

**Within the Walls Project:  
Comparing Heritage Values as Action within  
Council & Community Asset Transfer Practices,  
York, UK 2014-2016**

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## Abstract

This study compares the heritage values of different community groups and one local authority in York during 2014-2016, as part of the Within the Walls Project (a Collaborative Doctoral Award with the City of York Council). Focusing on the UK Localism Act (2011) and redistribution of power to community groups, this study investigates 'values as action' (value-action) towards enhancing or protecting heritage in places, through which new values and collaborative relationships emerge (Hewison 2012, Lennox 2016, Jones 2017). The theoretical basis also follows that whilst authoritative-discourses restrict shared value-actions between councils and community groups (Smith 2006, Waterton 2007) the historic environment itself can also impact collaboration and the creation of values as part of an entangled "meshwork" of 'multi-local' places (Marcus 1997, Ingold 2008b, 2009, Harrison 2013).

To explore these perspectives, this study investigated a mechanism which supports localism, known as 'Community Asset Transfer' (CAT)—wherein councils transfer the leasehold of heritage assets to community organisations. Ethnographic fieldwork in York occurred at four sites: City of York Council and three heritage CAT projects (the Tithe Barn, Holgate Windmill and the Red Tower). During fieldwork, qualitative multi-modal data (interviews, fieldnotes and photographs) were gathered. In the three CAT case studies, the fruition of the projects was obtained in detail. As part of analysis, the researcher created Value-Action Diagrams to trace different 'ingredients' (values, visions and challenges etc.) prevalent and evolving within each site. Ultimately, the three main contributions of this research include; demonstration through innovative visualisations that it is possible to plot the movement and creation of values; evidence that physical place impacts upon collaborative relationships in heritage projects (essentially, that the existence of physical infrastructure can foster cooperative activities); and lastly, deep ethnographic insight and pragmatic recommendations were offered into the CAT process, an under-researched area of the heritage sector.

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**Author's Declaration:**

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as references within the Bibliography.



# 1: Introduction

## 1.0 Introducing the area of research

This thesis compares different 'heritage values' between local authorities and community groups in York (UK) and considers how these differences impact collaborative, localised heritage management within a predominantly urban context. As part of the Within the Walls project, a Collaborative Doctoral Award ('CDA') with the City of York Council (CYC), this research project was briefed to critically assess the range of values between experts and non-experts. The CDA brief also prioritised that the research should experiment with methods of engagement, using the historic city of York as a 'laboratory' to seek best practices towards increased local participation in heritage management. The area of inquiry fundamentally sheds light on the impact of localism policies, consolidated within the 2011 Localism Act, which encourages civic action (and therefore new collaborative relationships) alongside the continual reduction in funding to local authorities in England. Whilst acknowledging the simultaneous need for and pressure upon civic action, the project has explored ways to compare values and assess collaborative relationships in local areas and recommends approaches to these relationships. During research, mixed data was gathered from different 'sites' in York including the City of York Council and three Community Asset Transfers of heritage assets. The findings offer pragmatic solutions to the identified challenges that restrict collaborative efforts, which include acknowledging the role of 'place' itself as factor. Further deliberation has led to heritage values being considered alongside the concept of value co-creation between different groups, an approach which could be further recognised within existing official value frameworks.

The remainder of this introductory chapter lays out the underlying basis behind the research, particularly how heritage values can be identified and approached in practice. The choice of the main case study, the city of York, is fully explained. Thereafter the structure of the thesis and research chapters are summarised, including the selection of fieldwork sites and framing of the research questions. In short, this chapter sets out the parameters of the research and how this will be presented.

## 1.1 What are heritage values?

Drawing from extensive fieldwork in the city of York, England, this research offers recommendations towards assessing heritage values via place-based or 'local-aware' methodologies. As part of the project's underpinning, it is acknowledged that value-led management in heritage management has a long history of development, the precepts of which shape how value is known and incorporated into local-authority decision-making.

Indeed, value-led heritage management is recognised as an institutional framework and a global debate. The UK draws predominantly from principles laid out in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when western cultural commentators, such as John Ruskin and Alois Reigl, highlighted values that could be identified within tangible objects, e.g. historical monuments and works of art (Jokilehto 2009, 174). Thereafter, international charters such as the Athens Charter (1931) and the Venice Charter (1964) issued guidance to assist conservation practitioners in their objective assessment of cultural artefacts or structures (284 & 288-9). Yet gradually the field of heritage and conservation has developed: it now questions whether values are intrinsic (i.e. discoverable facts gleaned from "value-free interpretation") or are rather attributed by specific societies and within specific expertise (Lipe 1984, Zancheti & Jokilehto 1997, 40, Darvill 2008, Schofield 2008, 23-4, de la Torre 2013). In addition, values are now applied to intangible definitions of heritage (such as food, oral traditions, folklore, music, communal etc.) which are recognised to have high significance to a range of societies across the globe (UNESCO 2003, Loulanski 2006, English Heritage 2008a, 27, Smith & Akagawa 2009, Parkinson et al 2016, 266). In acknowledgment that heritage values have evolved from their philosophical roots over the last century (i.e. Lipe 1984, Belfiore 2002, Mason 2008b, Vecco 2010, 322, Glendinning 2013, Walter 2014, Fredheim & Khalaf 2016, Jones 2017, 22), this project explores how value-seeking methods are categorisation processes created by certain people to grasp the meaning of the past within a variety of different contexts.

In the contexts of local authority managing English cities, heritage management remains a practice focused on maintaining tangible historic or archaeological assets alongside the management of other concerns and front-line services within the urban scene (Zancheti & Jokilehto 1997, 43, Clark & Drury 2000, qtd in Loulanski 2006, 215). Value of the historic

environment is officially framed by the Historic England's (HE, previously English Heritage) Conservation Principles (English Heritage 2008a) which highlights 'evidential, historical, aesthetic, and communal' categories of value. However upcoming changes to these principles (HE 2017h) demonstrate how heritage values evolve alongside national government through various policy and national planning legislation, in particular the current National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF). The NPPF stipulates the heritage sector to:

identify the 'values' of historic assets so that these can be weighed against other public benefits of change; including regeneration, economic growth and sustainability

(The Edge Debate, 2017).

Indeed, identifications of the economic value of the historic environment for cities, although notably difficult and contentious (Nijkamp et al 1998, 3), have been carried out over at least three decades (Allison 1996, Throsby 1999, 10 & 2006, Holden 2004, Throsby & Rizzo 2006, Dalmas et al 2015, Wright & Eppink 2016). At the same time, identifications of communal or social values of the historic environment are considered a form of democratic best practice, although these efforts are simultaneously politically influenced by trending notions of 'social inclusion' and 'social sustainability' (Waterton 2007, Howard 2013 & 2017, 44). Impacting such definitions further, is the context of reduced council capacity within a climate of devolved powers. Whilst councils work towards best practices of inclusion and juggle various political incentives, serious concerns have been raised by the Chartered Institute of Archaeology (CIfA 2017a & 2017b), the Heritage Alliance (THA 2015, 2-3) and the associate Historic Environment Forum (HEF 2016) over the decrease of employed in-house conservation and archaeological staff and the loss of expertise (also Howell & Resedale 2014, Cunliffe et al 2016). Simultaneously, via the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), national devolution policies have consigned more local decision-making power and responsibility to local groups and individuals in their areas (Localism Act 2011, DCLG 2015, Brownhill & Bradley 2017). Underlying these mechanisms is an inherent assumption that local people will actively make decisions about their own areas due to their high levels of value for them. Some research has indeed

shown that living near distinctive historical sites or places increases the likelihood of safeguarding action (Schofield & Szymanski 2011, Common Ground 2017). However, other research shows that this civic action in place relationship cannot be guaranteed: particular skills and resources are needed thus affluent community groups are therefore more likely to commit to action than those living in deprived areas (Ennen 2000, Hodges & Watson 2000, 232, Graham et al 2009, Barber 2013, Bamert et al 2016, Lennox 2016, 232-34). In this context, the value of and relationships between local authorities, active local groups and a wider public requires evaluation. This project queries whether simply identifying various community groups' heritage values can adequately support different groups towards action in places in alignment with localism policies and reduced funding.

This is questioned in light of recent research which has raised that overly empirical value-capture may lead to the objectification and "fossilizing" of values (Jones 2017, 33) instead of a recognition of their potentially changeable and fluid nature (O'Rourke 2016, 58). While heritage values may be known, they are also potentially being grown and "shuffled" (Kopytoff 1986, 83) across the city in reaction to the wider forces of urban expansion. Revealing heritage values as active and changeable within the city will highlight how they can be sedimented, shared, scattered, promoted or contested by different people (Tunbridge 2008a, Perkin 2011). In acknowledging value as action, it subsequently becomes important to consider value beyond language-based methodologies (Satterfield 2002). Hence, value can be cultivated through the ways people undertake physical activity in connected places (Pink 2008, Smith 2013). Within a visually-saturated society, value can also be propagated and enhanced through visual media (Banks 2007, Perry 2007). In essence, my focus is to consider the movement, velocity and liveliness of heritage value, as '**value-action**', in local areas rather than producing a comprehensive inventory of York's value typologies. The question thereafter is whether a 'value-action' approach can be reinforced into local practice; a highly pertinent question if research methods are required to interrogate and account for the 'messy' interconnections within a city (Massey 1999, 165, Law 2004, Picinni & Schaepe 2014).

At this point the selection of the city is now detailed alongside the premise of the project as a whole.

## 1.2 Premise of the research project in York

This project, situated in the historic city of York, took place between 2013-17. The instigation of this project stems from York's failed World Heritage application in 2011. A research project, named Within the Walls (WtW), was established by a team of associated practitioners from the City of York Council and academics from the Departments of Archaeology and History at the University of York, thus forming a Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA) network. The various interests from key individuals—archaeologists, archivists, academics, and those who had been involved in the initial York World Heritage bid—drew from wider concern regarding dissonances between local and global management of cultural heritage and the question of inclusivity with non-experts in heritage management. The ethos of the WtW project drew from the European Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005) in its aspiration to include the values of different 'heritage communities' and marginalised groups within heritage management. Initially, three PhD projects were outlined:

- One which focused on the relevance of World Heritage designations and the comparative weighting of Outstanding Universal Value alongside local valuations of heritage;
- Another which focused on the national and local values of the archives alongside the historic environment (Hoyle forthcoming);
- Lastly, this faction of the WtW project was tasked with two related inquiries focusing on social values of heritage. It was briefed to:
  - a. Critically examine the range of heritage values held by experts and non-experts relevant to heritage, and;
  - b. Experiment and examine ways in which to enable "'heritage communities' to participate in heritage management

(adapted from the CDA supporting statement 2013, see Appendix A.i).

The WtW project was proposed as a forward-thinking assessment of heritage management in York, to use the city as a "laboratory" for best practice methods. The City of York Council offered each student a placement in the West Offices as part of the CDA partnership and several meetings were set up with a steering group which included

members of the York World Heritage Committee, York Archives, the National Archives, City of York Council and Historic England. Moreover, the archaeological practitioner at the CYC, who took the role of secondary supervisor, was able to give many contacts in York with a view of selecting case studies (we had several meetings to this aim). But whilst the initial CDA brief acted as a guide for inquiry, the choice and breadth of case studies and choice of methodology remained at our discretion. How this study and the CDA partnership evolved over four years will be reflected upon in the conclusion chapter.

