

Cultural Values of Trees, Woods and Forests

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Abstract

This report presents the results of a literature review and primary research into the importance of the cultural values of trees, woods and forests for sustainable forest management (SFM). The concept of 'cultural capital' emerged as helpful in distinguishing between the values and norms that stakeholders (including visitors and local communities) bring to woodlands ('embodied cultural capital'), and physical attributes of the woodlands that are of cultural value ('objectified cultural capital', or 'assets').

Most Forestry Commission policy statements, from the United Kingdom Forestry Standard down to each country forestry strategy and to local plans, recognise the need to conserve cultural features and historic landscapes, although there is an emphasis on archaeology and physical ruins, rather than on the cultural meanings experienced by locals and visitors. These policy statements display an increasing consciousness of 'cultural services', a term deriving from the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA).

Strong evidence was found in this study of the importance of cultural services, not merely as an additional layer of issues to consider as a constraint to normal management, but as the vehicle through which the value to society of trees woods and forests is realised.

A typology of cultural values is put forward that distinguishes between cultural resources intrinsic to the site or to users, and the benefits that they can produce. Such a typology is useful in planning for cultural services, and also for taking cultural values into account in impact appraisals and other decision-making processes.

It was clear that cultural services are identified and realised through community engagement, and that this was a distinct process compared with the more formal planning and decision making that is part of SFM. For this reason, the report draws a distinction between 'service provision' and 'decision-making' as a basis for designing processes of consultation and community engagement.

The report presents recommendations for dealing with cultural values in forest planning, and also recommendations for further research.

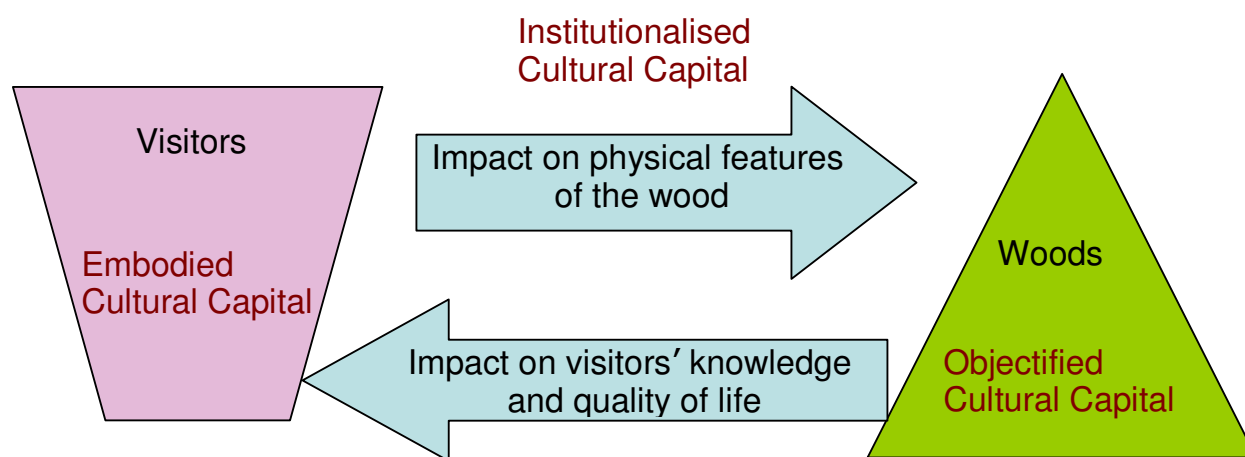
Introduction

Forest managers have to take account of cultural values as one of the central themes of Sustainable Forest Management (SFM), but until now little attention has been paid to understanding and taking account of these values in the UK. This review reports on an investigation in which the cultural values and benefits provided by trees woodlands and forests were considered.

Cultural values are taken into account in forest plans at many spatial scales and managerial levels, with attendant stages of consultation and community engagement. The report makes recommendations for improving the articulation of cultural values and taking them into account as part of the processes of planning and decision-making.

Cultural values influence the way that we react and behave in relation to woodland access and management. There is a two-way cultural relationship between stakeholders and trees, woods and forests (Fig. 1). Our cultural values drive the way in which we access woodlands physically and mentally, and through our access we change the nature of the woodland and our cultural relationship with it. The physical nature of the woodland is altered by our access, for instance through management choices of silvicultural system, or by creating cultural features like artworks or archaeological remains, and in turn these physical features create new opportunities and change our cultural access.

Figure 1. Cultural services and cultural capital¹



¹ See pages 8-10 for an explanation of 'cultural capital'

'Cultural goods' or 'cultural benefits' supplied by forests present an essentially economic concept leading to attempts to quantify these benefits in money terms ('cultural services' in the terminology of the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment; (Bhattacharya, Brondizio *et al.*, 2005). This is important in setting these ideas in scale with other economic values and other possible routes for investment in the public interest. However, it tends to over-simplify the role of culture in the relationship between people and woods; it implies a linear model in which 'cultural goods' are supplied by the forest and received by 'the public'. More accurately, people are enabled to benefit from woods in all sorts of ways, as a result of their own culture and the cultural history of the place itself for instance educationally or in terms of health and well-being. It is therefore not just the cultural properties of place that require investigation here, but the culture of publics in relation to place.

The cultural relationship with woods may be so deep that it constitutes or strongly contributes to a sense of identity (e.g. "we are the people with special knowledge of the history of our local forest"). Cultural associations with woods may be valued in their own right – they themselves represent 'public goods' that publics enjoy as part of their quality of life. Cultural histories, stories and meanings make the forest interesting and attractive to visitors. Managers can enhance these meanings and even create new meanings in a way that increases the value of the forest (e.g. by holding cultural events, or installing artworks). Furthermore an increase in access brings with it all the potential other social benefits of woods (e.g. health and well-being; education and learning; opportunities for social networking).

Cultural factors are difficult to assess. In the latter half of the 20th century, forest economists used to talk of the 'intangible' or 'unmarketed' benefits of forestry, seeing forestry as an economic activity that could be interpreted as a business in money terms, while accepting that there are many aspects of woodlands that contribute to the public good, and which are difficult to quantify in this way. More recently, the social values of woods have come to be recognised more explicitly, and in addition to the more traditional quantitative measures, these are being valued qualitatively, in a way that provides politically powerful arguments for management and protection. Social benefits such as health and well-being, education and learning, and provision for the rehabilitation of offenders now occupy our attention alongside older terms such as 'recreation and amenity'.

The adoption of the UNCED (United Nations Conference on Economics and Development) principles of Sustainable Development underlies the policy statements of most agencies engaged in environmental management, including the Forestry Commission in England, Scotland and Wales. Cultural values are not merely an additional layer of issues to consider as a constraint to normal management, they are the vehicle through which the value to society of trees woods and forests is realised.

SFM seeks to balance economic, environmental and social dimensions of development. and these are sometimes expressed in terms of criteria and indicators. Indicators dealing with the social dimension generally distinguish between 'social' and 'cultural' factors. This recognition of a specifically 'cultural' dimension to forest management begs questions concerning the relative importance of cultural factors, and how these might be taken into account in the process of forest planning. This has been recognised in international discussion forums such as the Ministerial Conference for the Protection of Forests in Europe (MCPFE, 2003; Anon., 2006a), and the International Union of Forest Research Organisations (IUFRO): "Increasingly scientists, forest managers, planners and policy makers recognise that by incorporating cultural values into forest management decisions, local products can be better promoted, tourism development encouraged, a higher quality of life for local populations, and diversity of cultural landscapes increased for current and future generations. For such incorporation, cultural values need to be part of many aspects of forest management and policy including the valuation of forests and concepts of sustainable forest management." (Agnoletti, 2006; IUFRO, 2007). The identification of cultural values during the planning process involves inventory of physical features to identify properties of the wood, and consultation and community engagement to explore cultural features associated with stakeholders.

Part 1. Literature review

The literature review addressed the following objectives:

1. Synthesise existing research on the cultural benefits provided by trees, woods and forests (TWF) and produce a typology of these to include contemporary culture as well as cultural heritage.
2. Identify which FC country strategies/corporate delivery plans/regional forestry frameworks the above contribute to and describe how and potentially to what extent they contribute.

The library search concentrated on the terms "culture/cultural" (ignoring agriculture, arboriculture and silviculture) in a forestry context, and yielded a wide range of subject matter. The subject can be divided into three key sections to deal with three major questions: 1. What cultural values do stakeholders bring to woodlands? 2. What cultural features do woodlands bring to stakeholders and how can these be enhanced? 3. How are cultural values articulated and taken into account in forest planning?

1. Stakeholder culture. Cultural capital – this is the idea that cultural benefits might be accessed differentially depending on the educational or cultural background of the potential visitor. Cultural benefits are closely bound to the experiences of the 'consumer'; landscapes have no meaning by themselves, only in relation to the culture of the observer. The concept of embodied cultural capital emphasises the background



culture of the consumer, rather than the physicality of history of place. People hold cultural and symbolic associations in relation to trees, woods and forests. A rich vein of literature deals with these meanings and associations, often concluding that they contribute to a sense of identity and meaning for communities at a range of spatial scales.

2. Cultural Assets. Cultural properties give a place meaning and make it an attractive and interesting place to visit. We can readily recognise that historical remains like buildings or earthworks lend meaning to a site. Other factors, such as attachments to particular locations formed in childhood, or appearing in paintings, films, literature or photographs may be less obvious on the ground. Forestry itself is a practice that has developed its own cultural associations. Forestry skills and local knowledges have developed, and these also represent cultural assets.

3. Policy and Planning. Cultural values play a role in environmental decision-making, for instance as indicator sets for sustainability appraisal. Much work has been done to develop indicators for use in appraisal systems. Indicators refer to criteria by which something might be judged, and in this case the criteria are the things that people care about, usually related to place – a spatial context. This raises the question: whose criteria should be taken into account? Planning systems have been developed by a number of agencies for taking account of cultural values, especially in relation to landscape. Example systems are Landscape Character Assessment; Countryside Character Initiative and Joint Character Areas. The National Trust system of 'Statements of Significance' is also relevant.

These three sections are now reviewed in turn:

Stakeholder Culture

Cultural Capital

The idea of 'cultural capital' in sociology is attributed to Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986). The central idea is that for instance in education, children with more valuable social and cultural capital do better than children who are otherwise comparable. This is called 'social reproduction', i.e. social advantage/disadvantage is reproduced during the process of education. 'Social capital' (Putnam, 2000) is about networking and trust, while 'cultural capital' is about education, skills and experience. Consumption of 'culture', for instance attendance at theatres, concerts libraries and museums, is also related to cultural capital. Here Bourdieu recognises 3 forms of cultural capital – 1. 'embodied' i.e. inseparable from the consumer, for example education in history or music 2. 'objectified' for example cultural artefacts 3. 'institutionalised', for instance libraries or government literature. Elements of all three would be involved in 'cultural consumption'. By analogy, we might hypothesise that people with high levels of social and cultural capital are more

likely to access and obtain value from the cultural goods provided by woods. This then might lead to a type of elitism – people lacking specific elements of cultural capital might find it difficult to access the cultural benefits of woodlands, and these would be the very people that government policies seek to include: “While participation rates (in relation to the historic environment) are lower amongst people from ethnic minorities, with disabilities or from lower socio-economic groups, levels of engagement are good compared to other parts of the cultural sector, and improving them further remains a top priority for Government” (DCMS, 2007). One way to mitigate inequalities in ‘embodied’ cultural capital might be to improve the supply of ‘institutionalised’ cultural capital (through literature and interpretation), and by making ‘objectified cultural capital’ more physically accessible. Certainly, a policy of inclusion should address inequalities of access resulting from inequalities of cultural capital based on differences in educational background and socio-economic status.

This raises a question concerning the nature of cultural capital, and how it can be assessed. Cultural capital is allied to social capital and economic capital, and there is a debate concerning the relative importance of these three in determining educational and economic outcomes for individuals. Silva and Edwards (Silva and Edwards, 2004), compare ideas of social capital put forward by Putnam (Putnam, 2000) and Coleman (Coleman, 1990). Both these authors see social capital as highly influential in reproduction of social inequalities; in contrast “John Goldthorpe (1996) has argued that participation in culture depends on economic position rather than on taste and judgement, within a framework that views economic capital as more significant than cultural capital in allowing individuals to mobilize resources” (Silva and Edwards, *op. cit.*). Bourdieu’s understanding is that the three forms of capital are inter-dependent. In educational research, composite measures of cultural capital are generally obtained through questionnaires, including attendance at theatres, concerts and museums, possession of higher degrees and so on. Research is needed to find relevant measures of cultural capital in relation to users of woods, so as to develop an understanding of the ways in which cultural values can be enhanced and developed for the benefit of multiple publics.

Another, interpretation of cultural capital is given in economics, setting it alongside physical, human and natural capital. (Throsby, 1999) explains the relationship between this and Bourdieu’s understanding: “It is thus clear that the concept of cultural capital as developed by Bourdieu is, in its individualistic form, very close to, if not identical with, that of human capital in economics” (page 4). However he goes on to propose a concept of ‘cultural capital’ which is separate from human capital; rather it is a property of objects: “cultural capital is the stock of cultural value embodied in an asset. This stock may in turn give rise to a flow of goods and services over time, i.e., to commodities that themselves may have both cultural and economic value. The asset may exist in tangible or intangible form. The stock of *tangible* cultural capital assets exists in buildings,

structures, sites and locations endowed with cultural significance (commonly called “cultural heritage”) and artworks and artefacts existing as private goods, such as paintings, sculptures, and other objects. These assets give rise to a flow of services that may be consumed as private and/or public goods entering final consumption immediately, and/or they may contribute to the production of future goods and services, including new cultural capital. *Intangible* cultural capital, on the other hand, comprises the set of ideas, practices, beliefs, traditions and values which serve to identify and bind together a given group of people, however the group may be determined, together with the stock of artworks existing in the public domain as public goods, such as literature and music. These intangible cultural assets also give rise to a flow of services which may form part of private final consumption and/or may contribute to the production of future cultural goods.” This scheme leaves an overlap between ‘intangible cultural capital’ and ‘human capital’, and for the purposes of this review it seems clearer to accept Bourdieu’s distinction between ‘objectified’, ‘embodied’ and ‘institutionalised’ cultural capital. Specifically it is ‘embodied’ cultural capital which is most likely to determine the ability of an individual or group to obtain cultural benefit from a woodland.

Objects such as vitrified forts or standing stones are best thought of as ‘cultural assets’ (‘objectified cultural capital’). A full inventory of cultural assets would include cultural associations: stories, literary references and customs (Throsby’s ‘intangible cultural capital’). Under the heading “what is intangible cultural heritage”, UNESCO gives the following: “Cultural heritage does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts” (Anon., 2009d). This, then, combined with the physical cultural assets, would be a basis for understanding the cultural assets of a wood.

