 15: Oradour-sur-Glane (Peregrine, 2013). The French village where almost all residents were murdered by the Schutzstaffel in 1944. Following the end of World War Two, Charles de Gaul decreed the village should remain as it was following the massacre as a reminder of the tragedy. Visitors to the village report being able to “get a sense of the hurt and suffering” that its residents experienced (Nikkinounou, 2016).

In addition to leaving sites of conflict intact as a reminder of past atrocities, they have also been enhanced with features that contribute to and enhance sense of place. At the site of the battle of Bannockburn, efforts have been made to enhance the sense of place conveyed by the battlefield. Visitors leave the visitor centre and move into an outdoor space designed to convey a sense of reflection, with the statue of King Robert the Bruce placed to convey the impression he is “scanning the horizon for the advancing English army” (Museums and Heritage Advisor, 2014). Raivo (1995) argues that landscapes of conflict, such as Bannockburn, are not just solely intended to convey a sense of place. They provide a physical means through which myth and ideology can be expressed and can “evinced a nationalistic narrative of unified history and culture from past times up to the present day” (Raivo, 1995, p.95). Thus, sense of place is another tool which can be used in the construction of collective identity.

As Miles (2017) writes, the provocative combination of landscapes of conflict and memorial can provide an emotive focal point for remembrance. For example, the memorial to the battle of Towton in Yorkshire, figure 16, provides a focal point to remember the fallen on both sides

of the Wars of the Roses conflict, in a landscape which remains unchanged since the battle. Visitors to the monument can gain a sense of what it might have been like to step out in battle that day, prompting reactions which “are not immediately expressible but which are deeply felt, physical, visceral” (Waterton and Watson, 2015, p.94). Thus, the combination of monument and landscape combine to create a strong sense of place, an emotional link with historic events and sympathy with those who lost their lives during battle.



Figure 16: Monument to the battle of Towton (Geograph 2007). The landscape surrounding the monument is thought to be “little changed from that of the battle” (Historic England, 2017, b).

In conclusion, this section found that sites of conflict have a strong sense of place. They are places which people are strongly attached to and their more intangible qualities can stimulate a range of feelings and provide a direct link with the past. In addition, sense of place can mean different things to different people, being rooted in notions of subjectivity which can be shaped by external influences. The following chapter will investigate whether the impact of a sense of place has played a role in influencing public reaction to development on historic battlefields.

4.5 Conclusions regarding the cultural significance of battles and sites of conflict, the values they invoke and the role they can play in society

This chapter provided an insight into the origin and development of the values and emotions in regard to battlefields and sites of conflict and the factors which influenced their development. It explained that it is difficult to extricate heritage from the concept of memory and that memory is closely associated with identity and group preservation. It also noted that society is influential in the construct of a personal and shared memory and, even if based on myth, memory can provide a link with the past which can foster a collective identity. The purpose of this was to understand how these factors could influence the development of cultural heritage values.

The impact of the media in influencing the memory and perception of events was demonstrated, as was the fact that historical figures can be allied to a particular cause to meet a certain political objective. In addition, this chapter provided evidence of the fact that the narrative around particular characters and events is ever-changing as a result of the media's influence. The role of social media was also investigated, providing evidence of its ability to promote and stimulate social action.

The educational, social and recreational value of battlefields and sites of conflict was established, positioning them as valued cultural heritage resources, which can also make a contribution to both the local and wider economy. However, it was noted that these values were dependent on the perceived condition of the site in question, with development potentially impacting on their ability to deliver an authentic experience which is attractive to the visitor. In addition, this section introduced battlefield societies and their role in generating new knowledge of the battle and battlefield and in helping to protect battlefields from the threat of development.

Finally, the concept of battlefields and sites of conflict as drivers of emotional responses was introduced in this chapter. Their ability to convey a sense of place and a direct link with the past was acknowledged, as was their link with sacred space and spirituality and their status as places of pilgrimage and remembrance. Furthermore, it established that sense of place is highly subjective and is influenced by physical and social influences which are always changing.

The next chapter will investigate the specific cultural heritage values which are invoked by four historic battlefields in England and Scotland. It will establish the public's response to planning applications which impacted on these battlefields, before analysing how these applications

were considered in the planning system. Finally, it will establish the extent to which public value aligns with the response of the LPA, HE or HES.

Chapter Five: Battlefield Planning Applications: case studies

5.0 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to evaluate the extent to which public value is complementary or consistent with the protection and management of battlefields. Specifically, it seeks to establish public response to planning applications impacting on historic battlefields in England and Scotland, how determining authorities evaluated and responded to these applications and the views of HE or HES as appropriate. The purpose of this is to ascertain the extent to which the development and conservation management systems aligned with public perceptions of cultural heritage value. Furthermore, it investigates the effectiveness of the planning system in protecting registered and inventory battlefields, with the outcome of each planning being provided as part of the discussion in each case study.

This chapter is divided into four case studies, two in Scotland, two in England. Each case study commences with an introduction regarding the historical and cultural significance of the battle and how the battle is interpreted at the battle site. The purpose of this is to gain an understanding of the factors which may influence public perception of the battle and battlefield. These discussions build on those from the previous chapter and includes values which have been shaped by literary associations and representations in film and other forms of popular media

A map showing the boundary of each battlefield is provided, which evidences the scale of each site and its relationship with the wider landscape. A description of the proposed development is given, which leads to an investigation of the public's reaction to this development. To inform this investigation, responses were collated from LPA planning portals and petitions and were grouped into themes as appropriate, along with the number of times each theme was mentioned. Furthermore, the reasons why the LPA approved or refused the application are provided. In addition, the views of HE and HES regarding the development are provided to facilitate analysis of how they aligned with the views of the public and the LPA. The culmination of this chapter is a discussion which draws together each aspect of the four case studies, comparing the similarities and differences between them in order to draw some conclusions.

5.1 Bannockburn, Scotland

5.1.1 Historical significance

Despite being significantly outnumbered by English forces, the battle of Bannockburn (1314) was hailed as a decisive victory for Robert the Bruce over Edward II in the First War of Scottish Independence, marking a major turning point in Scottish and English relations. The victory

gave Bruce “control of Scotland and essentially removed both English Forces and his own internal enemies from within the country” (Historic Environment Scotland, 2012, a).

5.1.2 Cultural significance

The significance of the battle means there is a wealth of cultural association in relation to both the Battle and Robert the Bruce, “which has left its mark on the Scottish Psyche” (Brown, cited in BBC, 2015). To many people, the battle represents victory and “stands for ideas of heroism, freedom, independence and nationalism” (Alexander and Cairns, 2002, cited in Fair, 2014).

In considering the reasons for these associations, Ditchburn and MacDonald (2014, p.164) claim the memory of the battle was “decisively perpetuated by John Barbour’s great poem, *The Bruce*”, which has “resonated with later centuries”. Written in approximately 1375, the poem appeals to those of a nationalist persuasion as a result of its stirring narrative of events of military and political significance. In addition, Robert Burns conveyed the patriotic significance of the battle and Robert the Bruce in his poem, *March to Bannockburn*, written in 1794. The poem, which “takes the form of a speech given by Robert the Bruce” before the battle, “implores Scots to fight for Victory” against English forces (Sharpe, 2015).

In the present day, manifestations of these same sentiments can be evidenced. For example, the *March to Bannockburn*’s association with the Scots’ “glorious struggle for freedom” (Burns cited in BBC, 2014) still holds a strong resonance and ability to convey a sense of identity and unity. For example, it is the anthem of the SNP, sung at the end of the party’s conference each year. Bannockburn’s association with victory over English forces has rendered it a focal point for supporters of Scottish independence, figure 17. This further illustrates points made in the values chapter, concerning how conflict can foster a collective identity and mobilise people behind a cause.



Figure 17: Saltires surround the statue of Robert the Bruce at the site of the Battle of Bannockburn (Ward, 2018). This emphasises how historic figures can become associated with a political cause, as highlighted in the previous chapter.

With regards to Bannockburn, modern day visual media continues to convey a sense of victory against adversity. For example, the 2018 film, *Outlaw King*, cements Bannockburn as a “true David and Goliath story”, demonstrating how Robert the Bruce used “cunning and bravery to defeat and repel” the much stronger English army (Screen Scot, 2018).

5.1.3 Interpretation

The theme of a David and Goliath-style victory is perpetuated at the National Trust for Scotland’s Bannockburn Visitor Centre, where visitors are encouraged to take part in an immersive 3D experience and “witness Bruce’s decisive victory against all odds” (National Trust for Scotland, nd). According to Davidson (2014) the centrepiece of the visitor centre is the battle game, where visitors can play in a way which allows the English to win. However, as Davidson (2014) writes, whoever wins the game, visitors are left in no doubt as to who won the real battle, with a character from the game appearing at the end “to set the record straight”.

5.1.4 Summary of recognised significance and values of Bannockburn

Bannockburn is representative of a victory in the Scottish psyche. This has been conveyed in film and further emphasised at the battlefield’s visitor centre. Furthermore, it is associated with connotations of freedom, nationalism and independence, which have been perpetuated by literary mechanisms and modern politics.

5.1.5 Battlefield boundary and proposed development

Figure 18 shows the inventory boundary. The battlefield also contains the Bannockburn visitor centre and listed monuments. In 2017, a planning application was made to Stirling Council to develop a housing estate. The entirety of the development lies within the inventory boundary outlined in figure 18.

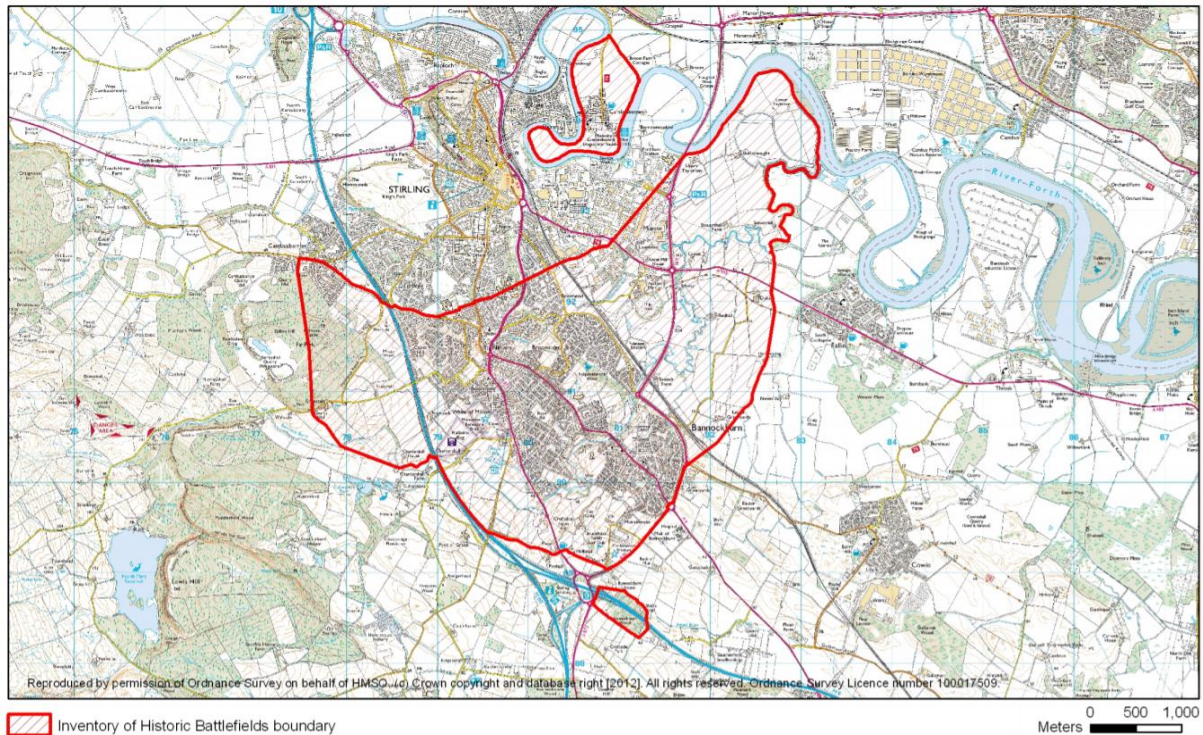


Figure 18: Bannockburn inventory boundary (Historic Environment Scotland, 2012, b).

5.1.6 Public objection to the development

A petition to stop “housing development at Bannockburn” attracted 524 signatures and was submitted to the LPA (38 Degrees, nd). This was not considered admissible by the planning committee as its presentation did not conform to the “regulatory procedures in place to consider objections” (Stirling Council, 2020). However, it was considered appropriate to consider comments left by signatories as they still allowed evaluation of the extent to which the development and conservation management systems aligned with public perceptions of cultural heritage value.

30 signatories left comments on a range of themes. Figure 19 shows the reasons for objection and the percentage of respondents who cited each objection. Further public responses to the proposal were taken from a pre-determination hearing document and are included in figure 19.