At this point it is important to highlight that, despite the undeniable York focus at the onset of the project, there was some interest into considering the “social relations that stretch beyond the city” and thus compare York to other cities along with the social connections within it (Allen et al 1999, viii my emphasis). Notably, York is a highly atypical city and has a special relationship to its heritage. For instance, it has a designated Area of Archaeological Importance (one out of only five cities in England) and it is the first in the world to be “temporally twinned” with its previous historic state, Jorvik, by the council in 2014 (York Mix 2014). It is often cited as a case study due to its profuse archaeological remains, visible layers of history, and the high level of volunteer participation in heritage related activities (Delafons 1997, 99, Bahaire & Elliot-White 1999, Dicks 2003, 33, Grenville & Ritchie 2005, Symonds 2004, Hodges & Watson 2000, Neal & Roskams 2013). Ultimately, due to the methodological choices (discussed below) the decision was taken to explore the ‘many worlds’ (as several case studies) within one rather than several cities. And, whilst acknowledging the specificity of the choice of this arena, the York focus remained.

## 1.3 Structure of the thesis

### 1.3.1 Theory Chapters

In **Chapter Two**, heritage, and particularly the historic environment, is discussed as being defined by competing official and unofficial forces. These forces are allied with tangible and intangible heritage respectively but also integrate in a dialectical process of managing the past for and by those in the present (Lowenthal 1985, Graham 2002, 1003, Harvey 2008, Schofield 2008, Harrison 2013). The development of localism policies and their impact upon heritage management are then discussed as an important synthesis within

this dialectical relationship. Such policies were culminated in the Localism Act (2011), which has provided mechanisms which support local civic action. Whilst acknowledging the potential instrumentalisation of civic action (and subsequently, the pressurise to collaborate) best practice methods—such as community archaeology and local listing—demonstrate that such interventions can incite beneficial disruptions of official narratives of place (Dicks 2003, Symonds 2004, Clifford 2010, Kiddey 2013, Graham 2014a, Locus Consultancy 2014, Parkinson et al 2016). Moreover, the concept of Community Asset Transfers (wherein local authorities transfers a lease of a heritage asset to a community organisation) is highlighted as a ruefully understudied process in local heritage management which requires further investigation alongside localism initiatives.

Due to the continual challenges facing collaboration and the tendency of heritage theorists to stress hegemonic, discursive systems as substantial barriers, I examine a prevalent theoretical argument which Smith has termed “Authorised Heritage Discourse” (2006). After critically engaging with her epistemological position (whereby an authoritative language restricts and fashions heritage) I highlight where she also acknowledges how ontological aspects (whereby being-in-the-world contributes to the making of it) might impact official heritage management. Developing this, I posit how ontological language occurs in contexts and in specific places by drawing upon the theories of Wittgenstein, Heidegger, Giddens, and Bourdieu. Considering social differences in society and places, my argument develops to an understanding of the assemblage of the multi-sited or ‘**multi-local**’ city (Marcus 1995 & 1997, Rodman 2003); a city of connected words and worlds, where local becomes entwined with global, and where contesting voices are propagated via a stream of mobilised technology and multi-media (Amin & Thrift 2002, 3, Latour 2005, 200, Urry 2007a & 2007b, Harrison 2013, 30-31).

In **Chapter Three** how heritage value can be viewed within this concept of the multi-local city is explored. Firstly, heritage values are identified as being incorporated, alongside city-wide strategies, within the vision (or ultimate goal) of sustainable development by national and local government policies. After highlighting ‘sustainable development’ as an example of a wide, shifting goal (currently bolstered by the NPPF), I explain how heritage values (which are required to contribute and support sustainable management) are also

inevitably shifting in priorities and terminology. In order to apply rigour to value collation, in spite of these shifts, it is important to demonstrate the varying expert methodologies which seek to bring values to the fore. Moreover, in considering the values of non-practitioners—who may have smaller scopes of concern in the multi-local city—values are reconsidered as ‘motivated action’ for heritage in specific places. With reference to ‘intention theory’ by Anscombe, values can be seen as a reasoned process towards a desired vision (e.g. the renovation of a local church or an oral history exhibition in a library) which leads heritage volunteers to assimilate new knowledge as they seek this ultimate goal. In this form, I posit that heritage value can be seen as part of ‘value-action’ which tie social interactions between individuals together. Community groups with shared value-action form a collaborative ‘line of flight’ towards their visions for places, be these city-wide or localised (Deleuze & Guattari 2004, 226). Whether this ‘value-action’ process is the same for different groups (practitioners or volunteers) is questioned alongside the level of affluence and the capability of those with financial means, free time, and good health to act. In considering difference between groups, visions and ‘value-actions’, the crux of the inquiry is highlighted:

How do heritage value-actions compare between multi-local groups working towards visions within a city context?

Through comparison, can one make recommendations of best practice for collaboration between groups?

As part of considering this inquiry into value-action, various forms of visual media created by different groups are also discussed as signifying aspects of value. Essentially, multi-modal methodological interventions are required to take account of uttered statements alongside ongoing action and visual media.

### 1.3.2 Methodology, Site Selection & Research Questions:

In **Chapter Four** I illustrate how the preceding theoretical considerations situate the research within a paradigmatic position. Considering the theoretical understanding of ‘heritage-in-the-making’, a **constructive** approach helps in order to understand how several overlapping worlds coexist and are always ‘emerging’ (Denzin & Lincoln 2011,



102). Moreover, an **interpretive** standpoint highlights that the researcher is not approaching these worlds from a position of nowhere but is already entangled within them: evaluating their position is vital (Law 2004, 68). The methodological approach of 'multi-local ethnography' helped to focus on movements between different (and entangled) ethnographic places in York (Marcus 1995, 1997, Rodman 2003, Ingold 2008b, Falzon 2009, Ryzewski 2012, Pink & Morgan 2013, 6) where heritage activities were occurring, either instigated by practitioners or by volunteers. In multi-local study, I consider Marcus's comments on how the research design can evolve and compare such changing dynamics during the selection of sites:

[...] in multi-sited ethnography comparison emerges from putting questions to an emergent object of study whose contours, sites, and relationships are not known beforehand but are themselves a contribution of making an account that has different, complexly connected real-world sites of investigation

(Marcus 1995, 102).

As an inexperienced researcher, I became familiar with parts of York during an early exploratory period in the first year. This resulted in connecting heritage activities to 'centres', places or sites and to certain people, for example, the Minster, the Council, localised archaeology groups, various museums, touristic tours, etc. Using theoretical criteria (and reflecting on the emergence of participants through opportunistic sampling), the City of York Council and one emerging heritage asset transfer project—the Red Tower Project—were selected as sites for investigation. These sites eventually evolved as 'place-nodes' to reflect the knot-like entanglements between them (Deleuze & Guattari 2004, 22, Ingold 2011a, 32-4). Moreover, after the emergence of these place-nodes, two more Heritage Asset Transfers, the Poppleton Tithe Barn and Holgate Windmill, were selected as case studies, where the transfers had been completed before 2011. The sequence of the research into these different place-nodes meant fieldwork took place initially at Red Tower, then the West Offices and lastly at the Tithe Barn and Holgate Windmill. However, the layout of the chapters does not follow the research sequence chronologically but instead reflects the narrowing of focus of the localities of York (see Chapter Four, p122-3).

With the place nodes selected, the framing of the research questions followed. The research questions evolved to reflect a focus on different active heritage values, visions and the emergence of challenges and engagement practices;

### **The Place-node Research Questions**

1. What heritage value-actions can be identified at the place-node?
2. How do value-actions correspond to any identified visions of the place-node?
3. If there are challenges & contrasting value-actions, what are these?
4. What is the relationship between the place-node, and
  - i. local collaboration and
  - ii. other forms of engagement?
5. Overall, what is the relationship between the place-node and associated localities?

### **The Comparative Research Questions:**

6. What are the noticeable differences and similarities in the value-action processes between the place-nodes?
7. In light of the above question, what recommendations can be made for further collaborative heritage work between local authorities and community groups?

The methods used to answer these questions consisted of:

- Ethnographic fieldnotes offering insight into processes of action at place-nodes,
- Interview data (both individual and group) giving verbal accounts of practice,
- Photography and selected visual media analysis which gave various visual accounts of practice and,
- Contextual documentary information about the place-nodes in order to highlight different local authorities' roles in shaping places and the city.

However, as a result of emerging contexts during fieldwork the initial methods underwent development. For instance, my role as ethnographer with Red Tower participants evolved when I took on a consultative role as part of a feasibility project which led to collaborative work on the design of data gathering techniques (i.e. 'feedback forms'). Furthermore, it became clear that the different place-nodes each proffered specific modes of collaboration depending on who was involved. For instance, I would interact with

participants at an office, at participants' homes, outside the Red Tower, or in other interviewing locations. etc. As part of ethical practice, reflections were made alongside the data in order to document my evolving interaction with places and people (Haraway 1988, qtd in Marcus 1995, 101; also Williams 2014).

At the end of the methodological chapter, how the different datasets were subsequently analysed is identified. Data was gathered and organised within NVivo software. Interviews and fieldnotes were coded thematically (a form of categorising and organising data according to salient themes) (Saldaña 2009, 3). This was undertaken in order to seek relevant meaning to the theoretical framework. From this analysis of the data, I established value-action diagrams which demonstrated the different themes relevant to the processes of heritage management at each place-node. Three diagrams from each place-node (the Pre-2011 heritage asset transfers were combined) were presented in each data chapter and then compared and discussed in an overall analysis.

### 1.3.3 Data & Findings

As is mentioned above, the chapters follow a scaled approach to the localities of York. Hence, **Chapter Five** begins the presentation of the original data gathered from the ethnographic study of the City of York Council during a placement period of approximately forty-five days. This chapter identifies some of the pragmatic contradictions in understanding heritage value across several council service domains (e.g. archaeological management, Neighbourhood Planning and Communities and Equalities). Due to the variety of services, progression on group activities was not captured in the data. Even so, the findings show that heritage value diversity is recognised by different practitioners even if there are challenges (both theoretical and practical) in incorporating it as workable data. Despite obvious tensions and difficulties, it is clear that specific staff within the council can, and do, employ best practice measures to undertake consultation and support of local groups. Moreover, a key term is identified; 'pavement politics' highlights the separation between city-wide and more localised concerns held by local councillors and community groups.

In **Chapter Six** I present two 'timelines' (written in consultation with current trustees) of the Tithe Barn and Holgate Windmill asset transfer projects which occurred before the

2011 Localism Act. Through the writing of project timelines, both of which span over a decade, 'retrospective' and constructive insight was acquired. Along with an account of the shaping of the localities surrounding each asset, and some examination of how each project has since impacted the locality, this chapter highlights local dynamics and the engagement between community groups, councils and other organisations. Furthermore, the visual media analysis undertaken highlights the role of media in generating local collaboration, engagement and the enhancement of heritage value over time.

**Chapter Seven** begins with an account of the shaping of the localities surrounding the Red Tower, and the roles of various local authorities played in creating them. Following this, a chronological timeline of the Red Tower project, the recent asset transfer project—in which I collaborated with volunteers between 2014-2016—is laid out. Fieldwork data (interviews, fieldnotes and visual media) was thematically coded data within NVivo and was subsequently dug into and sifted. This allowed specific key moments to become evident during the writing process and resulted in the creation of the 'Red Tower Diaries'. Notably, a combination of coding visual media within NVivo and applying a visual toolkit revealed how visual media functions and is mobile (Urry 2007b) within the project—these movements (referred to as 'velocity') are attributed to the establishment of several working relationships. Moreover, through interrogating different multi-local groups in the areas proximate to Red Tower (i.e. residents, Wallwalkers, volunteers) I gained insight into the local dynamics, which are discussed in terms of challenges and opportunities for collaboration.