Cultural Values and Symbolic Associations

Investigation of the values people place on wooded environments shows that these go well beyond simple aesthetics. For instance, in her study in England, O’Brien (O’Brien, 2004) showed that people readily volunteer identity as a value of woodland: “..It’s mostly your memories are down at the forest, it’s like a social thing with friends.....all your memories are from being outside”. Memories contribute to personal identity and to identity of place. The meaning of forests (in particular) and the development of that meaning since antiquity was traced by Robert Pogue Harrison in “Forests, the Shadow of Civilization” (Pogue Harrison, 1992). An early myth is that of Gilgamesh, based on a historical Sumerian who lived in 2700 B.C., and who set out to gain a kind of immortality by slaying the *forest* demon (Huwawa): “forests represent the quintessence of what lies beyond the walls of the city, namely the earth in its enduring transcendence”. That is to say that a considerable amount of metaphor and literary understanding derives from

human relationships with forests, and since, in antiquity, forests clothed the land, the relationship between humans and nature has its origins in the relationship between early humans and the forests that sheltered (and threatened) them. Civilisation became the antithesis of forests. The nature of forest deities is also instructive as these cultural understandings persist in many forms. It is no accident that the internal architecture of a cathedral resembles an internal view of woodland with ancient tall, straight trees. We still speak of the 'cathedral magnificence' of tall stands of Douglas fir. The Greek sylvan goddess Artemis was virgin of the woodlands, invisible to mortals, and cruel – she turns Actaeon into a stag that is then torn apart by his own hounds, just for happening upon her bathing in a forest spring, and seeing her nakedness. Such ideas may be re-enacted in many surviving rites and customs, which in turn lend themselves to the world of metaphor and hence a cultural understanding of the meaning of woods; this is the main thesis of 'The Golden Bough':

"....if these old spells and ...for the growth of leaves and blossoms, of grass and flowers and fruit, have lingered down to our time in the form of pastoral plays and popular merry-makings, is it not reasonable to suppose that they survived in less attenuated forms some two thousand years ago amongst the civilised peoples of antiquity?.....we found reason to believe that the priest who bore the title of King of the Wood at Nemi had for his mate the goddess of the grove, Diana herself. May not he and she, as King and Queen of the Wood, have been serious counterparts of the merry mummers who play King and Queen of the May, the Whitsuntide Bridegroom and Bride in modern Europe?" (Frazer, 1925).

One self-image of the English, i.e. a sense of common identity, is bound up with woodland imagery in this way, although as Frazer (*op. cit.*) demonstrated, these ideas are not specifically English, but distributed throughout the world, citing numerous examples of similar myths and rites from every corner of the globe. In 'Landscape and Memory', Simon Schama (Schama, 1995) also examines these historical meanings of woodlands: "The wondrous-crazy lord of Woodlands and keeper of the forest, the bold and ingenious poacher, and the innocent trespasser were all prime specimens of what Gilpin² believed to be English freedom set in the truest and most picturesque of English scenery: forest scenery. Yet he (Gilpin) closed his long and superb account "with a sigh" because he did not think its unkempt splendours would be likely to survive the apparently insatiable demand for naval timber that was leading to acre after acre being felled, or the threat of mistaken embellishment of aristocratic parks" Here we have an echo of the expropriation of commons and woodlands, which reached its peak with the enclosure acts of the 18th and 19th centuries, that was so traumatic in the history of the countryside. Traumas of this nature enter the psyche of peoples and condition their values and beliefs:

² William Gilpin, 1808. "Remarks on Forest Scenery"

"Deep currents of meaning swirl around our culture(s) and brush through the branches of any tree or tree-place which is being encountered, experienced, narrated or imagined at any given time. Such meanings vary from the vaguest acknowledgement that trees somehow serve to 'breathe' for the planet, to deeply held and poignant appreciations of wider discourses, for example relating to socio-ecological sustainability, countryside conservation, and even political nationalism" (Jones and Cloke, 2002). The above statement is very broad in its scope, giving a flavour of the range and importance of the meanings attached to woods. The point about political nationalism is explored in detail in the context of England by Stephen Daniels (Daniels, 1988) in his 'Political iconography of woodland in later Georgian England'. In his opening quote:

"Hail, old *Patrician* Trees, so great and good!
Hail, ye *Plebeian* underwood" (Abraham Cowley, *Of Solitude*, 1668)

he captures some of the weight of meaning in very few words. Standard oaks were often protected by law and pertained to the greater national interest – the supply of naval timber – while the underwood was the subject of common rights (established in *Magna Carta* and the associated *Charter of the Forest*) for the collections of faggots of firewood to keep ordinary people warm. These political divisions persist in Britain's current pattern of forest ownership which is characterised by retention of the woods by landowners (for hunting and shooting) while farmland is often tenanted by farmers who then have no stake in the woods. Thus trees in their places carry political meaning. At least since William the Conqueror England's forest laws exacted severe punishments for plebeian encroachments on the woodland preserves of the aristocracy, but it was the passing of the 'Black Act' of 1723 that established more capital offences than were contained in the entire penal codes of other European countries. The new offences were mostly concerned with hunting and poaching, with the specific intention of repressing the activities of the 'Waltham Blacks'; men disguised as negroes, and hence 'Black'. These activities included 'tree-maiming' (Griffin, 2007), so the act established a new offence of 'cutting down or otherwise destroying any trees planted in any garden, orchard or plantation, for ornament, shelter or profit'. This act coincided with the age of slave-trading, and was before the abolition of slavery in England, and a discourse of dissent and opposition to the appropriation of common rights, freedoms and property must have motivated the Waltham Blacks. Recent research has made it "incontrovertibly clear" that they were part of a well-organised Jacobite underground (Schama, 2003).

In summary, the political and symbolic meaning of woods has long roots, and these influence current attitudes to the ownership of and access to woods. In 1994, the Independent newspaper ran an article on the abandonment of government plans to sell off state forests. "Paddy Tipping, who launched the Ramblers' campaign yesterday, together with an all-party group of MPs, said: 'These woodlands have been ours for centuries. Robin Hood and his colleagues would rise from the grave if they knew what

this wicked Government was doing.” These observations illustrate how deeply the politics of ownership and power are embedded in British tree-culture.

Cultural Assets

The industrial history of the Forest of Dean (Hart, 1971) exposes the importance of this Royal forest in the west of England as a post-industrial landscape. Artefacts from Roman iron workings to 19th century chimneys contribute to this forest’s value for tourism, and identity as a place to live. Cultural sustainability in this forest must then include the conservation of its industrial archaeology. However, the cultural identity of a place is not just contained in physical reminders like archaeological remains, it lives in cultural practices in which meanings are recursively recreated. One of O’Brien’s respondents found sense of place in childhood memories: “there were six or seven of us and we used to go and look for conkers and things like that.....I remember the tall ferns...and a big stone wall. We used to love going over that wall.” (O’Brien *op. cit.*). In other words, the cultural significance of place is not static, but is continuously re-formed through acts of “dwelling” (Ingold, 2000).

Recently, Peter Herring, in reviewing perceptions of historic landscapes, recognised just how subject-dependent the existence of ‘landscape’ can be: “Most now accept that landscapes, including the more picturesque, are to a large degree within us. They are the construct or product of continuous dialogue between external stimuli – signals, symbols and patterns – and internal readings and interpretations of these by a consciousness informed by a wide range of cultural norms and filtered by personal experience.....Therefore, there are as many landscapes as consciousnesses....”(Herring, 2009).

Cultural heritage of woodland and its values have been recently reviewed (Weldon, 2008), concluding *inter alia* that “We found that research and wider understanding of the value of cultural heritage in woodlands is still in its infancy, although there is acute awareness that woodlands are repositories of many different meanings and cultural values. It is also recognised that all woodlands are intrinsically, and uniquely, valuable (particularly when they are ancient and rich in wildlife and biodiversity). It is clear that cultural heritage values are multiple, overlapping and often incommensurable and that these values do not lend themselves to the application of accountancy and economic valuation techniques that are normally required to give them the status they warrant” and further “...although professional surveys are an essential part of interpreting time depth and a valuable part of understanding of the rich meaning of a wood, lists of features do not necessarily capture the unique value of a place, it’s Genius Loci (unique inherent value). There are opportunities for telling the story better if a wider range of people are involved in making sense of the history, and if values are negotiated through a process of open engagement.” In other words, cultural heritage values are generally difficult to quantify, and this often results in an insufficient emphasis on this aspect of

woodland value. Expert or professional assessments need to be supplemented by processes of public engagement so that cultural heritage values can be *negotiated*. The report focuses on 'heritage'; those aspects of cultural value that are inherited from the past, but recognises the dynamic nature of cultural values – they concern the past the present and the future as managers and publics co-create and negotiate new values. However, in dealing with the cultural properties of a place, it is helpful to consider *material heritage* - physical features such as earthworks (Crow, Benham *et al.*, 2007), and other physical remains or features that may be present. A gazetteer of archaeological features (Banister, 2007) is helpful in carrying out this type of inventory. An example of a method focused on the tree-related heritage is given in the Defra Strategy for England's Trees, Woodland and Forests (Defra, 2008): "The Special Trees and Woods Project is recording the special trees and woodlands of the Chilterns Natural Area – special because they are old, rare, recognised as local landmarks, or are associated with local folklore or recent history (the Chilterns used to support a wide range of woodland industries including chair-making). The work is being carried out by a team of volunteers trained to gather information from site visits, old maps, estate records, aerial photographs and, most importantly, from local people themselves. Volunteers are able to digitally record interviews with people talking about their memories of Chiltern woodlands. The volunteers also survey and record woodland archaeology – man-made features like boundary banks, trackways, marker stones, saw pits and charcoal platforms that are evidence of how trees and woods have long provided us with fuel, timber, building materials, fodder and food. Records are summarised on an interactive map where visitors to the website can read the story, see the photos and hear memories about special trees and woods of the Chilterns. This new three and a half year project started in 2006 and is managed by the registered charity the Chiltern Woodlands Project and is funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund and Chilterns Conservation Board." In this there are elements of inventory of physical features, as well as active engagement of local knowledge. It is also possible to create new identities through afforestation as (Morris and Urry, 2006) found in their study of the development of sense of place in the National Forest: "positive perceptions of place feed into a growing trust and support for the 'institutional' Forest), a willingness to be associated with The National Forest brand, and an optimistic, forward looking vision for the area.... evidence of emergent National Forest identities that are based on these positive meanings and values."

Other properties that are not specifically cultural in nature might also be relevant to decisions on conserving and developing cultural value e.g. location in relation to specific populations and in relation to other cultural sites; accessibility; sensitivity in relation to environmental factors; visual attractiveness.

Policy and Planning

Current Forestry Strategies

The UK Forestry Standard (Anon., 2004b) recognises the Pan European Criteria for Sustainable Forest Management (SFM), and this includes “cultural resources”: “People recognise the value of artefacts and amenities found in forests. There is also a fundamental association between our culture (past and present) and the landscape, where woods often play a significant role.” (page 11). It lists ‘conservation’ and ‘landscape quality’ as requirements for SFM with the following indicators (page 18):

“Evidence that:

- important sites are clearly recorded;
- sound principles for integrating archaeological sites in woodland are adopted;
- archaeological sites are protected and damage is avoided;
- landscape principles of forest design are used;
- the cultural and historical character of the countryside is taken into account when creating new woods and when making changes to existing woods.”

The last bullet point opens the door to a more contextual view of cultural values (i.e. beyond visual landscape and archaeology), but this is not elaborated on further.

Standard Note 5 (page 29) sets out aims for semi-natural woodlands and states:

“Wherever possible these aims will be met while respecting the objectives of individual owners, the distinctive cultural characteristics of individual woods, and the needs of the community.”

The published government forestry strategies in each of the three GB countries each include cultural factors as relevant to sustainable forest management. The current strategies for England (Defra, 2008) and Wales (Anon., 2009e) mention ‘cultural services’ among the environmental services supplied by forests, a concept to be found in the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. For example, under the vision ‘woodlands better adapted to deliver a full range of benefits’ the Welsh strategy lists ‘cultural services’ as follows:

“Cultural services – recreational, health, aesthetic, and spiritual benefits for people living near or visiting woodlands; biodiversity, landscapes, heritage and culture.”

The significance of these services is described as follows:

“Apart from timber and woodfuel most of these ecosystem goods and services cannot be sold on the open market but are nevertheless of great importance to the people of Wales.”, and then under ‘Environmental Quality’ (page 48) there is a section headed “Woodlands and trees make a positive contribution to the special landscape character of Wales and to sites of heritage and cultural importance”. This section emphasises the importance of trees and woodlands as constituent parts of cultural landscapes, and also

the importance of veteran trees as 'living heritage'. There is an accent on 'heritage' and 'historic environment'. The recent corporate plan (Anon., 2009c) based on this strategy re-enforces this:

"We also need to look after our cultural heritage – ancient and industrial archaeological sites within woodlands, and woodlands and trees that are themselves important historical or archaeological features. Woodlands and trees within historic landscapes or designated landscapes need the protection of appropriate woodland management, especially veteran trees. New woodland planting offers the opportunity to create wooded features that could enhance the Welsh landscape." The two ideas that expand the concept of culture here beyond conservation of archaeological remains are 1. a new emphasis on veteran trees and 2. the idea that new planting might enhance the *Welsh* landscape.

Although here there is no reference to 'cultural services', the same accent is visible in the Scottish Forestry Strategy (Anon., 2006b):

"Protect and promote the historic environment and cultural heritage

- manage the historic environment sensitively
- value the cultural history and meaning of forests, woodlands, trees and the historic environment
- recognise the tourism potential of the historic environment
- encourage the development of living heritage and the arts in woodlands
- encourage the use of Scottish timber and traditional construction techniques"

In the equivalent strategy for England (Defra, 2008), the importance of cultural values is stressed repeatedly, often in the form 'historic, archaeological and cultural value of trees and forests'. This then is specifically about *woodland* culture. The Forestry Commission in England, Scotland and Wales has sought to record and establish woodland cultures in a number of examples, enrolling these cultures to promote forestry as a socially valuable economic activity. This is particularly relevant in areas where forestry was introduced (in the 20th century) into depopulated landscapes, along with labour forces imported from the cities, in some cases even establishing 'forestry villages'. Examples include the story of forestry in Mid-Argyll (Anon., 2008b), and an oral history of Whitelee (Tittensor, 2009). Local forestry knowledge, whether recently imported or of traditional origin represents another source of cultural value. Another, related source is the culture surrounding the forestry communities themselves; the story of the forestry villages, for example.

