



**The contribution of an events programme to sustainable
heritage conservation: a study of the National Trust in
England.**

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Abstract

Whilst for many nations progressing a sustainable *development* agenda is a priority, for others, *conserving* their existing socio-natural heritage in a sustainable way may be significant. In the United Kingdom, the National Trust, a charitable organisation, supports its extensive conservation role through a wide-ranging programme of events each year. This study explores the various ways in which these events have been developed to contribute to sustainable heritage conservation.

The method for this case study consisted of the collection and analysis of both primary and secondary data. The former obtained through in-depth interviews with key personnel within the National Trust, with secondary data from National Trust and other sources used in support.

The findings show the Trust's events play a vital role in educating the public in sustainability, in respect of both natural and cultural heritage. The interview participants revealed that the events are conceived in two main ways – first, a top-down approach whereby events relate to a national organisational campaign and secondly, events which develop from the bottom-up and reflect the uniqueness of each of the Trust's properties.

This study therefore extends the prevailing approach to events and sustainable development by considering the very positive contribution of an events programme to heritage conservation, which has implications for other conservation bodies throughout the world.

Key words: sustainable conservation; National Trust; socio-natural heritage; cultural heritage; events programme

Introduction

The 'canary in the mine'

The emergence of initiatives under a banner of sustainable development can be traced through key movements, beginning for example, with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's Man and the Biosphere Programme (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2009). Since then there has been increasing recognition of a broad characterisation of sustainable development with three core elements - economic, social and environmental. It is observed that 'to more fully understand sustainability and what is to be sustained, the world we live in must be conceived as a whole, as landscapes and ecosystems in which humans and nature co-evolve and are inextricably linked' (Miller and Twining-Ward, 2005, p. 3-4).

Recognition, that policies could be based on economic prosperity, environmental quality and social equity, led to the development of the 'triple bottom line' (Elkington, 1994) in which ecological and social performances are considered in addition to financial accountability. In the private sector, a commitment to some form of triple bottom line reporting implies recognition of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Whilst there are many definitions of CSR, Hirschland (2006, p.5) suggests that they all 'speak to some basic forms of jobs, growth, philanthropy, law abidance, environmental stewardship, rights protections, and other expectations'.

The United Kingdom (UK) government has been at the forefront of adopting sustainable development principles (Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 2005) and in the events industry, there have also been considerable developments including the launch in 2007 of BS 8901, a new British Standard for planning exhibitions and events on a sustainable basis (British Standards Institute, 2009).

For many nations progressing a sustainable *development* agenda is a priority in order to protect their natural environment, but for the UK, where there is little or no pristine nature, *conserving* the existing socio-natural heritage (Fox and Edwards, 2008) in a sustainable way is also significant. Furthermore, as the Global Development Research Center (2009) notes conservation relates to historical and cultural assets as well as ecological.

In the UK, the National Trust has a key conservation role and is one of the foremost heritage conservation bodies in the world. Founded in 1895, it is a charitable organisation which is completely independent of government (The National Trust, 2007). Its activities are supported through a wide-ranging programme of events, many of which contribute to sustainable heritage conservation. The Trust's extensive responsibilities for the environment and socio-economic values put them in a unique position to be at the forefront of developing sustainable heritage conservation practices. Rob Jarman, Head of Sustainability and Environmental Practices for the National Trust stated 'We are essentially visionary, and recognise that we are the 'canary in the mine'; we have to tell it true and tell it straight – to government and to everyone' (Jarman, 2004).

This study therefore considers how the National Trust develops their events programme to support their role in sustainable heritage conservation.

Literature review

Developing programmes of events

MacLeod (2006) identifies three phases of special event development based on the concept of place. First, festivals as celebrations of social groups and communities, with many associated with ancient ritual or a religious calendar. Rolfe (1992) notes however, that the largest proportion of arts festivals were founded from the mid-1970's onwards, but that these too celebrate or reaffirm community or culture. The second phase reflects the promoting of an event, initially designed for the consumption of a host community, to visitors. Nonetheless 'when festivals and other special events are consciously developed and promoted as tourist attractions, there is a risk that commercialisation will detract from celebration; that entertainment or spectacle will replace the inherent meanings of the celebrations' (Getz, 1994, p. 313). The final phase shifts from the event visitor being an "incidental outsider" ... seeking an authentic experience with local place and identity' (MacLeod, 2006 p. 232) to an attendee at 'a range of placeless global festivals [which] have appeared in the last decade to meet demand of the international festival visitor, address destination-marketing strategies, and satisfy income generation targets' (*ibid.*). The event then changes from 'celebration to spectacle, from production to consumption' (Ravenscroft & Matteucci, 2003, p. 4).