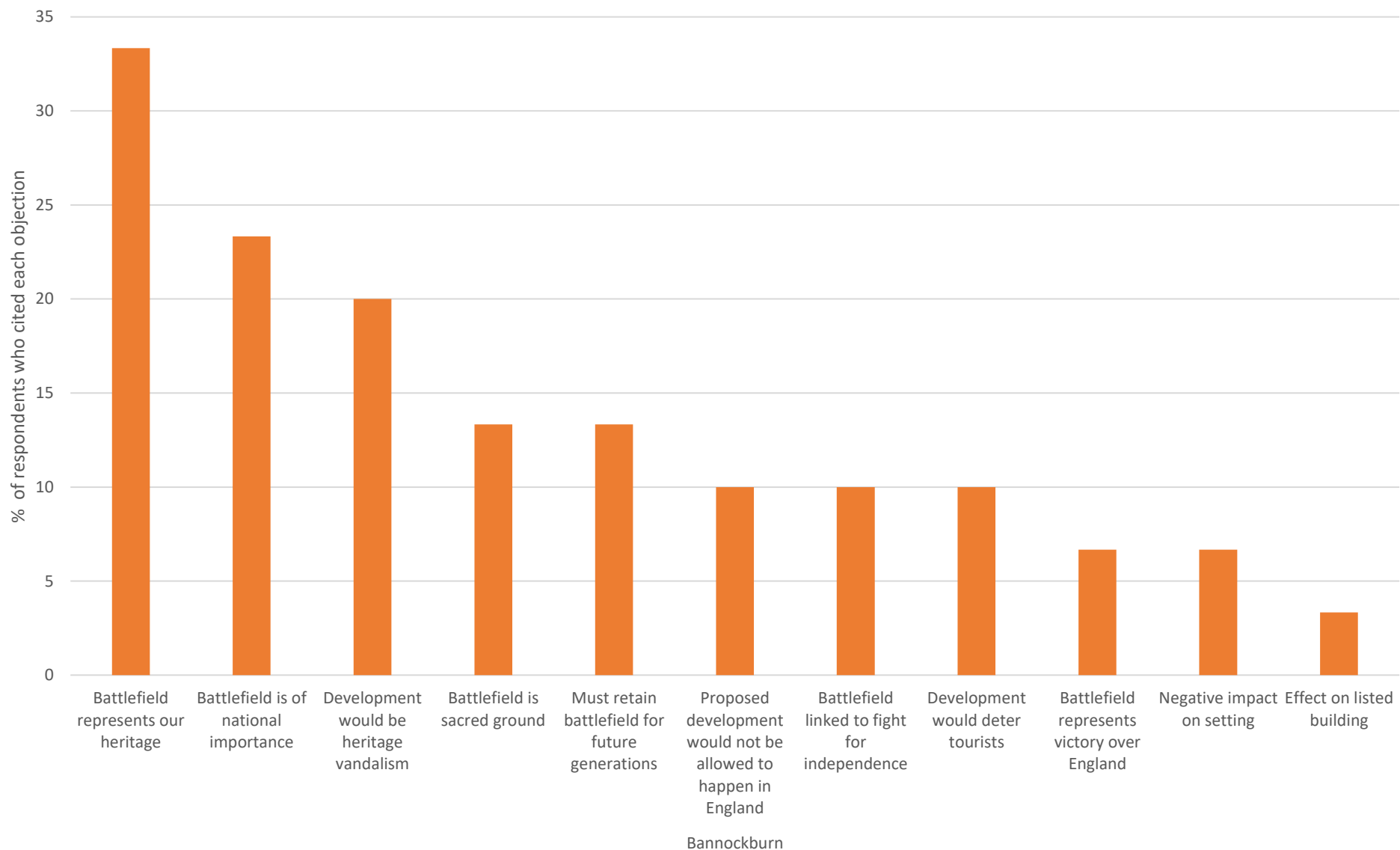


Figure 19: Reason for objection and the percentage of respondents who cited each objection (own graph, source of data: 38 Degrees, nd and Stirling Council, 2017).

5.1.7 Response from Stirling Council and HES

The planning application was refused by Stirling Council. Figure 20 details planning policies the proposal was contrary to. In addition, it states the reason why the development was contrary to planning policy.

Planning policy the development was contrary to	Cited reason development not in line with policy
Policy 7 of Stirling Council Local Plan 2014 and the proposed LDP 2016	Deemed not to safeguard, preserve or enhance the battlefield and its setting Negative impact upon nationally important monuments, listed structures and their setting Adverse impact on archaeology and landscape features which would compromise the character and integrity of the battlefield Would interrupt the wide view from Monument Hill which purposefully allows viewers to understand the advance of Edward II's army
Scottish Planning Policy	Proposal would not protect or enhance cultural heritage
HES - Managing Change in the Historic Environment	Will not protect or enhance the battlefield Adverse impact on listed buildings and battlefield
Battlefield designation and Green Belt Policy	Development on land fundamental to interpretation of the battle

Figure 20: Relevant planning policies and reasons why proposed development was not in line with policy (source: Stirling Council, 2017).

HES also recommended the development for refusal. They added the development “would obscure contours and lessen our understanding of troop movement and action” and impact on “how the battlefield is understood and appreciated” (Historic Environment Scotland, 2017, p.03). Furthermore, they argued Bannockburn “remains a place of significance for the historical and cultural identity of Scotland”, thus the development was “entirely inappropriate and contrary to national and local policies on the protection of Inventory Battlefields” (Historic Environment Scotland, 2017, a, p.03).

5.1.8 Analysis of findings: public response

It is evident from figure 19 that a number of themes link to the significance of the battle and battlefield on the Scottish psyche. This argument is particularly supported through the themes that the battlefield represents our heritage, the battlefield is of national importance, the development would be heritage vandalism and the battlefield is sacred ground. The use of the words vandalism and sacred are particularly emotive, demonstrating that people feel the proposal is a deliberate attack on something they hold in high regard. Thus, these themes emphasise the historical, communal and spiritual value of the site.

The battlefield's political association with nationalism and Scottish independence can be demonstrated through objectors linking the battlefield to the fight for independence and its role in representing a victory over England. However, these themes occurred less frequently compared to the battlefield representing a shared heritage and being of national importance. This indicates the battle and battlefield's impact on wider cultural heritage values are of greater importance to objectors than independence and nationalism.

5.1.9 Analysis of research findings: response from Stirling Council and HES

The material reasons for refusal cited by the LPA, namely impact on setting, structures, landscape, views and archaeology align with those of HES. The LPA and HES specifically stated the battlefield's inventory status as a reason for objection, giving recognition and acknowledgement to this status from the point of view of a statutory consultee. It is apparent that public objection shared similarities with reasons cited by the LPA. For example, impact on cultural heritage and listed buildings and that development would not protect or enhance the battlefield. Thus, demonstrating alignment with official values and representing more material reason for objection to development. However, the main difference between the public, LPA and HES is that the public express their objections in a more emotive manner, in keeping with the communal value which they place on the battlefield.

5.2 Culloden, Scotland

5.2.1 Historical significance

The last pitched battle in Britain, Culloden (1745) marked the end of the Jacobite uprisings and represents a pivotal point in Scottish history, ultimately leading to the assertion of greater English political control over Scotland. The aftermath of the battle transformed the highlands "bringing to an end the traditional way of life and contributing to the subsequent clearances" (Historic Environment Scotland, 2012, c). As Stewart (nd) writes, the battle is a key factor for the Scottish diaspora, particularly to the United States and Canada.

5.2.2 Cultural significance

Like Bannockburn, the impact of the battle of Culloden means it has an “important place in the national identity of Scotland” (Williams, 2013, p.09). However, whereas Bannockburn is viewed as a victory, Culloden is strongly associated with a sense of defeat, loss of life and identity (Open Learn, nd). These themes have been cemented through literary associations with the battle which are imbued with connotations to defeat, sadness and loss. Burns’ *The Lovely Lass o’ Inverness* (1794) references the loss of a father and three brothers. Walter Scott, in his novel *Waverley* (1814), acknowledges the destruction and desolation in the aftermath of the battle.

Representations of the battle in film have also chosen to emphasise “strong themes of loss and sorrow” which “emphasise the brutality of the conflict” (Miles, 2012, p.94). For example, Peter Watkins’, *Culloden*, released in 1964, “dwells on the butchery of the defenceless wounded” and “the retribution wreaked on rebel highland clans in the succeeding months” (Gold and Gold, 2002, p.266). Furthermore, *Chasing the Deer*, (1994) focuses on Bonnie Prince Charlie’s failed attempt to regain the throne and the subsequent massacre of his men on Culloden Moor (BFI, nd).

As Gold and Gold (2007, p.05) explain, the works of Walter Scott led to the revival of “romantic Jacobitism”, turning the “battlefield from undifferentiated moorland into sacred space”. In the present-day, Culloden battlefield is “one of the most visited tourist sites in the Highlands”, becoming an emotional “place of pilgrimage and remembrance for ex-patriot Scots and other members of the diaspora” (Historic Environment Scotland, 2012, c). Thus, illustrating points made in Chapter Four.

5.2.3 Interpretation

Culloden battlefield visitor centre, owned and managed by the National Trust for Scotland, has been described as “powerfully emotive and atmospheric” (ATS Heritage, nd). Modern interpretive material at the centre relies “heavily on its melancholic and emotional resonance” (Miles, 2012, p.13). For example, as Cramond (2012, p.13), writes, one of the attractions at the visitor centre, is a 360-degree immersive film, where visitors stand in the centre of the room “with the battle moving and sounding on the walls around them”, figure 21. Cramond (2012, p.13) explains this film has the ability to invoke strong “personal and even emotional” reactions.

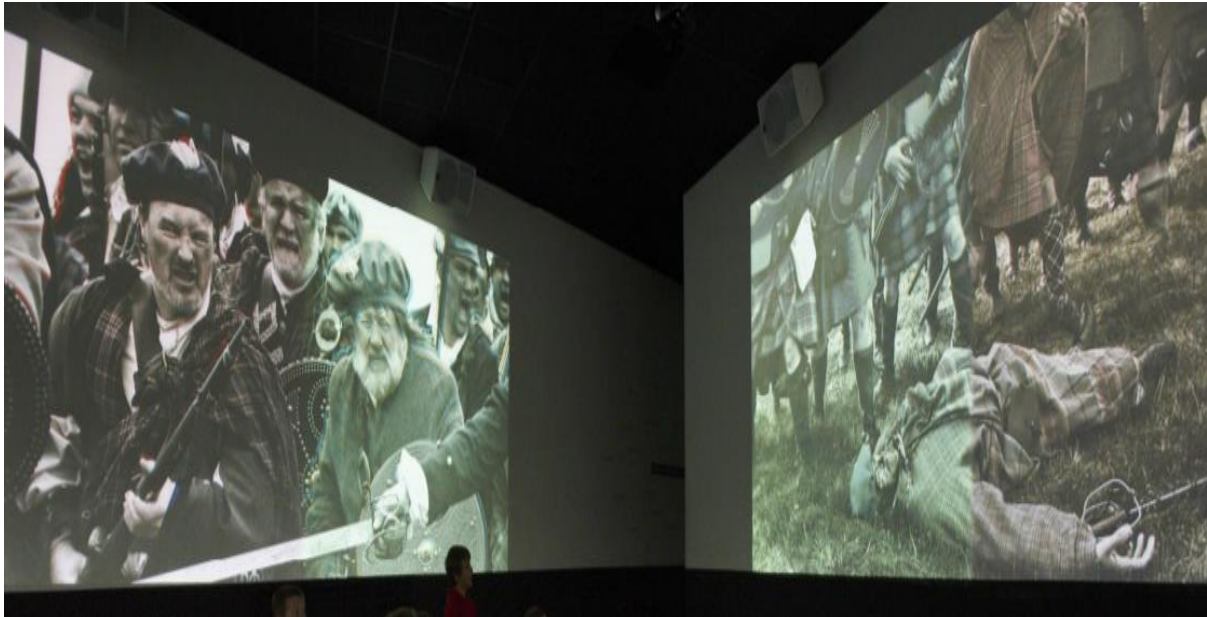


Figure 21: Still from immersive film at Culloden's visitor centre, giving "visitors an idea of what it might have been like in the middle of the battle surrounded by visceral scenes of violent deaths" (Cramond, 2012, p.13).

5.2.4 Summary of recognised significance and values of Culloden

In contrast to Bannockburn, this section demonstrated that Culloden is associated with a sense of defeat and loss, connotations which have been reinforced within the narratives of poems, films and books. Furthermore, Culloden's visitor centre delivers a moving visitor experience, utilising the site's melancholic associations and ability to provoke emotional responses.

5.2.5 Battlefield boundary and proposed development

Figure 22 shows the inventory boundary. The battlefield boundary also contains scheduled monuments, the grade A listed memorial cairn, clan graves and visitor centre.

In 2019, an application was made to Highland Council to change an equestrian centre to a leisure facility, including a shop, lodges and café. The entirety of the site lies within the inventory boundary as well as the Culloden Muir Conservation area.

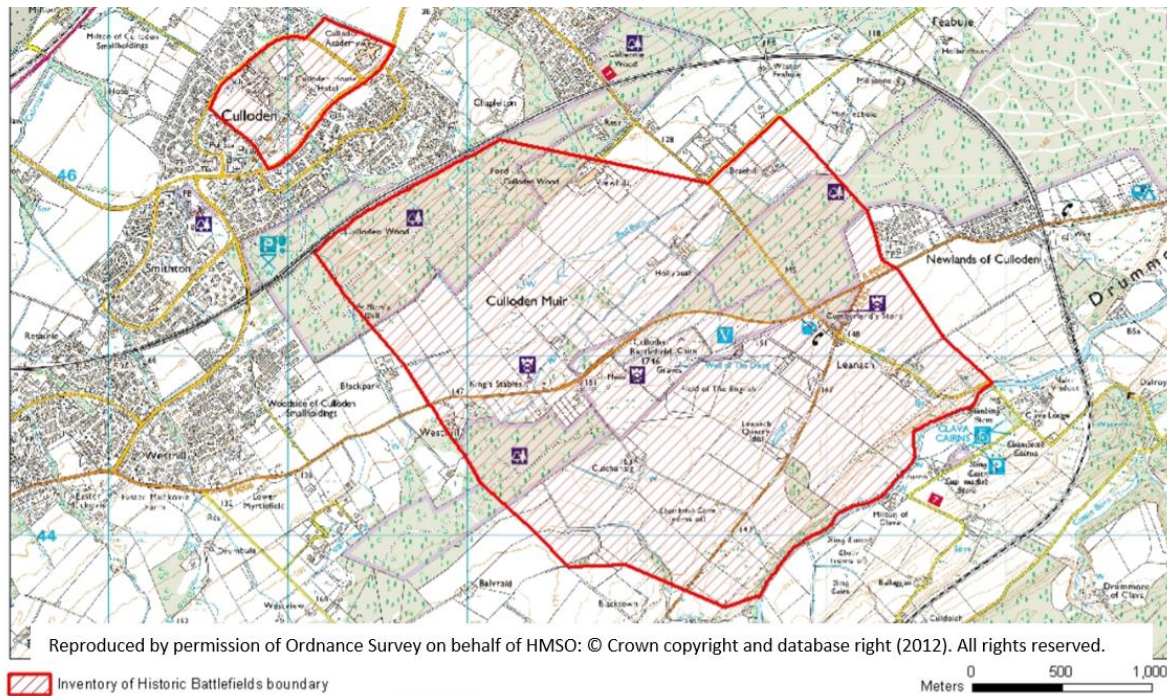


Figure 22: Culloden battlefield inventory boundary (Historic Environment Scotland, 2012, c).

5.2.6 Public objection to the development

The application resulted in 279 letters of objection. 29 comments were available to view on Highland Council's planning portal at the time of writing. There was no petition in respect to this development. Figure 23 shows the reasons for objection and the percentage of respondents who cited each objection.