**Chapter Eight** is the penultimate analytical chapter. Here I compare the data from the different place-nodes and discuss the potential connections between them. From these comparisons the findings of the project emerged and appropriate recommendations—towards cultivating further collaborative relationships—were drawn. One interesting aspect gleaned from the findings is that visions come at different points in time within the different case nodes. With the Pre-2011 asset case studies, contrasting visions (and values-actions) did not ultimately impact the success of the transfer and the ability to change opinions, or direction, is key to progressive collaboration. Moreover, the findings show that timely place-based issues or 'pavements politics', and the existence (or lack) of

community infrastructure (such as existing community groups) and physical access (or barriers) to groups, implicit in the manifestation of localities, emerge as tangible ethical implications that need to be considered within practice. The recommendations offered to both the local council and forthcoming Heritage Asset Projects include, for example, the need for clearer accounts of how values and feedback are worked into decision-making, clear engagement plans tailored to places, the organisational delegation of tasks and the contradictory need to be opportunistic in cultivating collaborative relationships.

Lastly, that heritage value can be enhanced through the process of asset transfer is obviously something that could be applied to any given heritage project. As a result, the term “value co-creation” is then examined as a potentially useful approach for heritage management and place-based interventions, which accounts for the enhancement of value by key players in projects.

**Chapter Nine** reviews the both positive outcomes of the project and the methodological challenges. The method of multi-local ethnography is deemed theoretically important but creates a challenge to navigate and analyse these terrains with an equal ‘spread’ of data (in terms of quality and quantity). Comparing values across these place-nodes however, does feature as a strength in understanding how participants operate towards different remits of place. Thereafter, the concepts of official and unofficial forces in heritage are revisited, to demonstrate how the research has been impacted by the fieldwork.

Having presented the outline of the research and structure of the whole thesis, the theoretical roots of the project are now laid out. This begins with a review on the relationship between local and collaborative heritage management (Chapter Two) and subsequently how local can be acknowledged alongside the examination of heritage values (Chapter Three).

## 2: Theoretical Discussion—Collaboration in Local Heritage Management

### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter is comprised of two parts. The first part outlines the pragmatic issue of the study, which is concerned with the various opportunities for collaboration (the co-operation required towards the setting and achieving of shared goals) between local authorities and community organisations in the management of heritage within cities. To start, I briefly discuss the concepts of heritage and the historic environment within an urban context. I then identify two 'sticking points' in heritage theory which highlight collaborative practice between local authorities and community groups as an inevitable challenge. Following this, I demonstrate how the term local has become an increasingly significant approach in England's heritage sector. This commentary takes account of the impact of the 2011 Localism Act, which affords more decision-making powers to community organisations and subsequently establishes new dynamics of collaboration. I then pinpoint the term collaboration in the context of global and local heritage policy and identify various challenges impeding this increasingly sought endeavour. Subsequently, I review three specific heritage management processes (i.e. designation, planning and representation) where collaborative interventions occur, before introducing an understudied phenomenon which is highly relevant to collaborative local heritage management in cities: that of Community Asset Transfer.

In the second part of this chapter, the theoretical approach to these pragmatic issues is developed. Firstly, it is noted that language and discourses are considered as significant barriers to collaborative heritage management. However, there is a need to develop a theoretical position that also considers the role that local (as place) plays in enabling (or disabling) collaborative relationships between local authorities and community groups in general. To demonstrate the position, I critically review Smith's *Authorised Heritage Discourse* (2006) and discuss her key theory in light of 'language-games' as put forward by Ludvig Wittgenstein. Developing this further, I put forward the phenomenological

arguments by Martin Heidegger ([1927] 2001) which connect local to 'being-the-world'. Through considering theorists such as Giddens and Sennett, 'locales' are laid out as arenas for "everyday diplomacy" (Sennett 2012) which encourage 'social differences' to be acknowledged in order to foster meaningful collaboration. The argument then extends to consider how collaborative communication in cities can occur through visual media. Subsequently, the argument develops to consider the city as a complex meshwork of words, visuals, people and place. In short, the city is both fragmented and connected. The places within it can be seen as multi-local in nature (Marcus 1995, Rodman 2003).

Thus, to underline both pragmatic issues and theoretical approach, I turn to consider first the definition of heritage within the city context.

## **2.1 The Rise of Local in Heritage Management**

### **2.1.1 Heritage Definitions**

This section outlines a discussion concerning the definition of the term heritage and includes contrasting definitions between 'official' and 'unofficial' forces. In England since the 1980's, heritage has officially become the term that covers the historic environment, cultural landscapes and museum collections. Of particular focus within this study is the urban historic environment which is maintained through nationally standardised heritage management processes (e.g. designation, planning, and representation) all of which have undergone gone rapid expansion over the last fifty years (Hunter & Ralston 1993, Larkham 1999 & 2003, Renfrew 2000, Smith 2004, 1-2, Fowler 2006, Jameson 2008, 42, Harrison 2013).

Thus, within an urban and city context, the historic environment is officially understood as the physical buildings, structures, monuments, sculptures, archaeological remains, historic sites and places or land/cityscapes of importance that make a city distinct. These tangible assets are identified by defined criteria, which are assessed by experts within the heritage sector who are guided by both international frameworks (i.e. Athens Charter 1931, Venice Charter 1964, Jokilehto 2009, 284 & 288-9) and current national policy (Larkham 1999, Tunbridge 2008b, 236, Thomas 2008, 139; also see next section). However, these official management processes have long been criticised as favouring a tangible definition of heritage at the expense of more localised and nuanced understandings of how humans

interact with their pasts. Moreover, in England the expansion of heritage management processes (e.g. the increase of listed buildings) has been perceived as 'manufactured' by institutions reacting to the country's decline as an economic power in the world—with a subsequent reliance on the tourism industry—since the 1950s (Wright 1985, Hewison 1984, Taylor 1994). A trend of 'place-branding' in historic cities, arguably commencing in the nineteenth century (Jäger 2003), has continued; consequently, tangible heritage is increasingly utilised economically to encourage a global audience of international visitors and businesses (Curr 1984, Lowenthal 1985, Hobsbawm 1992, Grenville 1993, Lovering 2007, Thomas 2008 140-1, Harrison 2010a, 11 & 2013, 8, Wilson 2014). In reaction against economic reductions of heritage, a more complex, local and culturally specific view has been advocated by heritage theorists and activists. Over the last twenty years a wide variety of localised or culturally specific conceptions of heritage, such as speech, food, music, folklore, crafts, performances and other traditions, have been internationally recognised as valuable intangible heritages and heritage practices through the publication of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Nara Document on Authenticity (1994), the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter (1979, 1999 & 2013), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage (2003; see also Vecco 2010, Winter 2014). Whether all heritage can be neatly categorised as either intangible or tangible has prompted a debate (Byrne 2008a, 158, Smith & Akagawa 2009, Harrison & Rose 2010, 272-3, Tunbridge et al 2013, 367). Without going into the particulars here (as they will be continued throughout the study) this debate reflects two sticking points in heritage theory which forms a problematic binary. Firstly, that tangible heritage is frequently associated with nationally standardised official forces and heritage management (Gonzalez 2014, Watson & Waterton 2015a, 2) whilst intangible heritage is equally associated with unofficial forces and the myriad of localised heritage practices that do not place emphasis management of the physical environment (Smith & Akagawa 2009). And as a subsequence, there remain profound and tense contrasts between official/tangible and unofficial/intangible definitions of heritage.

The binary of official versus unofficial heritage definitions has continually been scrutinised and complicated in heritage research (Jamal & Kim 2005, Harvey 2008, Thomas 2008, 139,



Harrison 2010a, 11, Waterton & Watson 2015a, 7). For example, whether official definitions of heritage have the power to hold absolute dominion over all definitions of heritage (including unofficial) has been questioned. For instance, Merriman (1991), demonstrated that the desire for the past is a very personal experience; he warned against the assumption that people are receptacles of ideological messages and challenges the idea that the past can be fully controlled by institutions (26; see also Robertson 2008, 147). By contrast, Watson and Waterton (2015a) have since highlighted how mass popularity— influenced by officialising market trends—can shape the personal perceptions of the past (5). Indeed, it has been highlighted that people (on mass) seek the past due to the pressure and pace of technologically advanced hypermodern lifestyles (Schofield & Harrison 2010, 4, Harrison 2010c). Thus, officialising forces are therefore implicit within the wider circumstances of existing in a globalised world. But simultaneously, the wideness of these circumstance allows room for multiple experiences of living in the present and relationships with the past, and thus allows for diverse definitions. Essentially, this thesis follows the position upholding that “history is the work of a thousand different hands”, whereby ‘unofficial’, bottom-up or ‘grassroots’ projects counter and disrupt ‘official’ definitions (Samuel 2013, 11). Such a standpoint also upholds that heritage definitions are formed within a ‘dialectical relationship’—thus, official and unofficial definitions of heritage are not fixed but in constant and gradual evolution whereby each influences the other (Harrison 2013, 20; also Atkinson 2008, 385, Harrison 2015). Essentially, the existence of an ongoing dialectical relationship can be understood as a democratic heritage practice, carried out by the global population to suit both their present and localised needs (Waterton 2007, 22, Byrne 2008a, Graham & Howard 2008, Crouch 2010, Harrison 2015, Watson & Waterton 2015a, 2).

Whilst acknowledging the potential for dialectical heritage practices, it important is to note that contrasts between official/unofficial heritage definitions remain prevalent and that the ambition to create judicious collaboration between official and unofficial forces in heritage practices remains a significant challenge. In this study, the ‘ideal’ collaboration draws from Habermas’s (1990) standard: collaboration is defined as a special science of co-operation or craft of decision-making between people, who together set and achieve shared goals (also Sennett 2012). Collaboration is highly significant to civic action, which is

defined as the activities carried out by voluntary individuals, community groups and community organisations in order to change or improve public facilities, service access or policies towards wider justice (and thus can embody the linchpin of unofficial forces). Essentially, collaboration is the dynamic needed in order to direct these aims to be widely effective. Within the heritage sector, the official forces are oft viewed as fashioning (self-purposefully) collaboration with the unofficial forces and thus pressurising civic action (often in line with present-centred policies). Whilst this renders such collaboration as instrumentalist, the 'catch twenty-two' implicit here is that dialectical relationships between the unofficial and official forces requires forms of collaboration and civic action as part of democracy. In order to understand how judicious collaboration can occur, the purpose of this chapter is to narrow a focus on **when** and **where** collaboration between official and unofficial forces come about. And in addition, this thesis seeks to explore tangible heritage and the historic environment—particularly that of physical place within a city arena—as having a part to play within the establishment of collaboratives relationships between official and unofficial forces. Researching how collaboration occurs in places has the ability to increase understanding (and therefore best practices) into the complexity of the binary between tangible/official and intangible/unofficial definitions of heritage.

To summarise this section, considering heritage as a practice by society indicates that binaries of official and unofficial definitions, rather than remaining ever fully separate, are ever in contestation or collaboration with each other and thus evolve over time. Tangible heritage—including the concept of place and local—rather than remaining ever connected to official definitions of heritage, may play an active part in such processes and potentially impact the collaborative efforts (including ones of unofficial impetus). To explore this position further, a discussion is required to outline why the physical historic environment is important to official heritage policy in England, to the changing role of local authorities in managing cities and to the increasing efforts towards collaborative place-based heritage management.