Some events have been 'rediscovered' or rejuvenated whilst others are newly conceptualised in response to prevailing political, social and economic conditions (Picard and Robinson, 2006). In diasporic communities, festivals and other events can provide identity and perceptibility within the host community (Long *et al.*, 2004). Events can address 'issues of civic design, local pride and identity, heritage, conservation, urban renewal, employment generation, investment and economic development' (Derrett, 2004, p. 33). Furthermore, they can be used to extend tourist seasons, lengthen the peak season or introduce a 'new season' into the life of a community (Getz, 1997).

Despite the academic attention to the rationale for organising events and festivals, much less attention has been given to the development of event programme strategies. An exception is that of Edinburgh, Scotland. Events are seen in Scotland as a part of the product portfolio for attracting identified target markets to the country (Stewart, 2006). Ali-Knight and Robertson (2004) describe how the City of Edinburgh Council developed an Events Strategy in tandem with the Edinburgh Festivals Strategy in 2001. Its key aims were to achieve a year-round programme of cultural festivals and events to complement the pre-eminent international festival programme in the world that is held each summer, achieving an equally high level of quality and diversity and the involvement of the city's citizens.

Method

This study sought to identify how a programme of events is developed and can contribute to sustainable heritage conservation within the National Trust. 'Case studies are the preferred method when (a) "how" or "why" questions are being posed, (b) the investigator has little control over events, and (c) the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context' (Yin, 2009, p.2). A case study is therefore an appropriate methodology for this research and in this instance consisted of the collection and analysis of both primary and secondary data. Secondary data were collected from two principal resources, National Trust media, (both paper

and web-based sources) and research undertaken on behalf of the Trust by the Market Research Group ('mrg') a commercial research agency at Bournemouth University, England. Based on the second author's experience of leading this research, a purposeful sample was made of personnel in the organisation from whom primary data could be usefully obtained. This was undertaken through face-to-face and telephone interviews with the Head of Sustainability, the Social Marketing Campaigns Manager, a Regional Marketing and Supporter Development Manager and Visitor Services Managers at several properties. Some interviews were recorded with the interviewee's permission and the participant's own words are quoted below (in italics). All the data were then themed as an outcome of categorisation and analytic reflection (Saldaña, 2009). For the purposes of this paper, details of just four properties are given, as being interesting and representative examples of National Trust properties.

Findings and discussion

The National Trust and sustainability

The National Trust is a charitable organisation, founded in 1895 for 'the preservation of places of historic interest or natural beauty' (The National Trust, 2007). There are currently 3.5 million members and 50 million visitors every year to National Trust properties, which include over 300 historic houses, gardens and open-air properties. It holds over 612,000 acres (248,000 hectares) of countryside and 700 miles of coastline. The Trust's purpose is to conserve the socio-natural and cultural heritage 'for ever, for everyone' (National Trust, 2008). In line with this mandate, access to properties is encouraged through attraction and event visiting. In 2007-08 events directly contributed £1.5 million (National Trust, 2009).

The National Trust appointed their first Head of Sustainability and Environmental Practices, Rob Jarman, in 2002. In a telephone interview he described his role as a brief:

'to develop policies and practices which help the Trust to reduce its environmental footprint'.

As he noted:

'we have other people working on the social and economic agendas'.

The Trust is now adopting the approach of Corporate Social Responsibility but as Jarman revealed when interviewed, it is proving:

'...quite interesting for the Trust to stick to the principles of triple bottom line approaches...because ironically the Trust talks an awful lot about being here for the long-term, for ever and so on, but in fact, most of its business decisions are short term.'

He continued that until recently the Trust had taken short-term economic decisions as adopting a triple bottom line is as hard for the National Trust as any other major business, because it has to answer to members, trustees, the Charity Commissioners amongst others:

'when it comes to making investment decisions... pay-back is just as valid as it is to a commercial enterprise and one of our sustainability principles is that the Trust has to survive as a viable organisation'.

He acknowledged:

'we haven't been particularly good at taking long-term financial decisions.'