Cultural values in decision-making

The economic value of 'cultural and amenity services' was highlighted in the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (de Groot and Ramakrishnan, 2005):

"Many cultural and amenity services are not only of direct and indirect importance to human well-being (in terms of improved physical and mental health and well-being), they also represent a considerable economic resource; for example, tourism generates approximately 11% of global GDP and employs over 200 million people. Approximately 30% of these revenues are related to cultural and nature-based tourism. In planning ecosystem use or conversion, these values have not been fully taken into account in the analysis of trade-offs. The costs of the loss of ecosystem services and the benefits of their continued availability should be shared more equitably among all stakeholders."

The European Landscape Convention (the ELC), promulgated by the Council of Europe, came into force in the United Kingdom in March 2007. It is now becoming increasingly influential in the approaches of English Heritage, Natural England and analogous bodies in Wales and Scotland to managing landscape and the historic environment. At the heart of the ELC is a change from the idea in which privileged, 'special', often visually beautiful landscapes are singled out for protection, to a recognition that all landscapes are rich in cultural meaning and worthy of protection, in the full understanding that cultural landscapes are living and dynamic. (Priore, 2001) points out that the term 'cultural landscape' is a pleonasm, i.e. all landscapes are 'cultural' by definition. The alternative view, exemplified by the World Heritage Convention, and which has been referred to as 'elitist' (Priore, 2001) is predicated on a conceptual separation of humans from 'nature', and is seen to run throughout the laws and institutions of landscape conservation in most European countries. In the World Heritage Convention, cultural heritage was defined as "monuments, groups of buildings or sites with historical, aesthetic, archeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value". (Phillips, 2001) further emphasises the contrast between this and the ELC in the philosophy of conservation: "cultural landscapes often reflect systems of sustainable land use, which need to be identified, supported and publicized; (the ELC sets out to protect landscapes) *regardless of the relative merits of particular landscapes*; to conserve landscape value as an asset like air or water" (my emphasis). In its recent publication of 'Conservation Principles' (English_Heritage, 2008) English Heritage acknowledged the influence of the ELC: "The (ELC), also ratified by the United Kingdom, has been influential, not least for its definition of a landscape as 'an area, as perceived by people...', and its references to the need to consider sustaining cultural values in managing all landscapes, as well as the importance of public engagement in that process". The guidelines apply to 'significant places': "any part of the historic environment that people perceive as having particular identity or distinctiveness. It can be at any scale from, for example, a milestone to a building, an historic area, a town or a region". This created some alarm at the consultation stage, (Ratcliff, 2006) as this broadened scope seemed to threaten

development potential. However, the concentration of the Conservation Principles of English Heritage on 'significant places', which is natural for an organisation that has mainly been concerned with physical monuments, doesn't go as far as the ELC towards recognising the cultural value of all 'places'. Ratcliff quotes James Simpson in relation to this point in an Australian context: ".....heritage is set apart, it is something else: a colonial structure or a place of spiritual significance to aboriginals to be protected and preserved, nothing to do with real, everyday life, or the economy, which move on parallel, but separate tracks."

The idea that nature-society and place form an inseparable association was developed towards the end of the 20th century in social science: "our contention is that nature-society relations are continually unfolding in the contexts of specific places, in which meanings will arise from particular interactions between different assemblages of social, cultural and natural elements" (Jones and Cloke, 2002). It is in this sense that 'meaning' represents a forest (cultural) value – something worth conserving.

At the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA), the issue for management was clearly recognised: "many policies and economic incentives concerning management systems and conservation strategies are still based on separating people from their environments, freezing and stereotyping both cultures and ecosystems. Such policies have a limited success in addressing the linkages between ecosystem functioning, development, and human well-being." (Bhattacharya, Brondizio *et al.*, 2005) and further: ".....there is a recent growth in translating the sacred into conservation legislation or legal institutions granting land rights. However, this approach requires extensive knowledge concerning the specific ways in which the link between the sacred, nature, and society operates in a specific locale. Sacred areas may vary from a few trees to a mountain range, and their boundaries may not be fixed. Local specifics need to be studied thoroughly *in a participatory way* in order to develop initiatives that suit the local situation" (page: 403, my emphasis).

The idea of 'cultural landscape' was given a more specific meaning in the MEA, as particular landscapes associated with particular cultures, including local languages. Examples given include the Naskapi Indians of Labrador: "With deep respect for the harsh environment in which they live, the dependence on nature and natural resources is reflected in the ethnobiological knowledge they possess." (de Groot and Ramakrishnan, 2005). These authors stress the importance of languages "Language, knowledge, and the environment have been intimately related throughout human history. Local and indigenous languages are the repositories of traditional knowledge about the environment and its systems, its management, and its conservation. Approximately two thirds of the world's languages are linked to forest-dwellers; indeed, almost 50% of all languages are spoken in tropical/sub-tropical moist broad-leaved forest biome...." The question arises as to how these cultural values are to be given proper weight in "the

analysis of trade-offs" i.e. as part of a decision making system leading to (more) sustainable development.

Sustainability Assessment

Cultural criteria and indicators have been investigated in two related fields, firstly in devising means for monitoring progress towards sustainability (e.g. the Criteria and indicators set up by the Ministerial Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe; MCPFE, and the Montreal Process), and secondly in devising *ex-ante* policy appraisal methods (sustainability appraisal). Examples of the latter include the EC 6th Framework projects SENSOR (Helming, Perez-Soba *et al.*, 2007) and EFORWOOD (Edwards, 2006). The relationship between Sustainability Appraisal and the various forms of impact assessment has been explained elsewhere (Tabbush, Frederiksen *et al.*, 2007). *Ex-ante* sustainability appraisal involves the construction of a framework of indicators or impact questions, and these generally include cultural or 'socio-cultural' as well as economic and environmental indicators. This is not unproblematic since economic activity is cultural by its very nature. However, it is useful to review how cultural indicators have been developed in relation to forestry so far.

Socio-cultural Criteria and Indicators

The current notion of Sustainable Forest Management (SFM) was developed from the UNCED Forest Principles and defined, in the European context, at the Helsinki meeting of the Ministerial Conference for the protection of Forests in Europe (MCPFE) in 1993 (Resolution H1): "stewardship and use of forests and lands in a way, and at a rate, that maintains their biodiversity, productivity, regeneration capacity, vitality and their potential to fulfil, now and in the future, relevant ecological, economic and social functions at local, national and global levels, and that does not cause damage to other ecosystems". Principle 2b includes the concept of cultural needs: "Forest resources and forest lands should be sustainably managed to meet the social, economic, ecological *cultural and spiritual* needs of present and future generations" (my emphasis).

Pan-European Indicators of Sustainable Forest Management

The Lisbon Conference 1998 on the Protection of Forests in Europe (Resolution L1) then developed the theme of "People, Forests and Forestry – Enhancement of Socio-Economic Aspects" (of SFM). This resolution stressed participation, education, public relations, transparency, sound regulatory, institutional and economic frameworks, policies coherent with other sectors, effects on livelihoods, and gender aspects. Resolution L2 went on to endorse "*Pan-European Criteria, Indicators and Operational Level Guidelines*" (for SFM) (PEC), including Criterion 6 "Maintenance of other socio-economic functions and conditions, and the associated guideline 6.1 (d) "Sites with recognised specific historical cultural or spiritual significance should be protected or managed in a way that takes due regard of the significance of the site" (MCPFE, 1998). This criterion has been developed further recently, and guidelines (Agnoletti, 2009) were produced by an MCPFE

expert panel, which extended the narrative concerning the socio-cultural dimension of SFM much further. This was commented upon by staff at Forest Research, who welcomed the extension, with the reservation that the scope was still limited:

"We feel that the guidelines depend on one quite specific interpretation of culture, which focuses on the material and historical. The cultural values of forests in Europe extend well beyond 'cultural heritage' per se. We see it as important that the MCPFE guidelines take the opportunity to address a much more comprehensive sense of culture which includes:

- a) present day cultural identities and cultural meanings, which can contribute to a 'sense of place' (and which may well be informed by public understandings of cultural heritage among other things).
- b) cultures that are associated with particular present-day recreational activities such as mountain biking, walking, dog walking, nature watching.
- c) cultures that are associated with present day forest related livelihoods, e.g. employment (in forestry), environmental volunteering, and involvement with the community woodland movement e.g. in Scotland.
- d) present day performance and installation art, either in a forest setting or that uses forests/woodlands for inspiration. (Related to this are the innumerable ways in which woodlands are represented in the media, advertising, stories, etc.).
- e) the visual amenity value of woodlands and trees in the landscape could also be broadly considered under 'culture'.
- f) finally, cultural heritage as understood in the IUFRO report." (Lawrence and Edwards, *Pers. Commn.*) (see (Agnoletti, 2009)

Systems of C&I for SFM applicable at national level have also been produced in North America (The Montreal Process:(Anon., 2007; Anon., 2009a). These converge to a large extent with the PEC (MacDonald and Lane, 2004; Anon., 2006a) and at least the headline criteria are generally accepted. However, in national and local contexts, and since sustainability is essentially a political concept, it is always important to ask whose criteria should be considered, and what process will be employed to reconcile conflicting priorities. C&I may be used in a variety of ways, but most commonly they are used in monitoring i.e. by observing how they change over time. It has been stated that "they are intended to provide a common understanding of what is meant by SFM and provide a framework for describing, assessing and evaluating a country's progress towards sustainability at the national level" (MacDonald and Lane, 2004). The use of C&I to test the effect of a particular policy or project intervention, in either an *ex ante* or *ex post* evaluation may require different lists of indicators, firstly because of the effect of scale, but also because evaluation presents an opportunity to choose indicators that suit the particular circumstances. For instance national monitoring might include number of protected sites as an indicator, but to appraise a policy promoting access to protected sites (at national level) we would also need an indicator of site damage.

Montreal Process

The Montreal indicators (Anon., 2009a) are based on 7 criteria. The first five mainly concern productivity and environmental health, so that socio-cultural considerations are concentrated in criterion 6: Maintenance and enhancement of long-term multiple socioeconomic benefits to meet the needs of societies and criterion 7; Legal, institutional and economic framework for forest conservation and sustainable management. Cultural issues are dealt with for example by indicator 6.5a: "Area and percent of forests managed primarily to protect the range of cultural, social and spiritual needs and values" and indicator 6.5b: "The importance of forests to people". Criterion 7 covers the extent to which the legal framework (laws, Regulations, guidelines) supports the conservation and sustainable management of forests, including the extent to which it provides for the management of forests to conserve special environmental, cultural, social and/or scientific values.

The economic value of 'cultural and amenity services' was highlighted in the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (de Groot and Ramakrishnan, 2005):

The current set of European indicators for SFM (MCPFE, 2003) includes indicators for "*Maintenance of Other Socio-Economic Functions and Conditions*" (Criterion 6), listing quantitative indicators e.g. area of forest with public right of access. Qualitative indicators are given in a separate section, including socio-economic indicators B.8 – B.12. A commitment was made to improve the socio-cultural indicators at Vienna in the same year:

"While multiple roles of forests were broadly discussed in Lisbon with a considerable emphasis given to socio-economic aspects of SFM, the ministers taking part in the 4th MCPFE (MCPFE, 2003) committed to strengthening synergies for sustainable forest management in Europe through cross-sectoral cooperation and sharing the common responsibilities for sustainable management of forests by fully recognizing forest social and cultural dimensions in the separate resolution (V3). This Resolution specifies the means of preserving and enhancing the social and cultural dimensions of SFM by:

- encouraging the identification, expression and communication of the social and cultural dimensions of sustainable forest management *inter alia* by including them in education and rural development programmes
- maintaining and further developing both the material (e.g. wood in architecture, medicinal plants) and the non-material (e.g. recreation, well-being, health) social and cultural aspects and benefits of sustainable forest management,
- maintaining and increasing the attractiveness of the landscape by, *inter alia*, enhancing and preserving traditional elements of the cultural landscape; raise awareness of the contribution of traditional knowledge and practices in sustainable forest management for the protection of landscapes, the conservation of biological diversity as well as for protection against natural hazards

- identifying, assessing and encouraging the conservation and management of significant historical and cultural objects and sites in forests and related to forests in collaboration with relevant institutions
- encouraging multi-disciplinary research into the role of the social and cultural aspects of sustainable forest management in the overall goal of sustainable development, including the role of traditional forest-related knowledge production of goods and services from forests under sustainable management.
- engaging further research efforts on the socio-economic aspects of sustainable forest management, in particular on the assessment and valuation of the full range of forest goods and services, in order to provide reliable information for policy and decision making and public dialogue” (Gaworska and Kornatowska, 2006).

Socio-economic functions

The concept of “ecosystem function”, or the delivery of ecosystem services or benefits to society, is fundamental to the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA) process. The MEA describes these services as “provisioning, regulating, supporting and cultural services” (Anon., 2005). Cultural services include “nonmaterial benefits obtained from ecosystems through spiritual enrichment, cognitive development, reflection, recreation, and aesthetic experiences.” Although it treats these as “services”, it is not so easy to devise indicators for socio-cultural as it is for other services, and similarly challenging to include them in an evaluative framework that allows trade-offs to be made between these and environmental and economic values. In considering ecosystem values and valuation approaches, it recognises that socio-cultural values may not always be fully captured by economic assessments “These values fall between utilitarian and intrinsic value paradigms. They might be elicited by using, for example, techniques of participatory assessment ...or group valuation.” (Anon., 2003b) MEA emphasises the complex and pervasive effects of ecosystem damage on cultural and amenity services. “Adaptive management...is founded on the premise that natural systems are dynamic and complex and that the information on which to base decision-making is inevitably incomplete....The integration of social and cultural dimensions within an adaptive management framework requires an integrative approach....Combining the reductionistic, formal perspective of knowledge with a more “traditional” and more holistic perspectiveis likely to yield better results...” (Anon., 2005).

Sustainability Appraisal

The “Impact Assessment Guidelines” published by the European Commission (Anon., 2009b), lists “Social Impacts” to be taken into account when assessing the implications of EC policy options, and in this case each impact is listed and defined using a series of questions. In effect, these impacts can be treated as, or used to generate indicators. For example, in the questions listed under ‘social impacts’: “Are all actors and stakeholders treated on an equal footing, with due respect for their diversity? Does the option impact on cultural and linguistic diversity?” and further, under ‘Culture’:

“Does the proposal have an impact on the preservation of cultural heritage?
Does the proposal have an impact on cultural diversity?
Does the proposal have an impact on citizens' participation in cultural manifestations, or their access to cultural resources?”

This approach is an interesting departure from the indicator-based approach, and represents a method for operationalising sustainability in the policy-making process. The questions do not rely on quantification, and are often cast in an open, qualitative way. However, these guidelines do not take full account of cultural issues, such as sense of place and personal or community identity.