## 2.1.2 The Simultaneous Rise and Decrease of 'Local' in Heritage

### Management:

The concept of local has several meanings: it can mean a demarcation of place, a system of authority (i.e. local authority), or a colloquial reference to a resident (Meskell 2005, 82). Local, a multifaceted concept, has become increasingly significant to heritage management in England through the bonding of the historic environment to localities, the role of local authorities and the strengthening of the localism agenda within the latter half of the twentieth century (Davoudi & Strange 2009, 8, Fairclough 2010, 129, Schofield & Szymanski 2011, Gentry 2013, 510, Lennox 2016, 54). An outline of the major trends and policy developments on the focus of local (both in terms of the delineation of the historic environment within places and the reconfiguration of local authority powers) is laid out below; definitive accounts can be found within other works (see Ross 1996, Delafons 1997, Cookson 2000, Clark 2001b, Glendinning 2013, Emerick 2014, Jackson 2016, Lennox 2016).

The development of heritage management in England has a long history; traces of care towards ancient structures are notable as far back as the Tudors and this care intensified into civic activity and protective legislation in the late 1800s (Ross 1996, 12, Delafons 1997, Emerick 2014, 29, Lennox 2016 and see section 3.2). Here, in order to demonstrate the changing importance of local areas and role of local authorities in heritage management, this study commences after the beginning of the 20th century, with surveying and scheduling of ancient monuments by the Royal Commission of Ancient Monuments in 1908 (Emerick 2014, 49, Gilman & Newman 2018). This national inventory primarily logged the status of prehistoric and Roman monuments and earthworks, and English secular and ecclesiastical monuments (Emerick 2014, 62). Thus, the types of structures that could be scheduled (and therefore offered protection) were initially highly specific. Notably, by 1913, local authorities were given powers to purchase such monuments and assume guardianship (Ross 1996, 13). Yet, the definition of 'monuments' excluded types of buildings (i.e. Victorian and Georgian architecture). Reacting to fears and lobbying by specialist heritage amenity groups over the potential and actual destruction of such historic buildings between the two worlds war years, the government passed the 1923 Housing Act (Ross 1996, 17). This recommended that buildings of "special architectural,

historic or artistic interest attaching to a locality" required protection by local authorities (Housing Act 1923 cited in Delafons 1996, 38, qtd in Lennox 2016, 55). Notably, there was little explanation of what a 'locality' consisted of and this stance was dropped in the 1932 Housing Act which instead focused solely on individual 'assets' as ancient monuments or buildings of architectural merit (Ross 1996, 17, Delafons 1997, 38, Larkham 1999, 106). The 1932 Act also gave more applied powers to local authorities to apply preservation orders upon historic buildings, confirmed by the Secretary of State (Ross 1996, 11&17; also Baker 1999, 5, Clark 2001b, 67). Following the aftermath of the Second World War, this asset-centric approach was strengthened in the 1940s with establishment of the National Buildings Record in 1941 (a national survey of historic buildings), the Town and Country Planning act of 1944 (in which the 'Listed Buildings' process was established, replacing preservation orders) and the 1947 Town and Planning Act (which meant that local authorities' permission had to be given in order for any changes to be made to a listed building) (Ross 1996, 18-20). However, the increasing of inventories of heritage assets and strengthening of powers for local authorities could not allay the nationwide post-war redevelopment of towns and the creation of new urban and suburban areas which took place in the 1950s-60s (24). In recognition of the destructive impact of urban renewal upon the historic environment, an area-centric or 'locality' approach (as hinted in the 1923 Act) was more fully developed (25). The "Planning Bulletin No1, Town Centres: Approach to Renewal" called local authorities to recognise "the role of character and of conservation in renewal schemes" eventually leading to the concept of Conservation Areas being formalised into the Civic Amenities Act in 1967 (Clark 2001b, 68). Notably, Conservation Areas were designated to "protect the special architectural and historic interest of a place - in other words the features that make it unique and distinctive" (HE 2017a). Conservation Areas thus particularly highlight a consideration of 'local' and architectural character within a limited area such as historic centres within towns and cities and could be applied solely by local authorities without the Secretary of State's approval (Ross 1996, 27). Thereafter, the 1970-80s indicates a period of heightened capacity in heritage management by local authorities. It saw:

- the increase of Conservation Areas in cities;
- the emergence of the conservation officer and city archaeologists;

- the subsequent establishment of Site and Monuments Records which were updated by the new heritage staff;
- increased controls to unlisted buildings within Conservations Areas through the 1971 and 1974 Planning Acts;
- the establishment of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act (AMAA 1979);
- the formation of Areas of Archaeological Importance (AAI) (eventually designated to five cities, including York) (Thomas 1993 & 2008, Cookson 2000, 66 & 302-3, Renfrew 2000, x, Lennox 2016, 252, Gilman & Newman 2018).

In 1984, the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (shorthand to 'English Heritage') was formed as an advisory body to the Secretary of State on the maintenance and designations of archaeology, monuments and listed buildings and also compiled their own register of historic parks and gardens (Ross 1996, 31, Larkham 1999, 110-13, Renfrew 2000, ix, Cullingworth & Nadin 2002, 252). By this time, records of newly designated assets were continually updated by local authorities and added to their Listed Buildings or Sites and Monuments Records and confirmed by Secretary of State. Eventually, work by English Heritage and the Royal Commission resulted in the computerisation of these records (Gillman & Newman 2018).

Heritage management in cities, a process of conflict between forces of change and conservation, was enacted within a climate of increasingly contrasting priorities of local authorities during the 1980s. Emphasis was placed on increasing the "operation of the free market" and economic growth in planning policies for cities (also reflecting an increase of the 'neo-liberal' market); this increased the threat upon historic buildings and sites (Strange & Whitney 2003, 220, Fairclough 2010, 129). In reaction against the threat, during the following decade two key policies reinforced the consideration of archaeology and the historic environment in planning policies during this continued economic climate: 'Planning Policy Guidance 16' highlighted archaeology as a material consideration in planning whilst its counterpart, 'Planning Policy Guidance 15', focused on the historic environment and conservation areas (Cullingworth & Nadin 2002, 252). With these two policies in place, and with work supported by English Heritage, the historic environment

was promoted as a resource for cities rather than a hindrance, particularly with regards to historic quarters and centres (Tiesdale et al 1996, Pickard 2001, Strange & Whitney 2003, 227). This move put emphasis on the concept of 'regeneration': the capacity for the 'spruced up' historic environment to make local areas in towns attractive and generate various aspect of local economy. For example, English Heritage's Economic Regeneration Schemes (HERS) sought to utilise heritage in supporting "neighbourhood businesses, high streets, and corner shops", a strategy developed further in their publication 'Conservation Led Regeneration' (Cullingworth & Nadin 2002, 244, Pendlebury 2002, 157). Various publications continued this ongoing trend between places and heritage into the new millennium, including the 'Power of Place' (2000) by English Heritage which in turn influenced the governmental publication 'Force for Our Future' by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS 2001). Later a report covering the "Role of the Historic Buildings in Urban Regeneration" (House of Commons 2004), recommended that historic character assessments were put forward as best practice for local authorities (13)— Character Areas thus became another method of delineating the historic environment in urban areas. By this point, enhancing the historic environment was overtly connected to the increase of capitalist potential of places in cities; it was seen to not only cultivate business opportunity but also civic activity towards the increased deregulation of governance and also, by the 1990s, notions of sustainable development (Strange & Whitney 2003, 219, Davoudi & Strange 2009, 8; also see Chapter Three). Identifying the historic environment as part of the character of place and a regenerative tool became the remit of local authorities during the next decade; the 'Lyons Inquiry' of 2007 particularly emphasised the role of local government in the "place-shaping" of local areas and further reinforced the positive relationship between localised heritage management and the economy (Lyons 2007).

Evidently, English Heritage had played a leading role in the establishing policy guidance regarding heritage (and the historic environment) during the late 1990s and early 2000s. It had acted as vanguard in bringing the importance of local places to the fore and was relied upon for its trusted expertise. However, another advisory body to the government, established outside the designation of the historic environment—yet equally vital to understanding the link between heritage and local areas—became the Heritage Lottery

Fund (HLF), formed in 1994. The HLF's key role as a funding body was to allocate funding to museums, historic groups, local authorities and community organisations through the funds raised via the National Lottery, as administered by the National Heritage Memorial Fund (Clark 2004, Lennox 2016, 99). Its initial objectives were to alleviate social deprivation whilst also creating heritage benefits; encourage access for diverse publics; to enhance knowledge of and interest in heritage for children and young people; to work towards sustainable development (Heritage Lottery Fund 1999 qtd. in Lennox 2016, 74). Through its approach, which focused on the consideration of "what heritage means to communities" and simultaneously "strengthening communities" (Clark 2004, 66, Holden 2004) HLF forged an essential link between the professional heritage sector and wider English populations. Eventually, after adjusting its strategic aims and, significantly, the definition of heritage (to include a wide range of historic environments, objects and intangible heritage to correspond with its strong community focus) HLF began delivering findings from research into public value, and the 'needs for heritage' to the Secretary of State (Heritage Lottery Fund 2002, Clark 2004, 67-8, Hewison 2004). It achieved this by assessing the effectiveness of funding towards a variety of funding programmes aimed at different types of heritage or community groups (e.g. Young Roots, the Public Parks Initiative, and the Townscape Heritage Initiative) and assessing outcomes at national, regional and local levels (Clark 2004, 69). Highly relevant to this study is the Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI), which allotted funding to local areas, particularly neglected town-centres; this initiative was assessed to understand changing attitudes in local perception of the townscapes after funding had been allocated (Shipley et al 2004, Reeve & Shipley 2014). Whilst such research generated further methodological questions and unexpected answers, HLF had begun to pave the way in understanding how impact of funding could be measured: for instance, showing those who benefitted from HLF funding to historic sites and categorising participants into different relationships to those sites (Clark & Maeer 2008, 29; see also section 3.4). Essentially, through the monitoring and evaluation of funding allocations the HLF continues to play a vital role in supplementing knowledge (and therefore shaping policy) into definitions and relevance of heritage for different populations in England.

