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## **‘Counter-mapping’ heritage, communities and places in Australia and the UK**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Most people will be familiar with the experience of returning to a place known and loved from one’s past, only to find it altered, removed or demolished. The feelings of loss which such an experience can engender are one poignant reminder of the non-tangible or social attachments which we form to place, or what geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) and others (e.g. Feld and Basso 1996) have referred to as a ‘sense of place’. The social values of place, both at an individual and collective level, have become an important new area of research in the field of archaeological and cultural heritage management in Australia. This chapter summarises recent and emerging approaches to understanding and managing the social values of place in Australia and reflects on their implications for interventions in heritage practices in the UK. To do this, I will first provide a quick summary of the Australian heritage system, before considering some background issues which have foregrounded ‘sense of place’ in Australian environmental and heritage planning. I will look at some case studies developed to record social values of place from New South Wales where I was previously employed in the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service Cultural Heritage Research Unit (now Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water), focussing on the new techniques we developed to ‘map attachment’ and social values. Drawing particularly on case studies in Indigenous cultural heritage management from New South Wales, I will outline the ways in which archaeologists are increasingly engaged in a consideration of both the tangible and intangible values of heritage sites, and discuss some of the tools which have been developed to record and ‘map’ intangible values and attachment to place in contemporary Indigenous, migrant and settler Australian communities. Much of this work has taken the form of mapping and recording alternate, ‘hidden’ or non-mainstream social geographies, and in the final part of the chapter, I comment on the role of such ‘counter-mapping’ in giving voice to politically marginal and subaltern understandings of the past and present and consider an example of the use of such practices in the UK.

### **An overview of the Australian Heritage System**

Heritage in Australia is managed at all levels of Government, and different legislation governs heritage at the federal, state and local level. At the Federal level, Australia maintains a National Heritage List which contains natural and cultural heritage places of national significance. Places on the list are protected under the *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999*. In March 2008 there were 76 properties on the National Heritage List.

At the state level, each of the states maintains its own register of places of State heritage significance. In general, a distinction is made between the management and listing of ‘Indigenous’ and ‘historic’ heritage places, as well as ‘natural’ heritage places (see further discussion in Byrne 1996, Byrne et al 2001, Harrison 2004). In NSW, for example, historic heritage places of State significance are listed on the *State Heritage Register* under the *Heritage Act, 1977 (amended 1998)*. Aboriginal archaeological sites and other sites of significance receive blanket protection under the *NSW National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* and are listed on the *NSW Aboriginal Sites Register*.

At a local level, locally significant non-Indigenous heritage places in NSW may be listed in the heritage schedule of a local council's local environmental plan (LEP) or a regional environmental plan (REP) and receive protection under the *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979*. Similar local heritage instruments operate in the other Australian states.

## **‘SENSE OF PLACE’ IN AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE PRACTICE**

Heritage practice in Australia is strongly influenced by the Burra Charter, or ‘The Australia ICOMOS charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance’. The Burra Charter was revised in 1999, partially due to a widespread feeling that the original version of the Charter, adopted in 1979, and its subsequent 1988 revision, had been too ‘archaeological’ and ‘architectural’ in focus. The 1999 revisions reflected a greater emphasis on social or intangible values and on ‘places’ rather than buildings and sites.

The revisions broaden the understanding of what is cultural significance by recognising that significance may lie in more than just the fabric of a place. Thus significance “is embodied in the place itself, its setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects” (Article 1.2)... The way the Charter deals with social value has been improved (through the recognition that significance may be embodied in use, associations and meanings); spiritual value has been included (Article 1.2); and the need to consult and involve people has been made clear (Articles 12 and 26.3)... The Charter encourages the co-existence of cultural values, especially where they conflict (Article 13) (Australia ICOMOS Inc 2000: 22).

The Burra Charter has had a major influence on emerging trends in heritage practice in the UK, exemplified by the new English Heritage *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance* (English Heritage 2008) in which greater emphasis is given to ‘communal value’.