As part of the 6th Framework Programme, the project 'SENSOR' (Helming, Perez-Soba et al., 2007) developed tools for sustainability assessment, and this included the development of FoPIA - a framework for participatory impact assessment (Morris, Tassone *et al.*, 2010). This methodology brings together a deliberative group approach to the assessment of criteria, (multi-criteria analysis) with Sustainability Appraisal to produce a tool that can be used to help stakeholders to make trade-offs between the criteria. In this case, the stakeholders are usually locally expert in various fields of environmental knowledge.

Edwards (Edwards, 2006), following a comprehensive review for the European Commission of socio-cultural appraisal criteria, presented a typology of nine themes of social and cultural value, for use in appraising (*ex-ante*) the sustainability of forest management options:

1. Employment
2. Non-Timber Forest Products
3. Governance
4. Community
5. Recreation and Tourism
6. Education and Learning
7. Health and Well-being
8. Landscape and Aesthetic
9. Cultural and Heritage

As with so many socio-cultural classification schemes, there is considerable 'leakage' between these categories, many aspects of 'employment' constituting cultural practices, for example. 'Cultural and Heritage', then is not intended as a completely comprehensive and self-contained category, but Edwards draws out a number of constituent sub-values or sub-criteria which may be interpreted as follows:

1. Expenditure on 'cultural resources' (taken here as synonymous with 'cultural assets', as discussed above) (level of management input into cultural resources)
2. Cultural and historical resources (e.g. number of designated sites)
3. Beneficiaries of cultural resources (e.g. number of visitors attracted by cultural resources)
4. Cultural associations with forests.

While the first three criteria are constructed to produce more-or-less quantitative indicators, the 4th is recognised as qualitative, and containing things that are difficult to assess:

- Spiritual or emotional attachment to forests
- Proportion of public who are skilled in particular forest based practices, activities or knowledge (the role of local or indigenous knowledge)
- Number of cultural events or products which derive inspiration from forests

The first of these will lie behind discourses of forest value, for instance public reaction to forest management, or public responses gathered during public participation in decision-making about SFM. It might also contribute to the attractiveness of the woods and hence to physical and mental well-being, education, and all the other 'benefits' that are contingent upon forest access. So cultural values include important but hard to assess spiritual and emotional values, as well as more tangible assets like historical remains and designated cultural sites.

Edwards' (2006) second sub-criterion is based on 'forest practices' which may be related to working practices or place-based social events and cultural practices. For instance, the 'Faith Woodland' established in Maulden Wood in Bedfordshire (Tabbush, 2008) has created new cultural practices which represent real added value for the woodland: "What a fantastic project it's been, and I hope that it will fulfil its targets and get a lot of people into the woodlands who wouldn't usually access it, ... and also encourage people to mix with different faiths who wouldn't have necessarily done it before. I see the woodland as a neutral space, it's not like going into somebody's church or mosque and trying to start a dialogue, it's a completely non-biased situation where you can talk freely" (Field Officer for a charitable organisation promoting health and well-being in 'vulnerable' groups). The field officer quoted is clearly expressing a particular cultural identity of the woodland as a 'neutral public space' – neutral from a socio-cultural standpoint. This is an example of a value that would not exist without its associated practice, and that could only be assessed effectively through some form of deliberative communication process.

Planning Systems taking account of cultural values

We now turn to the experience of agencies concerned with cultural heritage and its conservation, to examine how cultural values are assessed and taken account of in planning systems. Notable examples are the National Trust system of 'Statements of Significance' which seems to offer potential in a forestry context, and the process by which the Countryside Commission's 'Landscape Character Assessment' has developed into 'Joint Character Areas' and 'Historic Landscape Assessment'.

Statements of Significance

Although they are now applied to every National Trust property, the introduction of the concept of 'Statements of Significance' has been attributed to David Russell, previously Head Forester for the Trust. An internal National Trust memo describing the system is

included at Annex 1. The central idea is that the time-depth of a property needs to be distilled, for protection and development purposes' so as to identify the particular importance associated with each property. This process of distillation includes both expert knowledge and public engagement: "Engaging people effectively with collections depends on museums maintaining an open dialogue with their users and the local community. Since 2004 all National Trust properties have developed Statements of Significance which are 'live' snapshots of what a wide range of stakeholders believe to be significant about a place and its collection. These Statements in turn inform the property's Management Plan, Conservation Plan and the Learning and Access Plans on a rolling basis and are constantly re-evaluated. We would welcome research into the effectiveness of such tools and the potential for their application across other cultural agencies." (National_Trust, 2005). The method then gives managers the necessary knowledge on which to base environmental decision-making: "The National Trust uses a Statement of Significance to weigh the positive and negative aspects of any proposals which may affect its land. To maintain the significance of the Dedham Vale, traditional mixed farming must be allowed to continue, key aspects of the working landscape preserved, and public understanding of the importance promoted. This needs to be achieved whilst providing a sustainable level of access for residents and visitors." (National_Trust, 2009). In an interview with Sue Weldon (carried out for the review of cultural heritage of woodland (Weldon, 2008), an officer of the National Trust offered the following account:

"Part of it is backward looking, a collective memory of who we were and where we come from. An archaeological cliché is that unless you have an understanding of that you cannot move forward. So I think there is a philosophical side to it. I think part of it is about difference – that we celebrate difference and in the Lake District one valley doesn't look like another valley. I think the cultural value certainly plays on that difference. People don't come to the Lake District to see things (that they can see) where they live; they come to see something that is distinctive and Cumbrian as well as exhilarating and beautiful. There is sense of place and character which cultural heritage brings. I think that's probably the best definition. We definitely have policies in the Lake District to say that we don't want the same kind of solutions and management across the whole of the Lake District – here we have a principle based on local management. For instance, if you look at Coniston and the woodlands there, you would try to draw out the distinctive character compared with Borrowdale woodlands or with Hawkshead and Claife."

Landscape Character Assessment

The technique of Landscape Character Assessment (LCA) was developed by the Countryside Commission in the early 1990s (Anon., 2002). LCA recognises landscapes with relatively homogeneous properties, presenting this as a relatively value-free process: "Landscape Character Assessment draws an important distinction between two



stages: 1. the relatively value-free process of **characterisation**; 2. the subsequent making of **judgements** based on knowledge of landscape character (Anon., 2002). James and Gittins (James and Gittins, 2007), followed two local, parish-level LCAs, noting the requirement for freely-available data as a basis for community engagement. The relatively high inputs necessary under the weight of planning legislation carried the risk that “local communities might lose some faith in the system after the efforts they have already made as volunteers, particularly, and ironically, when there is a renewed emphasis for involving communities in the new system”. In other words, LCA is part of a planning system, and community engagement was introduced into it as the discourse of Sustainable Development gained ground in the 1990s. LCAs make use of a National Spatial Framework in England called National Character Areas (NCAs) (English_Nature, 2009) based on an earlier version called Joint Character Areas and developed in 1996 following the creation of Natural England.

Historic Landscape Analysis and Historic Landscape Characterisation

According to English Heritage, in describing the role of ‘Historic Landscape Characterisation’, Historic Landscape Character Assessment is “a primary vehicle for achieving the goals and aspirations of the European Landscape Convention.” (Clark, Darlington *et al.*, 2004a). Although it has its origins in archaeology and history, Historic Landscape Analysis (HLA) concerns the “still functioning countryside”: “what distinguishes this *historic landscape* from other aspects of the archaeological record is that it is principally concerned with features that are still in use today in contrast to abandoned.....elements of earlier stages of landscape development that survive above ground as earthworks or ruins” (Rippon, 2004). However, above ground ruins, and suggestive land forms like old field boundaries do contribute to the character of the observed historic landscape. Top-down and bottom-up methods for HLA are distinguished, with top-down based on the description of areas of distinct character recognised and mapped by experts, and bottom-up methods based on the analysis of individual landscape elements (topography, geology, land-use, landownership etc.) often using GIS systems, so as to delineate areas with common sets of these elements. An important contrast between HLA and ‘Landscape Character Analysis’ is that HLA includes the concept of ‘time-depth’, rather than just the recognition of current features. HLA underlies the process of Historic Landscape Characterisation co-ordinated by English Heritage (Clark, Darlington *et al.*, 2004a; Clark, Darlington *et al.*, 2004b). The guiding principles, which echo the ELC, are as follows:

“Present not past: It is the present-day landscape that is the main object of study
Landscape as history not geography: the most important characteristic of landscape is its time-depth....

Landscape not sites: HLC-based research and understanding are concerned with area not point data

All aspects of the landscape, no matter how modern, are treated as part of landscape character, **not just ‘special’ areas.** Semi-natural and living features (woodland, land cover,



hedges etc.) are as much a part of landscape character as archaeological features;

human landscape – bio-diversity is a cultural phenomenon.

Characterisation of landscape is a matter of **interpretation not record, perception not facts**; understand 'landscape' as **an idea**, not purely as an objective thing.

People's views: it is important to consider collective and public perceptions of landscape alongside more expert views. Landscape is and always has been dynamic: **management of change, not preservation** is the aim. The process of characterisation should be **transparent**, with clearly articulated records of data sources and methods used. HLC maps and text should be easy to understand, **jargon free** and **easily accessible** to users...." (Clark, Darlington et al., 2004b) (original emphasis).

An example of HLA is recorded from Norway, demonstrating the layering of maps (by GIS) to include time depth (Stabbetorp, Boe-Sollund *et al.*, 2007), to produce a "resource map that can be used as a good tool for predicting potential sites for different types of cultural traits and activities in areas which are poorly documented with respect to cultural heritage".

Forestry culture and the role of local knowledges

The importance of forestry cultures in forestry policy in Britain has already been noted, in that 'woodland cultures' or 'forestry cultures' have developed as a result of the practice of forestry. For example, the provision of jobs in forestry and its associated industries (including wood-based industries and also service industries based on woodland wildlife conservation and tourism), has developed local skills and knowledge that undoubtedly contribute to local culture. At least in international forums like IUFRO, local knowledges and indigenous cultures are often understood rather differently, since forests may be dwelled-in by peoples who are culturally quite different from those engaged in forest industries. Conservation of indigenous cultures is then an important policy item in the international context, and IUFRO established a working group on traditional forest knowledges in 2005 (IUFRO, 2009). In 2007, 'Forest Ecology and Management' devoted an issue to 'Traditional Forest Knowledge', and in this Ian Rotherham traced the "depth of evidence and diversity of people/woodland interactions" (Rotherham, 2007). He concluded from his work that "there remain deep-seated problems of limited understanding of the interactions of culture and nature in these landscapes; ecologists and foresters often failing to see this. Archaeologists recognise built structures ('monuments') and 'finds' but overlook ecology and many earthworks.....Understanding these landscapes has been made more difficult by the loss of local cultural knowledge about woodland management".

Thus local knowledge is not only a thing to be conserved as of cultural value in its own right (e.g. indigenous knowledge of forest medicinal plants; traditional stories attached to forest locales), it can be instrumental in the interpretation of the cultural value of landscape.



Part 2. Qualitative Research

Part 2. reports on research carried out with respondents with expert knowledge in each of the three GB countries, and with volunteers connected to peri-urban forests in the north and south of England.

Objectives

1. Explore with a range of stakeholders (FC and those they work in partnership with) how the cultural benefits provided by TWF and FC can be more clearly articulated and through what processes e.g. Forest Design Plans, Statements of Significance.
2. Examine a selection of the cultural benefits of TWF through participating in/attending events/activities and holding discussion groups with users and participants.
3. Identify where further research is needed to provide a more comprehensive or detailed view of particular aspects of cultural benefit – contemporary and heritage.

Methodology

This study is founded on two hypotheses:

1. Cultural services are not currently taken into account fully in the planning systems operated by the Forestry Commission
2. There is potential to increase the delivery of cultural services, and to increase the level of service provision in other areas (e.g. recreation and access; health and well-being) based on cultural services.

Methods used for investigating these hypotheses derived from qualitative research. Semi-structured interviews (Fontana and Frey, 2000) were conducted by telephone with individuals selected for relevant practical knowledge of cultural services and forest planning in each of the three countries. The questions that formed the basis of the interviews are presented at (Annex 2.). The sample included a range of professional foresters and planners and also lay participants associated with volunteering and participation in relation to specific woodland areas chosen as case studies. The two case studies were Chopwell Wood in County Durham, and the Thames Chase Community Forest to the East of London. A visit was made to an event organised by the Friends of Thames Chase Community Forest on 17 January 2010 at which two interviewees were recruited. On 18 February 2010 a meeting was convened for the purpose of this study at the Forest Classroom in Chopwell Wood, and this resulted in a group interview, and two individual interviews. A total of 17 individual interviews and one group interview were conducted.

The research follows the ethical guidelines in 'social research on line': (<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/info/ethguide.html> Accessed 24 Feb 2010). The identities of interviewees have been protected for ethical reasons, and since their roles were often highly specific, details of job titles have been excluded from the report.

All the interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed into the qualitative research software package 'QSR Nvivo', which allows *in vivo* coding of transcribed text. In each case the completed transcript was referred back to the interviewee to ensure that their views were not misrepresented. The codes allocated passages of text to the themes of conversation as they emerged, and these themes are the basis for the results presented below.

Results

The results, based on the passages of transcribed text coded for content, are grouped into three major subject areas: 1. Cultural assets; 2. Policy and Planning; 3. Consultation and Community Engagement.

Cultural Services

Cultural assets

Cultural assets include physical assets such as historic sites, scheduled ancient monuments, but also physical assets and their attributes to which people attach cultural significance. Several respondents mentioned the diversity of woodlands as one of the things they most valued, for instance:

"So many different parts of the wood. It's brilliant to see different trees different walkways, we've got the old railway line there which is very easy to walk on and.....everybody's trying to get extra things into the woods, and make it more attractive for people ...other people not really interested in woods to come in and see....walkers....bikes are getting a very big percentage of the forest now, and I think that's good. Brings people in, brings finance to the area I suppose." (member of 'Friends of Chopwell Wood').

Here the quality of the wood itself, which might include its geomorphology and species composition as well as its wildlife and management regime, contribute to the cultural value of the wood along with historic features like the old railway line. All these things contribute to the attractiveness of the wood, and hence its value to people. The more diverse is a wood, and the richer it is in physical assets, the greater is its *potential* cultural value, but this value is only realised through the minds of visitors, whether local, day visitors or tourists.