By the early 2000s, other technical information about the historic environment increased and connected with certain bodies of expertise. English Heritage had merged with Royal Commission in 1999 resulting in streamlining of archives and other repositories (Gilman & Newman 2018). Site and Monuments Records had been revised by both these bodies and eventually became referred to as Historic Environment Records (HER) to indicate the expansion in definition of the historic environment (Gillman & Newman 2018). These digital records, kept within local authorities, eventually included all types of designations and could be researched by the public at a fee: in this sense, local authorities were still an important gatekeeper of technical knowledge about the historic environment. However, by this time, the role of local authorities had also begun to be drastically reconfigured by the increasing trend of devolution policies and questions about their ability to maintain cultural services had already been asked (Davies & Selwood 1998, Crewe 2016). Ripples of this change were shown within heritage policy, albeit with fluctuating weight. In 2008, the Heritage White Paper aspired to build a single “legislative framework for the national designation and consents” in order to encourage “greater unification at local level” and to also encourage local community groups to inform heritage designations (DCMS 2007, 6). Its recommendations were criticised as impractical (Smith & Waterton 2008) and in addition, were never adopted. Meanwhile, the Planning Policy Statement Five (PPS5) (replacing PPG 15 & 16 in 2010) strengthened the tie between the historic environment, local character and “sense of place” (DCLG 2010, 2, Lennox 2016, 78). Devolution policies were then further strengthened following the recession of 2008-2011 when the Coalition Government (Liberal Democrats and Conservatives) cancelled the PPS5 and moved towards a more overt devolution of power to local community groups through their concept of the ‘Big Society’. The government encapsulated this move within the Localism Act (DCLG 2011a), in concurrence with the new National Planning Policy Framework (DCLG 2012), both of which strengthened the notion that locally-sourced practices—i.e. from community groups generally—could cultivate both social and economic opportunities. The Localism Act particularly emphasised the need for local people to take the mantle of making places good to live in: “Government alone does not make great places to live, people do. People who look out for their neighbours, who take pride in their street and get involved” (DCLG 2011b, 8). The act established Community Rights mechanisms



including Neighbourhood Planning, the Right to Bid, Challenge, and Reclaim Land, and the listing of Assets of Community Value. Within the heritage sector, it was soon recognised that these rights would impact planning decisions at more localised (smaller) scales and particularly the concept of 'neighbourhood' (Jackson & Lennox 2013, 25-9, Jackson et al 2014, 84, Jackson 2016). For instance, Assets of Community Value designation was perceived as a valuable tool ensuring that community buildings, such as local pubs, libraries or shops of heritage status, contributed to making places distinct (THA 2011, article 10). Moreover, the Heritage Lottery Fund had already made commitments to enhancing local areas as well as community groups (they have recently rolled out the 'Great Place Scheme', following the publication of Cultural White Paper (Heritage Lottery Fund 2016 & 2018, 68). Thus, the Localism Act was a welcome step in promoting opportunities for fund applications to small community groups (Heritage Lottery Fund 2010a, Lennox 2016, 227). But the first drafts of the Localism Bill and NPPF also generated some criticism. The Heritage Alliance (THA; representing the assembled body of specialist heritage amenity groups) had several concerns, including a fear that Neighbourhood Planning would decrease duties to preserve nationally designated heritage and also that tension could arise between neighbours if the Neighbourhood Planning groups were unrepresentative of their wider residential group (THA 2011, article 18; also Flatman & Perring 2012, 6, Hinton 2013, Neal 2015, 359-60, Pendlebury 2015, 435). They also raised that locally-based decisions should be informed by external expertise, recommending alignment with the NPPF and Local Plans, so that Neighbourhood Plans were suitably balanced and informed by wider heritage concerns (THA 2011, article 7&14). Presently, the current National Planning Policy Framework states that its purpose is to:

provide a framework within which local people and their accountable councils can produce their own distinctive local and neighbourhood plans, which reflect the needs and priorities of their community groups

(DCLG 2012, 1).

This indicates alignment with the Heritage Alliances recommendations; reiterating the link between local planning and national frameworks. Thus, whilst the Localism mechanisms

established more focused ways in which collaboration can occur between local authorities and community groups, national frameworks were also maintained.

Essentially, the relationship between 'local' and the historic environment, a relationship which has developed over the last fifty years and dynamically with the localism agenda in the last seven, can show us two things about contemporary heritage management. First, there are higher expectations over how the historic environment can support local areas (particularly in cities). Secondly, there are higher expectations of what locally-based practices (sourced from 'community') can achieve alongside devolution policies (albeit with some caution). Evidently, this raises the significance of local to heritage management. The challenge emerging within this dynamic though, as shown by research by the Institute of Historic Building Conservation (2006) is that there has also been a noticeable reduction of and increased pressure upon archaeological expertise and staff within local authorities (also THA 2011, article 17). Reports show that in England there has been a 36% reduction in heritage staff between 2006-2017 and that this reduction is unequally spread across the different regions (HE et al 2017). This unequal pressurising at a national scale has been met with several reports advocating best practices in how to enable local authorities to streamline their archaeological and conservation services (Baker & Chitty 2002, 33, Grover 2003, Eydmann & Swanson 2005, EH et al 2009 & 2010a, 10). In addition, associations of heritage professionals, such as the Historic Environment Forum (and within it, the Heritage 2020 initiative) continue to advocate the worth of the historic environment to government in expectation of further restructuring of services provided by local authorities (HEF 2016). Furthermore, after reviews by Howell and Resedale (2014) and the Cultural White Paper (DCMS 2016), the newly established Historic England (previously English Heritage) has been called upon to seek ways in which they can support local authority services, including ways in which to maintain local authorities' databases in England (e.g. Historic Environment Records or HERs) (CifA 2017a, 7). However, it is currently acknowledged that these interventions are taking place during a period of uncertainty due to Britain's imminent withdrawal from the European Union (arguably a momentous act of devolution) which is expected to bring both challenges and opportunities for the national frameworks of the heritage sector (7).

The impact upon the notion of collaboration within this context must now be raised. The rise of local, alongside the shrinking of local authority capacity, essentially pressurises collaboration between local authorities and community groups or organisations undertaking heritage practices. The Localism Act has been criticised to pressurise community relationships and cause the “politicised subjectification of the charitable self” (Williams et al 2014, 2798; also Wettenhall 2009, Jacobs & Manzi 2013, McKee & Muir 2013, Bevan 2014, Bailey & Pill 2015, Clayton & Donovan 2016, Lennox 2016, 232-4). Such pressure is occurring within a recognition of withdrawn, passive and hibernating civic responsibility, potentially caused by fast-paced capitalism (although such a reductive reading has been critiqued) (Putnam 2001, Sennett 2012, 134-5). In addition, local councils have a historically bad reputation for generating collaboration with community groups, despite efforts to change this perception, as shown through studies by the Local Government Association (LGA 2005 & 2008). Historically, local council meetings have been associated to the ‘ladder of participation’—eight forms of participation (ranging from ‘non-participation’, ‘degrees of tokenism’ and ‘degrees of citizen power’) are seen on a spectrum; the lower down the rung you go, the risk of ‘consultation fatigue’ and frustration at authorities increases (Arnstein 1969, 219). Whether this negative perception remains outright, it has been highlighted that local government, and indeed national and international policies which advocate collaboration overoptimistically seek to include ‘everyone’ in heritage management (Logan 2008, 442-6, Harrison 2010a, Langfield et al 2010, Burström 2013, 106-8, Hauschildt 2015). Thus, the Localism Act is at risk of overlooking the practical and ethical difficulties emerging from a redistribution of responsibilities and expectations on who should be collaborating in local areas. Furthermore, local collaboration documents are frequently updated as documents within a network of other sources, resulting, contradictorily, in an exclusive ‘intertextuality’ (Waterton 2007, 75 & 2010a 13). Another criticism regarding such policy documents is the tendency to refer to the term local ‘community’ or ‘the public’ (the would-be collaborators) as a cohesive body of people. Many theorists have denounced the term ‘community’ or ‘public’ as being useful because it does not define the complicated ways in which groups identify themselves; the elastic meaning leads to the term being attributed to many different dynamics of ‘grouped’ people (grass roots and institutional, local,

national, global) some of which are in competition or in tension with one another (Elias & Scotson 1994, Mason 2000, Day 2006, Delanty 2009, Smith & Waterton 2011, 12, Perkin 2011, Perry 2014, Sayer 2014, 55). It is very easy (possibly inevitable) to short-hand an "imagined community" (Anderson 2006, 6), when discussing collaboration at a higher strategic level (i.e. when one has not yet met those sought for collaborative work). Therefore, in this research the term 'community groups' (a more general group of people) or 'community organisations' (to signify a group of people with a formal set of objectives –e.g. residents association, 'friends' group) is utilised rather than 'the community' to highlight the dangers of using rhetorical concepts when considering ways to collaborate (see Glossary).

In short, this section has contextualised the rise of local in heritage management in cities and the increasing responsibility that local people have for their heritage. Three key areas of heritage management in the UK facing these challenges are now summarised, with a fourth reviewed more extensively. In these examples, more pragmatic issues are reviewed, some of which more directly pertain to local collaborative relationships.

### 2.1.3 Examples of and issues in Collaborative Heritage Management

As summarised above, **designation** dictates the Listing of Buildings, Scheduled Ancient Monuments, Conservation Areas, and Areas of Archaeological Importance; each process is carried out by experts according to national criteria and which has historically been maintained by local authorities. For example, the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act acknowledged "the historic, architectural, traditional, artistic or archaeological interest attaching" to a structure (Section 61 AMAA Act, quoted in Breeze 1993, 45). Moreover, the listing of buildings protects tangible forms of architectural interest based on "art and techniques" among other facets (Suddards 1993, 78-9). Such knowledge, i.e. the archaeological significance of and information about designated assets, is seen to function as an "intercommunicating national-local network" (Baker & Shepherd 1993, 104) which is currently logged into database systems. But such practices are also considered to form a closed system of bureaucracy and that the interests of national designation criteria constrain the understanding of local situations (Grenville 1993, 132-3, Byrne 2008a, 153, Clifford 2010). However, recent initiatives which advocate more accessible processes of

designation and maintenance of heritage assets have been experimented with. For example, Historic England has introduced:

- the Local Listing initiative, specifically for local authorities to work with community groups in order to identify, celebrate and protect local heritage (HE 2016);
- the Enrich the List project, launched in 2016 which aims to encourage the public to make their contributions online to the 'List' of designated heritage assets (HE 2017b);
- A national survey of Buildings at Risk project wherein volunteers are trained to record buildings and assess their status (HE 2017c).

Local authorities, such as in Greater London and Leicester have also recruited volunteers as Heritage Wardens in order to position 'eyes on the ground' in areas of designated heritage. However, this initiative still has organisational teething problems, for example, the lack of transparency of the role to a wider public resulting in in situ disputes (What Do They Know 2016).

The issues of **planning development** sit hand in hand with the designation process (the latter informing the former). Planning applications from private owners of listed buildings or assets will be directed to local councils' planning officers and filtered to archaeological and conservation staff with any consultation of the changes extended to proximate residents. But within any larger-scale development, heritage must compete for attention alongside front line services and the ambitions (economic, social, environmental) by those involved in city planning and now in accordance with any Local Plans (explored more thoroughly in Chapter Three). These processes have been accused of being swayed by "place marketing strategies" on the part of developers and the local authority leading to the creation of unrealistic and inappropriate 'dreamscapes', which are often met with contests from a wider range of residents (Zukin 1992, quoted in Urry 1995, 21, While & Short 2010, 5, Taha 2014). The role of planners has historically been under scrutiny with questions of whether they have the "ability and willingness to represent the public interest" (Knox 1991, 204), and recently on a similar subject, others have posed the question of "how 'local' are local councils?" (Hauschildt 2015). Yet, constructive collaboration as part of planning has generated successful projects over several decades

(Ley 1993, Hayden 1997, Sanoff 2000, Selman 2004, Baches 2015, Planning for Real 2015, Yates 2015, MyFutureYork 2017a). Moreover, community archaeology has proved an inclusive method, wherein community groups excavate and research the history of sites about to be developed (Moser et al 2002, Symonds 2004, Atalay 2012). However, such interventions are criticised where there is no reflection of which 'community' is involved or any power-dynamics at play (Moshenska 2008, 51-2, Simpson 2008, 12-3, Neal & Roskams 2013, 150). Arguably, in any project there will always be room for further, more meaningful engagement: early onset involvement between institutions and 'grassroot' groups, continued partnerships with other relevant bodies, and the setting of viable agendas are recommended to this end (Selman 2004, 389).