When asked is that changing, he replied:

'Yes absolutely, yes, that's one of the successes in recent years is to get that shift, for example, when reservicing our major properties we will now install renewables that have pay-backs in 11 to 20 years...until 6 to 7 years ago we were taking pay-back decisions which were 3 -5 years.'

He offered as an example how previously oil boilers had been installed, whereas today they use wood-pellet systems and solar panels on roofs.

Jarman identified two key issues influencing changes in their practice. The first is a difficulty in obtaining the necessary Life Cycle Analysis information for products and services:

'... we're using the best information to hand, but often to try and get Life Cycle Analysis information – it doesn't exist because industry hasn't done the work, so to be truly sustainable there is still a need for better product labelling, descriptions and so on.'

However, as the 'canary in the mine' he argued that the Trust have a duty to use their properties experimentally, to seek understanding of adapting to climate change and other aspects of change:

'The argument we had to win internally is what are Trust properties for, either for preservation in which case they mustn't change or they are for learning how we adapt to change.'

A further difficulty for the organisation is to balance the needs of the members and those of the properties. Jarman, when asked if this was a problem, said:

'Constantly... there is no consistency as to what...members want the Trust to be and expect from it and many of them are what we might call 'club' supporters, they're not particularly members of the cause, they've joined because they get a good deal and access to enjoyable places to go... We listen to our members, but they are not shareholders, in the sense that we don't make decisions which are made by members, we make decisions which are made by Trustees on the basis of a lot of weighing up of the pros and cons.'

He continued though:

'our hope is through experiencing Trust properties they pick up the environmental and conservation and other issues and start to think more about them and what they themselves should be doing about it'.

McGregor suggests that at the operational level managers of heritage visitor attractions 'have found it difficult to relate the broad concept of sustainability to their own activities' (McGregor, 1999, p. 192). Jarman, confirmed this:

'The main issue we're trying to resolve is the travel and transport issue – we're very worried about the carbon footprint of Trust visitors and we've tried over the years many ways of investing in and helping with public transport etcetera, we give all the guidance we can to visitors in our guide book about how to get there without using the car but inevitably with cheap fuel and convenience it's what members do... When we organise events we will do what we can in terms of advising people on how to get there.'

In relation to events, he admitted that the Trust has not considered adopting the new British Standard for planning exhibitions and events on a sustainable basis (BS 8901). He concluded his interview by saying:

'You've made me think around what event sustainability to be about and perhaps this is a gap which we are not doing enough about'.

Developing a programme of events

The secondary data, including the organisation's web pages, show the extent and diversity of the range of events held at National Trust properties throughout the year and which offer a variety of experiences for members and non-members. The interview participants revealed that the events are conceived in two main ways – first, a top-down approach whereby events relate to a national campaign and secondly, events which develop from the bottom-up and reflect the uniqueness of each of the properties.

The Trust has communication messages that currently drive all contact and engagement with members and supporters and are integral to the National Trust strategy for three years. These messages are Green Living; Local Food; Nature & Wildlife and Cultural Heritage. Lucy Bendon, Supporter Campaigns Manager explained how these issues were tested on different National Trust visitors, identified by a marketing segmentation exercise commissioned by the Trust from a consultancy firm in 2006/2007. Questions known as 'Golden Questions' form part of the annual National Trust Visitor Survey managed by the 'mrg' and are used to establish into which segment visitors fall. There are seven segments; 'Live life to the full', 'Out and About', 'Young experience seekers', 'Curious Minds', 'Home & Family', 'Kids First families' and 'Explorer families'.

'Explorer families', for example, are a particularly important segment to the Trust; not only because they are one of the largest, but also because of their propensity to develop into other segments as they age and their strong loyalty and commitment to the Trust. Focus group research in February 2008 tested the 'Green Living' message. 'Explorer families' were the most receptive to green issues, however the research concluded that visitors did not want to be 'preached' to by the Trust on environmental issues. They saw visits to Trust properties as quality time with their family, rather than an opportunity for learning about saving the planet. They expected the Trust to lead by example in running events in a sustainable way.

The segmentation exercise is a valuable tool for the properties to be able to market events for specific audiences and Bendon described the three themes that have been developed out of it and the communication messages. In 2009, the Trust is promoting events throughout the country created around the themes of 'Wild Child' – discovering the wild child within, 'Food Glorious

Food’ – a celebration of local and seasonal food and ‘Treasure Forever’ - uncovering the captivating and unusual stories of objects in the National Trust’s care.