Health and well-being

Benefits to those intimately associated with the woodlands through the Friends groups at Thames Chase and at Chopwell are very clear, especially in the areas of physical and mental health and the sense of belonging to the community and the place:



"It is social contacts, really, I retired 6 years ago nearly 7 and didn't realise I had become, well I wasn't desperately ill but I had become depressed, I didn't recognise it as depression, but the doctor did. I found myself outside about half past two one morning, in the pouring rain, because I didn't want to be inside the house with the curtains drawn. That was about the end of October, just after we had changed the clocks. Mentioned it to the Doctor, and he said "would you like me to give you something for that?" I said "what like" he said "Prozac" and I said "I don't think I want to go down that route". Anyway, he said "you are displaying the classical symptoms of depression" and I said, "but I'm not a depressive person" "well" he said "nevertheless, that's what it is" and I knew that I had got to get away from the house, and do things outside with other people....." (Female volunteer, Thames Chase).

"it helps keep me a little bit fit, it stops you vegetating,

Interviewer: You also mentioned that it was something that your wife and you could do together?

"We don't tend to have a lot of hobbies in common, Penny likes Yoga; I've tried it and don't enjoy it, I like motorbikes and cars and I make models, the fact that we go out together and do this and go for walks together it makes an important part of our life." (Male volunteer, Thames Chase).

A profoundly deaf male, who is a volunteer at Chopwell, stated (through the medium of sign language and an interpreter who was also a member of the Friends) that he couldn't work anywhere else, he liked the work, and was enabled to do it because the people he worked with were deaf aware and could communicate with him. So the benefit to him was enormous because it got him out of the house and into contact with people and the outdoors.

Education

The educational value obtained from the woodlands was clearly demonstrated at both the peri-urban forests:

"Oh yes...we encourage wherever we can people to use the forest in as creative way as they possibly can, that goes from wood craft activities right the way through to the poetry activities, so children come to the site as schools or as local clubs and activities are run by our access officer according to their need and that includes the cultural side of their education" (Friend of Thames Chase).

"It is really quite unexpected sometimes, the responses you get, particularly working with children, to things, we have got quite mixed populations around, at the Chopwell and of the wood there is a quite seriously deprived village, Highfield is quite bad, High Spen is more affluent, Rowland's Gill is not bad at all. Sometimes we get children of various ages and something just inspires them, you can't always put your finger on what it is, but something inspires them while they are here. It can be finding a newt in the pond; there was one little boy, I think he had ADHD or some disruptive learning difficulty, and the teachers weren't sure about bringing him, and he found a newt in the pond and he was just so into it and so involved in it he was maybe 7 and he just wanted to know everything about it, not just about the newt, about the wider woodland, and that one thing just inspired him. By the end of it he was "I'm going to do well at school and I



want to do your job" I don't know if it will have made a difference to him, but even if it just made a difference for a day, it was worth it." (FC employee, Chopwell).

This is a story of inspiration, a quality which is sometimes cited in schemes of cultural value, and which goes beyond education or spiritual well-being. The fact that people can be inspired by woodlands is a distinct cultural value.

Stories

The cultural value of a wood is sometimes enhanced by the existence of stories in the minds of those using the woodland. These stories give the place meaning and make it a more attractive place to visit:

"there is a project in the Chilterns doing exactly that sort of stuff – it's called 'Trees of Time and Place' about American servicemen who carved their names in beech trees before they flew over Normandy....they've got 2 or 3 hundred trees – one was where a coach crashed and killed 3 people – Amersham- a horse chestnut was planted to markit's quite a rich vein – it's very localised and very specific." (FC Employee).

"There's meant to be a ghost of a serving girl – we tell the story at Halloween night at the castle. We've had these paranormal people around to see if they can detect anything. At Halloween all the staff dress up and take part in that,about 200 visitors come up just for the evening. Quite good at the end of October to get 200, and they come from a long way – Sunderland andLocal people get quite involved in that, quite a few help and take part in the organisation of it." (FC Employee, Kielder).

"Particularly working with school groups again, they are all very aware of their mining heritage, their grandparents and sometimes their parents worked in the mines, and they like to see the railway trucks and the tubways, and it is a link to their past, I think it works like an inter-generational link, it is something that they can relate to and go away and talk to their grandparents about and say, "oh, we've seen the mining trucks in Chopwell Wood" and they get all the stories about "oh well, when I was little we used to go down and we used to hitch lifts on the train as it went through". It's builds those relationships." (FC employee, Chopwell).

Practices

The things that people do in woodland can build up stories and lead to a cultural appreciation of place. Practices are an important element of cultural value, and these are sometimes forestry work practices, and sometimes practices that visitors have come to expect and enjoy:

"I spent Monday and Tuesday with the coppice growers in Kent, and (private forester), talking about when he was a kid, they were very interested in chestnut auctions; talking about gypsies and travellers, a whole culture of people coming in and buying the chestnut (it was all in pubs); of course that all died out in the '70s and '80s, and only now the thing is coming up again, but there was this whole culture about how the chestnut was grown and sold and processed, which is a lost thing. He was flowing telling us about this –

there were real gypsies playing cards in the pubs, and it was the last hiring market – as they came out they could hire people for the day – it was like a vision of Thomas Hardy” (FC Employee, SE England).

Although in this case the practice had passed into history, it is a story that continues to be part of the meaning of chestnut coppice in Kent.

“I was thinking of another one which is as Hamsterley forest – I don’t know how far back it goes but there is a long tradition of people going to the forest for family picnics and they picnic by the stream, and kick a football around, nowadays have a portable barbeque but they would have their thermos flasks before and they came to paddle in the stream. It’s a day out and some of the busiest days at Hamsterley are bank holidays, and New Year’s Day.....it’s a long tradition of doing that” (FC Employee, Kielder).

This example shows a cultural value being developed as a result of a practice, and this was turning into a tradition.

Cultural services are provided when cultural values like contemporary stories, historical associations or traditions are enhanced to make the woodland attractive and to deliver a range of associated benefits, for instance contact with and networking with others (enhanced social capital), health and well-being, education:

“it gives you an interest in things and people and you meet a lot of interesting people and nice people. The people we tend to meet there have got a similar sort of interest; they like the forest, even if they don’t know very much about it or they just bring their dogs up there and walk,...” (Volunteer, Thames Chase Community Forest).

Economic benefit

The Friends of Thames Chase hold regular farmer’s markets, and here there is clearly also an economic benefit. One graphic designer, who had been made redundant, had a stall advertising and selling his artworks, and his economic well-being became linked with the Friends group. At Chopwell, the Friends group is funded through the Christmas tree sales-point that it runs, and this enables it to invest in the woodland, establishing trails, artworks and so on. The economic value of visits to sites, including visits to cultural events in forests contributes to the touristic value and the cultural contribution to this was considered recently by Forest Research (Edwards, Elliott et al., 2009).

Enhancing cultural value

The cultural value of an area of woodland is not a fixed quantity but can be changed and enhanced in a number of ways, so as to increase the attractiveness of woodlands and so deliver a range of social goods.

“the old mining, we have an art and architecture programme at Kielder, quite a lot of that has been more imposed, there’s been a little bit of consultation but the programmes haven’t grown out of the community

they've come from the arts curator saying I think it would be a good idea to have an artwork here and looking for funding and artists. They come and stay for a few months and try and absorb something about the locality; it's more being imposed and then the community is asked if they're OK to accept something. There was really only one project where (at Falstone) where we said we want the artist to work with the local community and use their ideas and come up with a work that would reflect their ideas" (FC employee, Kielder).

Two approaches to artworks are illustrated here, on the one hand 'imposed'; based on the eye of the artist, and on the other working with the local community. Here the artworks were developed with the community and so had local meaning, and clearly enhanced the cultural value of the location in a way that would attract locals and tourists alike. In another example, cultural associations were used specifically to attract visitors:

"I know one thing we were doing with the Kielder partnership we were looking at the old mining villages of Plashetts, where they used to be and we were getting some of the old photographs and (Collingwood had older pictures than Blankenburgs, photographs pre-war) we were getting the old picture and the new one and ghosting one into the other. There's an exhibition now at Tower Knowe with a lot of AV facilities ...some of that is used there, and on the way in the entrance to itthere's a glass corridor and on the glass there is etched a lot of the old names from around all of Kielder." (FC employee, Kielder).

At Chopwell, the Friends make specific efforts to attract people into the woodlands:

"we lead events, my husband and I over the past years have led heritage walks, through the wood, we help out with the fungal foray, we have an expert who is the retired forestry worker,.....other members of the Friends group lead different events, doing walks through the wood, there are photography walks, there's a night-time bat walk, there iswe did have a health scheme a few years ago, we put funding in with the FC and the local Primary Care Trust into getting people out for their health,mentally and physically relaxing.....we funded a co-ordinator for that for a short while, and that was really good, somebody full-time, once we had lost that co-ordinator the impetus of the health walks just sort of petered away. We did walks, we did bike rides, and we did Tai Chi. All aspects of getting people into the woodland" (Friend of Chopwell Wood).

Policy and Planning

So far, little attention has been given here to the concepts of 'cultural heritage' and 'historic landscapes' as understood in the process of forest planning, and as we have seen them emphasised in planning documents. In this section, responses are presented to questions designed to explore how cultural values are taken into account in forestry planning systems.

Policy

The response was varied, and sometimes confused concerning the FC policy in England, Scotland and Wales on access and on enhancing the value of woodlands:



"Its true we are obsessed with access and biodiversity, but we don't go the extra mile and say well actually, if you did an analysis of who actually visits our woods, it's mainly middle class people its mainly dog walkers" (FC employee SE England).

The EWTF strategy (Defra, 2008) mentions 'access' 17 times, and 'biodiversity' 23 times, but 'diversity' is only mentioned in the context of biological diversity. It does not mention social inclusion at all. However, it does have a section on 'Cohesive communities and everyday life' that cites the 'Active Woods' programme and:

"Bringing people of different generations, cultures, backgrounds and religions together like this for a common purpose can improve their relationships and understanding of one another. When communities become involved in decision making and management they are more likely to feel 'ownership' of their trees and woodlands and to use them responsibly."

The ETWF Delivery Plan (Anon., 2008a) mentions health inequalities under 'Quality of Life', but does not specifically address inequality in relation to access to woodlands, which would certainly raise issues of who visits woodlands. This is dealt with further below under 'identity of Stakeholders'.

The Regional Strategy for South East England (Anon., 2004a) is clearer about the need for socially inclusive access, and recognises the following 'opportunity':

"The most deprived parts of the region, where innovative projects and activities in woodland settings should be part of the package used by regional and local bodies to tackle issues of educational under-achievement, poor health and high crime rates...."

The Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) has sustainable development (SD) as one of its objectives, and this might include the concept of access to ecosystem services, including cultural services. Access can reasonably be interpreted as access for all, not only for car-borne middle-class dog walkers:

"How they are taking (this aspect of) the spatial plan forward ...they've called it 'networked environment regions', SE Wales is where it has been piloted, bringing together a whole range of different partners to take forward this whole idea of strategic connectivity, and looking for links, and that's where these Millennium Ecosystem categories have come in. So we , that's where we found out about all of this, it is not something that we've been discussing in the Commission at all. ...

Interviewer: I guess it's something the WAG would be keen on?

They are very keen on it – it's sustainable development isn't it?" (FC employee, Wales).

This indicates some scope for developing FC policy to include more reference to ecosystem services and to consider who has access to them.

In the context of the community forest, the Thames Chase Plan (Anon., 2000) covers cultural objectives specifically, for instance:

"To promote and explore ways to celebrate the area's special character and reinforce or create a distinct identity through the arts; To develop a lively cultural role through arts activities, expanding ways in which residents and visitors can understand and enjoy the forest environment" .

This is clearly carried forward to the management of projects in the area, cultural relevance being definitely part of the objectives of a community forest:

"whenever a project comes along, one element of the project is always how can this help with cultural development and of course it has to be matched to the qualities of the area. If there was some historical value, obviously that would play some part. ... (Thames Chase volunteer).

The Forestry Commission in each country often does support cultural activities, but it does not always see them as core to its objectives:

"As an organisation we are encouraged to do our bit to help support local culture but it certainly wouldn't be a primary objective - something the Scottish Government is keen on and as an organisation we have a duty to help (them) deliver their policies" (FC employee, Scotland).

The perception of policy within the culture of an organisation does not always reflect the stated policies, but for the FC generally it seems clear that there is a perceived policy to encourage access to FC woodlands, but that this is not nuanced in terms of diversity of access and cultural access. In relation to the Scottish Forestry Strategy (Anon., 2006b):

"Interviewer: it has in it this bullet point 'value the cultural history and meaning of forests woodlands trees and the historic environment', which sounds pretty comprehensive, but there is no unpacking of it anywhere?

No, wellthe '80s and 90s was an evolution of the environmental interest of the FCI think on the cultural side we're probably still on the lower part of the curve. If you want to sell the message...if education is one of our key things....the cultural background to that is fundamental to forestry education. If you don't understand that you will struggle to get people to appreciate forests" (FC employee, Scotland).

Planning

Part of the investigation focused on how cultural factors are taken into account in current forest planning systems. Certain physical assets, for example SAMs are specifically dealt with in consultation with the relevant authorities, but the question posed here is much

wider than this, and concerns the realisation of cultural value. It is clear that some cultural values relate to the narratives and lives of local residents, and so opportunities for community engagement within the planning system were explored. From previous work (Hislop, Twery *et al.*, 2004; Tabbush, 2004a; Tabbush, 2004b) the major opportunities for community engagement occur during the production of Forest Design Plans (for Forestry Commission-managed public forests) and Long Term Forest Plans (for significantly large private forests). The Community Forests (such as Thames Chase) are closely allied to local government and have their own planning systems.

There was much evidence from the interviews to suggest that cultural factors are not really considered during the planning processes conducted by the FC. The dominant discourses are to do with forest management in terms of thinning and felling, and to do with nature conservation, with little attention paid to cultural factors:

"Well it (the Forest Design Plan process) is formulaic, and it is just us saying, we do all of the work, and then just show it to people and say what do you think? It is very difficult then for people to engage with it. Standing there in a community hall with your map, saying this is what we are proposing, that is at the terribly low end of the scale of public engagement and consultation.....the economic and environment aspects of the work are delivered really well, the staff know what they are doing and they are very able to do that, there's loads of legislation backing that up, so we have to do it,the community stuff is just so peripheral and we don't have to do it" (FC employee, Wales).

Interestingly 'community stuff' here subsumes 'cultural factors', so cultural factors are to be revealed during community engagement rather than through formulaic consultation over technical plans. The planning process certainly takes account of statutory consultation concerning designated sites, but talking to the community would be the most direct way to reveal and plan for local cultural issues and understandings.

"I think we could improve hugely the way that we relate to and consult the local communities around our woods; the FDP process is terribly primitive really, and the way the UK Forestry Standard requires us to engage with communities is very simple as well, so we haven't got those skills in the organisation, to make those connections, at the moment, and we are not required to. But it's about reaching out and talking to people, finding out what they want." (FC employee, Wales).