The emphasis on the ‘sense of place’ and the experience of local distinctiveness of landscape in Australia grew out of the nexus of new approaches to social landscapes in archaeology and heritage and an interest amongst the broader Australian public in engaging with Indigenous social landscapes (e.g. Johnson 1994, Byrne 1996, Read 2000). This has emerged in the context of the Australian Government’s slow, grudging (but now formal) recognition of the dislocating and disenfranchising effects of Government policies which placed many Aboriginal children with white families and led to the development of a ‘stolen generation’. There is now a widespread acknowledgement of the need to heal the wounds of this policy through understanding and revitalising the social connections between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians and their landscapes.

## **CASE STUDIES**

What follows is an outline of two case studies undertaken as part of the *Shared Landscapes* project over the period 2000-2004 (Harrison 2004). This project was focussed on two concepts. First, to attempt to connect Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritage management and to look at the nexus between the two. Second, to examine ways in which landscape approaches to cultural heritage documentation might be operationalised in an Australian context. I will not dwell on the case studies as a full length monograph on the project was published in 2004 (Harrison 2004), and subsequent publications on aspects of the case studies have appeared elsewhere (Harrison 2003, 2005, 2010). I will briefly describe the case studies and then draw out the implications of the methodology for processes of cultural heritage management in more general terms.

### **Mustering landscapes in northern NSW**

The first of these case studies sought to record and understand the heritage landscapes associated with cattle mustering in the Kunderang Ravines, an area now managed as a National Park and World Heritage Wilderness Area in northeastern New South Wales (Figure 1). In addition to drawing on established archaeological, historical and architectural heritage recording techniques, the project employed a range of less conventional methods to map the ‘landscape biographies’ of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous former pastoral workers and their families, in the form of both

mapped oral history, and of ‘story-trekking’ along remembered narrative paths. Such an approach allowed a more embodied understanding of the landscapes of cattle mustering to emerge. By riding and walking along familiar pathways and mustering routes, pastoral workers and their kin created a familiar sense of being-in-the-landscape (after Bender 2001), while simultaneously creating that landscape.

**Insert Figure 1 : Map showing the location of East Kunderang and Oxley Wild Rivers National Park in New South Wales, Australia**

The oral histories of former pastoral station workers are rich with details of mustering, riding and walking through the gorge country. A major theme of the oral histories was mapping former mustering routes associated with Kunderang and neighbouring pastoral stations, and discussing the appreciation of the landscape that people developed as a result of their passage through it. All mustering was done on horseback, and it was only in the 1950s and 1960s that motor vehicle access was made available at the homestead. Even during the 1990s, when Kunderang cattle were being mustered out of Oxley Wild Rivers and Werrikembe National Parks, it was done predominantly on horseback.

Interviewees were encouraged to make use of maps and aerial photographs at different scales to mark the locations of events and places to which they referred during oral history interviews. What many of the men and women drew was a series of lines that marked both physical tracks and pathways. The maps are rich with places which constitute landscapes of dwelling, working, walking and riding. These landscapes have a personal character, but also reflect wider shared notions of the landscapes in the pastoral industry. For the former pastoral workers and their descendents, the landscape of the Kunderang ravines is understood in profoundly different ways to those of the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service who manage the national park. Recollections of the country emphasise particular kinds of places, such as clearings on the tablelands and river flats, on the river itself, and the ever-important spurs – those escalators of the gorge-lands. The linearity and seasonality of movement between tableland and gorges forms a moving landscape, a construction within which people’s memories can be articulated and made to speak in profoundly personal ways.

It is possible to represent all of these mustering tracks and pathways, along with the locations of huts and yards, on a map of the area now covered by Oxley Wild Rivers National Park (Figure 2). This map illustrates the patterns of pastoral land use in the Gorges at a landscape scale. A visual picture is conjured of generations of history lived in and through the landscape of the Gorges. This map also demonstrates that the area now managed as ‘wilderness’ has had a long history of thorough infiltration by Aboriginal people, cattle and pastoralists that has played a fundamental role in forming the landscape.

**Figure 2: Mustering and travel routes associated with East Kunderang. Different informants’ records appear here as a single line. Mustering huts, camps and yards are labelled**

The relationship between work and people’s understanding and appreciation of the landscape of the gorges is of critical importance. Jeff O’Keefe noted when describing a particular creek while he was mapping his landscape biography:

Steep hard creek but amazingly enough we used to have very good luck because the sides were so steep, the cattle wouldn’t climb out of them easily. They always used to sidle around the sides and then they’d come down again. Over the time we had a lot of success in it. Early in the piece we got every beast out of Blacks Camp. Some of the creeks – even Left Hand and Thread Needle – still have got a handful of cattle in them, but Blacks Camp – quite early in the piece we had every beast out of it (interview, 2 March 2001).