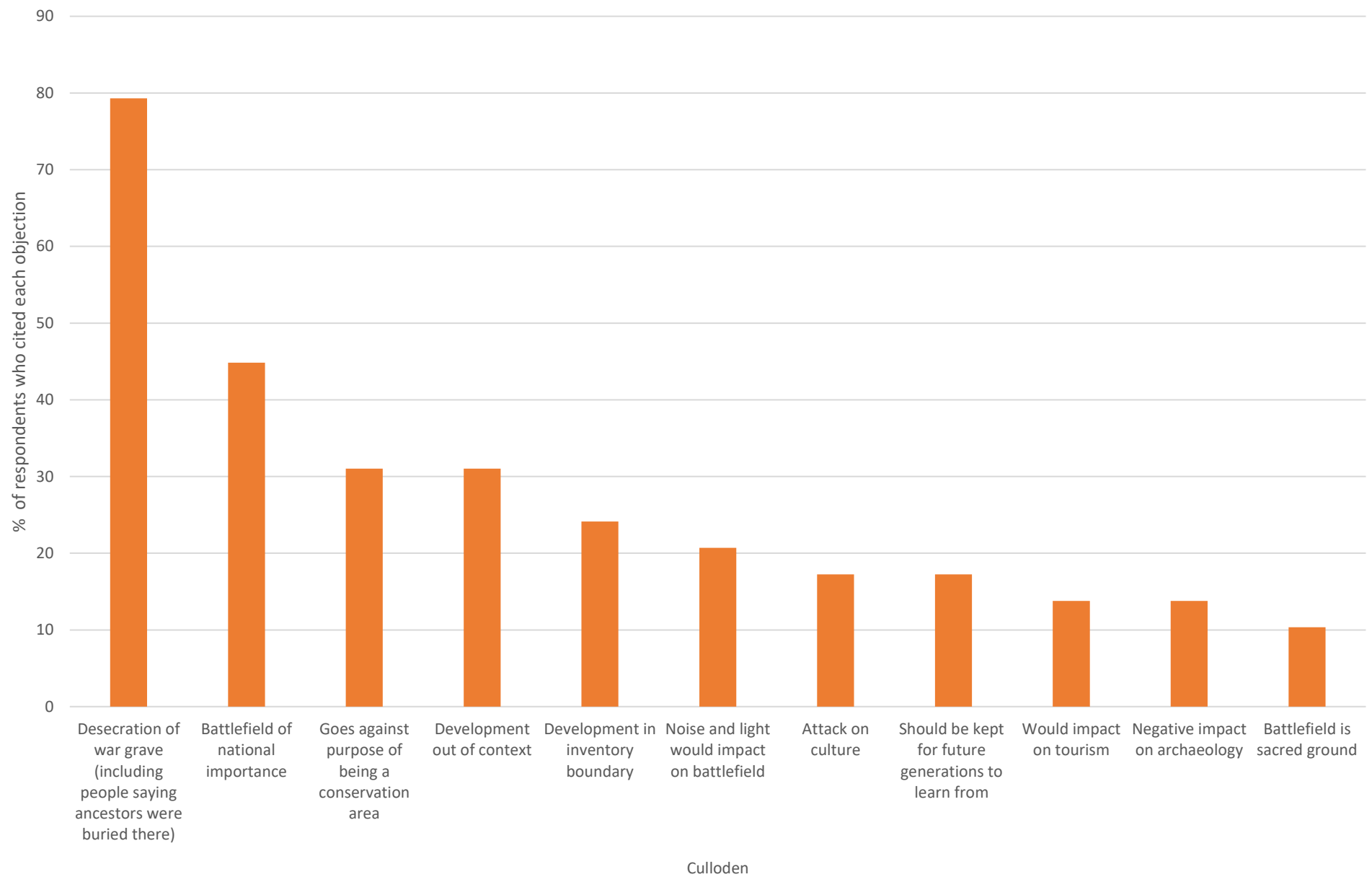


Figure 23: Reason for objection and the percentage of respondents who cited each objection (own graph, source of data: Highland Council, 2018, a).

5.2.7 Response from Highland Council and HES

The planning application was refused by Highland Council. Figure 24 details the planning policies the proposed development was contrary to. In addition, it states the specific reason why the development was contrary to planning policy.

Planning policy the development was contrary to	Cited reason development not in line with policy
Policy 57 of Highland LDP, Natural, Built and Cultural Heritage	Not demonstrated the proposal would not compromise heritage or amenity resource
Culloden Muir Conservation Area: Character Appraisal and Management Plan Supplementary Guidance	Proposal would not enhance or conserve the character of the conservation area

Figure 24: *Relevant planning policies and reasons why proposed development was not in line with policy (source: Highland Council, 2018, b).*

In contrast to the LPA, HES did not object to the proposal, citing “it would not alter the characteristics of the battlefield”, “impact on views” nor would it impact archaeology or “have a significant impact on the battlefield landscape” (Historic Environment Scotland). Unlike Stirling Council, HES did not mention the proposal’s impact on cultural significance, which is stated as being one of their core principles of conservation, as highlighted in Chapter Two.

5.2.8 Analysis of research findings: Public response

The predominant theme in objections is that the proposal would be desecration of a war grave. In this case, “the graves are a scheduled monument and are protected by law” (Pollard, cited in The Scotsman, 2006). Thus, this represents a material, yet emotive reason for objection. Objectors also commented that these graves contained the remains of their ancestors. This reinforces the battlefield’s association as a place of death and loss and emphasises its spiritual value to objectors. Furthermore, it demonstrates the impact of the battle is still felt by subsequent generations, who identify with their fallen ancestors.

The battlefield being within the inventory boundary did not feature in public objection in the Bannockburn case study and represents a material reason for objection. It is worth noting that a group to stop development at Culloden battlefield used social media to encourage people to object to the development, providing a guideline on which people could base their objections. This guideline made reference to material considerations, such as the proposed development being within the inventory boundary, the battlefield being of national importance, its status as a conservation area, and the impact of noise and light emanating from the proposed development (Kempik, 2018). These material grounds for objection were raised by the public,

as demonstrated in figure 23. Thus, further highlighting the role of interest groups and social media in raising awareness of threats to historic battlefields and stimulating social action, as introduced in Chapter Four.

People also objected to the development as they felt it represented an attack on their culture. This prompts comparison with the theme of heritage vandalism in the Bannockburn case study and further demonstrates the use of emotive language to infer that development is a deliberate attack on cultural and communal value. As was the case with Bannockburn, the battlefield was cited to be nationally important and of historic value. In contrast to Bannockburn, no themes related to independence or nationalism, reflecting the differing political impact of the battles.

5.2.9 Analysis of research findings: response from Highland Council and HES

The material considerations for refusal cited by the LPA aligned with public objection regarding heritage and amenity resource and impact on the conservation area. This indicates that the guidance provided by the stop development at Culloden group was effective in capturing material grounds for objection. In contrast to the Bannockburn case study, there was no reference to Scottish Planning Policy and the battlefield's contribution to cultural heritage, thus omitting the opportunity to strengthen grounds for refusal. The response of HES was in contrast to that of the LPA and established that they had no concerns about the development's impact on archaeology, the battlefield's setting and heritage and amenity resource. Furthermore, HES did not align with themes cited in the public's response, such as spiritual and communal value.

5.3 Towton, England

5.3.1 Historical significance

The battle of Towton (1461) was one of the key battles fought during the Wars of the Roses. It is cited to be England's largest, bloodiest and most brutal battle, with an estimated one hundred thousand participants and twenty-eight thousand deaths (English Heritage, 1995). The battle had a significant political impact, with Edward IV's victory over Lancastrian forces resulting in his coronation and, thus, England's first Yorkist King (Jones, 2014).

5.3.2 Cultural Significance

Literary portrayals of the Battle of Towton, such as Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, describe the horror of the battle. In 2013, the play was staged at Towton battlefield, taking advantage of the site's ability to convey a strong sense of atmosphere, figure 25. The poet, Geoffrey Hill, took the battle of Towton as his theme when he penned *Funeral Music* in 1968, a poem which "is broken by grunts and shrieks" and "cries for help" (Hill, cited in Matthias, 1992, p.54).



Figure 25: *Henry IV* performed at Towton battlefield (The York Press, 2013). One viewer commented it was “quite a pole-axeing thing to realise that the field you’re in and surrounding tranquil farmland, was, that snowy day 550-odd years ago, a landscape of barely describable horror” (Cavendish, 2013).

Despite its historical and political impact, Towton became a relatively forgotten battle in public memory (Clark, 2016). Consequently, it has not been the focus of films in the way that Bannockburn and Culloden have. However, the discovery of a mass grave at the battlefield in 1996, prompted significant media interest. The excavation of these remains, many of which evidenced horrific injuries, featured in the *Blood Red Roses* documentary, attracting a large number of viewers (Sutherland, nd). Thus, the battle and its brutality were introduced to a large new audience, raising awareness of the brutality of the battle and leading to a re-emergence of a human link with the battle.

5.3.3 Interpretation

In contrast to Bannockburn and Culloden, Towton does not have visitor facilities owned and managed by the National Trust. However, the Towton Battlefield Society, managed solely by volunteers, delivers a range of interpretive and educational events at the battlefield. The society was founded in the early 1990s in the wake of “a decision to construct the A1-M1 link across the battlefield at Naseby” and the “subsequent consideration of battlefields in the planning sphere” (The Towton Battlefield Archaeology project, nd). Also in contrast to

Bannockburn and Culloden is the way the battle is presented to the public. According to Foster (2019, p.45), society members carry out guided walks in a way “which remain impartial enough to present both sides of the story, enabling the listener to develop their own opinions”. Comments which are supported by many reviews of the walk on the Trip Advisor website.

5.3.4 Summary of recognised significance and values of Towton

The historic significance of the Battle of Towton is considerable. However, it remained a comparatively unknown battle until relatively recently, with interest increasing in the wake of the discovery of soldier’s remains and the introduction of battlefield registration. In contrast to Bannockburn and Culloden, the site does not have a formal visitor centre. Nevertheless, battlefield guides seek to provide an impartial guided walk, allowing visitors to form their own opinions of the battle. Thus, there is no clear evidence of a slant on how the battle is interpreted in an attempt to provoke a particular response.

5.3.5 Battlefield boundary and proposed development

Figure 26 shows the boundary of the registered battlefield, extended in 2017 by HE after an extensive series of campaigns by the Towton Battlefield Society (BBC, 2017).

In 2012, Selby Council received an application seeking removal of a condition which stipulated that a caravan site for travellers could only be sited on a temporary basis. The entirety of the site lies immediately adjacent to the boundary of the registered battlefield (the site also falls outwith the boundary amended in 2017).

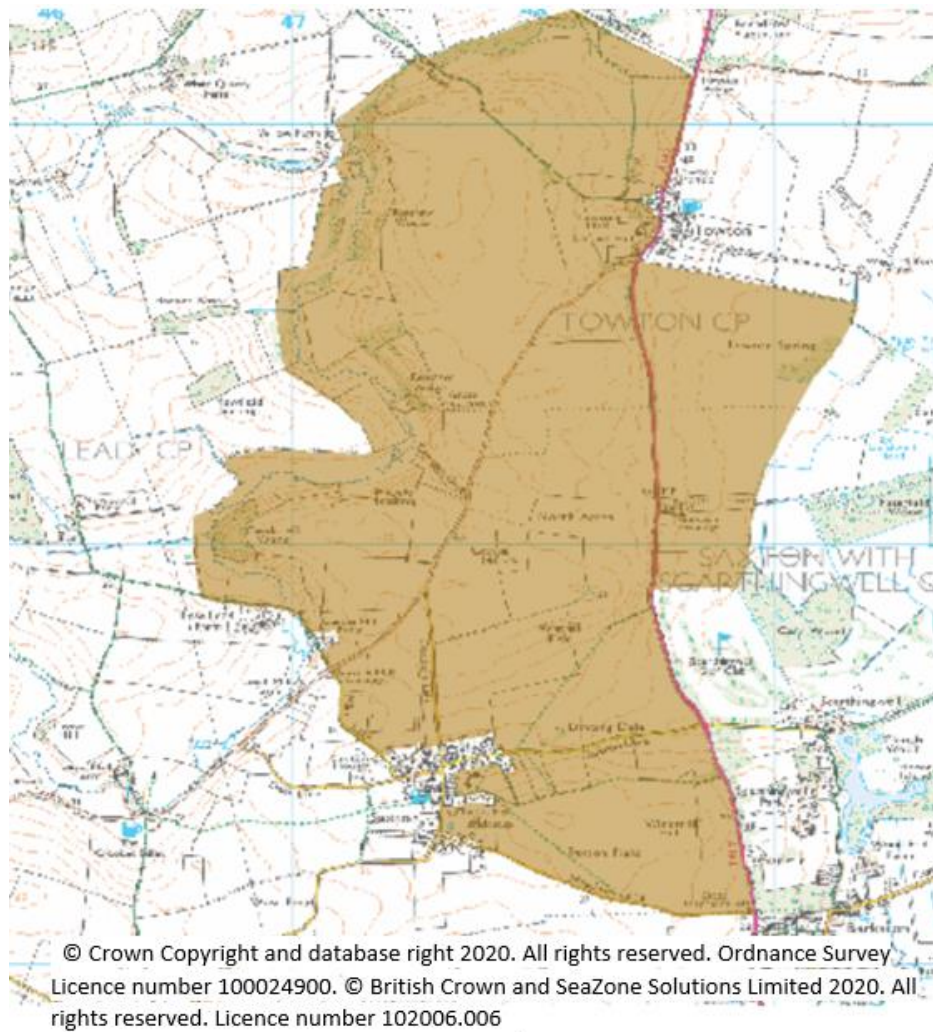


Figure 26: Boundary of Towton registered battlefield (Historic England, 2017, b).

5.3.6 Public objection to the development

The application resulted in 249 letters of objection. No petition was submitted in relation to the development. Figure 27 shows the reasons for objection and percentage of respondents who cited each objection.