Thirdly, as part of the process of planning, the **representation** of the historic environment of cities is undertaken by local authorities through the promotion of individual tourist attractions and the general promotion of cities to a wide (and potentially international) public through place branding (Gold & Ward 1994, Urry 1995, Urry & Larsen 2011). Again, there are criticisms against these practices for producing expertly-written master-narratives at the expense of more culturally diverse interpretations of the built environment (Taylor 1994, Jäger 2003, 117, Byrne 2008b, Hall 2008, 221-2, Harrison 2010a, 7-8, Lawrence 2010, 83-4, Clark 2014). It is clear there is opportunity here for residents to take part in this process in order to include alternative histories of their cities or create their own place brand (York Alternative History nd., Atkinson 2008, 385, Robertson 2008, 147, Braun et al 2013). Transitional projects which allow for diverse representation have been celebrated: in Trafalgar Square, London, the "Fourth Plinth", commissioned by then Mayor Boris Johnson, is filled by a different sculpture (or in fact by members of the public) on a temporary basis (Singh 2015). However, as Jenkins et al (2000) discusses, who decides what goes on the plinth is not a straight-forward process: it depends on the political meaningfulness of the public space, the politics of monumentalism/art, the general politics in vogue at the time, and the nature of consultation. However, Littler (2008) has criticised the notion of the short-lived, tokenistic projects as highlighted by the Archbishop of York's condemnation of the "saries, samosas and steel-band syndrome" in 2007, during which a clichéd celebration of black people took place in York (95). Indeed, more broadly, the engagement of local residents is entangled in the tensions between

class relations and minority groups (Tunbridge 2008a, 236-7 West 2010, 278). Thus, again, there is always a need for emerging best practices which can recognise and react to the specificity of collaborative contexts.

#### 2.1.4 Community Asset Transfers

At this point, I wish to detail more thoroughly a fourth process in local heritage management which highlights the efforts towards collaborative practices within a climate of reduction in local government capacity. This is the process of Community Asset Transfer (CAT) (and heritage asset transfer more specifically). CATs (wherein in leasehold and management of an asset is transferred from local councils to another party) is **not** a mechanism of the Localism Act but appears to serve the ethos of localism nonetheless (Boyd 2003, Aiken et al 2011, 5, Thorlby 2011, Historic England & Locality 2015, Schultz 2016, 56, Mutagh & Boland 2017, 3). Options for disposal can include transferring asset ownership or management to the private sector, charitable trusts or to community organisations, whilst new use can involve, for example, turning an old civic building into a cinema, business venue, or charitable centre. CATs can be considered as a parallel to the 'adaptive reuse' of historic assets and to support regeneration schemes in local areas: i.e. the Caistor Arts and Heritage Centre case study (Historic England & Locality 2015, 8-9). The ethos is also parallel to the Adopt-a-Monument schemes in Scotland; the clear distinction with CATs is that community organisations hold a lease to the asset.

Principally, whilst CAT is a highly evaluative process on the part of local authorities, the disposal of heritage assets can help them to reduce strain on their resources. The National Trust (NT) commissioned a report by Green Balance (NT 2006) which shows that a key motive attributing to 58% of heritage asset disposals was the inability to provide ongoing repair and maintenance work (64):

Table 1. Adapted from "Reasons for the disposal of heritage assets by local authorities", sample from 20 local authorities in England (NT 2006, 63)

<b>Reason for heritage asset disposal by local authorities</b>	<b>Recent Disposals</b>	<b>Future Disposals</b>
Asset in poor condition/LA unable to afford repair or maintenance: --(a) General	10	7
--(b) Maintenance liability problem particularly	29	6

--(c) Restoration to new use proposed	2	2
--(d) Specific cost of compliance with Disability Discrimination Act	0	3
New owners will have access to funds not available to local authorities	3	0
Private sector expected to have money/skills to tackle assets better	1	3
Property under-utilised, or service relocated/no longer needed	8	6
Specific aim to achieve public objectives rather than financial gain	4	2
Taking a capital receipt is most economic option	1	2
Raising capital for the purposes of the property being disposed of	3	5
Raising capital for other local purposes, i.e. financial gain	5	0
Development opportunity	3	5
Cost of the property exceeds its income	0	1
No suitable alternative use can be found (due to nature of property)	1	1
Museum to house chattels did not materialize	3	0

A more recent study demonstrates that reduced "maintenance cost" comprises 85% of disposal incentives (Schultz 2016, 30) or that the "reduction of service provision" comprises, again, 85% of disposal incentives (Power to Change 2016a, 17). But, alongside these finance-saving motives, developing policies had previously connected asset transfers to the cultivation of economic, social and environmental benefits in local areas, as shown in the timeline below:



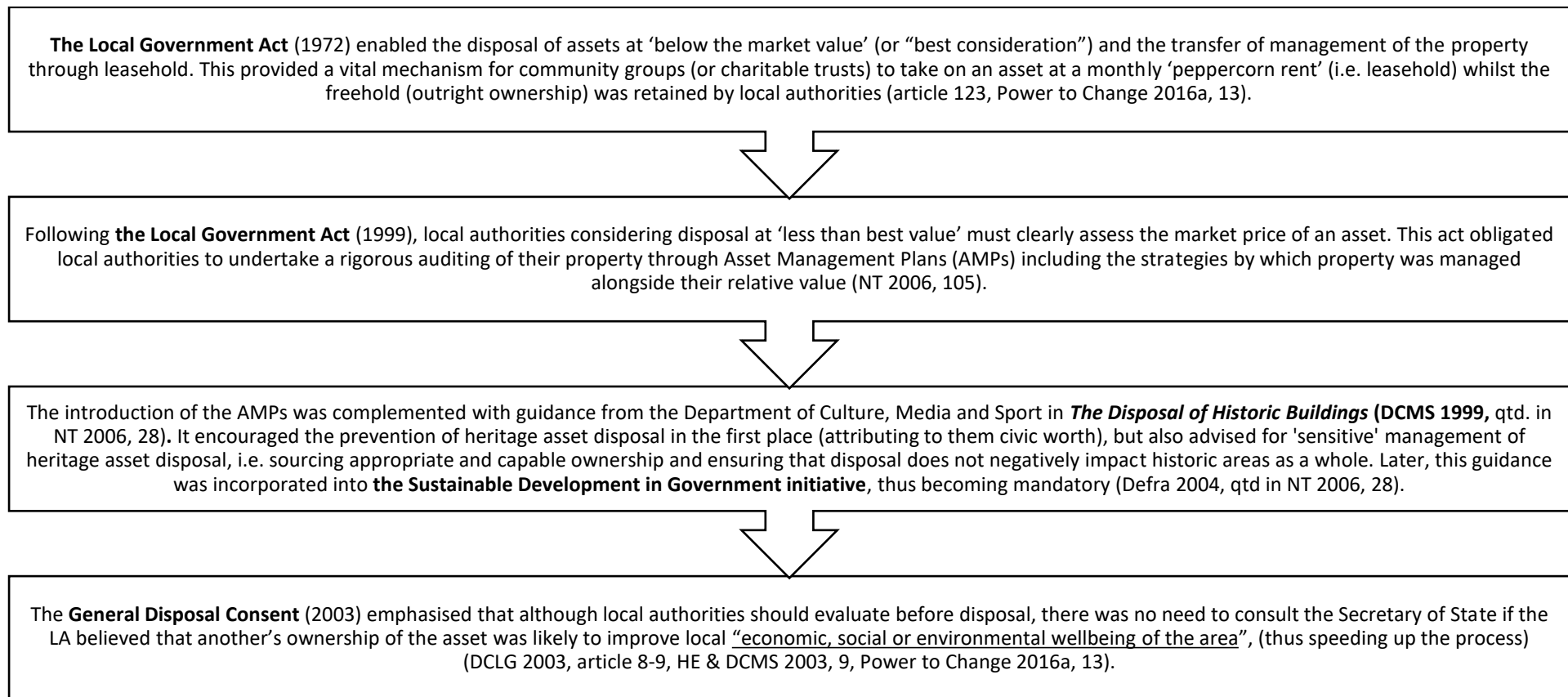


Figure 1. Timeline of policies impacting asset community transfer process

After the General Disposal Consent in 2003, English Heritage continued to provide guidance on heritage asset transfers and urged local authorities to balance the 'long-term' benefits of heritage asset management and the "crucial importance" of community value, which may contribute to non-financial, environmental, cultural and economic benefits (EH & DCMS 2003, 33 qtd in NT 2006, 54). The publication echoed the previous measures: whilst it encouraged retention of the heritage assets by local authorities (to retain the public role and civic character), if this was not possible it recommended that heritage asset disposal (at less than best value) should be achieved if appropriate ownership could be sourced (54).

In time, English Heritage, the Office for Government Commerce and the DCMS produced a new edition of the 'Disposal of Historic Assets' (EH et al 2010b). This refers directly to the Planning Policy Statement 5 in order to synchronise the historic environment as part of spatial planning and useful to the development of "sustainable places" (2). Within this version, community organisations and charitable trusts transfers were included as a viable option for disposal if appropriate; however, guidance to this aim was described as a "complex matter" and other bodies (such as the Architectural Heritage Fund) were recommended as sources of advice (21, section 9.4). (Guidance on disposal to community organisations and charitable trusts—including the benefit and disadvantages—could however, already be found in the independent Quirk review (published by the DCLG in 2007)).

Interestingly, CAT numbers are reported to be relatively low but were seen to be steadily increasing even before the 2011 Localism Act (Thorlby 2011, 4, Schultz 2016, 10). (Indeed, some have argued that the government was stimulated towards Localism policy by the successes of community ownership frameworks already in existence (Rolph 2017)). The Heritage Lottery Fund had made note of increased transfers since 2011 (2013) and subsequently they acted as a 'third wheel' of guidance and financial support alongside Locality and Historic England (see below). Locality has recently assessed the number of heritage CATs receiving funding from HLF (100/1000 transfers by local authorities in the last five years -these numbers peaked in 2016-17) and has urged HLF for further support

(Heritage Lottery Fund 2017, 4, Locality 2017a, see figure 3 below). There is also anticipation of CATs increasing between 2017- 2020 (Schultz 2016, 28).