### *The 'short cut'*

For landscape philosopher Michel de Certeau, it is people's interlinked paths and pedestrian movements that form 'real systems whose existence in fact makes up a city' (1984: 97). The history of the city begins at ground level, with people's footsteps. In the Kunderang Gorges, it is not pedestrian movement but the movement of horses and riders along pathways, and cattle across their daily and seasonal 'beat', that constitutes the social face of the country. We can inscribe these movements and pathways as lines on maps, but to do so can mean that we miss the practices of starting and stopping, walking, crossing rivers, roping and throwing wild cattle, and incidents that occurred along the way (see Pearson and Shanks 2001: 148). De Certeau distinguishes tricks in the 'ways of doing' (1984: xviii.), the ways in which people continually subvert the constraints of landscapes.

One such trick is the 'short cut', a frequent inclusion in people's oral histories which stress moving through space, constituting a focal point for the intersection between history, event, people and landscape (Figure 3):

Yes it's not very far from the mouth of Thread Needle [Creek]. Well, actually you don't come out the mouth of Thread Needle with cattle, you short cut over a bank and cross to Middle Yard. And it's a steep little climb up and a steep little climb down and, in the dark, at night coming back with tired cattle, it was a great place where years ago they used to lose a lot of them. So we decided we'd take the portable yards, to a place where there was a bit of a track where they used to cut posts years ago. We would just put them in to the portable yards without the hassle of losing them or widening the yard and we'd go back next morning, either take the 'Blitz' [truck] over and put them on, or drive them across next morning when we had plenty of time (Maurice Goodwin interview, 1 March 2001).

Like the short cut, the detail of embodied landscape biographies can be lost in the broad stroke of the line on the page. The Kunderang narratives seem to support Gibson's 'theory of reversible occlusion', which describes the way in which the environment is known by humans along a path of observation of surfaces which move in and out of view in a particular order along a pathway or route of travel (1979: 198; see discussion in Ingold 2000: 238). These stories relive and recreate the landscape by recalling the routes along which it was experienced and known. The 'ways-of-doing' associated with mustering in the Kunderang ravines form part of the collective experience from which former pastoral workers constitute their sense of collective identity, and sense of place (eg chapters in Feld and Basso 1996). 'Places not only *are*; they *happen*' (Casey 1996: 13).

**Insert Figure 3: The 'short' and 'horse' spurs: short cuts used by the Crawfords to travel between Moons Plains, Rusden's Creek and Riverside**

### **Dennawan**

Turning to my second case study, the name "Dennawan" describes a multiplicity of spatially concurrent places. It is principally associated with an unsupervised Aboriginal Reserve, gazetted in 1913 on the site of an earlier camp that had provided an Aboriginal labor force for surrounding sheep ranching properties. At the turn of the nineteenth century Dennawan was a bustling village; built at the junction of two travelling stock routes on the edge of the western NSW pastoral frontier, it contained a hotel and an inn, a shop, a post office, a police station, and a resident Aboriginal population of several hundred people. Dennawan was also an Aborigines Inland Missionary outpost, where the fondly recalled missionary, Miss Ginger, taught children to read and write. Dennawan is an archaeological site on the edge of Culgoa National Park, a place visited and recalled in the present. Dennawan is a place from which Aboriginal people were removed in the 1940s—a symbol of the broader "spatial story" (de Certeau 1984) associated with the NSW Aborigines Protection Board's concentration and segregation strategies of the late 1930s and 1940s

(e.g., Goodall 1996). Dennawan is simultaneously all and more than any of these things. It is an entanglement of genealogies, a place where past, present, and future collapse (Figure 4).