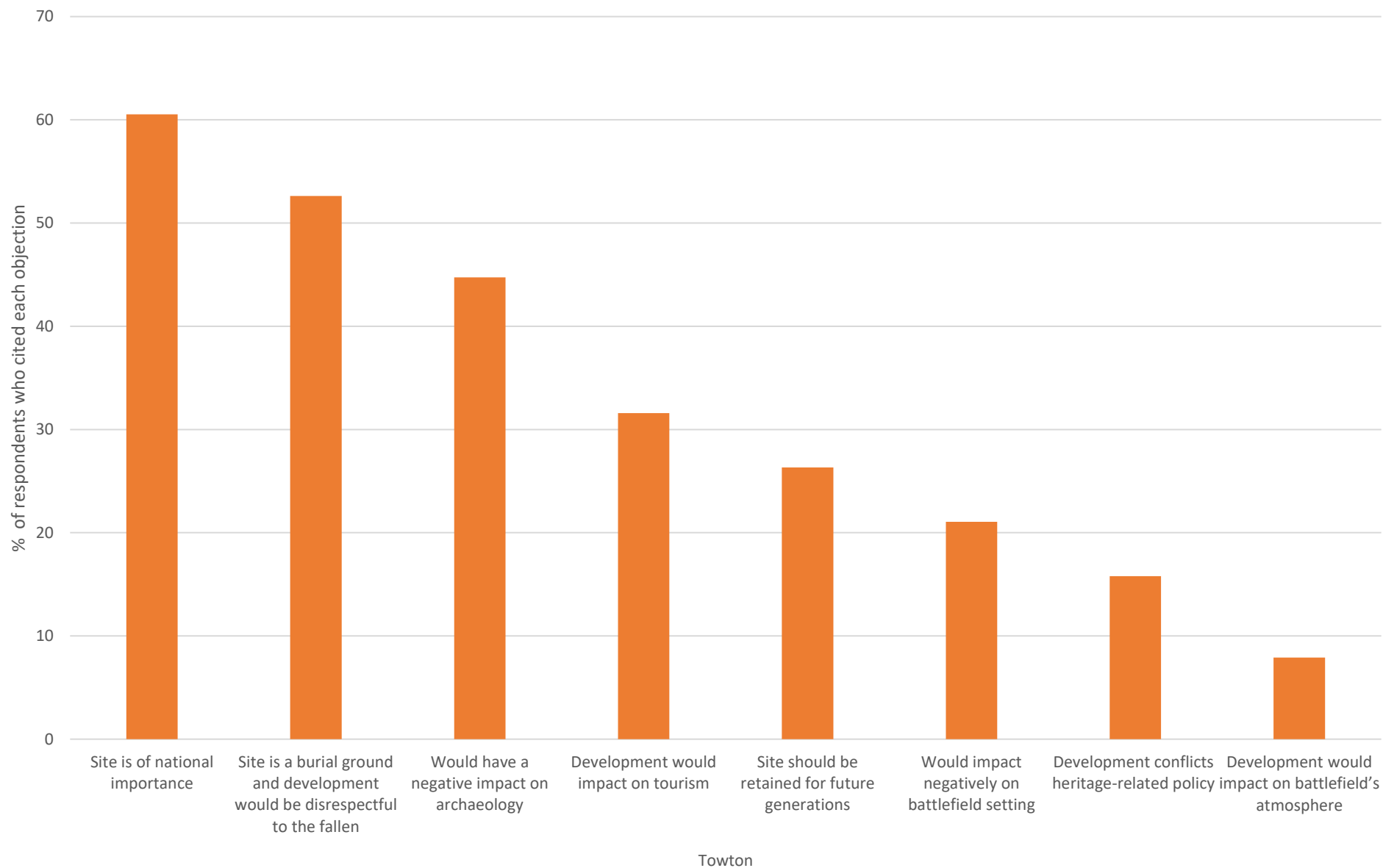


Figure 27: Reason for objection and the percentage of respondents who cited each objection (own graph, source of data: Selby Council, 2012).

5.3.7 Response of Selby Council and HE

The application was refused by Selby Council due to its impact on the green belt. Impact on the battlefield and its setting was not mentioned. The notice of decision document for the original planning application was consulted to see if it included reference to the battlefield but this was also not the case.

English Heritage (2012), the predecessor of HE, had no objection to the application on heritage grounds as the site was “outwith the boundary of the Towton Moor registered historic battlefield” and thus, would not affect the battlefield’s setting. In addition, they stated the application would not “constitute an unacceptable degree of harm to the significance of possible heritage assets” (English Heritage, 2012). There was no suggestion that English Heritage had considered the development’s impact on communal and symbolic value in their response, considerations which form a key part of their conservation principles, as outlined in Chapter Two.

5.3.8 Analysis of research findings: public response

The themes in figure 27 largely reflect those of Bannockburn and Culloden. Like Culloden, the site being a burial ground is a frequent reason for objection, underscoring the battlefield’s status as a spiritual site. However, in contrast to Culloden, there are no graves given scheduled monument protection, thus in this instance, this is not a material reason for objection. The use of emotive language is also a factor, citing some examples from the objections, one respondent made reference to the “appalling conditions” in which the men died and another added that it would be disrespectful to the many dead yet to be found.

The frequency of respondents who objected on the ground that the battlefield is of national importance demonstrates the site’s importance in this regard. Although not a frequently occurring theme, the impact of development on the battlefield’s atmosphere was mentioned, indicating an appreciation of the battlefield’s aesthetic qualities and its ability to convey a sense of place.

The impact of the proposed development on tourism is a more commonly occurring theme in Towton’s case. Within their objection letters, many people highlighted that they travelled from outwith the area to visit events at the battlefield and made use of local facilities such as shops and cafes. Thus, despite its existence value, the battlefield has had a positive impact on local businesses, as introduced in Chapter Four. Also, a more commonly occurring theme in this example is that the proposed development would impact on archaeology, representing the evidential value that people associate with the battlefield.

5.3.9 Analysis of research findings: response of Selby Council and HE

Although objectors cited material considerations, such as impact on setting and conflict with heritage-related planning policy, the material reasons for refusal cited by the LPA did not refer to such matters, including the battlefield's registered status. This could be attributed to the fact the development was outwith the boundary of the registered battlefield. However, as highlighted in Chapter Two planning policy and HE guidance states that attention should be paid to the contribution of setting when considering planning applications which impact on a registered battlefield. In addition, it is also clear that the public did not share HE's view that the setting of the battlefield would not be affected. Consequently, this provides another example of a contrast between official and public values.

5.4 Bosworth Field, England

5.4.1 Historical significance

The Battle of Bosworth Field (1485) was one of the final battles of the Wars of the Roses. It bore witness to the death of the last English king to be killed in battle, Richard III, bringing an end to the Plantagenet dynasty (University of Leicester, nd). The subsequent Tudor dynasty changed England forever, with Henry VII pursuing a "policy of alliance with Scotland", paving "the way for the union of the crowns in 1603" (Battlefields of Britain, nd).

5.4.2 Cultural significance

The most significant representation of the battle is in Shakespeare's play, *Richard III*, which has also been adapted into films. The play fuels the fire of the Tudor propaganda machine, legitimising the victor and cementing Richard's reputation as a villain who murdered his nephews. The popularity of Shakespeare and his play has resulted in an enduring image of Richard III as a narcissistic tyrant.

The *Fellowship of the White Boar*, founded in 1924 by a group of historians, antiquarians and novelists, sought to redress the myths surrounding the king (Boatwright, nd). The Fellowship was founded in a period of profound "change and growth" and "exploration and learning" (Silverstein, 2004). In 1956, the fellowship became the Richard III Society, amid the publication of Josephine Tey's, *The Daughter of Time* and Paul Murray Kendall's, *Richard III*. The impact of these publications led to a renewed recognition in the national consciousness that Richard III may not have been the villain he had been portrayed to be (Boatwright, nd).

The discovery of the remains of Richard III in 2012 stimulated huge media and public interest and generated a worldwide curiosity about the king's life (University of Leicester, 2015). Plans for his reinternment in 2015, figure 28, prompted wide debate concerning where he should be

reinterred. Several petitions were started by people keen to see him reinterred in either York or Westminster Abbey. According to Tarlow (nd) the public response demonstrates a human connection with the king and evidences that the “bodies of the dead have powerful social, religious and emotional meanings”. Thus, the treatment of remains, including those which are hundreds of years old, clearly matter to the public.



Figure 28: Richard III's funeral cortege (Ashe, 2016). The event drew huge crowds, with many throwing white roses at the hearse marking a sign of remembrance, sympathy and an interest in the last English king to die in battle.

5.4.3 Interpretation

In 1974 the Battle of Bosworth Heritage Centre opened at Ambion Hill Farm, owned and managed by Leicestershire County Council. The quincentenary of the battle in 1985 prompted the opening of a range of new exhibitions, which have been expanded upon in subsequent years. According to the website of the Bosworth Heritage Centre, none of these have a slant on favouring either Richard III or Henry VII. Furthermore, during her visit in 2014, Rawling (2014) noted the centre and battlefield offered a “balanced view of Tudor and Plantagenet images”. Thus, as is the case with Towton, there is no clear evidence of a slant on how the battle is interpreted in an attempt to provoke a response in favour of the victor or loser.

Like Culloden and Bannockburn, the centre's exhibitions are designed to be interactive, emotional, immersive and educational “to provide a human link to the battle” (The Best in Heritage, nd). Characters chosen as part of these immersive exhibitions “include a cross representation of those involved on the day” (The Best in Heritage, nd). Visitors can also take part in a guided tour of the battlefield, which has been described as an educational, yet

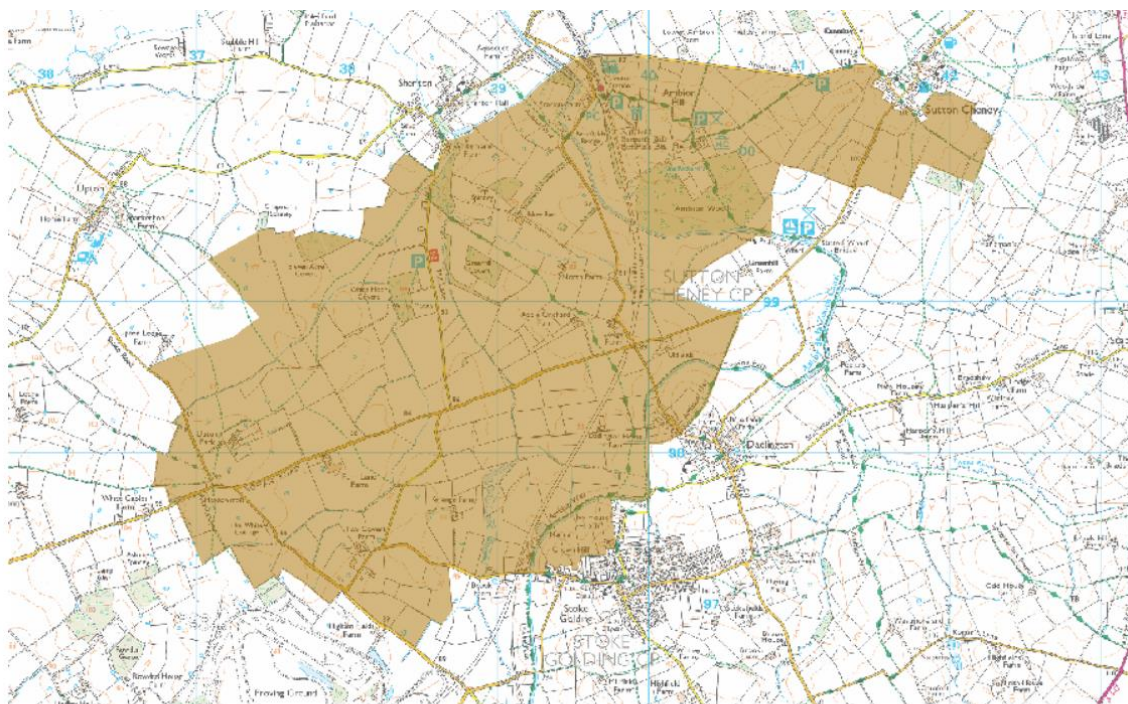
poignant and emotional experience, enhanced by the landscape characteristics and peacefulness of the site (blancsanglier, cited in Matt's History Blog, 2019). Thus, the aesthetic value of the site contributes to a sense of place.

5.4.4 Summary of recognised significance and values of Bosworth Field

Bosworth Field resulted in the death of Richard III and the start of the Tudor dynasty. Following his death, Shakespeare portrayed Richard III as a villain, however, societal changes in the early twentieth century led to a re-evaluation of the king. The discovery of his remains in 2012 generated further interest in Richard III and featured prominently in the media. Furthermore, this prompted significant debate about where he should be reinterred. Interpretative facilities at the heritage centre and battlefield seek to remain impartial and educational. However, some exhibitions are specifically designed to invoke a wider human connection with the battle.

5.4.5 Battlefield boundary and proposed development

The boundary of the registered battlefield is shown in figure 29. In 2018, a planning application was submitted to Hinckley and Bosworth Borough Council for a driverless car test track, part of which falls within the boundary of the registered battlefield, figure 30.



© Crown Copyright and database right 2020. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100024900.
© British Crown and SeaZone Solutions Limited 2020. All rights reserved. Licence number 102006.006.

Figure 29: Boundary of Bosworth registered battlefield (Historic England, 2013).

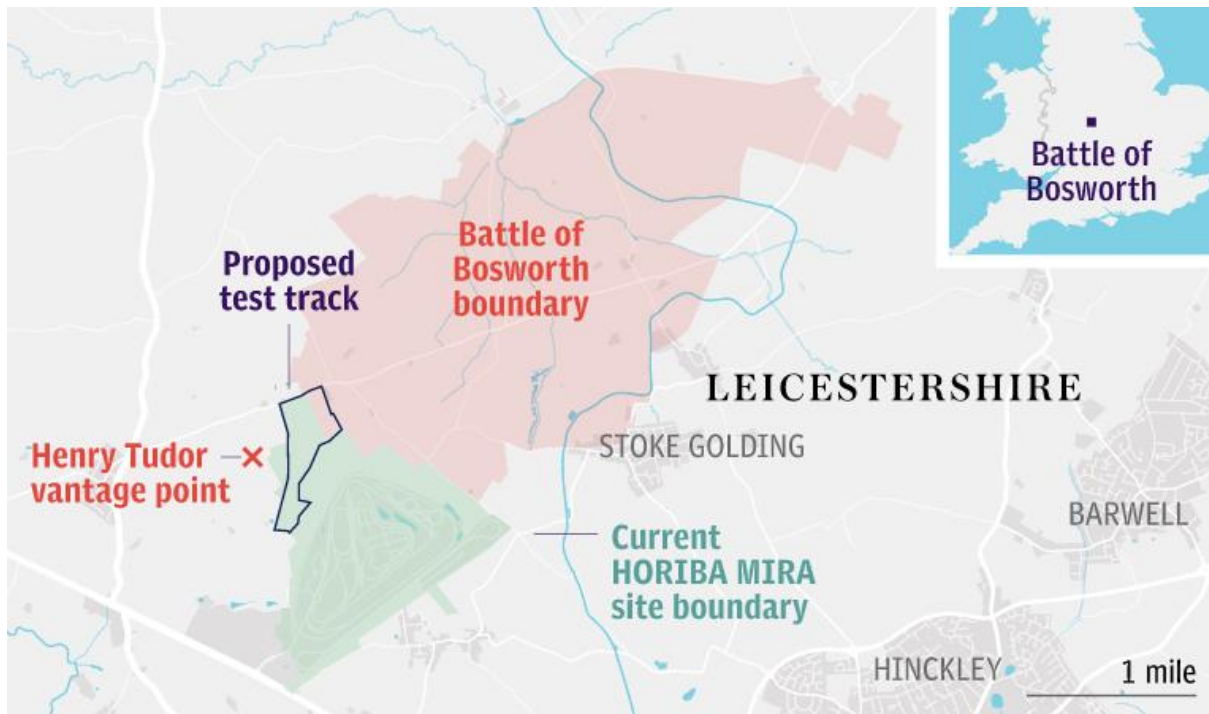


Figure 30: Location of test track in relation to registered battlefield (Telegraph Reporters, 2018).