Food Glorious Food, for example, is the largest of the three themes and is to be a major campaign from May through to October 2009. Countrywide, 150 properties are taking part, with each property supported by their region and nationally, to hold events linked to this theme. Each property is diverse and has a different capacity for holding events therefore themes are not imposed directly but properties are encouraged to create their own events in the most appropriate way and to use the national themes to enhance local promotions or advertising of their events.

Properties have been given suggestions for events linking each of the issues to particular visitor segments. So for example, under the issue of Food Glorious Food, a suggested ‘Explorer family’ activity is an event titled ‘Budding Gardeners’. Families are encouraged into a walled vegetable garden to plant a seed and then take it home to grow. Further support through the internal intranet provides property staff with guidance, logos and materials, such as banners and posters available through the central office.

In contrast to this ‘top-down’ approach, managers can also organise their own events programme that is individual to their property, i.e. it comes from the ‘bottom-up’. In the following sections, the approach to event design undertaken at four Trust properties is discussed.

Kingston Lacy, Dorset

Kingston Lacy is an elegant country mansion, set in attractive formal gardens, extensive parkland and 12 working farms, spread over 3,200 hectares (8,000 acres). Ralph Bankes bequeathed Kingston Lacy in the Trust’s largest ever bequest in 1981 (National Trust, 2009). The Visitor Services Manager (VSM) there described how the property holds numerous events every year. The property prints 60,000, 20 page leaflets a year, which provide details of the events and are distributed within a 20 mile radius of the Estate, from where the majority of their visitors come. In 2009, there are about 40 events for able-bodied visitors and 50-60 for visitors with disabilities. He explained:

‘we draw the difference because there are a lot of areas of the estate, that people who have mobility difficulties, sight problems, who have carers... are unable to access in the normal run of things.’

He added that tractor and trailer rides are organised and run by volunteers, on a trailer especially designed and built so that wheelchairs can roll on to it and carers can sit beside the occupants and neither has to miss the events of the estate through the season.

Reflecting the bottom-up approach, he described how many events are focused towards aspects of the house and estate that they want to highlight. For example, the garden is one of the few Edwardian gardens owned by the Trust, so they tend to focus on the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. A popular event, taking place each August, is the Edwardian Sports Day, when parents and children visit and take part in traditional races, such as three-legged and wheelbarrow races, the VSM described how:

'we give them bright shiny half-crowns for winning.'

Other events include one he described as:

'Upstairs, downstairs, meet the servants.'

This focuses mainly on the laundry because the property has one of only two magnificently preserved Edwardian laundries.

He added:

'What makes us look at an event which is not going to be hugely profitable such as the Edwardian Sports Day is that it is promoting an aspect of the house which we want people to appreciate. It's part of finding other ways to interpret what we do as the National Trust...events where we promote the house do not in our view have a profit necessity built-in, but we would like them to break-even.'

However, economic considerations are still important. An outdoor event, entitled 'Enchanted nights' had to be withdrawn because not only was it weather dependent but also gaining media attention meant the difference between making a £6,000 profit or just breaking even - a risk they could not afford to take.

Other local considerations in planning the programme include the interests and specialist knowledge of staff and volunteers. So for example, they might consider an event around an interest in photography. The VSM, part seriously, but part jokingly said:

'if you look at all the talents, we will try to use them because we exploit ruthlessly wherever we can'.

He added that people volunteer because of their:

'joy of the place and the love of communicating that joy'

Some events are collaborations with local partners, for example, a tree-planting event was held in association with the company who undertakes their recycling after an approach by them.

The VSM identified that that there can be problems in combining the organisation's 'top-down' programme with their own. He described how details of the three themes were not launched to mid-January 2009, by which time their programme was decided. The property then added more events to match the Trust's schedule on a national basis, but which were too late to include in their events leaflet. However, fortunately, he acknowledged, the programmes occasionally coincide, for example, one of the Farmers Markets at Kingston Lacy happens to take place during the launch week of 'Food Glorious Food'.

Of the seven identified marketing segments, the VSM described the three that form the core of Kingston Lacy's visitors. Primarily, they are 'Curious Minds', 'Explorer families' and 'Out and About'.