**Insert Figure 4: Map showing the location of Dennawan in New South Wales, Australia**

My first experiences at Dennawan occurred during a visit to the site with several local Aboriginal people who had either lived or had ancestors who lived at the site in the 1930s. The first thing that struck me was the way people interacted and articulated their relationship with the place in an “archaeological” manner. By this, I mean that it involved interrogating, touching, and talking about the material traces of the former settlement. People also interacted with the place in a formal, performative way, which suggested it was more than a dead memorial to the past. Instead, Dennawan emerged through the course of my involvement in recording it not as a dead place but an active site for the contemporary creation of locality, community, and collective identity. While I was mapping the remains of the Reserve, I developed a parallel investigation into the significance of the remains to local Aboriginal people and the way in which that significance manifests itself during visits to the site.

Technical detail obtained from fine-grained differential GPS recording was integrated with anecdote and memory (Figure 5) in the mapping of the archaeological remains at Dennawan to produce a multivocal, textured representation of the site and to provide insights into a shared past. An artefact database linked to a hand-held computer and differential GPS was used to record all of the eight thousand artefacts and structural features at the site to a horizontal accuracy of  $\pm 4$  centimeters. Digital audio recordings taken in the field were captured as a separate layer and integrated into the GIS. Oral accounts and archaeological mapping were combined to develop integrated data sources on which to base an interpretation of the archaeology of the former Reserve. The site recording was undertaken during multiple field trips over a period of approximately eighteen months. This relatively protracted period of investigation was important for allowing the community the longer time frames they required to engage collaboratively and in a considered way with the research, and it was an important part of the project methodology.

**Figure 5: Gloria Matthew’s ‘memory map’ of Dennawan**

For descendants of the Aboriginal people who used to live on the Dennawan Reserve, the dead often visit the living in dreams. Contemporary Muruwari people have a number of beliefs about relics and their relationship with ancestors that have contributed to the development of Dennawan as a place of pilgrimage. Physical contact of the body or skin with artefacts is considered a way of making a connection with the ancestral past. During site visits, Muruwari people like to rub artefacts such as those of flaked stone against their skin. Vera Nixon explained in an interview:

When you’re rubbing the stones over your skin you can get the feel of—you sort of get the feeling of the spirits coming into your skin somehow or another. I dunno, it’s a strange feeling, but it’s a good feeling. (Dennawan, 18 November 2001)

The belief that ancestors’ spirits are associated with the objects they used during their lifetimes structures people’s interactions with the remains of the former settlement. A trip to Dennawan, then, is much more than just an opportunity to learn about the past; it is an opportunity to make direct and intimate contact with it. Josie Byno said:

When we go and visit the place and see the artefacts that they used to use and the fire there, the oven, we get very emotional. Not only that, there is a special feeling in the air that surrounds us. We can feel that spiritual feeling wherever we go, and we know that they are with us. (Dennawan, 18 November 2001)

While it is important for people to be able to touch and interact with the artefacts on site, it is considered dangerous to remove them. People who do this are tormented with bad dreams or sickness. In contrast, just being at the site is considered to make Muruwari people feel physically healthy. Arthur Hooper, now in his seventies, noted:

Ever since I've been coming out here, doing a little bit of work for people, I've been feeling really great. I'm really happy to see the old place again. And my feelings—inside me it's a very glad feeling, I have no worries about anything else. No aches and pains, I just walk around the place for hours and hours without getting tired. (Dennawan, 18 November 2001)

The ability of the place to effect change on the body of Muruwari people is an important facet of the spirituality and significance of the former Dennawan Reserve. These corporeal influences are intimately tied to various spiritual associations with the former settlement, in particular, the slippage between post-1930 associations with Aborigines, Inland Mission Christian missionaries and older, deeper associations with *wiyrigan* (medicine men) and *miraaku* and *miraga* (spirits). This slippage creates a certain denseness of experience that is felt by Muruwari people in the present when visiting the archaeological site, which they have increasingly done on a regular basis, especially over the past ten to twenty years.

The archaeology of the former Dennawan Reserve has much information to contribute regarding the relatively hidden histories of Aboriginal pastoral labor camps in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Australia. However, the ruins of the former Reserve are much more than a source of information to local Muruwari people; they represent instead the focus for a program of shared, collective memorialization of the past. The artefacts that remain on the former Reserve are invested with intense emotional and spiritual power. They form the conduit for controlled interactions between the spirit and human worlds and between past and present. Instead of ceasing to exist after its abandonment, Dennawan continues to hold power and fascination for Muruwari people as a place where local traces and memories persist, challenging and actively assisting in the creation of the past and the present. It does this as much through the mutual involvement of people and objects, which both evoke and create collective memories, as through their absence or decay. Place and trace provide creative opportunities for citation, quotation, and montage (Pearson and Shanks 2001). For Muruwari people, Dennawan is past and future. Each trip to Dennawan represents an opportunity to excavate a “place of buried memory” (Küchler 1999; Leslie 1999: 108) and to re-map Dennawan as a place in the present.