5.4.6 Public objection to the development

A petition to “stop plans to build a high-speed test track on Bosworth battlefield” attracted over 16,000 signatures and was submitted to the LPA (Change.org, nd). However, this was not considered as it did not provide the names and address of signatories. 55 comments were consulted until themes had reached saturation point. Figure 31 shows the reasons for objection and the percentage of respondents who cited each objection. In addition, 459 letters of objection were submitted to the LPA. At the time of writing, these were not available to view individually, however, a document on the council’s planning portal contains the objections which are included in figure 32.

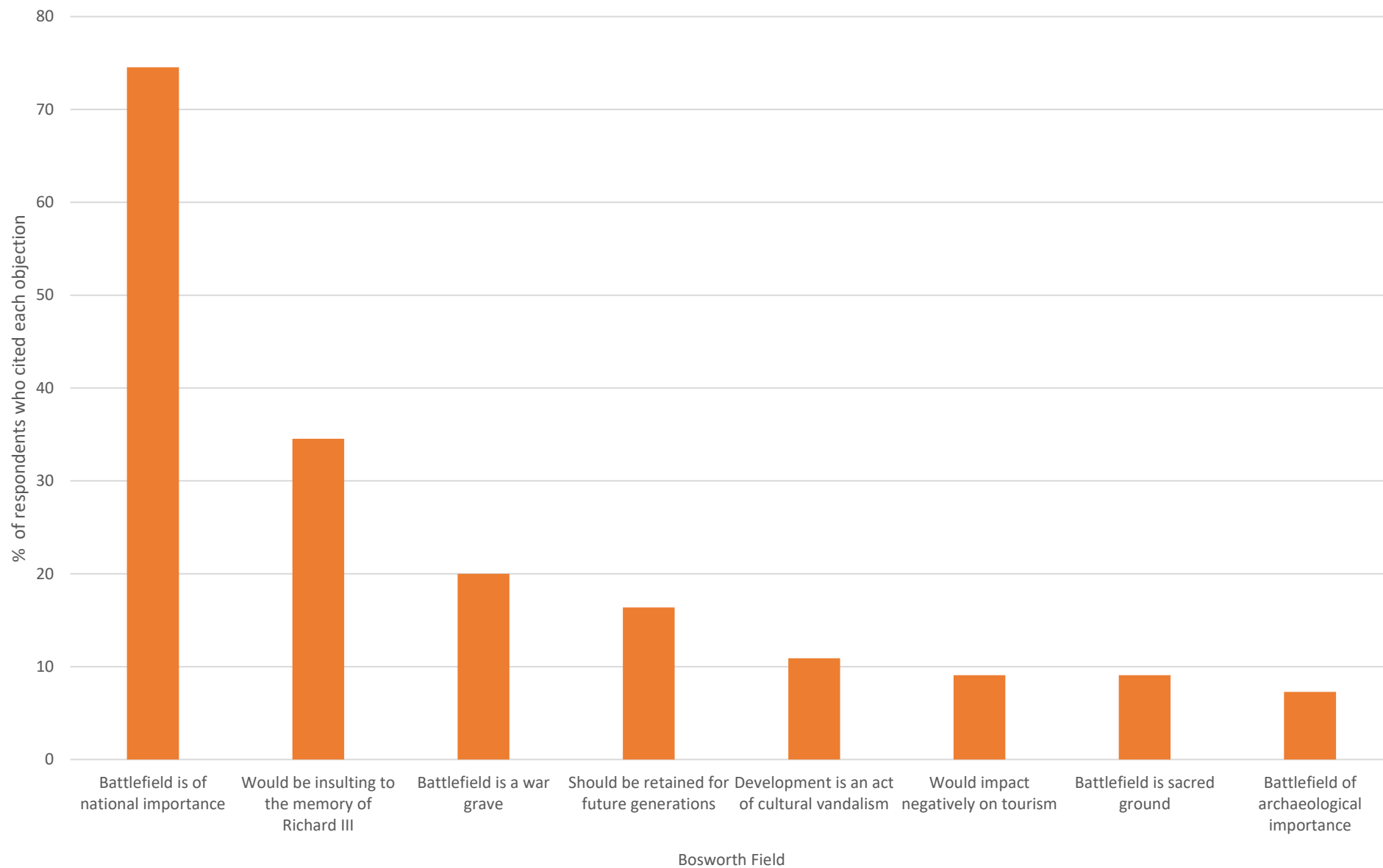


Figure 31: Reason for objection and the percentage of respondents who cited each objection (own graph, source of data: change.org, nd).

Cited reason why battlefield should not be developed
Loss of heritage asset which is significant locally and nationally
Would result in significant irreversible harm to the battlefield
Negative impact on battlefield does not outweigh public benefit
Negative impact on tourism
Would be disrespectful to those who lost their lives
Contrary to heritage-related planning policy
Should be retained for future generations

Figure 32: Heritage-related themes contained in objections submitted to the LPA (source: Hinckley and Bosworth Council, 2018, a).

5.4.7 Response of Hinckley and Bosworth Council and HE

Planning Officers recommended the application for approval. They argued that the test track would result “in less than substantial harm to the significance of the battlefield”, with the “public benefit” outweighing any harm done (Hinckley and Bosworth Council, 2018, b, p.17). Councillors agreed to approve the development “as it would contribute significantly to the economy” (BBC, 2018). The development’s impact on cultural heritage values was not a consideration.

Historic England (2018, p.1-2) did not have an objection to the development, claiming that it was located on “just a small strip of the battlefield”, so would not cause “substantial harm”. Furthermore, they argued that the development would not obscure “key views that really allow the visitor to understand how the battle played out” (Historic England, 2018, p.02). As with Towton, the battlefield’s communal, spiritual and symbolic value was not mentioned.

5.4.8 Analysis of public response

The national importance of the battle is the most frequently cited reason for objection. This again reflects objections in the previous three case studies. Although in the case of Bannockburn and Culloden there are strong associations with key historic figures, this is the only case study where a protagonist of the battle is named in objections. The notion that development would be insulting to Richard III’s memory is an interesting theme and demonstrates that the long-dead king was a key driver of public objection to development. Furthermore, it demonstrates the evolution in public opinion of Richard III, from monstrous villain to a figure who invokes respect and sympathy.

This case study also highlights that objectors felt the development would be an act of vandalism, providing another example of emotive language in the public’s response and

reflects the objections made to development at Bannockburn and Culloden. Thus, this provides further evidence that people feel that development is a deliberate attack on cultural and communal value. In addition, objectors also claim the site is a war grave and is sacred ground, sharing a common theme with previous case studies and demonstrating the site's spiritual and communal value to objectors. However, like Towton, there are no graves given protection under the planning system. Thus, this represents a non-material reason for objection. However, public objection did make reference to material planning considerations in their comments that development would go against heritage-related planning policy.

5.4.9 Analysis of research findings: response from Hinckley Borough Council and HE

In contrast to the previous case studies, the LPA recommended the application for approval. They argued that public benefit, in the form of an economic boost, would outweigh the less than substantial harm done to the battlefield. The response of HE aligns with the LPA in respect to the amount of harm they feel the development would cause to the registered battlefield. However, the view that development would not cause substantial harm to the battlefield was not shared by objectors who specifically stated that the negative impact of the development would not outweigh the public benefit. Thus, as with Culloden and Towton, official and public values do not align.

5.5 Conclusion regarding case studies

The historic battlefields discussed in these case studies invoked a range of values and emotions and were perceived as places of cultural significance by members of the public. These values were not fixed in time and were shaped by a range of influences, such as literary and political associations, social memory and identity, film and television and events and interpretation at the site, enhancing the findings in Chapter Four. The impacts of these influences were reflected within public objection. For example, the battlefield being linked to Scottish Independence, the battlefield being the final resting place of people's ancestors, the atmospheric value of a battlefield and that development should be prevented as it was insulting to the memory of a long-dead king. Thus, public objection to development in each of the four battlefields invoked unique responses.

It was also apparent that a number of themes raised in public objection to development were consistent in each example. For example, the national importance of the battle, the battlefield as a war grave or sacred ground, that the battlefield should be retained intact for future generations and for its ability to attract tourists. This demonstrates that although each battlefield can invoke specific cultural heritage values, as highlighted in the previous paragraph, public objection to development also shared common factors. Thus, in the context

of these case studies, this cements the ability of historic battlefields to consistently invoke a variety of spiritual, historical, social, communal and symbolic values.

Despite the case studies positioning battlefields as places of cultural significance, the degree to which cultural heritage values were considered through the conservation and development management systems varied. In the Bannockburn and Culloden case studies, the LPA referred to cultural heritage in their reasons for refusal. In the case of Culloden, Highland Council cited the potential for the development to impact on heritage resource. The words cultural heritage were not explicitly used in their objection. However, given that the decision notice referred to Policy 57 (Natural, Cultural and Built Heritage) it is reasonable to assume that the development's negative impact on cultural heritage was a contributing factor in refusing planning permission.

In the English case studies, Selby Council objected to the proposed development. However, this was not due to the development's impact on cultural heritage, nor was it to do with the impact on the registered battlefield. The development at Bosworth battlefield was the only example of the LPA not refusing an application, who cited that the economic benefits of the development would outweigh the harm. Thus, in the limited context of this dissertation, the Scottish LPAs both gave consideration to perpetuating the cultural significance of the battlefield, whereas this was not a consideration in the English case studies.

In only one case study, that of Bannockburn, did public value and the views of the LPA and HES align, with all three parties commenting on the proposed development's negative impact on cultural heritage. This case study also represents the only example where the government's statutory heritage advisor objected to an application. In the remaining three cases, their comments did not reflect the values of the public, nor was the content of their responses reflective of a number of their conservation principles. Thus, in these cases, the views of heritage professionals were not commensurate with public value. Furthermore, in the case of Bosworth Field, HE said that development would not cause significant harm as it was on a small strip of the battlefield. Caution must be applied when drawing such conclusions. If this becomes a more common response it will result in the gradual erosion of the battlefield.

In cases where public objection aligned with the reasons for refusal cited by the LPA, the main difference was that the public use more emotive language in their comments. For example, where the public state a proposed development would be an attack on culture or would be heritage vandalism, the LPA states it would not protect or enhance cultural heritage, or that there was no evidence it would not negatively impact on heritage or amenity resource. This suggests the use of more formal language, in line with that the LPA, HE or HES would use, would help to give weight to public objection and give the LPA a stronger body of evidence

should they wish to refuse the development. It also highlights that in any community consultation, professionals should facilitate communities in the articulation of their responses. The next chapter builds on these findings. It puts forward further recommendations to help ensure that the cultural heritage values invoked in relation to historic battlefields are given consideration through the planning system.

Chapter Six: Recommendations

6.0 Introduction

As Chapter Two highlighted, in England and Scotland, planning policy clearly sets out the need for LPAs to recognise the wider cultural benefits and contribution to cultural identity that the historic environment brings. Yet, the predominant results from the previous chapter show that cultural heritage values were not widely acknowledged at an official level. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to put forward some recommendations to ensure the cultural heritage values relating to registered and inventory battlefields are considered through the planning system. It also stresses the need for community engagement in defining values.

6.1 The provision of clear guidance on how change to historic battlefields should be managed

In 2017, HES carried out a survey to establish the views of those who had used the inventory battlefield guidance. Respondents include “heritage enthusiasts”, “heritage professionals” and “planning authority officials” (Historic Environment Scotland, 2017, b, p.09). Several respondents commented that inventory guidance needed to provide advice on the management of battlefields in the planning system (Historic Environment Scotland, 2017, b).

HES did publish a separate booklet on managing change to historic battlefields, which predates the survey. This suggests that respondents were not aware of this document. Thus, a link to this document should be included within the record for each inventory battlefield to make it easier to locate. This document refers to considering a battlefield’s “less tangible aspects such as sense of place” in the management of change (Historic Environment Scotland, 2016, d, p.17). However, it does not suggest that stakeholders should be involved in assessing significance.

The registered battlefield selection guide published by HE does not contain any advice on managing change to the battlefield. The battlefield reports provided by HE also do not provide such guidance. Thus, in their role as the designating authority and as a statutory advisor, HE could provide guidance on how to manage change to registered battlefields.

6.2 Consider the views of all stakeholders in the provision of such guidance

To consider the views and values of all stakeholders, advice supplied by HE and HES in regard to managing registered and inventory battlefields should consider the range of cultural heritage values invoked by these sites. Several respondents to the survey commissioned by HES pointed out that the battlefield inventory was overly concerned with “setting and views” (Historic Environment Scotland, 2017, b, p.18). Thus, respondents do not deem sufficient

attention is paid to perpetuating cultural significance, despite this being one of the core conservation principles of HES. These comments reflect the findings from the previous chapter. In order to address this issue, HE and HES could undertake broader cultural mapping, speaking with communities and relevant stakeholders to ascertain the full range of cultural heritage values invoked by registered and inventory battlefields.

6.3 Involve local communities and stakeholders when drawing up LDPs

One way of ensuring that the wider range of cultural heritage values are given consideration by officials in the planning system is to draw upon the process for assessing cultural significance, outlined in the *Burra Charter*, figure 33.



Figure 33: The Burra Charter Process (International Council on Monument and Sites, 2013, p.10). Note that community and stakeholder engagement occurs throughout the entire process.

As figure 33 shows, the process sets out that communities and stakeholders should be involved throughout the process of assessing significance, including policy development and management. A way of achieving this in the context of managing designated battlefields would be to engage local communities and stakeholders from the outset when drawing up LDPs for areas which have designated battlefields. This would help ensure that aspects of the historic environment, such as battlefields, and the cultural heritage values they invoke, are given appropriate consideration at an early stage. Thereafter, local communities and stakeholders would guide the development of policy and be involved in the development of a management plan for each registered or inventory battlefield. In addition, they would play a key role in the implementation of the management plan. As Jones (2017, p.33) points out, such an approach would help to avoid an assessment of cultural heritage value that is “fixed, immutable and focussed on the past”. Thus, such collaborative methods are “the most productive means to accommodate the inherently fluid processes of valuing the historic environment” (Jones, 2017, p.33).