'All have different ways of interpreting the assets that the Trust has, what we strive to do is to present the property so that it is accessible or meaningful for ... all of those people'

He constantly thinks how the programme of events supports the Trust's conservation role, but notes heritage sustainability can have differences:

'...in the house, people seem to think it's England in aspic, we're preserving things, but the last thing you can do in the countryside is preserve it, you have to work with it'.

In terms of the sustainability of the events he stated:

'We know as far as possible, everything we do is sourced locally... we recycle, we tend to look at, as far as possible, reusable events, which is maybe why we repeat them, so that things we have used can be reused the following year and we look at the way other people will see these events, so we're aware that it is an increasing concern for people that we don't use plastic cups, for example, we recycle paper cups.'

He concluded:

We engage everyone that comes here into the way the Trust operates; its values, the qualities it espouses and the relevance... to their lives. If they had an enjoyable time and they learnt something that they found relevant to them, or they found interesting it will bring them back again... We keep always on the side of charming, enchanting, amazing and entertaining, which I think our goal is.

Dunham Massey, Cheshire

Dunham Massey was acquired by the Trust in 1976 from Lord Stamford, the tenth Earl of Stamford who died that year. It is a mansion with important collections and a fascinating 'below stairs' area, set in a large country estate and deer park, with a rich and varied garden (National Trust, 2009).

Sarah Talbot the Visitor Services Manager there said that 'The Food Glorious Food' campaign has been particularly challenging because it does not have a vegetable garden or orchards accessible to the public, from which to promote local food. She stated that the team have nonetheless been very enthusiastic in adopting the campaign. For example, they are organising a Planting Weekend that will specifically target 'Explorer families'. The Trust supplies pumpkin seeds, soil and materials for visitors to form seed pots, sow the seeds and then take them home to grow them. There will then be another event during October when visitors are invited back to show off their home-grown pumpkins and enter them into a Biggest Pumpkin competition whilst enjoying other Halloween activities.

Talbot described how the property runs a variety of events through the year including 'How do they'... events looking at how the conservation team maintain Dunham. A notable addition to the 'bottom-up' events programme was a series of events through which the Trust sought to ascertain local residents' views, as to the future of the property. When Lord Stamford left Dunham Massey to the National Trust in 1976, he had always intended for a section of the land

to be sold in order to create an endowment to safeguard, in perpetuity, the rest of the Estate. The land, known as Stamford Brook, is in the Broadheath area of Altrincham, and forms under 2.5% of the total area of the estate. Following the public consultation the National Trust and the developers have sought to create:

A sustainable and imaginative development of new homes in a new landscape, which integrates with the surrounding environment, and aims to be a safe, healthy and inspiring place in which to live, work and to have as a neighbour. A place and community that will evolve, mature and rejuvenate, and serve as an exemplar of sustainable development over many decades (National Trust, 2009).

The properties at Stamford Brook are of traditional brick and block cavity construction under a tiled roof. The development seeks to use existing techniques and traditional building methods to improve energy efficiency and reduce carbon dioxide emissions. The river and wildlife corridors will remain as National Trust land as part of the Dunham Massey estate. Finally, the Estate also receives ground rent from the Stamford Brook development and the sale of the land allowed for a substantial capital sum to be invested. This has been ring-fenced and cannot be spent, but Dunham Massey can use the interest, so allowing it to be one of the few National Trust properties in a secure financial position.

Environmental sustainability is as important as economic sustainability and Talbot also discussed their concerns about the sustainability of holding events because 89% of their visitors arrive by car. They are therefore working with neighbouring properties to promote cycle paths and encourage multiple visits with discounted entry at each property if arriving by bicycle.

Attingham Park, Shropshire

Attingham Park is an elegant 18th-century mansion with Regency interiors, set in an extensive Humphry Repton landscape with deer park. The property was acquired in 1947 by the Trust from the Berwick family.

Attingham is also running a varied event itinerary throughout the year developed from the national themes but as its Catherine Turnbull, its VSM, described when interviewed, one of its largest events in 2009, has developed from the 'bottom-up' and is an outdoor exhibition titled, "Give me Shelter". This explores the changing relationship between man and the world's land, wildlife and natural resources through sculptures located in the grounds of the property. The exhibition itself highlights and examines the contradictory relationship with the natural world: 'we exploit and ruin it, yet we romanticise it and rely upon it to provide us with shelter from cataclysmic disasters linked to global warming and increasing pressures on resources' (National Trust, 2009).