### **Other case studies from New South Wales**

Similar work has been carried out by English (2000, 2001) and by Byrne and Nugent (2004) who undertook research with Aboriginal people from the mid-north coast of New South Wales, mapping pathways which connected mid-twentieth century settlements with coastal camping, fishing and picnic places. Byrne argues that

A key objective in all of this research was to bring to the broader public's attention the fact that, even in those parts of Australia that had been colonised by white settlers earliest and in greatest density, Aboriginal people had continued to maintain very extensive patterns of movement...the mapping of such places has a 'counter' aspect to it in that it potentially unsettles the colonial mapping of resources which...classified its usefulness in the framework of the colonial, not the Indigenous economy (2008: 261; see also 2003).

Our concern with mapping people's sense of place and attachment to landscape developed within an environmental planning context in which heritage management is caught up in the business of large scale landscape planning. The map is fundamental to such approaches. However, the quote above suggests that such an approach should be considered as more than just a process of conceiving of

ways of representing intangible values, but as a sort of ‘intervention’ in mainstream heritage practices. Byrne refers to this process as a form of ‘counter-mapping’. I would like to explore the idea of counter-mapping and its role in heritage practice further.

## **HERITAGE AND COUNTER-MAPPING**

Byrne (2008) describes the way in which Peluso (1995) developed the concept of counter-mapping to describe the maps produced by forest users in Indonesia to contest the State’s maps which had been used in the past to exclude them from the use of forest resources. The term has subsequently come to describe the way in which maps are used to undermine power relations and challenge the dominant political and social geographies of power (Harris and Hazen 2006). Byrne (2008: 261) has noted that the need to be able to produce maps that make the spatial dimensions of indigenous cultures intelligible to their settler-(post)colonial neighbours has driven the adoption of counter-mapping practices and technologies (such as the development of collaborative GIS maps) by indigenous minorities in Australia and Southeast Asia. Similar initiatives have been reported amongst local communities in Kenya (Harrison and Hughes 2010), for example.

In the studies discussed above, the combined use of traditional practices of site recording with more intuitive practices of ‘story-trekking’, oral history mapping, and particularly the use of large scale aerial photography on which community collaborators were encouraged to draw not only led to a deeper understanding of the complex and multilayered attachments of participants in the studies with their landscapes, but also allowed us to deconstruct certain aspects of our own professional heritage practice. The interpretation and management of Oxley Wild Rivers National Park as a world heritage wilderness area sought to stress the absence of human modification and history in the area. Instead, this process of mapping memories revealed the densely layered and complex histories of mustering in the gorge country. Similarly, at Dennawan, what we might have traditionally viewed as an abandoned archaeological site was re-animated as a place of contemporary pilgrimage and the active creation of a sense of community and identity in the present.

The processes of counter-mapping allow minority groups to challenge some of the ‘taken for granted’ of heritage management, but also encourages people to celebrate their experiences of the everyday. This has the potential to draw more people into heritage practice, and to emphasise the active role of heritage in the production of identity, neighbourhood and community. Arjun Appadurai (1996: 180) has referred to these practices as technologies of localization:

The building of houses, the organization of paths and passages, the making and remaking of fields and gardens, the mapping and negotiation of transhumance spaces and hunter-gatherer terrains is the incessant, often humdrum preoccupation of many small communities studied by anthropologists. The techniques for the spatial production of locality have been copiously documented. But they have not usually been viewed as instances of the production of locality, both as a general property of social life and as a particular valuation of that property. Broken down descriptively into technologies of house building, garden cultivation, and the like, these material outcomes have been taken as ends in themselves rather than as moments in a general technology (and teleology) of localization.