6.4 The provision of grants to help communities acquire threatened battlefields

In the United States of America, grant funding is available through the American Battlefield Protection Program Authorisation, administered by the National Parks Service and funded through Federal Government, to help “states and communities acquire and preserve battlefield land” (National Parks Service, nd, a). The grant scheme is open to “state or local governments” and “non profits may act as subrecipients” (National Parks Service, nd, b). Within England and Scotland, a similar grant scheme could be funded and overseen by the Heritage Lottery fund, with battlefield land coming into the ownership of appropriately constituted bodies, such as the Battlefields Trust. Such a scheme would ensure registered and inventory battlefields are protected for future generations and that the cultural heritage values they invoke are safeguarded and not lost as a consequence of modern development.

6.5 Consider the role of battlefield societies in the process of protecting battlefields

The final recommendation of this chapter again relates to battlefield societies and their role in protecting historic battlefields. As Chapters Four and Five highlighted, they have an important role to play in raising awareness of threats to battlefields. Battlefield societies should continue to build on this, using their platform to lobby for stronger protection for battlefields through the planning system and to promote and deliver community outreach events to introduce new audiences to historic battlefields and their importance as cultural heritage resources.

6.6 Conclusion regarding recommendations

This chapter provided a number of suggested recommendations to ensure that the cultural heritage values invoked by historic battlefields are considered in the planning system. Furthermore, some of these recommendations could be adapted and used in other contexts which would benefit the wider historic environment. For example, involving the community and other relevant stakeholders in the process of assessing cultural significance, outlined in section 6.3, need not be limited to battlefields. This process could also be used to assess the cultural significance of more tangible aspects of the historic environment, such as historic buildings. This would be particularly beneficial in finding new uses for defunct historic buildings which are compatible with the range of cultural heritage values that they invoke.

7. Conclusion

The analysis and critical review presented in this dissertation has positioned battlefields as valued cultural heritage resources. They can be places which hold profound significance in the cultural identity of a nation and can invoke a wide range of emotions and responses. However, as this dissertation has evidenced, despite their significance, battlefields in England and Scotland face increasing risks due to developmental pressure, driven by government priorities such as the need for economic growth and the delivery of new homes. Thus, there is a growing need to better appreciate and understand the cultural heritage values which are associated with battlefields to ensure these values are considered and respected through the planning system.

The aim of this dissertation was to evaluate the effectiveness of the English and Scottish conservation and development management systems in protecting historic battlefields through the planning system and the broad range of cultural heritage values associated with them. The purpose of this was to ascertain the extent to which cultural heritage values aligned with the protection and management of historic battlefields and if they were considered as part of the planning process.

To address this aim, this dissertation commenced by outlining the general and dedicated protection measures for historic battlefields, along with the agency responsible for the management and oversight of each level of protection. It outlined what was protected, how it was protected and established the designation criteria which historic battlefields had to meet in order to become registered and inventory battlefields. Furthermore, this chapter highlighted that registered and inventory battlefields are classed as material considerations in the planning system in England and Scotland. Thus, this chapter set the policy context for the research.

Chapter Four investigated the cultural significance of battles, battlefields and sites of conflict. This was achieved through thematically analysing relevant literature to establish a scale of values in regard to battles, battlefields and sites of conflict. These themes revealed that heritage and memory are closely related to cultural identity and group preservation and that cultural heritage values can be influenced by a range of factors. These include political influences, visual media, such as film and television and social media, which can also act as a driver for social action. This chapter also positioned battlefields and sites of conflict as places which have educational, social and recreational value. However, it was noted that these values are dependent on the perceived authenticity of the place. The final theme in the chapter noted that battlefields and sites of conflict have the ability to convey a strong sense of place which can invoke emotional reactions which are deeply experienced and can provide an emotional link with people and events from the past.

Chapter Five evaluated four planning applications which impacted on historic battlefields in England and Scotland. It built on the foundations laid in Chapter Four, investigating the specific cultural heritage values invoked in relation to each battlefield to understand if these influenced public perception of the battle the battlefield. Following this, the public's response to each planning application was analysed, along with the response of the relevant LPA and HE or HES, as appropriate. This revealed a number of findings related to the aim of this dissertation.

It was noted that the values invoked in relation to each of the four battlefields were fluid and influenced by a range of factors, such as political associations, visual media, social memory and cultural identity, as introduced in Chapter Four. These values were evidenced within the public's reaction to development to varying extents within each case study. Furthermore, in addition to each battlefield invoking unique cultural heritage values, a number of themes in the public's responses were consistent within each case study. These themes related to the battlefield's ability to invoke historical, social, communal and symbolic values and its ability to convey a sense of cultural identity.

Despite being places of cultural significance, the degree to which cultural heritage values were considered through the conservation and development management systems varied between England and Scotland. In Scotland, Stirling and Highland Councils both cited the impact of the development on the cultural heritage values in their responses, thus, aligning with public value. However, in England, cultural heritage values were not a reason for objection in either case study.

Bannockburn provided the only example of the values of the LPA, the government's statutory heritage advisor and the values of the public aligning. Furthermore, this was the only case where the government's statutory heritage advisor objected to an application. As Chapter Two highlighted, HE defined battlefields as treasured, emotive places. Consequently, it would be reasonable to assume that they would consider a range of cultural heritage values, in line with their conservation principles, in their assessment of the development's impact. For example, the symbolic, communal and spiritual values invoked by the battlefield. However, these were not considered within their responses. Furthermore, in the case of Culloden, HES did not consider the development's impact on the battlefield's ability to perpetuate cultural significance, which is one of their core conservation principles.

Figure 34 summarises the findings from the case studies, highlighting the difference between England and Scotland.

Battlefield	Cultural heritage value considered by LPA?	Cultural heritage value considered by HE/HES?
Bannockburn	YES	YES
Culloden	YES	NO
Towton	NO	NO
Bosworth Field	NO	NO

Figure 34: *Summary of case study findings*

Based on these findings, it can be argued that in Scotland, cultural heritage values were considered by the LPA in the protection and management of two historic battlefields. However, as figure 34 shows, the situation in England is in stark contrast, with neither the LPA nor HE referring to the impact of development on the battlefield's cultural heritage values. Thus, this represents a need for these agencies to give greater consideration to these values should they wish to safeguard the cultural significance of the battlefield. Furthermore, this highlights that LPAs in England could do more to plan for the conservation and enjoyment of the historic environment, requirements which are set out in the National Planning Policy Framework and introduced in Chapter Two. The recommendations section provided guidance on some ways for this to be achieved and particularly stressed the need to engage with the community and other relevant stakeholders in defining cultural heritage values.

This dissertation also sought to ascertain the effectiveness of the planning system in protecting historic battlefields in England and Scotland. In three out of four cases, development was refused. Thus, in conclusion, it can be argued that the planning system was largely effective at protecting historic battlefields. However, it was less effective in considering the impact of development on the wide range of cultural heritage values invoked by each battlefield, particularly in England.

As Chapter Three highlighted, the findings from this dissertation are limited in scope as a result of the case studies being restricted for practical purposes to four in two countries. Thus, future research could provide an international perspective, analysing how the planning systems of other countries considered the cultural, social and heritage values relating to historic battlefields. Furthermore, a greater number of case studies could be investigated. This would expand research findings and build on the recommendations provided within the previous chapter. Ultimately, this would result in an increased understanding of the cultural heritage values invoked by historic battlefields and would provide officials in the planning system with a wider body of evidence on which to develop policy and recommendations.

As the introduction to this dissertation highlighted, due to the political impetus on perpetuating economic growth and providing more housing in both England and Scotland, LPAs will

continue to receive applications for development on historic battlefields. In England, this impetus has recently grown, with the Prime Minister announcing an even greater emphasis on house building to stimulate the economy in the wake of the Coronavirus pandemic. Thus, it is crucial that cultural heritage values are recognised and taken into account in the planning process to ensure that the cultural significance of historic battlefields is retained now and into the future.

References

- American Battlefield Trust (nd) *Battlefields Mean Business* [online]. Available from <https://www.battlefields.org/preserve/battlefields-mean-business> (Accessed on 05/07/2020)
- Ashe, I. (2016) 'Richard III funeral procession, March 2015'. *The Hinckley Times* [online], 15th June, Available from <https://www.hinckleytimes.net/news/local-news/gallery/richard-iii-funeral-procession-march-8922509> (Accessed on 26/07/2020)
- ATS Heritage (nd) *Culloden Battlefield Visitor Centre* [online]. Available from <http://ats-heritage.co.uk/portfolio/the-battle-of-culloden/> (Accessed on 04/08/2020)
- Baldwin, R. (2016) *What I learned from visiting a historical site: An undergraduate's experience at Gettysburg* [online]. Available from <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2016/what-i-learned-from-visiting-a-historical-site-an-undergraduates-experience-at-gettysburg#:~:text=As%20we%20toured%20the%20battlefield,people%20who%20lived%20through%20it.> (Accessed on 05/07/2020)
- Battlefields of Britain (nd) *Battle of Bosworth Field (1485)* [online]. Available from http://www.battlefieldsofbritain.co.uk/battle_bosworth_field_1485.html (Accessed on 07/08/2020)
- BBC (2014) *Robert Bruce's March to Bannockburn* [online]. Available from https://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/robertburns/works/robert_bruces_march_to_bannockburn/ (Accessed on 17/07/2020)
- BBC (2015) *Bannockburn voted Britain's most decisive battle in BBC poll* [online]. Available from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-34289073> (Accessed on 17/07/2020)
- BBC (2017) *Battle of Towton protection extended by Historic England* [online]. Available from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-york-north-yorkshire-40482439#:~:text=said%20Historic%20England,-The%20Battle%20of%20Towton%20saw%20up%20to%2028%2C000%20soldiers%20killed,the%20Historic%20England%20registered%20battlefield.> (Accessed on 22/07/2020)
- BBC (2018) 'Would we build on Passchendaele?' Anger as car track at Bosworth approved [online]. Available from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-45328394> (Accessed on 24/07/2020)
- Bennett, M. (2017) *Cromwell at War*. I. B. Tauris and Co. Ltd: London
- BFI (nd) *Chasing the Deer* [online]. Available from <https://filmography.bfi.org.uk/film/150411223> (Accessed on 04/08/2020)
- Bird, G. R. (2014) 'Memorable moments at the 90th commemoration of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, 2007', in Reeves, K., Bird, G. R., James, L., Stichelbaut, B. and Bourgeois, J. (eds.) (2014) *Battlefield Events, Landscape, Commemoration and Heritage*. Routledge: Oxon. pp. 48-64.
- Boatwright, L. (nd) *Why do we need a Richard III Society?* [online]. Available from http://www.richardiii.net/why_a_society.php (Accessed on 07/08/2020)
- Brown, A. (nd) *Statements of Significance* [online]. Available from <https://www.buildingconservation.com/articles/statements-of-significance/statements-of-significance.htm> (Accessed on 21/08/2020)

- Brown, N. (2017) *Epistemology* [online]. Available from <http://www.nicole-brown.co.uk/epistemology/#:~:text=Interpretivism%3A,and%20removed%20from%20the%20research>. (Accessed on 02/06/2020)
- Brynie, F. (2013) *Remembering Something That Never Happened* [online]. Available from <https://www.psychologytoday.com/gb/blog/brain-sense/201307/remembering-something-never-happened> (Accessed on 01/07/2020)
- Buchanan, I. (2010) *A Dictionary of Critical Theory*. Oxford University Press: Oxford
- Carman, C. (2005) 'Battlefields as Cultural Resources'. *Post Medieval Archaeology* [online], 39 (2), pp. 215-223. doi: 10.1179/007943205X62624
- Cavendish, D. (2013) 'Henry VI: Battlefield Performances, Shakespeare's Globe, Towton, Yorkshire, review'. *The Telegraph* [online], 15th July. Available from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/10179936/Henry-VI-Battlefield-Performances-Shakespeares-Globe-Towton-Yorkshire-review.html> (Accessed on 23/07/2020)
- Change.org (nd) *Stop plans to build a high-speed test track on Bosworth battlefield!* [online]. Available from <https://www.change.org/p/planning-hinckley-bosworth-gov-uk-stop-plans-to-build-a-high-speed-test-track-on-bosworth-battlefield/c> (Accessed on 25/07/2020)
- Cireau, C. (2020) *100 years after canonization, Joan of Arc remains a symbol for many* [online]. Available from <https://cathstan.org/news/us-world/100-years-after-canonization-joan-of-arc-remains-a-symbol-for-many> (Accessed on 09/07/2020)
- Clark, J. (2016) *The Medieval Somme: forgotten battle that was the bloodiest fought on British soil* [online]. Available from <https://theconversation.com/the-medieval-somme-forgotten-battle-that-was-the-bloodiest-fought-on-british-soil-62129> (Accessed on 05/08/2020)
- Clark, K. (nd) *The Shift Towards Values in UK Heritage Practice* [online]. Available from <https://www.getty.edu/publications/heritagemanagement/part-two/5/#deepzoom-1582069782981852936> (Accessed on 06/08/2020)
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2007) *Research Methods in Education*. Routledge: Oxon
- Convery, I., Corsane, G., and Davis, P. (2012) *Making Sense of Place: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. The Boydell Press: Woodbridge
- Cramond, R. D. (2012) *The objectives of the National Trust for Scotland's Visitor Centre at Culloden Battlefield, and the educational effectiveness, for visitors, of its history content* [online]. Available from https://www.nts.org.uk/Downloads/Properties/culloden_dissertation.pdf (Accessed on 22/07/2020)
- Crotty, M. (1998) *The Foundations of Social Research*. Sage: London
- Davidson, J. (2014) 'Battle of Bannockburn Visitor Centre: first look inside'. *The Telegraph* [online], 28th February. Available from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/united-kingdom/scotland/articles/Battle-of-Bannockburn-Visitor-Centre-first-look-inside/> (Accessed on 07/08/2020)