By contrast, community engagement is stock-in-trade for Community Forests like Thames Chase:

"the idea behind the design and feasibility work that we are doing at the moment, is that that documentation, the single report that comes out of those projects is then used for community consultation, so , before the project hits the ground, or any implementation occurs, you use that document for the marquee-style community consultation, or the leaflet drops or information in libraries, etc. to inform people about projects going on in their area, and that, I guess could be where you may then get feedback from

(those) sort of interest groups They may then come forward and say we've actually been using this route for x number of years it is very important to us in terms of culture for this route.....that again gives you the opportunity to build perhaps a different slant into a project. It is not as if we actively search for that, but that could come up from any community consultation work." (employee, Thames Chase)

In all cases resource constraints were reported as a major limit on the extent of consultation possible. Forest Districts had between 40 and 70 Forest Design Plans each, usually with only one planning forester, and there were many other plans in the system, including operational plans which are below the level of FDPs, and consequently more numerous. Since the FDP concentrates on silvicultural and harvesting operations, cultural factors might be expected to have a more prominent part in recreation plans, and this was certainly the case in west Scotland:

"Interviewer: When it comes to the FDP, does that include the plans for interpreting archaeology or is that confined to recreation plans?

No there are no plans for that, archaeology is taken into account in the design plans but not down to what you might call the cultural detail - that would be in the scheduled ancient monument plans or as you say the recreation plan.

Interviewer: Probably, if I wanted to findwould the recreation plan be the vehicle for planning the enhancement of a site, or the interpretation of a site?

Yes, most interpretation is lead from the recreation plan - it's meant to follow on from it, but it is more complicated than that; some of the things we have done have been as a consequence of local pressure or working with local groups, if there is a particular interest in the forest or encouraging us to do something with it and that can act as a spur to some sort of cultural interpretation to take place" (FC employee, w. Scotland)

The inter-relationship between plans is sometimes complex:

"We have conservation plans, SSSI plans, they're the main ones; we have places like Gibside Historic Gardens we have restoration plans for that. I try to make everything flow from the FDP, but not go into too much detail, so when we did Chopwell, we zoned the forest ...consultation where people would be happy for more formal recreation, and where there was no formal recreation and people just want to go for quiet walks. That has then been taken on by the Rec. department, and they have gone into more detailed plans about putting mountain bike trails in." (FC employee, NE England)

In this example (Chopwell Wood), there is a strong tradition of community engagement - it is managed almost as a Community Forest - but the point to note here is that the FDP is the only regular planning stage at which consultation and community engagement *has* to take place. Some sort of process may well accompany recreation plans, but this

does not seem to be mandatory, and it may more consultative than communicative in nature:

"that would be more ... our recreation and communities manager, when we have done the mountain bike trails in Kielder, he consulted with the Parish Councils and the local communities.

Interviewer: So when you say local communities, what sort of things happen?

We tend to go through the Parish Councils, in places like Kielder the Parish Councils are very strong."

In the context of major changes or major projects, there may be a statutory requirement for an Environmental Impact Appraisal, and this carries with it certain consultation requirements.

"there is a template in the EIA that we have to go through, part of that, I don't know that it actually specifies cultural interest. It talks about landscape, environment, and social, but whether it specifies what they mean by social? This is the Forestry Environmental Impact Regulations (1999)" FC employee, Wales.

These regulations are based on EC Directive 85/337/EEC. Guidance is provided by the EC, and referred to in the UK Regulations. In relation to cultural factors, for instance, 'Guidance on EIA Review (<http://ec.europa.eu/environment/eia/eia-guidelines/g-review-full-text.pdf>) 1981' poses two checklist questions relevant to cultural factors:

"3.12 Are any locations or features of archaeological, historic, architectural or other community or cultural importance in the area that may be bisected (by) the Project described, including any designated or protected sites?

4.14 Are direct, primary effects on locations or features of cultural importance described?"

Although these guidelines call for consultation with competent authorities, and making information available to the general public, there is no mention of a specific necessity to engage with local communities.

Cultural Impacts on Forest Management

So far, this report has concentrated on the cultural services provided by woods, but cultural factors may also demand to be taken into account in forest management, and may constrain it. An example is the issue of language in both Wales and Scotland:

"the Gallic culture is something that quite often comes up, how we take that into account in our signage in different areas

Interviewer: Do you mean the language specifically?

It's not so much the language as in interpretation currently, we aren't making a lot of use of it verbally but our signage - a lot of that and our publications are starting to dovetail in with a mixture of government and local requirements, the local cultural requirement varies from place-to-place

Interviewer: Are you thinking of a specific case?

there was interpretation of places like Aoinidh Mhor. Where we had to make decisions like do we have an English and a Gaelic board or do we amalgamate the two together; so we consulted local people, local historians, people in the community and worked with them to try to come up with a solution to this one.

Interviewer: And what was the outcome?

The outcome was we had a board that had key words in Gaelic with an English translation next to them, which some people liked and some people didn't. I suppose new entrants to these deep cultural areas where different people have got strong views they should be dealt with locally, and it is very difficult for us to satisfy all those needs. We just try to come up with something we think covers as much as we can of local needs but doesn't necessarily please everyone” (FC employee, w. Scotland).

The distinction here is between cultural factors that can assist in improving the quality of forest access - meeting access objectives (proactive planning)- on the one hand, and cultural factors that managers have to respect in order to maintain a 'licence to operate' on the other (reactive planning). In many cases the same issue will affect managers in both ways, but the planning approach is different. Another example came from Wales:

“we are being encouraged to look at now in the District is open land, if any of it is available for planting,A lot of the land..... that's been left open is still associated with those old historic small-holdings ('hafods'), and some of that is a remnant attribute of those pre-forestry landscapes. It is very easy to forget that when you are focused just on planting some more of what you have already got.” (Forestry Commission employee, Wales).

The inference here is that FC Wales needs to take these cultural factors into account in its management (reactively). This may be just to avoid time-consuming complaints, but it may also be because it is seen as in-line with FC policy in each country that such factors should be taken into account. Equally, management of the hafods could be used proactively to engage with local populations and to develop cultural interpretation or art works for local visitors. Unfortunately, as we have seen, there is no specific engagement process that would pick them up; much reliance is placed on the knowledge of local staff, and on the idea that concerns like this will make themselves obvious to managers. There is clearly room for improvement here as noted by another FC manager in Wales:

“I feel very strongly that there is huge room for improvement, in all the big areas that we are developing; they are in our corporate plan. The Assembly has said, we want this in our strategy, we want woodlands for

people benefits, we've reflected that in our corporate plan we've got targets in here, we've got actions that we've said we'll do, we've published them, and we are going to have to account for what we've done. So we've said that we are going to work with the voluntary sector to determine what support they need, and promote recreation opportunities in an inclusive way, we are saying all these things so we have to do it, otherwise we will be very visible. (But) there is still this strong belief that, you know, what is this stuff, we shouldn't be doing it, but the world is changing around us" (Forestry Commission employee, Wales).

Management Cultures

The culture of the organisations managing forests has an impact on the decisions made and the nature of the outcome in terms of meeting the objectives of the organisations concerned. A number of powerful discourses were repeated by managers from the FC and the Community forest alike, and these tended to exclude a discourse of communicative engagement with stakeholders, which might otherwise have forged strong cultural links and captured the benefits associated with cultural values which have been outlined above. The danger here is in accepting an 'empty-bucket' or 'information deficit' model (Lidskog, 2000) of community engagement in which managers feel that 'the public' brings little to the process (their buckets are empty), and if only they could be 'educated' they would understand the obviously right-minded actions of the managers. In fact, publics are plural, they have many buckets full of different knowledges, cultures and values, and the job of the manager is to explore the contents and respond in a way that develops value through mutual understanding, as far as possible.

Forestry Culture

One such discourse has developed, especially in Scotland and the north of England, where major afforestation programmes of the 20th century created a powerful cultural impact. Many of the areas, and good examples are to found in Argyll and north Northumberland, had only sparse populations of subsistence farmers by the time afforestation started. Forestry was labour-intensive, and labour was brought in from nearby centres of population. Before the tractor and the chain-saw supplanted the horse and axe, extensive forest villages were established with a view to housing burgeoning populations based on the new industry. These areas were dominated and to an extent are still dominated by industrial forestry, and naturally this has created a strong history and culture based on forestry. For the present study, the question is where the cultural value lies in this and how such values might be articulated and enhanced. They can certainly be manipulated to enhance the Forestry Commission's licence to operate, but they could also be developed to increase the quality of experience and the quality of life of local communities and visitors.

"....there's a cultural influence in Kielder, of forestry, I think that's more because of the reliance of the community on Kielder as a backdrop. When I worked in the Midlands, forestry there was very much purely looked on as a recreation/conservation resource, by the general community, and then by the rural

community it tended to be looked on as a shooting resource, rather than a forestry resource. The one thing I have noted from Kielder, the idea of harvesting timber in this area seems a logical thing, whereas talking to people in the Midlands, we had to educate them that harvesting timber was not necessarily detrimental for the forest.” (Forestry Commission employee, north England)

This picks up the ‘forestry culture’ of the northern production forests, and the quite different attitudes of local communities in the more populated areas further south. There does tend to be a north-south divide here, and the emphasis on forestry culture seems to be greatest in Scotland, for good reasons:

“a lot of what we do is what could be regarded as old-fashioned forestry; timber production for us is quite important, provides a lot of jobs, our expenditure budget is in the region of £10-11 million a year which, I would say 90% of it goes into the local economy either in the form of wages or contract cash or whatever, so in an area where we’ve got more deer than people, that is very important, also in terms of what we do to stimulate other – than the direct forestry industry, which is tourism and businesses and quality of life for people that live here as well – providing recreation facilities and nice landscapes for people to go and look at – that kind of thing so, that pretty much drives everything that we do here.” Forestry Commission employee (w. Scotland)

However, there is clearly an element of locals or incomers who are less sympathetic to the forestry industry, and some managers feel a need to persuade them of the importance of industrial forestry:

“how do you get people to understand the cultural significance of Sitka spruce, oh sorry, the economic benefits of Sitka spruce, I suppose in cold hard facts you can, but if you actually understand (I have an unusual take on this) Sitka spruce was introduced by a Scotsman through David Douglas; a long history of Scottish foresters involved in it cultural relationships with plant hunters that relate to the RBG in Edinburgh, the RHS....you put the idea of growing trees ‘a nation of tree planters’ as someone said about the Scots in particular....then that’s something we did....you recognise that the way these trees were introduced and experiments and so on were done which improved the countryside ...provide more goods and service ...a lot of people supported that because they could see that making land more productive was a way to generate wealth ...you then understand why we did things, why Sitka spruce to the Scots is a bit like potatoes, an absolute staple of the industry,.....

Interviewer: Should we set out positively to increase the cultural value of the forest estate?

This is something that I am very keen to support myself, without necessarily having articulated it as a formal process, and I think it is in our interests because I think one of the ways to get public support for forestry; afforestation, is to ensure that as wide a range of people are aware of those and have a positive opinion and one of the best ways of doing that is to intertwine that with our cultural heritage. (FC employee, w. Scotland).

Forestry culture, then is important in several senses:

- it is part of the cultural value, especially of the northern forests, which deserves to be developed and exploited, to encourage tourism, and for the benefit of locals and tourists
- it can help in promoting an understanding of current forestry practices
- it is part of the culture of forestry employees, which leads them to have a sense of heritage and pride in their work.

However, an 'empty-bucket' model of stakeholder 'education' belongs more to a colonial era; the flow of values in a participatory model would be more from the stakeholders to the managers than the other way around.

The staff of bodies like the Forestry Commission that are concerned with land management have their own culture based on their education and experience. Currently there is a strong culture of nature conservation that arose in the 1980s and 90s in response to the Rio Earth Summit and the ensuing processes (Biodiversity Action Plans, Habitat Action Plans), but there has been no parallel development of cultural conservation, and this is reflected in the relatively weak planning systems which are in place to conserve the meaning and history of landscape:

"Interviewer: So those landscapes might have an importance which is not being taken into account in the usual acquisition appraisal?

Could well be. People aren't aware of that, or it's not thought about because people feel that that landscape is already lost and is not an issue, yet if you ask local people those particular fields have still got particular names associated with them, the old Hafods, homesteads that are up in the hills, particularly Coed y Brenin, but Gwydyr as well. We've still got those remnant features in those now very forested landscapes." (FC employee, Wales).

The Forestry Commission is currently subjected to intense pressure on resources, and this makes it difficult for staff to take on new ideas, to operate outside what might be understood as 'core-business'. In many cases, for a government department like the FC, 'core-business' carries with it legal obligations, and these must be met before progress can be made with things that may be considered peripheral:

"We do our growing timber thing, and if local communities want to use the wood for different purposes, recreation and access or whatever, we're not against it, but it's very peripheral. Just to look at the Cyd Coed thing; that really helped communities make links with woodlands and there were quite a lot of projects that happened on the estate, but I think it's fair to say that it wasn't easy, because it's seen as a....it's had up until now a much lower status - it's not viewed as core business, our core business is growing timber, and so most of the operational stuff - we haven't really.... had patchy teams of people who deal with communities and 'cultural services' but they are usually project-based, so they are here for a bit and then

they've gone. The actual core operational teams have never actually had to deal with this. I've certainly never had any guidance in how to do it, so that's where we come in now, really is giving people some framework to work within, it's all been very patchy, and unsupported by the organisation. I am sure that is the case in England and Scotland as well." (FC employee, Wales)

These resource constraints naturally colour the view of managers, and this causes a schism between the mind-set needed to manage a large production-oriented forest like Kielder, and that required to manage a Community Forest like Chopwell or Thames Chase. Community Forests are effectively cost-centres, channelling public expenditure and improving the quality of life of local residents, while production forests are (hopefully) profit-centres trading in forest products and tourism. Of course, no forest falls exclusively into either of these categories, but community and peri-urban woods demand a non-commercial orientation to management:

"I mean that generally the community is seen (negatively), it's almost like (the Friends) are a (more of a) thorn in somebody's side, than an asset to the FC and to the woodland,

Interviewer: Could be lack of time resource?