Beginning to think of the practices of heritage and their role in the transformation of space to place is particularly ripe with potential for those people who might traditionally feel excluded from more ‘mainstream’ heritage places and practices. In the case of the Dennawan study, the Aboriginal participants had been removed from the Reserve in the 1940s and were displaced and effectively in diaspora. Documenting the social values of place through the study of everyday practices has the potential to put such people back on to the heritage map.

Thinking about counter mapping raises ways in which local minority communities in the UK might engage with formal heritage practices, such as walking tours and bus tours, to develop alternate histories of place. I have recently interviewed Jay Brown who runs a Black Heritage walking tour of Brixton which is aimed at achieving this very thing (see Harrison 2010. See also Purbrick and Schofield 2009 for a study of the Brixton landscape). Her tour—around one of south London’s notorious suburbs associated with the 1980s race riots—is aimed at changing the ways in which people think about the history of Brixton, and the place of African Caribbeans in British history and contemporary culture (Figure 6). When most people think of the heritage of London, they might think of the Houses of Parliament, Big Ben, Madame Tussaud’s and the Tower of London. Jay’s walking tour is unique in exposing tourists to a part of London which they might otherwise not experience due to fear or its apparent invisibility from the tourist landscape. But more importantly, Jay’s tour puts an emphasis on Brixton’s multicultural community, and celebrates its distinct British African Caribbean heritage. In doing so, it not only changes the way in which outsiders view Brixton, but also celebrates Brixton as a place and in doing so helps to build Brixton as a community.

**Insert Figure 6: Jay Brown in the Granville Arcade Market, Brixton, south London.**

Jay advertises her business on the internet, via postcards which she leaves for distribution with local businesses, and through word of mouth. Although Brixton is not a traditional destination for tourists or visitors to London, the area and the ‘vibe’ of its local African Caribbean community are central to her business. Jay notes,

A lot of people are afraid to come to Brixton. They have heard about the riots, they think it could happen again and they have a misconception. By starting the tours, it’s a key for people to see what Brixton has to offer ... If you think about the places they [tourists] have to go to [in London] it’s pretty limited. It’s fine if you want to see a palace, fine if you want to go on the Wheel [the London Eye], but I figured people needed something which was off the beaten track, like a hidden gem, and that’s what Brixton is.

She sees her tour as targeted at those who wish to learn more about black British culture and at independent travellers who want to be exposed to a different side of London life.

There are a lot of independent travellers who want to come and do their own thing ... Lots of black Americans come here and they want to see how [black] people live in London, and not just travel around the West End ... This is a place I think people need to come to, to see what is going on in London. I’m opening the door for them to see different cultures. There are over 40 languages spoken in Lambeth alone. You can walk along the street and eat Japanese food, Portuguese food, Indian food ... if you come here you feel like you have escaped London and arrived somewhere else.

Jay’s tour begins at Atlantic Road near the Dogstar pub, almost immediately moving on to Railton Road and the frontline of the 1981 riots. She takes this opportunity to discuss the riots and to try to help people to understand what prompted them.

The tour starts here at Atlantic Road and straight ahead is the scene of the riots on Railton Road. So it’s a nice start to the tour because we can walk up the street and look at the area and see the ways in which the area has regenerated since the riots. And as we walk along I can explain to them about why the riots happened in 81 and 85, and the reason why is that a lot of the Jamaicans had free run of the area. They could have *shebeens*, which were late-night parties well into the night, and they could sell drugs. And they did this from the frontline, and the frontline was on Railton Road. And there came a time when the police were stopping and searching the young men, and anger built up in the community from that. But I think the main thing that set it off was that they felt that there was racism against them

because ‘stop and search’ was mainly being levelled at young black men. And it’s not a nice thing, being stopped in the street and having your pockets turned out. And that was their way of saying they weren’t going to take it anymore. And although that’s not the way that things should be done, it was like a kettle boiling and at some point it had to go off.

Turning into Kellet Road, Jay highlights the Victorian terraced houses and tells of the community of artists and musicians who squatted in them in the 1960s, and the association of the area with Reggae musician Bob Marley. Walking past the Effra pub, Jay directs her tour towards St Matthew’s Square and St Matthew’s Church which date from the 1820s. Travelling along Brixton Hill and past the Tate Library, she recounts the association of the Tate family with sugar plantation slavery and the invention of the sugar cube. On Brixton Road she points out Windrush Square to discuss the connection with the first Jamaican community to arrive in London in 1948, and the Ritz Cinema, the oldest functioning cinema in south London which opened in 1911 as the Electric Pavilion. From there she walks to the Brixton Academy, a major concert venue that opened in 1929, and past Bon Marché, the first department store in the UK when it was opened in 1877.