- Ditchburn, D. and MacDonald, C. M. M. (2014) 'Bannockburn, World War I and the Referendum'. *The Scottish Historical Review* [online], 2 (237), pp. 161-170. doi: 10.3366/shr2014.0213
- Edensor, T. (1997) 'Reading Braveheart: Representing and Contesting Scottish Identity'. *Scottish Affairs* [online], 21, pp. 1-26. Available from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265039511_Reading_Braveheart_Representing_and_Contesting_Scottish_Identity (Accessed on 09/07/2020)
- English Heritage (1995) *English Heritage Battlefield Report: Towton 1461* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/listing/battlefields/towton/> (Accessed on 23/07/2020)
- English Heritage (2012) *Notifications under Circular 08/2009 & T&CP (Development Management Procedure) Order 2010. The Gallops, Main Street, Townton, North Yorkshire, LS24 9PB. Application no 2012/0979/FUL* [online]. Available from <http://publicaccess.selby.gov.uk/PublicDocuments/00266499.pdf> (Accessed on 23/07/2020)
- Fair, A. (2014) 'Review of Robert Proctor, Building the Modern Church'. *MoMo World: Scotland, 2014* [online], pp. 52-53. Available from https://www-test.pure.ed.ac.uk/portal/files/18556282/FAIR_Building_the_Modern_Church.pdf (Accessed on 17/07/2020)
- Faulkner, S. (nd) *Why Visit a Civil War Battlefield?* [online]. Available from <https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/138312> (Accessed on 05/07/2020)
- Foster, L. (2019) *Increasing the Accessibility of Battlefield Heritage: Considering Whether Battlefield Interpretation Would Be Improved Through the Use of Mobile Applications* [online]. PhD Thesis, University of Huddersfield, Available from <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/35036/1/FINAL%20THESIS%20-%20Foster.pdf> (Accessed on 06/08/2020)
- Foulk, D. (2016) 'The impact of the "economy of history": The example of battlefield tourism in France'. *Mondes du Tourisme* [online], 12, pp. 1-21. doi: 10.4000/tourisme.1338
- Füssel, M. (2016) 'Emotions in the Making: The Transformation of Battlefield Experiences During the Seven Years' in Kuijpers, J. and Van Der Haven, C. (2016) *Battlefield Emotions*. Palgrave Macmillan: London. pp. 149-173.
- García-Gavilanes, R., Mollgard, A., Tsvetkova, M. and Yasseri, M. (2017) 'The Memory Remains: Understanding collective memory in the digital age'. *Science Advances* [online], 3 (4), pp. 1-7. doi: 10.1126/sciadv.1602368
- Geograph (nd) *Radway Tower* [online]. Available from <https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/55239> (Accessed on 11/06/2020)
- Geograph (2007) *Towton Battlefield Memorial Cross* [online] Available from <https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/311105> (Accessed on 04/04/2020)
- Glaveanu, V. P. (2013) *Folklore, Creativity, and Cultural Memory*. Abstract from Cultural Memory International Conference [online]. Ohrid, Macedonia, 8-10th September 2013, pp. 24-25. Available from http://cultcenter.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ABSTRACTS_WEB.pdf (Accessed on 29/05/2020)

- Gold, J. R. and Gold, M. M. (2002) 'Understanding Narratives of Nationhood: Film-makers and culloden'. *Journal of Geography* [online], 101 (6), pp.261-270. doi: 10.1080/0022134028978509
- Gold, J. R. and Gold, M. M. (2003) *Representing Culloden: social memory, battlefield heritage and landscapes of regret* [online]. Available from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335716342_Representing_Culloden_social_memory_battlefield_heritage_and_landscapes_of_regret (Accessed on 21/05/2020)
- Gold, J. R. and Gold, M. M. (2007) 'The Graves of the Gallant Highlanders: Memory, Interpretation and Narratives of Culloden'. *History and Memory* [online], 19 (1), pp. 5-38. doi: 10.1353/ham.2007.0010
- Goldfarb, M. (2012) *Happy 600th Birthday, Joan of Arc* [online]. Available from <https://www.pri.org/stories/2012-01-06/happy-600th-birthday-joan-arc> (Accessed on 09/07/2020)
- Gough, P. (2008) 'Commemoration of War', in Graham, B. and Howard, P. (eds.) (2008) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Routledge: Abingdon. pp. 215-231.
- Gourievidis, L. (2019) *The Dynamics of Heritage: History, Memory and the Highland Clearances*. Routledge: Abingdon
- Graham, H., Mason, R. and Newman, A. (2009) *Literature Review: Historic Environment, Sense of Place and Social Capital* [online]. Available from https://historicengland.org.uk/content/heritage-counts/pub/sense_of_place_lit_review_web1-pdf/ (Accessed on 30/05/2020)
- Grix, J. (2002) 'Introducing Students to the Generic Terminology of Social Research'. *Politics* [online], 22 (3), pp. 175-186. Available from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/1467-9256.00173> (Accessed on 02/06/2020)
- Halbwachs, M. (1992) *On Collective Memory*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago
- Hay, C. (2002) *Political Analysis*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke
- Heritage Perth (nd) *The Burra Charter* [online]. Available from <https://heritageperth.com.au/your-heritage/the-burra-charter/> (Accessed on 11/08/2020)
- Highland Council (2018, a) *Planning Application Comments* [online]. Available from <https://wam.highland.gov.uk/wam/applicationDetails.do?activeTab=makeComment&keyVal=P675U2IHG7S00> (Accessed on 20/07/2020)
- Highland Council (2018, b) *Decision Notice* [online]. Available from https://wam.highland.gov.uk/wam/files/699F6CD92A1962E37B5EBEADD1CDDAE8/pdf/18_01399_FUL--1805138.pdf (Accessed on 20/07/2020)
- Hinckley and Bosworth Council (2018, a) *Committee Extract 25.09.18-Appendix B* [online]. Available from <http://publicdocuments.hinckley-bosworth.gov.uk/PublicDocuments/00309973.pdf> (Accessed on 24/07/2020)
- Hinckley and Bosworth Council (2018, b) *Planning Committee 28 August 2018 Report of the Interim Head of Planning* [online]. Available from <http://publicdocuments.hinckley-bosworth.gov.uk/PublicDocuments/00308465.pdf> (Accessed on 24/07/2020)

Hirschberger, G. (2018) *Collective Trauma and the Social Construction of Meaning* [online]. Available from <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01441/full> (Accessed on 01/07/2020)

Historic England (nd, a) *Scheduled Monuments* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/hpg/has/scheduledmonuments/> (Accessed on 15/06/2020)

Historic England (nd, b) *Listing Building Consent* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/hpg/consent/lbc/> (Accessed on 16/06/2020)

Historic England (nd, c) *Registered Parks & Gardens and Battlefields* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/hpg/has/pgb/> (Accessed on 15/06/2020)

Historic England (nd, d) *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/constructive-conservation/conservation-principles/> (Accessed on 13/08/2020)

Historic England (nd, e) *How do battlefields become registered?* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/what-is-designation/registered-battlefields/how-do-battlefields-become-registered/> (Accessed on 19/06/2020)

Historic England, nd, f) *Battlefields at Risk* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/heritage-at-risk/landscapes/registered-battlefields-at-risk/> (Accessed on 01/0/2020)

Historic England (2013) *Battle of Bosworth (Field) 1485* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000004> (Accessed on 24/07/2020)

Historic England (2015) *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/conservation-principles-sustainable-management-historic-environment/conservationprinciplespoliciesandguidanceapril08web/> (Accessed on 06/08/2020)

Historic England (2017, a) *Battlefields. Registration Selection Guide* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/dsq-battlefields/heag072-battlefields-rsq/> (Accessed on 10/06/2020)

Historic England (2017, b) *Battle of Towton, 1461* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000040> (Accessed on 04/07/2020)

Historic England (2018) *T&CP (Development Management Procedure) (England) Order 2015 & Planning (Listed Buildings & Conservation Areas) Regulations 1990* HORIBA MIRA LTD, WATLING STREET, CALDECOTE, NUNEATON, WARWICKSHIRE Application No. 18/00425/FUL [online]. Available from <http://publicdocuments.hinckley-bosworth.gov.uk/PublicDocuments/00309402.pdf> (Accessed on 24/07/2020)

Historic England (2019, a) *Conservation Areas* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/hpg/has/conservation-areas/> (Accessed on 15/06/2020)

Historic England (2019, b) *Removing a Building from the List* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/guidance-de-listing-building/removing-building-from-list-jan19/> (Accessed on 15/06/2020)

Historic England (2019, c) *Statements of Heritage Significance: Analysing Significance in Heritage Assets Historic England Advice Note 12* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/statements-heritage-significance-advice-note-12/heag279-statements-heritage-significance/> (Accessed on 12/06/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (nd, a) *What is the Inventory of Historic Battlefields?* [online]. Available from <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/advice-and-support/listing-scheduling-and-designations/battlefields/what-is-the-inventory-of-historic-battlefields/> (Accessed on 21/05/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (nd, b) *Listing Process* [online]. Available from <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/advice-and-support/listing-scheduling-and-designations/listed-buildings/listing-process/> (Accessed on 15/06/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2003) *Culloden House* [online]. Available from <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/GDL00122> (Accessed on 11/06/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2011) *Battle of Prestonpans* [online]. Available from <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/BTL16> (Accessed on 16/06/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2012, a) *Battle of Bannockburn* [online]. Available from <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/BTL4> (Accessed on 15/07/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2012, b) *The Inventory of Historic Battlefields- Battle of Bannockburn* [online]. Available from http://data.historic-scotland.gov.uk/data/docs/battlefields/bannockburn_designation.pdf (Accessed on 27/07/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2012, c) *Battle of Culloden* [online]. Available from <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/BTL6>. Accessed on (19/07/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2015) *Conservation principles for the properties in the care of Scottish Ministers* [online]. Available from <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/media/2554/hes-internal-conservation-principles.pdf> (Accessed on 06/08/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2016, a) *Managing Change in the Historic Environment: Gardens and Designed Landscapes* [online] Available from <https://pub-prod-sdk.azurewebsites.net/api/file/2b67bea0-8307-4379-a78d-a6780098dace> (Accessed on 15/06/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2016, b) *Managing Change in the Historic Environment: Historic Battlefields* [online]. Available from <https://pub-prod-sdk.azurewebsites.net/api/file/78b0abbc-57a3-44e1-a7ec-a67800d24b45> (Accessed on 15/06/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2016, c) *Scotland's Inventory of Historic Battlefields* [online]. Available from <https://pub-prod-sdk.azurewebsites.net/api/file/c98312f0-b084-467d-b842-aa6f00de1eb3> (Accessed on 16/06/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2016, d) *Managing Change in the Historic Environment* [online]. Available from <https://pub-prod-sdk.azurewebsites.net/api/file/78b0abbc-57a3-44e1-a7ec-a67800d24b45> (Accessed on 20/07/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2017, a) *Town and Country Planning (Development Management Procedure) (Scotland) Regulations 2013 Land between Bannock Burn, New*

Line Road and West of Glasgow Road, Whins of Milton - Proposed residential development and associated works [online]. Available from https://pabs.stirling.gov.uk/online-applications/files/790D29057B8F80A518A37AC3AA48C5E7/pdf/17_00407_PPP-HISTORIC_ENVIRONMENT_SCOTLAND-500001.pdf (Accessed on 18/07/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2017, b) *Analysis Report: Survey on the Inventory of Historic Battlefields* [online]. Available from <https://pub-prod-sdk.azurewebsites.net/api/file/706b896e-bea1-4113-a74c-a8b700b5997b> (Accessed on 12/08/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2018) *Culloden Battlefield* [online]. Available from <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/about-us/news/culloden-battlefield/> (Accessed on 20/07/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2019, a) *Historic Environment Circular. Regulations and Procedures* [online]. Available from <https://pub-prod-sdk.azurewebsites.net/api/file/0c6c4d67-6028-4954-adb5-aab700b6384e> (Accessed on 16/06/2020)

Historic Environment Scotland (2019, b) *Interim Guidance on the Designation of Conservation Areas and Conservation Area Consent* [online]. Available from <https://pub-prod-sdk.azurewebsites.net/api/file/4e68adaa-fcf0-4cd9-bfd3-aa3a0108e15d> (Accessed on 15/06/2020)

Hobsbawn, E. and Ranger, T. (eds.) (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge

Hunt, T. L. and Myerly, S. H. (2020) *Memory and the Invention of Traditions* [online]. Available from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/international/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/memory-and-invention-traditions> (Accessed on 30/05/2020)

International Council on Monuments and Sites. *Burra Charter*. ICOMOS. 2013.

Jardine, N. (2012) *French Politicians Are in A Desperate Scramble To 'Own' Joan Of Arc's Political Legacy* [online]. Available from <https://www.businessinsider.com/joan-of-arc-le-pen-sarkozy-2012-1?r=US&IR=T> (Accessed on 09/07/2020)

Jebreen, I. (2012) 'Using Inductive Approach as Research Strategy in Requirements Engineering'. *International Journal of Computer Information Technology* [online], 1, (2), pp. 162-173. Available from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/75a9/d2d8e48417076615f34618d01acad7c17aa2.pdf> (Accessed on 03/06/2020)

Jenkins, R. (2017) 'Bid to protect whole of ancient Tewkesbury battlefield site from development'. *Gloucestershire Live* [online], 21st May. Available from <https://www.gloucestershirelive.co.uk/news/cheltenham-news/bid-protect-whole-ancient-tewkesbury-65451> (Accessed on 14/08/2020)

Jepson, D. and Sharpley, R. (nd) *More than sense of place? Exploring the emotional dimension of rural tourism experiences* [online]. Available from <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/42137731.pdf> (Accessed on 03/07/2020)

Jones, D. (2014) 'Towton: England's Bloodiest Battle'. *The Telegraph* [online], 23rd August. Available from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/booknews/11047871/Towton-Englands-bloodiest-battle.html> (Accessed on 22/07/2020)

- Jones, S. (2017) 'Wrestling with the Social Value of Heritage: Problems, Dilemmas and Opportunities'. *Journal of Community Archaeology*, 4 (1), pp. 21-37. doi: 10.1080/20518196.2016.1193996
- Jupp, V. (2006) *The Sage Dictionary of Research Methods*. Sage: London
- Kempik, G. (2018) *As we received some advice today, regards the letters of objection, this advisory post is the most up to date [...]*. [Facebook] 16th May 2016. Available from https://www.facebook.com/groups/817550814926691/?post_id=2234016733280085 (Accessed on 29/07/2020)
- Klein, S. B. and Nichols, S. (2012) 'Memory and the Sense of Personal Identity'. *Mind* [online], 121 (483), pp. 677-702. Available from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/23321780.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A20ebe9e2f85e870ca5692d4f17d05f51> (Accessed on 01/07/2020)
- Levers, M. D. (2013) 'Philosophical Paradigms, Grounded Theory, and Perspectives on Emergence'. *Sage Open* [online], 3 (3), pp. 1-6. doi: 10.1177/2158244013517243
- Lovie, J. (2014) 'Historic Parks and gardens: the planning system and other tools' in Harney, M. (ed.) (2014) *Gardens and landscapes in historic building conservation*. John Wiley: Chichester. pp. 271-282.
- Lowenthal, D. (2015) *The Past is a Foreign Country Revisited*. 2nd edn. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge
- Mattias, J. (1992) *Reading Old Friends: Essays. Reviews and Poems on Poetics 1975-1990*. State University of New York: New York
- Matt's History Blog (2019) *One Final Charge- Please sign the Petition* [online]. Available from <https://mattlewisauthor.wordpress.com/2019/06/18/one-final-charge-please-sign-the-petition/> (Accessed on 26/07/2020)
- McCrone, D. (2001) *Understanding Scotland@ The Sociology of a Nation*. Routledge: London
- McKenna, K. (2018) 'Second battle of Culloden rages as locals clash with developers'. *The Observer* [online], 30th September 2018. Available from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/sep/30/culloden-moor-battle-luxury-homes> (Accessed on 20/05/2020)
- Miles, S. (2012) *Battlefield Tourism: meanings and interpretations* [online], PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, Available from <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/3547/1/2012milesphd22.pdf> (Accessed on 06/07/2020)
- Miles, S. (2017) 'Sensorial engagement in tourism experiences on the Western Front', in Saunders, N. J. and Cornish, P. (eds.) (2017) *Modern Conflict and the Senses*. Routledge: Abingdon. pp. 76-93.
- Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (2019) *National Planning Policy Framework* [online]. Available from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/810197/NPPF_Feb_2019_revised.pdf (Accessed on 10/06/2020)
- Misztal, B. (2003) *Theories of Social Remembering*. Open University Press: Maidenhead