And, because there is no real income – there's a bit of income from groups coming in and the classroom and things, it never sort of makes it onto any of the tables that get flashed up at the whole-of-district meetings. You are lucky if Chopwell is mentioned. The other sites are in terms of recreation, because they can say "we made this much money this year" Chopwell never gets any recognition. Whilst it is allowed to be what it is, ...it's value isn't recognised properly, and it's always ...it gets threatened quite a lot, in that "well, we might put ticket machines in yet, close the road down" there's always talk of "we could put a visitor centre in and make it into a profit centre" Ticket machines wouldn't last five minutes, the locals would have them away in seconds." (FC employee, n England)

This indicates a focus on outputs rather than outcomes. Similarly, in Wales, resource constraints seem to be militating against a more open attitude to engagement with local communities, despite the fact that it is often recognised that such engagement would deliver on core objectives and would save time 'fire-fighting' problems caused by local antipathy to forestry:

"the District is hard pressed in terms of what it has to do, statutory obligations, that there is no room for people to think really, that's our big problem, and ...social agenda isn't really understood by some of the key decision-makers in FC Wales. It is either very confusing and frightening, or else it's really not that important – that's one of the scary conclusions that I have come to. Ten percent of all of the Cyd Coed projects were on the Forest Estate, yet when I think back to the 8 years in Cyd Coed, the problems that we had in terms of delivering, the forest estate was one of the most problematic aspects of delivery, which is odd because Cyd Coed was an FC project, staffed by FC Wales staff, yet the delivery on the forest estate was very problematic.I think that was to do with the low importance placed on the social programme and also

lack of flexibility around governance and access. FC Wales is still very conservative at District level, and I can't see that changing." (FC employee, Wales)

It is arguable (and it is certainly argued by some members of its staff) that engagement with cultural issues, and the delivery of quality of life benefits, *are* part of the core business of the Forestry Commission, especially near centres of population. This is also in line with the published national strategies.

Consultation and Community Engagement

As already noted, the processes by which the Forestry Commission communicates with its stakeholders are central to the identification, articulation and enhancement of the cultural services that it provides. For this reason, a good deal of the discussion with interviewees concerned consultation and community engagement, and how these processes operate in different situations. The meaning of these terms is often coloured by discourses in literature from the social sciences, but for the purposes of this report, the following distinction is used: 'consultation' is a process through which consultees, who are often consulted because of a particular expertise (e.g. butterfly expert) or because they represent a particular community of interest or place (e.g. Parish Council) or both (e.g. County Archaeologist), are given information or plans to comment upon. This may result in the delivery of a written reaction or it may initiate a dialogue. 'Community Engagement' on the other hand is a process of dialogue with an identified community intended to achieve mutual understanding. It may be about the best way to deliver benefits to that community (proactive) or the best way to avoid damage (reactive).

Identity of stakeholders

A big contrast was revealed here between the normal business of a remote commercial forest (examples here were Kielder and Argyll) dominated by timber production and tourism, and peri-urban or community forests (like Thames Chase or Chopwell) dominated by local residents, in terms of the identity of stakeholders and therefore the appropriate level of community engagement.

"....we haven't translated into our grant scheme (there is a schizophrenia here) a huge grant scheme we slung out £4millions, all our seminars are attended by land owners 90% of whom are aristocratic, white middle-class, probably Norman. Most of our grants are easy-going and depend on having access to car-parks, and probably a knowledge of maps. Our cafes probably don't have the right food, there's no public transport, a lot of us feel that that is an almost unbridgeable gap. A single mother in a high-rise in Leeds whether she's British stock or Asian stock, isn't going to want to go to a woodland are they? They are going to want to go round the park or B&Q or something else, or just get out of the flat..." (FC employee, S. England)

The respondent here was speculating on the identity of the stakeholders, and highlighting that current FC grants seem to target a narrow section of potential visitors. In the Faith Woodland investigation (Tabbush, 2008), it was clear that once ethnic

minority populations realised that the woods were there and that they were allowed to access them, that they did want to visit. It is, however more difficult to reach local residents from lower income groups:

"It appears to be much harder for us for some reason, to engage with truly local communities. Because quite often for some reason, social reasons, I guess, they don't have the same level of education, access to resources, they are maybe not as wealthy, their interests and focus is therefore having to be on surviving, looking after the family, getting work,..." (FC employee, N. Wales)

One of the keys to this is the identification of 'Gatekeeper groups' that can act as a focus for community outreach. In the case of the Faith Woodland this role was filled by the Interfaith Council, in the cases of Chopwell and Thames Chase there were active and highly effective Friends Groups.

"there is an established historic population and a very high percentage of people moving to this area, for all sorts of reasons, low crime; natural environment; clean air; good activities for outdoor sports; Mull for example 71% of the population (2,700) are now people that moved there relatively recently, spirals hugely in the summer when the tourists are there. That is certainly part of the dynamic of the area - large numbers of people move to retire here or come here for a lifestyle choice,

Interviewer: Those people would be equally excited by historic local culture, even though they aren't local themselves?

Possibly more so. We actually often have a higher degree of interaction with people that have moved to the area than people that come from the area (unless they are landowners). Certainly a lot of the groups that we work with have a large number of people who have moved to the area because I guess they are often retired, enthusiastic and time on their hands." (FC employee, W. Scotland)

Argyll would classify as more of a commercial forest area, with an historic (pre-forestry) population, a forestry population, and a more recent incoming 'life-style' population. The most recent influx is likely to demand a high level of interaction for the reasons stated, and it often seems that middle-class, retired, relatively affluent and well educated people tend to lead gatekeeper groups and demands for local ownership, while people from deprived backgrounds might be more difficult (though no less important) to reach. Sometimes groups have been formed of educated and articulate middle-class residents in response to some perceived threat:

"most of the people that I'm dealing with tend not to be what you might technically term as locals. They tend to be people who are - have a high level of competency, professional backgrounds, probably more moved into the area, not highly Welsh speaking - if they are Welsh-speaking it's because they've learned, property in the area, they live near the woodlands, they may have some technical knowledge of forestry, or have somebody in the group who has got a professional bent towards forestry, and I think they have also

been borne out of (perceived) threats to woodlands. The stronger the group, it's on the basis that there has been a huge threat to the woodland, or a threat to their access or a threat to what the woodland looks like, they may consider the design plan to be a threat,community groups are borne out of that." (FC employee, Wales)

This was also the case for the Friends of Chopwell Wood, a group that was originally formed (in 1992) in response to the threat of privatisation.

The type of visitor using the remote Kielder Forest (c. 50k ha) contrasts with those using the much smaller but peri-urban Chopwell Wood (c. 900 ha):

"Interviewer: You are making this contrast between cultural involvement in Chopwell, which is quite high compared with its area, and then Kielder which is very large, has got a relatively low level of cultural activity because the population is forest industry based rather than treating it as recreation/access. Am I getting it right here?

I would put one rider on that, in terms of the proportion of the population that has a value to the forest, Kielder and the North Tyne is much higher than Chopwell. Chopwell might have more in number, but it is because it is in such an urban environment. There 500 people up the North Tyne Valley to hundreds of thousands within 5 miles of Chopwell" (FC employee, n. England)

"More people coming into the woodland here than into the wood at Kielder.....

Interviewer: They would be local people and out-and-out tourists?

Not really out-and-out tourists, we get people coming in out of Newcastle, and Gateshead, and sort of the wider area, as well as the smaller local population.....we have got quite mixed populations around,

Interviewer: So Kielder's would be a different type of visitor?

Kielder hasn't got the same population to draw on as Chopwell, and Hamsterley is almost in between the two, it draws on quite a big area, but the use there is quite seasonal, and it does get a lot of visitors there in the summer – people treat it almost like going to the beach, they park their cars in the car park, and they get out their wind-breaks and pitch up a little sun-tent and sit in the grassy car park for a day." (FC employee, N. England)..... We get people from Newcastle and Gateshead sometimes mountain bikers and walkers that would use Hamsterley or Kielder, if the weathers not so good, or they just have a couple of hours in the evening after work, then they come to Chopwell, because it is not a whole day; we don't tend to get many day-visitors, it is just people coming for a few hours" (FC employee, N. England)

It may be necessary to resolve conflicts between the interests of different groups of stakeholders, especially in situations with small woodlands and large populations:

"there are quite a lot of conflicts between some of the residents and public access. I am quite convinced that some of the people that live here would rather it was just a big private estate. It is a mixture of reasons, there's some people that live here that are from a forestry background, they are quite old, and don't like the ..they've seen the big change in use and don't understand it, don't see the point in it, it's for timber and trees and you know, all these people coming in, messing up the timber crops. There's some people that

seem to live in here because they want to be isolated, from the rest of society, and because Chopwell is quite a popular woodland they haven't really achieved that but they are still hanging on to the hope of it. There are others that live here that enjoy, that it is used by other people." (FC employee, N. England).

The established planning process tends to consult parish councils, rather than analyse and address the type of stakeholder diversity outlined above. The problem that arises from this is that the parish council members may not be representative of the various local communities, and some may even overbalance the proceedings as a result of individual and passionately held beliefs. For the Forestry Commission, a more nuanced stakeholder analysis would be a defence against this type of bias.

Cultural capital

The value that people are able to achieve from forest access is likely to depend on their education and experience, which in the literature review was referred to as 'cultural capital' evidence of this comes from an interviewee at Thames Chase:

"Interviewer: As a result of you being a volunteer, has it changed the way you look at things? The way you see the forest?

I don't think so. No, because I don't know enough about it I suppose. I don't walk a great deal, I have got out of the habit of doing that sort of thing, because when I first volunteered at Bedford Park, that's the Essex wildlife centre, I (injured my leg).....I got out of the habit of it. (Female volunteer, Thames Chase)

At Chopwell, investing in resources to make knowledge of the cultural history of the wood more available, also opened up opportunities for access:

"G: Really you need to get someone that's been here all their life to bring all this information together, and then put it out on general release, and get people involved in the forest in more the history side. (Comment: So an oral history would be a way of increasing the cultural value of the wood)

L: There is a history book (Liz Searle) a lottery heritage project, recently completed, part of that produced this map of heritage sites, (map is called "Heritage Sites in Chopwell Wood").

C: Liz is the one that knows most about the history.

G: Now that I've got time I can actually get it (the history book) and walk round the sites." (Group interview with Friends and volunteers at Chopwell).

Focusing on cultural capital might be a strategic tool for increasing the cultural value supplied by woodland. This could be done by identifying gaps in the array of institutionalised and objectified cultural capital (cultural assets and the things which make these accessible), and seeking to fill them.

Cultural Access

One aspect of (embodied) 'cultural capital' is 'cultural access' – meaning elements within people's culture that encourage them to gain access to woodlands. This was explained during an exchange with a respondent in Wales:

"Interviewer: (I) very much like the idea of information about what people are allowed to do, people regularly express confusion about this....we in the FC often think our woods are fully accessible, but it doesn't look at all that way from outside.

Cultural access is a really interesting thing, and I've tried to float the idea a couple of times ...

Interviewer: What do you understand by it?

Well, I've been to France and Italy, and people are aware that the woods are there, they are aware what they can do and what they can't do, their woods are part of the folklore, they are part of life, and they aren't in South Wales, for very few people they are, perhaps but for most people they are the backdrop to their lives, as opposed to being an integral part of their livesthe whole concept of ownershipyou don't get people saying "they belong to us, the people of Wales" – they say "FC own them" it isn't seen as part of their lives, part of their identity.They don't understand the process which is going on in the woods, on the website we've got things like 'why do you cut down all the trees at once?' It is about trying to give people some sort of access to those management ideas.

In other words, embodied cultural capital includes the values and norms held by people, and these values and norms contribute to a culture of access (cultural access) and to people's attitudes and beliefs about woodlands and their sense of identity.

In the community forest context, encouraging cultural access is seen as core business:

"Interviewer: So I guess all that is encouraging support, encouraging access?

Well yes, obviously an important part of the forest is giving people access to the green environment. If you are FC you will know the FC have an involvement here, they came to this area because of the starting of the Community Forest and we work in close partnership with (them) but of course we work with other

Departments as well making sure that every site that we work in and support has access for all

Interviewer: And you capitalise on the cultural interest to encourage this access....

Oh yes...we encourage wherever we can people to use the forest is as creative way as they possibly can, that goes from wood craft activities right the way through to the poetry activities, so children come to the site as schools or as local clubs and activities are run by our access officer according to their need and that includes the cultural side of their education"

Conclusions

The conclusions of this study are firstly to elaborate on the cultural services which have been identified, and to suggest a typology that might be used in considering and planning for them in forestry; secondly to consider how they might be taken into account in planning including consultation and community engagement, and thirdly to make suggestions for further research.

Cultural Services

Forests are particularly rich in this respect, and yet cultural services seem rarely to be taken into account in operational forest planning. Forestry professionals readily recognised that forests produce or harbour cultural goods, but it was not always easy for them to express this as the vocabulary is not completely familiar, and the subject is sometimes not considered to be part of current forestry mainstream.

The idea of 'cultural services' is incorporated in the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA) (Anon., 2003a) and includes the following elements:

Cultural Services

Nonmaterial benefits obtained from ecosystems

Spiritual and religious	Aesthetic
Recreation and ecotourism	Inspirational
Educational	Sense of place
Cultural heritage	

It may be helpful to distinguish between sources of cultural value, such as local knowledges, archaeological remains, or attractive diversity, and types of cultural benefit received like health or social contact. A typology for use in the UK context is suggested below:

Table 1. Typology of Cultural Values

Typology of cultural values		
Cultural resources:		
Intrinsic to visitors/users	Intrinsic to site	Benefits
Cultural capital* (embodied):	Cultural capital (objectified):	Health and well-being
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social capital • Skills • Knowledge • Values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Archaeological remains • Historic features • Woodland diversity • Wildlife • Signs of management history • Stories • Practices • Artworks 	Social contacts Personal pride: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical achievements • Personal knowledge Education Inspiration Spiritual well-being Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism • Local economic activity

*Institutionalised cultural capital – interpretative boards, leaflets, books, visitor centres, staff and so on – makes cultural services accessible to people, and is not included in this table.

Planning for Cultural Services

It would be too simple to suggest that community forests, and peri-urban forests plan for cultural services in a way that the more production orientated forests do not, but the contrast is stark. A major difference identified in this research concerns the identity of stakeholders. In the peri-urban situation, large numbers of people have an interest in small areas of woodland. These large numbers are, however, only a small percentage of the total population within the 'catchment' of the wood. Catchments are defined on the basis of the population distribution, the location of alternative woodland resources and the nature of the transport infrastructure. The interest of these stakeholders is in various types of recreational and cultural use. By contrast, in the more remote forested areas, relatively few local people, who represent a large proportion of the local population, have an interest in the wood, and this interest is more likely to concern their livelihoods, and hence to be related to industrial forestry. They may be joined (especially in the larger Forest areas like Kielder) by large seasonal influxes of day visitors and tourists, with an interest in sporting activities like large scale organised mountain biking or orienteering.

This difference in stakeholder identity results in a contrast in terms of the levels of consultation and community engagement which may be appropriate; in particular, it suggests that 'service provision' is a very different subject for consultation and community engagement compared with 'decision-making'.