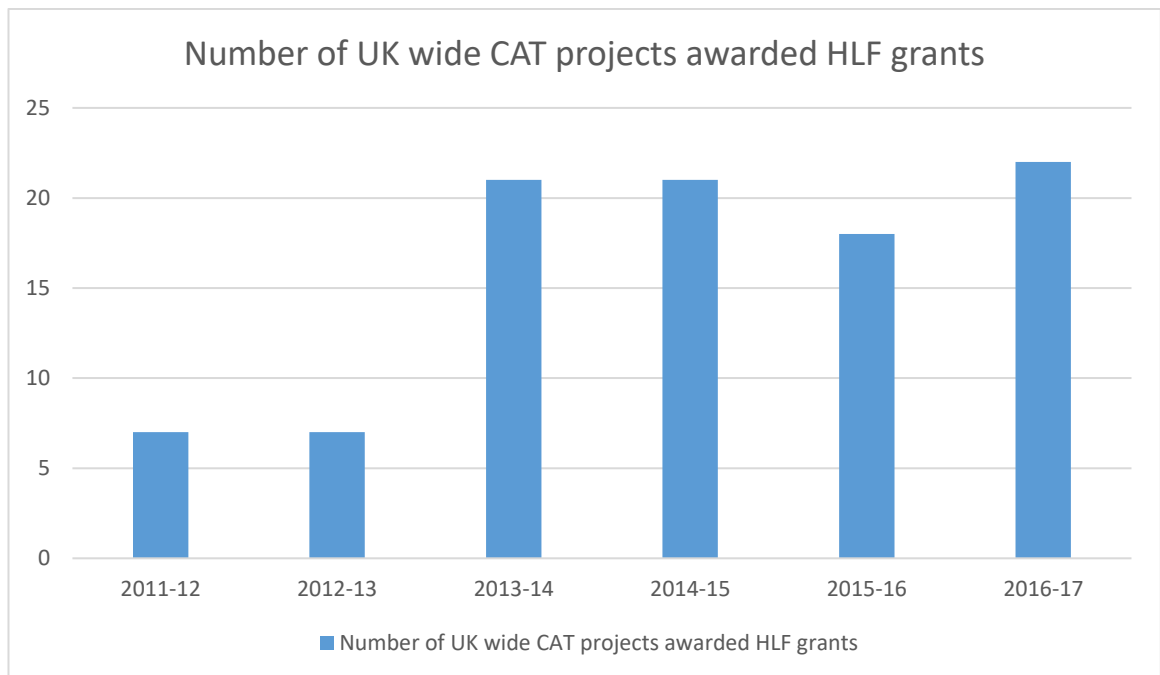


Figure 2. Chart adapted from “Number of Projects by Year” data by HLF (2017, 4).

Since the Localism Act Historic England, the Heritage Lottery Fund, Locality, Architectural Heritage Fund, the Prince's Regeneration Trust and the National Trust, have worked collaboratively to produce “The Pillars of the Community” in 2011 and again in 2015 (HE & Locality 2015). This report delivers pragmatic guidance for both local authorities and community organisations in recognition that CATs of heritage status could help community organisations “to take a more active role in their local area” (2015, ii). However, as one HE representative has emphasised:

The Pillars document is at pains not to promote asset transfer in all cases, only when the conditions are in place to make that transfer a success. To support that we hope our publication presents people (local authorities and community groups) with the information they need to make informed decisions

(Lloyd-James 2017).

Caution remains a key requisite for councils transferring assets. In order to determine the correct conditions, there are practical and ethical considerations which impact the essentially collaborative exercise of ‘transfer’ which I discuss now.

Recent studies show that general asset transfer to community organisations are met with barriers, held by both local authorities and community organisations. The most prominent include (from a local authority perspective) community organisations' credibility and ability to source funding (Power to Change 2016a, 32, Schultz 2016, 43). Moreover, in 2016, local authorities were given permission to spend the receipts from an asset transfer on local services, thus creating an incentive to sell assets to the highest bidder and not to community organisations (Local Government Lawyer 2016, Lloyd-James 2017). From the community organisations' perspective, there were concerns over a lack of consistent information between different local authority departments and an over-prioritisation of economic strategies (Schultz 2016, 43; see also Lennox 2016, 232). Another key challenge facing heritage asset disposal (uncovered by the National Trust report) was exclusion from councils' Asset Management Plans (AMPs). Of 70 responding local authorities, only 14 include 'heritage assets' within their online AMPs (NT 2006, 18). English Heritage and the Office of Government Commerce had previously identified AMPs as a useful tool in heritage asset management for local authorities (EH & OCG 2009, 6). More recently, Historic England were advised to promote the "use and condition of heritage assets within asset management plans" (Lloyd-James 2017) and subsequently provided a skeleton structure of heritage assets assessment in AMPs via a report by NPS Group (NPS 2015, 11-12). This strategy is thus advocated again in the most recent 'Managing Heritage Assets' guidelines (HE 2017d, 11). However, as AMPs are no longer a compulsory obligation for local authorities it may be that further implementation (and/or effective lobbying) is required to infiltrate this obvious route into local authority practice.

Ultimately, these practical concerns indicate that asset transfers are pragmatically difficult to undertake in terms of resources, commitment, and communication for both local authorities and community organisations (also Lennox 2016, 232, Blunkell 2017, 504). But broader issues manifest around the ownership of assets by community organisations, particularly surrounding the ambiguity between devolved stewardship and 'public entrepreneurialism' within the context of shrinking local authority resources (HE 2017d, 4). Such entrepreneurialism is important to acknowledge within the city context, where (particularly in light of the NPPF) the neoliberal aspect of places is increased, creating arenas for competing organisations (Lovering 2007, 358, Houghton et al 2013, 230-231,

Lord & Tewdwr-Jones 2014, 353-355). Bringing this issue to Localism means that localism mechanisms (Neighbourhood Planning, ACV etc.) are taking place in contexts exposed to forces of economic competition, potentially between community groups and organisations. Thus, CATs (if this means using historic spaces—listed pubs, post offices, parks—as venues for hire or attractions or other economic activities) will have to navigate “conflicts and compromises” in places (Lovering 2007, 358). There is little written on the economic and social impact that heritage asset disposals incur within places and their localities (possibly because of their low numbers) and this impact is even harder to pin down whilst the UK’s localism frameworks are still in fact being negotiated. For example, the current UK government is reviewing what successful devolution looks like (DCLG 2016, 7, paragraph 22); Locality and Power to Change have subsequently established the Future of Localism Commission (Locality 2017b & 2017c); and the Heritage Alliance is examining the processes of Assets of Community Value (THA 2017). Alongside these progressions, the impact of heritage is being considered within the turbulent political back-drop since Britain’s vote to leave the EU and the imbalanced socioeconomic divisions in places (particularly pertinent after the tragic fire of council flats known as the ‘Grenfell Fire’) (Hems 2016, 2-3, McClelland 2016, 91, Wooldridge 2016a & 2016b, Gardner & Harrison 2017). Thus, heritage asset transfers, with their potential to be both entrepreneurial and local, will undoubtedly coincide with such contemporary place-based issues. As such, a rosy-tinted view of localism cannot exist when complex forms of collaboration have to occur, not only between local authorities and wider community groups, but between community groups themselves.

This section has outlined several practices relevant to local authority management of heritage—designation, planning, representation and lastly, Community Asset Transfer. From the above discussion, evidently there is a mix of ethical, practical, and political challenges facing the collaborative management of historic environment in cities. These challenges include the increase of local in national policies and the reduction of local capacity, which subsequently pressurises collaborative heritage management between local authorities and community groups. The nature of place and concept of local has also been touched on within these contexts. In the following second section of this chapter I explore further the theoretical consequences of recognising local (as physical place) as

having a part to play within collaborative heritage management. Because of the frequency in theoretical discussions to highlight political narratives or hegemonic systems as a barrier to collaboration between official and unofficial definitions of heritage, I highlight the arguments put forward by Laura-Jane Smith, a key heritage theorist. Below, the application of her discursive arguments are shown to be significant to the diversification of heritage practices generally. However, where she has acknowledged that every day and situational contexts impact upon heritage practices is also discussed.

## **2.2 Uses of Authorised Heritage Discourse**

Smith's position draws from critical realism, within a strong epistemological paradigm: this places strength on the concept of powerful forces in the social world influencing or restricting events at local levels, the effects of which can be observed and thereafter can be interpreted by a researcher (Smith 2004, 58, Skrede & Hølleland 2018). Her position upholds that there no such thing as heritage but instead a "hegemonic discourse about heritage [...] reliant on power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts, and institutionalised in state cultural agencies and amenity societies" (Smith 2006, 11). The officialising discourse constructs "grand narratives of nation and class on the one hand, and technical expertise and aesthetic judgement on the other" (11). Furthermore, this 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' is reinforced and consequently recycled through the re-constitution of performances of heritage management (or a perpetual mimesis of practice) (3). To explore exactly how the AHD works throughout the management of heritage, she draws from theorist Michel Foucault (1977 & 2002) and his concept of 'governmentality' which Smith identifies here (2004, 9) as relating to the tools and processes of the governmental administration. Thus, the planning and heritage policies outlined above fall squarely into this definition. This approach is highly pertinent in countries where governments are considered less democratic, as De Cesari demonstrates in her account of the extreme "microprocesses of governing" within Palestine (2010, 626).

However, close attention shows that Smith's approach is not simply a case of identifying an institutional authority (i.e. government) which controls all definitions of heritage. She dismissed the question of whether discourse theory can account for everything and instead reiterated her position of critical realism, placing more autonomy on the

materiality of social relations that generate discourses (Smith 2006, 13-15; also Waterton 2007, 65). Smith has also acknowledged that the AHD cannot reduce social meaning entirely, for example: "Tourism may have more deeply layered or nuanced cultural and social meaning [...] than its characterisation as a leisure activity and economic industry often allows" (5). This point has been supported by Waterton, who recognised that interaction with heritage cannot be reduced to the 'mindless' following of institutional or economically constructed rules (2010a, 17). Essentially, we are returned to the first issue of how far official definitions of heritage influence unofficial definitions and vice versa discussed above (wherein, I posited a dialectical relationship). Indeed, Smith already acknowledged the oppositional discourses stemming from the undercurrents of multiple 'unofficial' heritages and furthermore recognised that the affect these groups have on heritage (in spite of hegemonies) was under-examined (2004, 64). But it is when discussing the influence of social relations that Smith's argument becomes more complex in its position.

Whilst maintaining an epistemological position, Smith has woven into her argument considerations of the social that are more ontological in understanding and essentially recognised that experiential 'being' and everyday existing has an impact on the creation of a social world. While Smith discussed Bhaskar's view on the materiality of social relations, she brought to fore the material consequences of social relations and stated that her focus on:

[...] "how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexpected interaction and sensuous dispositions"

(Lorimer qtd. in Smith 2006, 13).

Here Smith illustrated the importance of everyday practice within heritage management. Therefore, a challenge emerges in perceiving how an external discourse like AHD manifests alongside these highly meaningful, emotive and serendipitous experiences, which have been described as "commingling" elsewhere (Crouch 2010 & 2015). The quote by Lorimer is later highlighted by Waterton and Watson (2015a, 29) as a key way of

critically engaging beyond representational (static observed forms of evidence) readings of heritage practices. And as such, I wish to tease out further how commingling takes place in place. Smith's argument does not extend to a material account of place (or heritage). Although she acknowledged that the "brute physicality of heritage places elicits an emotional response in people" (77) she made it clear that "physical object or place is entirely meaningless without the cultural processes that occur at them" (2006, 265). For Smith, material place is not the inherent value holder. As a consequence, heritage (in the form of physical place), becomes the product of senses: she has since upheld the importance of human social interactions and emotions that attribute values to it (Campbell & Smith 2016, 443). However, whilst acknowledging Skrede & Hølleland's recent appraisal of Smith's work towards critical realism in heritage research (2018), I argue alternatively that the embodied encounters, emotions and everyday routines should be further examined in relationship to physical place. Essentially, Smith's dismissal of the autonomy of physical place ignores the worth of philosophical standpoints in understanding humankind's relationship with environments.

Essentially, from this reading of Smith's work it is possible to perceive the shades of grey between an idea of heritage being constituted by external discourses (with both streams of authoritative official knowledge and countering unofficial knowledge) and the everyday manifestations of practice between individuals and groups of people in place. If practices can be understood further in ontological terms (as Smith does in fact touch on) then absolute dependence on the AHD—which draws from critical realism and epistemology—is reductive. In considering the management of heritage within certain contexts (i.e. that of a city) it would be productive to apply AHD as helpfully aligned towards critical heritage studies. However, there is a need to bring it to bear alongside other more ontological understandings of local and places.