The tour ends at the Granville Arcade markets which opened in 1938 and form one of Europe’s largest Caribbean food markets, and nearby Electric Avenue, the first shopping street in England to be lit by electricity, made famous by the song ‘Electric Avenue’ released in 1982 by Guyana-born British Reggae singer Eddy Grant.

Jay’s tour is only one of a number of recent initiatives in black British tourism and heritage in London. In 2003 Nana Ocran published *Experience Black London: A Visitor’s Guide*, which included a series of black heritage walking trails and a guide to black heritage sites in London. Steve Martin, author of *Britain’s Slave Trade* (1999), runs an open-top black history bus tour of London’s West End. In an interview with the BBC, he noted

We have a very narrow attitude of history ... Shakespeare alluded to a multicultural London. But then we got an empire. And with that came a model of history that supported the idea of racial purity. What is most shocking is how little is taught in schools. Children know more about black American history than the heritage of people walking in their own streets.

(Casciani, 2003)

These initiatives can be thought of as interventions in official heritage practice in the sense that they use official heritage practices to draw attention to an overlooked aspect of heritage. Black British and British African Caribbean heritage has been largely ignored by official heritage listing and interpretation in London, although more has been done in the wake of the 2007 bicentennial celebration of the abolition of the British slave trade. These small-scale interventions all work towards changing the ways in which tourists and locals view the heritage of London and, by extension, the culture and community of London in the present. But more importantly, Jay’s tour can be thought of as a work of heritage ‘counter-mapping’ in action. By walking the streets and speaking to visitors and locals she is actively engaged in a process of building new histories and new narrative trails through the landscape. Such initiatives have a strong connection not only with the ways in which visitors perceive the place, but also in contributing to the development of a new sense of place for the local community.

The other important aspect of Jay’s walking tour is the way it commemorates and contextualises the 1981 riots. It attempts to remove from Brixton a historical stain that has influenced tourists’ and Londoners’ perception of it as a place. Looking at the riots within the context of British African Caribbean music, food and culture might be seen as an attempt to balance the frequent negative press which presents Brixton and south London in general as a place associated with a complex cultural and ethnic mix that produces high rates of criminal activity. But perhaps more importantly,

it reclaims and celebrates the riots as an important historical event that can be argued to have brought about positive social changes.

When I explain to people they can empathise with the situation and understand why it happened, and then to take them to the scene it's a positive part of the tour. I emphasise the ways in which the riots set off a chain of events for change, and the ways the community has rehabilitated since then. Looking around you today you will see that Brixton is as trendy as Notting Hill. It's nice for people to come and see and ... understand that out of such a bad thing came all of these good things.

By working with a well-known heritage tourist practice – the walking tour – Jay Brown has developed a heritage activity that has the potential to change perceptions of this infamous part of south London as well as the potential to create a sense of community and locality. This provides a clear example of Appadurai's ideas about the social work involved in the production of locality (1996) and its social relations. Jay Brown's walking tour literally counter-maps and (re)creates Brixton as a place by walking people along its streets and unveiling the connections between its community and the neighbourhood. In doing so, it reinforces Brixton as a multicultural community and the social relations that connect the community with the place.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The new interest in social value in Australian cultural heritage management has presented both heritage managers and communities with challenges in representing and integrating people's sense of place into conventional landscape planning processes. Nonetheless, various inroads into this process have occurred as a result of collaborative projects which have focussed on mapping and 'counter-mapping' minority and hidden social geographies and people's attachments both to places from which they have been historically excluded, as well as the quotidian spaces in which they live. This process has the potential to give voice to politically marginal and subaltern understandings of the past, empowering them by drawing attention to them in the present. Formal heritage projects which seek to map counter-narratives in addition to local initiatives like Jay Brown's walking tour have the potential to reveal the complexity of landscape and people's sense of place, while celebrating the distinctiveness of everyday experience. Such intimate, everyday attachments of people to place are at the heart of contemporary approaches to heritage.

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