Museums and Heritage Advisor (2014) *The Battle of Bannockburn Project* [online]. Available from/ <https://advisor.museumsandheritage.com/features/the-battle-of-bannockburn-project/> (Accessed on 08/07/2020)

National Parks Service (nd, a) *American Battlefield Protection Program* [online]. Available from <https://www.nps.gov/orgs/2287/index.htm> (Accessed on 14/08/2020)

National Parks Service (nd, b) *Battlefield Land Acquisition Grant Programme* [online]. Available from <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/battlefields/battlefield-land-acquisition-grant-program.htm> (Accessed on 14/08/2020)

National Park System Advisory Board (2001) *Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century* [online]. Available from https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=X_4VAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA22&lpg=PA22&dq=alan+gussow+a+piece+of+the+environment+claimed+by+feelings&source=bl&ots=-zcgO7gx5F&sig=ACfU3U3fKw3uKUimfWI0yS06MB7JTtrRRQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiOptW7hr7qAhUVVRUIHX68CA8Q6AEwA3oECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=alan%20gussow%20a%20piece%20of%20the%20environment%20claimed%20by%20feelings&f=false (Accessed on 08/07/2020)

National Trust for Scotland (nd) *The Battle of Bannockburn* [online]. Available from <https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/bannockburn> (Accessed on 04/08/2020)

National Trust for Scotland (2019) *Culloden and Cantraybridge College partnership provides growing opportunities* [online]. Available from <https://www.nts.org.uk/stories/culloden-and-cantraybridge-college-partnership-provides-growing-opportunities> (Accessed on 11/06/2020)

Natural England (2012) *Natural England Designation Strategy* [online]. Available from <http://publications.naturalengland.org.uk/file/2635576> (Accessed on 15/06/2020)

Natural England (2020) *Introducing a new Single Point of Contact for protected sites casework* [online]. Available from <https://naturalengland.blog.gov.uk/2020/02/10/introducing-a-new-single-point-of-contact-for-protected-sites-casework/> (Accessed on 15/06/2020)

Nature Scot (nd, a) *Sites of Special Scientific Interest* [online]. Available from <https://www.nature.scot/professional-advice/protected-areas-and-species/protected-areas/national-designations/sites-special-scientific-interest> (Accessed on 15/06/2020)

Nature Scot (nd, b) *National Scenic Areas: background, guidance and policy* [online]. Available from <https://www.nature.scot/professional-advice/safeguarding-protected-areas-and-species/protected-areas/national-designations/national-scenic-areas/national-scenic-areas> (Accessed on 16/06/2020)

Nikkinounou (2016) *Chilling and Emotional- somewhere not to miss!. Traveller Reviews- Tripadvisor* [online]. Available from https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g488286-d304759-r447781556-Centre_de_la_Memoire_d_Oradour-Oradour_sur_Glane_Haute_Vienne_Nouvelle_Aquitaine.html (Accessed on 08/07/2020)

Olick, J. K. (2008) 'Mnemonic Practices and Products', in Eril, A. and Nunning, A. (eds.) (2008) *Cultural Memory Studies: An Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Walter de Gruyter: Berlin. pp. 151-163.

Open Learn (nd) *Heritage case studies: Scotland* [online]. Available from <https://www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/history/heritage-case-studies-scotland/content-section-2.3> (Available from 13/08/2020)

- Page, M. (2016) *Why Preservation Matters*. Yale University Press: New Haven
- Peregrine, A (2013) *Oradour-sur-Glane, France: moments of Nazi massacre frozen in time*. The Telegraph [online], 5th September. Available from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/france/articles/Oradour-sur-Glane-France-moments-of-Nazi-massacre-frozen-in-time/> (Accessed on 08/07/2020)
- Pérez-Torres, R. (1995) *Movements in Chicano Poetry. Against Myths, Against Margins*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge
- Raadschelders, J. C. N. (2018) 'The State of Theory in the Study of Public Administration in the United States: Balancing Evidence-Based, Usable Knowledge, and Conceptual Understanding'. *Administrative Theory & Praxis* [online], 41 (1), pp. 78-98. doi: 10.1080/10841806.2018.1526517
- Raivo, P. J. (1995) 'Politics of memory: Historical battlefields'. *National Geographic Publications* [online], 44 (4), pp. 95-100. Available from <https://nordia.journal.fi/article/download/64849/26079/> (Accessed on 30/05/2020)
- Rawling, D. (2014) *A Visit to Bosworth, Leicester* [online]. Available from <http://www.richardiii-nsw.org.au/category/ricardian-places/> (Accessed on 09/08/2020)
- Reilly, S., Nolan, C. and Monckton, L. (2018) *Wellbeing and the Historic Environment* [online]. Available from <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/wellbeing-and-the-historic-environment/wellbeing-and-historic-environment/> (Accessed on 08/07/2020)
- Rubin, A. and Babbie, E. R. (2007) *Essential Research Methods for Social Work*. Brooks Cole: Belmont
- Scales, P. (2013) *An introduction to ontology and epistemology for undergraduate students* [online]. Available from <https://www.peter-scales.org.uk/app/download/5792921784/Ontology+and+epistemology+Website+version.pdf> (Accessed on 02/06/2020)
- Scottish Government (2014, a) *Scotland's Third National Planning Framework* [online]. Available from <https://www.gov.scot/publications/national-planning-framework-3/> (Accessed on 21/05/2020)
- Scottish Government (2014, b) *Scottish Planning Policy* [online]. Available from <https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/advice-and-guidance/2014/06/scottish-planning-policy/documents/00453827-pdf/00453827-pdf/govscot%3Adocument/00453827.pdf?forceDownload=true> (Accessed on 16/06/2020)
- Scottish Government (2019, a) *National Planning Framework 3: monitoring report* [online]. Available from <https://www.gov.scot/publications/national-planning-framework-3-monitoring-report/pages/2/> (Accessed on 19/05/2020)
- Scottish Government (2019, b) *National Planning Framework 3 Monitoring Report October 2019* [online]. Available from <https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/progress-report/2019/10/national-planning-framework-3-monitoring-report/documents/national-planning-framework-3-monitoring-report/national-planning-framework-3-monitoring-report/govscot%3Adocument/national-planning-framework-3-monitoring-report.pdf?forceDownload=true> (Accessed on 19/05/2020)

Scottish Government (2019, c) *Historic Battlefields notification: Chief Planner letter* [online]. Available from <https://www.gov.scot/publications/historic-battlefields-notification-chief-planner-letter/> (Accessed on 16/06/2020)

Screen Scot (2018) *Outlaw King* [online]. Available from <https://www.screen.scot/film-in-scotland/made-in-scotland/2018/outlaw-king>. (Accessed on 04/08/2020)

Selby Council (2012) *Planning -Application Comments* [online]. Available from <http://public.selby.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?activeTab=neighbourComments&keyVal=MCAEBPNX03P00> (Accessed on 22/07/2020)

Sharpe, G. (2015) *How Robert Burns was used during World War One* [online]. Available from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-30904019> (Accessed on 17/07/2020)

Sikora, J. (2013) “*This Deathless Field*”: *The role of on-site interpretation in negotiating heritage values of historic*’ [online], PhD thesis, Newcastle University, Available from <https://theses.ncl.ac.uk/jspui/bitstream/10443/2299/1/Sikora%2013.pdf> (Accessed on 03/08/2020)

Silverstein, B. (2004) *1920s: A Decade of Change* [online]. Available from <https://www.ncpedia.org/history/20th-Century/1920s> (Accessed on 07/08/2020)

Stewart, P. J. and Strathern, A. (2003) *Landscape, Memory and History*. Anthropological Perspectives. Pluto Press: London

Stewart, T. (nd) *The Highland Clearances* [online]. Available from <https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofScotland/The-Highland-Clearances/> (Accessed on 19/07/2020)

Stirling Council (2017) *Pre-Determination Hearing Committee 4th October 2017* [online]. Available from https://pabs.stirling.gov.uk/online-applications/files/879DCE12C3CBC2BAC98DD5176A63D363/pdf/17_00407_PPP-PREDETERMINATION HEARING REPORT 04 10 17-515780.pdf (Accessed on 18/07/2020)

Stirling Council (2019) *Supplementary Guidance. Battlefields* [online]. Available from https://www.stirling.gov.uk/media/7669/sq-battlefields-27_02_2019.pdf (Accessed on 16/06/2020)

Stirling Council (2020) *Petitions Guidance* [online]. Available from <https://www.stirling.gov.uk/media/20286/process-for-public-petitions-2020.docx> (Accessed on 19/06/2020)

Stockton on Tees Borough Council (2019) *Your guide to remembrance Sunday 2019* [online]. Available from <https://www.stockton.gov.uk/news/2019/november/your-guide-to-remembrance-sunday-2019/> (Accessed on 08/08/2020)

Sutherland, T. (nd) *Battlefield Archaeology* [online]. Available from <http://www.bajr.org/BAJRGuides/8.%20Battlefield%20Archaeology%20%20A%20Guide%20to%20the%20Archaeology%20of%20Conflict/BAJRBattleGuide.pdf> (Accessed on 05/07/2020)

Tarlow, S. (nd) *Richard III: Ethics and the archaeology of death* [online]. Available from <http://leicesterexchanges.com/2013/02/11/ethics/> (Accessed on 07/08/2020)

- Telegraph Reporters (2018) 'Fury as council approves plans for driverless car test track on site of battle of Bosworth'. *The Telegraph* [online], 25th September. Available from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/09/25/fury-council-approves-plans-driverless-car-test-track-site-battle/> (Accessed on 24/07/2020)
- The Best in Heritage (nd) *Bosworth Battlefield Heritage Centre* [online]. Available from <https://presentations.thebestinheritage.com/2010/Bosworth%20Battlefield%20Heritage%20Centre> (Accessed on 26/07/2020)
- The Scotsman (2006) 'Forensics team closes in on Culloden graves'. *The Scotsman* [online], 13th April. Available from <https://www.scotsman.com/heritage-and-retro/heritage/forensics-team-closes-culloden-graves-2459682> (Accessed on 21/08/2020)
- The Towton Battlefield Archaeology Project (nd) *Legislation* [online]. Available from <http://towtonbattle.free.fr/index.php/legislation/> (Accessed on 06/08/2020)
- The York Press (2013) 'Shakespeare's Globe perform Henry VI plays at Towton Battlefield'. *The York Press* [online], 15th July. Available from <https://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/10547848.shakespeares-globe-perform-henry-vi-plays-at-towton-battlefield/> (Accessed on 06/08/2020)
- Thirty Eight Degrees (38 Degrees) (nd) *Stop housing development at Bannockburn* [online]. Available from <https://you.38degrees.org.uk/petitions/stop-housing-development-at-bannockburn-scotland?source=twitter-share-email-button&time=1497394870> (Accessed on 08/07/2020)
- Tilley, C. (2009) 'Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage'. *Journal of Material Culture* [online], 11 (7), pp. 7-32. doi: 10.1177/1359183506062990
- Trindale, H. (2019) *The lived experience of motion pictures: A phenomenological approach to cinema* [online]. Available from https://www.academia.edu/40607530/The_lived_experience_of_motion_pictures_A_phenomenological_approach_to_cinema (Accessed on 09/07/2020)
- University of Leicester (nd) *Who was Richard III?* [online]. Available from <https://www.le.ac.uk/richardiii/history/whowasrichard.html#:~:text=On%2022%20August%201485%2C%20Richard,was%20crowned%20King%20Henry%20VII.> (Accessed on 24/07/2020)
- University of Leicester (2015) *Follow King Richard III's reburial with the University of Leicester's updated course* [online]. Available from <https://www.futurelearn.com/info/blog/richard-iii-reburial-leicester> (Accessed on 26/07/2020)
- Ward, P. (2018) 'Thousands of Yes supporters march to Bannockburn for independence rally'. *Daily Record* [online], 23rd June. Available from <https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/thousands-yes-supporters-march-bannockburn-12774941> (Accessed on 17/07/2020)
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (2015) 'A War Long Forgotten. Feeling the past in an English country village'. *Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* [online], 20 (3), pp. 89-103. doi: 10.1080/0969725X.2015.1065126
- Whiskygirl6 (2017) 'Local opposition about housing plan on #culloden battlefield needs YOU. Can you help?' [online]. 22nd November 2020, Tweet. Available from https://twitter.com/search?q=%23culloden%20%23outlander&src=recent_search_click (Accessed on 21/07/2020)

Whitehead, C. and Bozoğlu, G. (2017) *Heritage and Memory in Europe: a review of key concepts and frameworks for CoHERE* [online]. Available from https://eprint.ncl.ac.uk/file_store/production/239678/CD7C34A7-DEDC-4BAA-9168-3FC71006C70A.pdf (Accessed on 29/06/2020)

Williams, B. (2013) *Discussion Paper. Culloden Battlefield Historic Environment Listings and Designations* [online]. Available from http://www.highland.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/12823/discussion_paper_october_2013-brad_williams (Accessed on 19/07/2020)

Williams, P. (2006) 'Making Research Real: Is Action Research a Suitable Methodology for Medical Information Security Investigations?'. *Proceedings of 4th Australian Information Security Management Conference* [online]. Edith Cowan University, Perth, 5th December 2006. Available from <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/41533367.pdf> (Accessed on 02/06/2020)

Withers, C. W. J. (1996) 'Place, Memory, Monument: Memorialising the Past in Contemporary Highland Scotland'. *Ecumene* [online], 3 (3), pp. 325-244. doi: 10.177/147447409600300304

Maps

GB National Outlines [SHAPE geospatial data], Scale 1:250000, Tiles: GB, Updated: 8 June 2005, Ordnance Survey (GB), Using: EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, Available from <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk> (Accessed on 14/06/2020)