Decision-making processes such as the Forest Design Plan process entail a mixture of formal consultation and dialogue with competent authorities, and more informal engagement with publics and interested parties. A similar process will be part of large scale decisions such as those demanding Environmental Impact Assessment, or Public Enquiries. Service provision, on the other hand, involves the everyday activities undertaken by FC community, recreation and education rangers as they lead walks, run events, and education visits in which they engage with local communities and as they encourage new groups to participate in forest activities. Through this process an understanding is gained of how people engage with and enjoy woodlands that can be utilised to change or improve delivery.

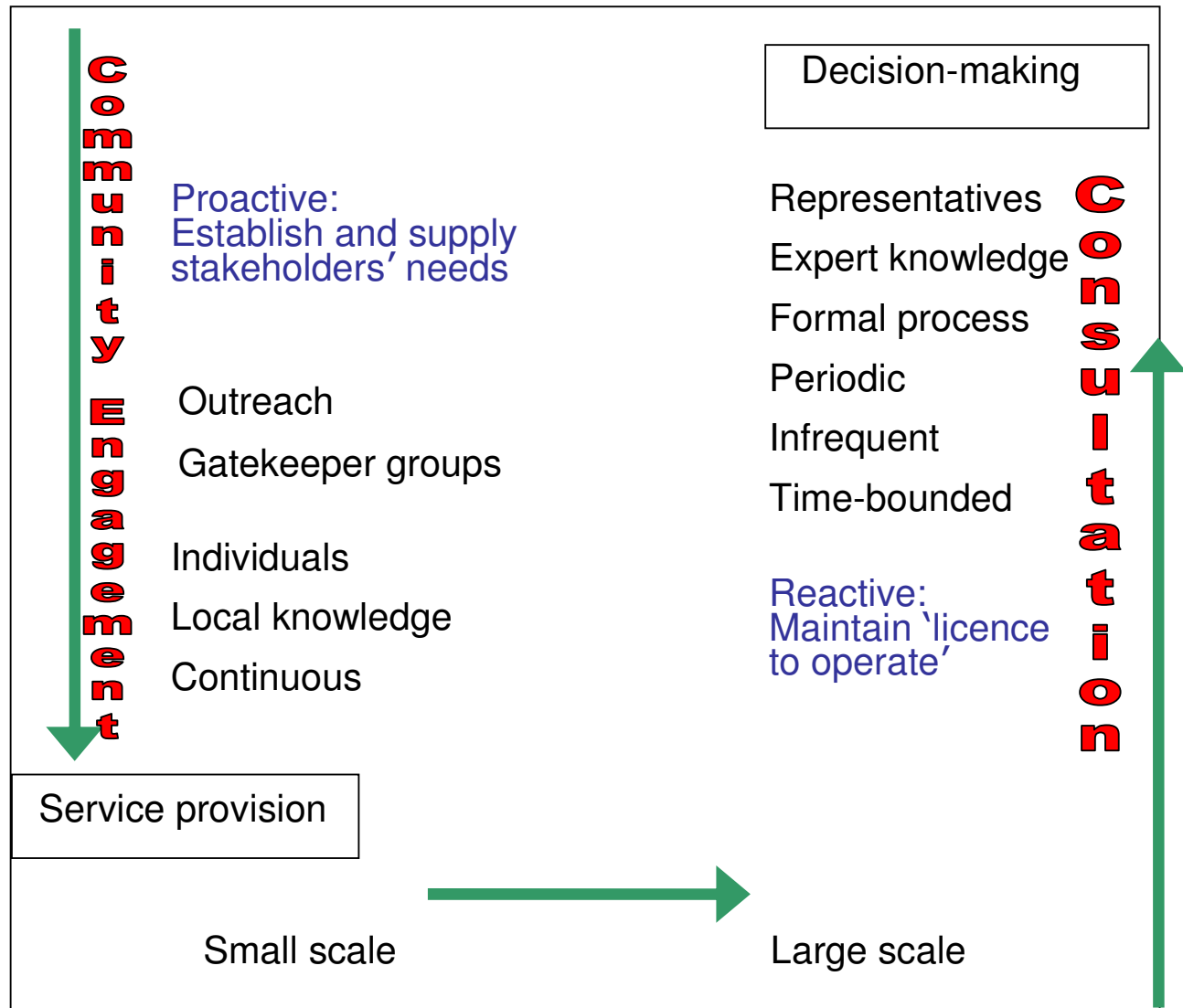
These ideas are summarised schematically in Table 2 and Figure 2.

Table 2. Forestry Commission Consultation and Community Engagement

Consultation and Community Engagement Activities	
<i>Stakeholder Analysis is a prerequisite for all these activities</i>	
Decision Making	Service Provision
Consulting competent authorities e.g. conservation; heritage agencies; local authorities	Community engagement to determine local needs (e.g. for access, volunteering, health referrals)
Engaging in dialogue with publics and interested parties.	Discussing local issues (e.g. excessive erosion caused by concentrated access, needs for improved infrastructure....)
Periodic e.g. revised every 10 years	Continuous – community engagement about issues as they arise
Enrolling local knowledge; local expertise is needed for effective decision-making	Outreach activities e.g. with local communities or schools
Using techniques ((Hislop, Twery et al., 2004) for participatory decision-making	Use of informal techniques to engage stakeholders
Large-scale big decisions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental Impact Assessment • Impact Assessment 	Large-scale: Dealing with the needs of National organisations e.g. Ramblers, Mountain bikers, Car Rallies.....

A difference in stakeholder identity results in a contrast in terms of the levels of consultation and community engagement which may be appropriate (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Schema showing the distinction between decision-making and service provision



The arrows in the figure indicate direction – there are no sharp distinctions between these processes. For instance, large scale negotiations about car rallies may take place with representatives at national level, but they still concern service provision rather than decision making.



Recommendations

Based on the research findings there are potential opportunities to incorporate/take account of cultural values in a more targeted/nuanced way:

1. FC policy should consider ecosystem services, and who has access to them – how are the cultural benefits deriving from the ecosystem services provided by trees, woods and forests distributed amongst different socio-economic groups?
2. Cultural services (see Table 1) are central to the delivery of SFM. Planning for cultural services should be proactive as well as reactive; the FC not only has to sustain its 'licence to operate' it is also concerned with the delivery of cultural services as part of its core business. This is implicit in the Forestry Commission's policy documents, and it needs to be rolled out with staff through normal communication and training at all levels.
3. In its community engagement, the FC should focus more on obtaining an understanding of the culture of its stakeholders, rather than trying to educate them to any particular point of view.
4. It may be helpful for the FC to distinguish between decision-making processes such as the FDP and impact assessments on the one hand, and the processes concerned with service-provision on the other when considering consultation and community engagement methods (see Table 2).
5. The concept of cultural capital (Table 1) provides a helpful way of planning for cultural services. For instance, identifying conserving and enhancing objectified and institutionalised cultural capital is a means to plan for the delivery of cultural services. Cultural access may be enhanced by adding to institutionalised cultural capital e.g. by providing improved literature and guidance or through community outreach programmes.
6. The cultural assets (objectified cultural capital) of a wood can be enhanced in a variety of ways, for instance through the installation of artworks, or by collecting oral histories.
7. Stakeholder analysis should be a pre-requisite for consultation and community engagement. Identification of who the stakeholders are and what type of stake they have in particular processes is a defence against the bias that can potentially occur when highly articulate or opinionated actors make their voices heard at the expense of others.
8. Where possible, 'gatekeeper groups' should be identified and encouraged as an efficient route for dialogue with particular communities.
9. Systems for analysing cultural services in use by other agencies might offer methods that could be adapted for use by the FC. Examples include 'Statements of Significance', 'Landscape Character Assessment' and its derivatives.



Future Research

Research is needed in relation to the three major issues raised by this study: 1. the cultural status of stakeholders 2. cultural assets of trees, woods and forests 3. how cultural values are taken into account in forest planning. Consultation and public engagement are the means by which managers gather information about cultural values and negotiate how these might be managed. Further research is needed to explore ways in which consultation and public engagement might be improved.

Stakeholders

1. Research is needed to find relevant measures of cultural capital in relation to users of woods, so as to develop an understanding of the ways in which cultural values can be enhanced and developed for the benefit of multiple publics. This is an aspect of the (more general) need to understand the spatial distribution and characteristics of visitors, so that managers can better plan for access provision.

Cultural Assets

2. A variety of methods is needed to identify and record cultural assets as part of SFM. Annotated lists might be sufficient for scheduled ancient monuments and other visible cultural remains, but other cultural meanings may only be understood through dialogue with those that hold them, and in the full knowledge that such values are constantly being re-negotiated. Improved methods are needed to identify, and take account of these meanings.

Forest Planning

3. Research is needed to investigate the potential use of planning tools such as 'statements of significance' or 'landscape character assessment', so as to guide forest planning in relation to the maintenance and enhancement of cultural services, the quality of life of local residents and visitors and the encouragement of tourism. This needs to be done in communication or partnership with other competent agencies.
4. The development of skills and methods for public engagement is still at an early stage in the FC. Research is required to identify new methods, clearly distinguishing between the need of *decision-making* on one hand and *service-provision* on the other. Although there are obvious overlaps, the nature of the dialogue clearly differs between these functions, and means need to be identified to ensure that managers have the skills and tools to operate effectively in both these areas.
5. In the field of decision-making, the use of participatory tools that can be used to help stakeholders to make trade-offs between cultural and other criteria should be researched, including multi-criteria analysis tools. The aim here is to combine reductionistic and quantitative methods with holistic and qualitative methods.

6. In the field of service provision, good practice in community engagement, including the identification of appropriate 'gatekeeper groups', needs to be established so that it can be more generally applied.



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Annex 1 National Trust Statements of Significance

Statements of Significance

What is a Statement of Significance?

A Statement of Significance explains why the Trust holds a property. It expresses its 'spirit of place' by summarising the features and attributes which are considered at the time of writing to be most significant and which the Trust should seek to conserve.

The statement should be succinct, clearly presented, inspiring and widely disseminated. It will lead to a more focussed definition of management objectives and better communications.

These guidelines provide a framework for the development of a Statement of Significance which should exist for all properties.

Who is responsible?

It is important that one individual, usually the Property Manager, should manage and coordinate the process. This requires a breadth of experience to understand the various issues and the skills to pull them together in a balanced way. Consultations will need careful planning to gain the maximum benefit in a limited time.

What might be significant?

Finding out about the significant features and attributes of a place comes through experience as well as by survey and research and through discussion with colleagues, donors, neighbours and visitors. It may also involve consulting the recorded observations of those donors, commentators and historians who are no longer living. Views on significance must be actively gathered. The search should be conducted with an open mind and a willingness to reconsider established views.

As well as exploring the features and attributes of places the search needs to be open to the possible influences which may arise from environmental, social, and other factors beyond the direct control of the Trust but which may nevertheless contribute to an understanding of significance.

The list is not exhaustive but significance may lie, for example, in:

- Aesthetic qualities such as: setting, design, style, scale, character, naturalness, wildness; an assessment based on any or all of the senses

- Natural features and processes such as: plants and animals, ecology, geology, geomorphology, landforms, soils, hydrology, air quality, climate change, decay, and ageing;
- Cultural features and processes such as: buildings and artefacts, archaeological and historical evidence, horticulture, cultivated plants, domesticated animals, design, present and past usage;
- Socio-economic activity such as: farming, forestry, tourism, recreational opportunity, transport, local business, industry, employment, development;
- Associations such as: geographical, aesthetic, intellectual, with people or personalities, dynasties, religious, ethnic or dialect, mythic or legendary, individual or collective, donor family;
- Special characteristics such as: access, individuality, distinctiveness, rarity, typicality, craftsmanship or donor family wishes or style.

Who should contribute?

Much information will already be available. Staff and volunteers gather knowledge as a matter of routine and may develop a strong appreciation of what is most significant. It is important to invite as much participation in this process as possible and to make it clear that the opportunity for dialogue will continue. Consultees should include:

- property staff, volunteers and regional staff;
- national advisory staff;
- visitors, user groups and neighbours;
- donors and benefactors.
- Consultation may also extend to organisations and individuals, local and national, with relevant expertise or special involvement.

How should this be summarised?

The assembled, possibly diverse views on significance need careful evaluation before a statement of significance can be prepared. The evaluation must acknowledge the possibility that unfamiliar views could be of great significance.

While the search for significance needs to be a participative activity involving advisers and others with a direct interest in the property, the evaluation should be undertaken by a small task group, led by the Property Manager. The group will be responsible for deciding upon the style, presentation and content and for producing the Statement of Significance.

The assembled views of significance need to be evaluated having regard to local, regional, national and international perspectives. Regional Directors will ensure that statements reflect a realistic balance.

The resulting statement of significance should attempt to be fair to all the contributions of views and values. It will summarise but should not necessarily prioritise the key qualities which need protection or enhancement and will lead directly to the formulation of management objectives. It will contain a short rationale explaining why each element has been selected.

There can be no universal formula for drafting, given the enormous variety of properties, nor is it the responsibility of any one role, although it is likely to fall to the Property Manager or to the role relevant to an overriding significance (eg Curator, if a property known for its special collections).

While the statement will form the basis of management planning it is not irrevocable. It is an active document. New values and information will contribute to new judgements of significance as time goes on. While the Statement is intended to remain valid for a number of years, a system of active periodic review should be instituted.



Annex 2. Semi-structured Interview Questions

Questions for FC staff and staff of related organisations:

- Can you give me examples of cultural factors that have an impact on forest management?
- Are these impacts positive or negative, and whom do they affect?
- How do these factors get taken into account in forest planning and decision-making? (local; regional, and in relation to other agencies).
- Can you think of ways in which handling of these factors might be improved?
- Can you think of ways in which cultural values might be enhanced and cultural benefits better captured/realised?

Questions for lay respondents:

Try to find out what cultural services are provided and to whom.

(A lay respondent in this context is someone who enjoys, uses or is affected by the woodland in some way, but who doesn't have a professional interest in its management)

- How and when did you come to be involved with the woodland?
- What is the nature of your involvement? (Activities; role in decision-making; information received or created)
- Do you think you have benefitted from your involvement and how? (Health; Sport; Spiritual renewal; relaxation; social contacts/activities);
- Are there any sites and features of importance in this wood? – (SAM's, evidence of past industrial or rural/local activity (industrial equipment e.g. train carriage at Chopwell), sculptures, trees of importance/significance to local people)
- Are there any local stories associated with this woodland good or bad? If so what are they and why do you think they are remembered. Are they written down anywhere?
- Are there activities and events (conservation work, traditional craft days, music activities etc) organised in this woodland? If so what are they?
- How would you describe the woodland to a friend, so as to encourage him to visit?
- Has your involvement with this wood made you feel/become more familiar and/or attached to the wood – in what way? To your local area more broadly? – If yes how?
- How has your view of the woodland changed over the time since you have been involved?
- How does/could the wood help in interpreting and understanding local history and current local activities of importance to the local area?