Turnbull is quoted on the Trust web-page as saying:

We are thrilled to be showcasing such a dramatic and fascinating exhibition here at Attingham with each unique installation being thought provoking. Many of the large pieces are inspired by the Attingham landscape, including ancient oak woodland, walled garden, icehouse, Mile Walk and River Tern. We hope that our visitors will take the

opportunity to enjoy this contemporary art throughout the changing seasons of the year long exhibition. (National Trust, 2009).

In organising the event, issues to be considered included the visual impact of the sculptures, their accessibility and whether temporary walkways were needed. However, it is hoped that visitors will be encouraged over a longer season, for example, when the sculptures are part of the frosted winter landscape and that new visitors to both the property and the National Trust in general will be attracted as a result of the references to the sculpture trail in publications that would not normally promote Attingham Park.

Saddlescombe Farm, Sussex

Saddlescombe Farm, located near Devil's Dyke in Sussex, is an ancient down land farm. Acquired in 1995, it has escaped the changes of modern farming, retaining many of its original buildings from the past four centuries (National Trust, 2009). The farm includes a 17th Century barn, a tiny poacher's gaol, a manor house, walled garden and orchard. It is this outstanding vernacular architecture that makes Saddlescombe interesting and unique. However, from a conservation perspective, there is also the incongruity of a 1960's milking parlour. For diverse reasons, the farm can no longer operate commercially as a dairy. One reason, for example, is because cow slurry and waste could seep into the natural underground reservoir that supplies much of the drinking water of Brighton, which lies nine miles away.

At present, the property is not ready to be opened to the public on a regular basis and so the nationally promoted events are not held there. Instead, there are just two occasions a year when visitors can experience the uniqueness of Saddlescombe. In 2007, an exhibition was mounted at these open days, explaining what actions could be taken to develop the farm, in order to allow the public opportunity to comment on its future. Whereas in the past the Trust has executed its plans and expected visitors to appreciate their implementation, now the Trust is undertaking consultation with visitors. In interviews carried out during the open days, a list of possibilities was presented to visitors and they were asked, "Out of this list of things that could be done at Saddlescombe, which would you like to see incorporated into the plan for the farm?" "Converting existing buildings for use as a learning or educational centre" was the most popular option, followed by "keeping only traditional breeds on the farm".

The National Trust has had to consider a multiplicity of social, economic, geographical, archaeological and ethical factors, (Fox *et al.*, 2008) and decide through its consultation with the public and the local community how to conserve the farm for the long term. It has needed to consider what elements of the farm should be conserved and how it should be developed as a visitor attraction. This will produce a management plan that will enable visitors to experience Saddlescombe Farm not only more frequently but also in a sustainable way.

Conclusions and implications

This case study has extended the knowledge of events and sustainable development by considering the positive contribution of an events programme to heritage conservation, which has implications for other conservation bodies throughout the world. Events cannot only make a considerable financial contribution to conservation but more importantly, support sustainability by informal education of visitors through participation. It has also extended academic knowledge of how programmes of events are developed, an area that has previously been mainly overlooked.

The study has established that the National Trust, a charitable organisation, aims to operate sustainably on a basis of the 'triple bottom line' and organises many events in support of the sustainability 'journey' and in its role as 'canary in the mine'. It has shown how each property develops its own distinctive selection of events that contribute to the organisation's programmes as a whole. Events at Trust properties this year, have developed from first, a top-down approach whereby events relate to the national campaign and secondly, from the bottom-up where each property designs a line-up to reflect its own uniqueness.

The top-down approach is exemplified by events such as the Planting Weekend at Dunham Massey that will specifically target 'Explorer families' and involve the sowing of pumpkin seeds for Halloween. Here, environmental sustainability is emphasised through visitors making their own flowerpots, rather than using common plastic pots. In contrast, the bottom-up approach produces a wider range of events. Some support a social agenda through public consultation on sustainable development (again at Dunham Massey), whilst others are concerned with sustainable heritage conservation (for example at Saddlescombe Farm). Most events, however, are like those at Kingston Lacy which encourage visitors to engage with the values within which the National Trust operates namely to conserve the cultural and socio-natural heritage, 'for ever, for everyone' (National Trust, 2008).

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