### **2.3 Ontological Language**

With Smith's work, emphasis is placed on a hegemonic Authorised Heritage Discourse which restricts definitions of heritage, rendering an official narrative. However, the unaccounted-for relationship between a policy-orientated AHD and embodied shared experiences suggests that an approach is required which can take account of how people



'get together' and collaborate in certain settings. So whilst AHD is useful for highlighting unfair trends in heritage management, we must also more fully consider heritage management in the everyday, localised environments. In outlining a position alongside other ontological accounts of diverse heritage practices (e.g. Harrison & Rose 2010), the following theoretical discussion explores philosophies which account for the relationship between discourse (as language) and the built historic environment as an arena for collaboration.

To attend to the relationship between the built environment and language, it must be emphasised that the relationship is not new but ancient:

[...] "Got to, let us go down and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech."

So the Lord scattered them abroad from there over the face of all the earth, and they ceased building the city

(Genesis, The English Bible 2012, 34-5).

The story of the Tower of Babel, illustrates a powerful and lasting metaphor which conveys the legacy of human endeavour to aspire to build through absolute collaboration. Building together depends on a shared language or 'dialogue' or "that world of talk which makes an open social space, where discussion can take an unforeseen direction" (Sennett 2012, 23, qtd in Birch et al 2017, 225). The efforts towards the Tower of Babel are thwarted when 'jumbled' language inevitably creates barriers between people (with physical consequences). Notably, the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889 –1951) particularly dealt with the issues of language barriers within an ontological context. Wittgenstein's first major work, 'Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus', is focused on issues of language and shared understanding. In this he conceived of ordinary language as being a confusion between separate individuals that needed to be tidied up into logical and factual statements to avoid "fundamental confusions" ([1921] 2001, 15). As a result, sharing truths through language alone is problematic in terms of clarity and indeed, elsewhere he dismissed the act of conveying feelings between individuals as perpetually leading to "nonsense" (Livingstone 2015). Yet, later in his career Wittgenstein developed his position

within 'Philosophical Investigations'. Rather than deconstructing the components of language into logical equations, Wittgenstein acknowledged the importance of the contexts of how we share information and collaborate (1958, 38 & 46). He named these contexts as "language-games", and a multiplicity of games exist changing the manner in which language is conveyed: for example "Giving orders", "Reporting an event", and "Play acting" (11-2). Wittgenstein's ontological approach to language can be further accentuated within cities. Indeed, Wittgenstein explained language as an "ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares" (Wittgenstein 1958, 8) but more importantly, he highlighted the "spatial and temporal phenomenon of language" (47). Essentially, language and therefore knowledge is physically shaped by games and rules in time and space. This is suggested, as I take it, in his early statement that the "'language-game'" [...] is a form of life" (11). And, like within cities, Wittgenstein upheld language-games as a collective—thus collaborative—way of living.

Essentially, that language-games are described as framed spatially and temporally is particularly important. For this next discussion, language and place are further connected through phenomenological arguments, via the work of Martin Heidegger.

## **2.4 The Ontology of Place**

The similarities between Ludwig Wittgenstein's works and Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), have been explored in relation to sharing information and language (Standish 1992, Livingstone 2015). But Heidegger's early works have contributed much more to the 'spatial and temporal' aspects of the social world through his handling of phenomenology, which focuses on how being in places impacts knowing (Inwood 1997, 4). Phenomenology has noticeably impacted upon archaeological theory. In the 1980-90s, a 'post-processualist' stance had emerged, which rejected the objective examination of material remains and landscapes (which could lead to reductive social meta-narratives) and began to reflectively analyse embodied archaeological interpretations (or readings) of past landscapes (Hodder & Hutson 2003, 106-120, Shanks 2009, 137, Johnson 2010). A researcher taking a phenomenological approach interpreted landscape not simply as a useful set-of-resources, or as a backdrop to social scenes but as places in which past peoples' experienced everyday with their bodies (Tilley 2004, 28-9). For instance, whilst in the field,

archaeologists undertaking a phenomenological survey would take their eyes away from any map in an attempt to recreate a bodily knowledge of the environment (Johnson 2010, 117-118, O'Leary 2011). Criticisms against phenomenological archaeology highlighted that its interpretative practice failed to account for its claims to understand the past exactly as ancient peoples would have experienced it, thus signalling a potential "slide into relativism" (Smith 2004, 48), (but as Vis has contested, such a concern can lead to an overt and unhelpful obligation towards objective empiricism or the extrapolation of scientific evidence (2009, 11)). Acknowledging the lines drawn between understanding 'interpretative' (experienced) knowledge and 'objective' (observed) knowledge (see Waterton 2007, 62-63, Ablett & Dyer 2009, 218) I maintain that phenomenological understandings of the historic built environment and also collaborative work occurring within it, can be to the benefit of the management of heritage in cities for the following reasons.

This is because Heidegger's influence on phenomenology is integral in bringing language and humanity's experience within place together, whilst acknowledging different interpretative positions (Ablett & Dyer 2009, 218). As Heidegger put forward in his key text 'Being and Time' how different disciplines (such as science or arts) "demarcate" knowledge into specific categories using different languages ([1927] 2001, 29). These terrains of knowledge overlap with an individual's everyday interaction with their environments and immediate surroundings (49; also Seamon 2000, Robinson 2012, 23). He referred to such individuals as the 'Dasein', a self-conscious being who is concerned with their own temporal existence, and who, through their life undertakes a proximate familiarity with their environment (referred to as Being-in-the-world) (Heidegger [1927] 2001, 68 & 140). This individual defines themselves through this familiarity and in turn reconstructs their environment, for example: "People's 'creation' of space provides them with roots—their homes and localities becoming biographies of that creation" (Knox 2005, 1). But crucially, the experience of 'being-in-the-world', being close to it, can change for different persons: "What is ready-to-hand in the environment is certainly not present-at-hand for an external observer exempt from Dasein" (Heidegger [1927] 2001, 140). Heidegger made clear that the external observer or 'surveyor of space' will not experience the "involvement-character" of place (147) as a Dasein would. The difference, alongside the issue that

language with “the They” can be rendered “inauthentic” (199), leads us to the concept of a Heideggerian “ontological difference” (Vail 1972) between individuals. We are, at this point, left (rather negatively) thinking about differences between individuals and inevitable barriers between people who interact with (and talk about place) in different ways (e.g. planners, residents, tourists, heritage experts and local authority practitioners). However, Heidegger’s later work developed to conceive of how the experience of being-in-the-world can be shared beyond individual experiences, leading to collaboration.

Notably, in a later lecture— ‘Building, Dwelling, Thinking’ ([1951] 1993) Heidegger indicates a development in his thinking towards a more collective experience of living in place (Standish 1992, 24). ‘Dwelling’ is a highly semantic term which signifies the relationship between humans and the world; it is through dwelling (in villages, towns, and cities) that buildings are cultivated and preserved as part of collective, everyday action.

The spaces through which we go daily are provided for by locales, their essence is grounded in things of the types of buildings. If we pay heed to these relations between locales and spaces, between spaces and space, we get a clue to help us in the thinking of the relation of man and space

(Heidegger [1951] 1993, 358).

Here I must now pinpoint my understanding between another binary, between ‘space’ and ‘place’—the latter I attribute to local. (Note: I am not differentiating between local, locale and locality, acknowledging only that local can also mean a person and a management system, as well as a place – see Glossary.) But, is there a real divide between a ‘purely physical’ space and ‘social’ place (where social things happen), as proposed by cultural geographer Creswell (2004, 8-9)? If we consider Smith’s work again, she attributes ‘lack of meaning’ to places if cultural processes (social relations among people) do not occur at them. On this very issue, Tilley and Ingold have debated whether the ‘materiality’ of the physical world should be accounted for over and above the social (Tilley 2007, Ingold 2007). Tilley maintained that a material’s ‘materiality’ (like place) can and should be considered within the human social world; within its historical social ‘context’ (2007, 17). However, Ingold took issue in the a posteriori use of Tilley’s method, i.e. compounding specific materials into the binaries of ‘human/world’ or ‘culture/nature’ (2007, 14). For

Ingold, Tilley's phenomenological method exacerbated the divide between the social and physical worlds, which should instead be brought together by notions of practised action (including that of memory) (14). Interestingly, this debate essentially reflects that the first sticking point I highlighted at the beginning of this chapter: i.e. how far can tangible understandings of the historic environment can be placed over the more social intangible understandings of it and vice-versa.

I posit that this binary concerning 'space' and 'place' can be easily complicated using Heidegger's later approach. In his understanding of dwelling, Heidegger posited that physical and social place can be conceived as an "essence of locales" a 'gathering' together of purpose, people, natural materials and spiritual elements (referred to here as "the fourfold") ([1951] 1993, 351). The gathering of the fourfold is very useful for considering how cities are experienced, and can be enhanced if considered alongside Ingold's position: he declares that the social and the physical world are not divisible, but immersive:

the terrains of the imagination and the physical environment, far from existing on distinct ontological levels, run into one another to the extent of being barely distinguishable

(Ingold 2007, 15).

Thus, there is no such thing as pure space, it is rather that places exist as the physical environment and their qualities become known, or "familiar" to refer to Heidegger, and then evolve as result of demarcations created by our social imagination. This pinpoints specifically my understanding of local. Local consists of places where certain physical qualities have become familiar to people, either visually or through action, through continuously interaction (such as walking and commuting). This familiarisation gradually reinforces demarcations as "pathways" (both individual and collective) which connect other places together as a tangled "meshwork" (Ingold 2008b, 1807). Importantly, pathways consist of the navigation of both physical and social terrains—and in the instance of knowing a place it becomes that place. Consequently, the gathering of the fourfold, the tangle between physical and social terrain, is a useful concept to bring light to heritage practices and has indeed been applied in other disciplines. For example, the

place-making movement that rose in the 1960s, “pays close attention to the myriad ways in which the physical, social, ecological, cultural, and even spiritual qualities of a place are intimately intertwined” (Project for Public Spaces 2009; also Jacobs 1961, 19-21, Whyte 1980, 10-14). In addition, the concept of the fourfold can be linked to the term *genius loci*—spirit of place—which has been used by planning-phenomenologist Norberg-Schulz (1980) and other urban designers, who applied Heidegger’s theories to stress the importance of building with acute respect to local places and dwelling (Sime 1986, 49, Jivén & Larkham 2003, 68, Welter 2003, 112, Knox 2005, 1-2). The combined social-spatial “essence of locales” can inform understandings of the attachment to places, or ‘sense of place’ within heritage management (Johnston 1992, 4, Graham et al 2009, 3, Madgin et al 2017, 4).

However, such methodologies are still emerging in the sector and acquiring researchable data, which can reveal different experiences of place through language, towards increased collaboration remains a challenge. This challenge remains because there is still the prevailing issue of language-games which impact the collaborative management of places. For instance, Whyte the place-maker took three years to successfully communicate his ideas on city planning to councils before they were adopted into practice (1980, 15). There are other issues beyond language which impede collaboration. If it were simply a case of language issues, Heidegger’s concept of a linguistic “Übergang”, or “cross over, go over, venture over in the sense of adventure” (Powell 2013, 7) could be more pragmatically applied to ensure collaboration in official heritage management. To Heidegger, poetry is a ‘cross over’ and its purpose is not about information-transference but conveying larger and ‘multiple meanings’ or “an ‘inexhaustibly’ large ‘space of [semantic] vibration’” (Young 2000, 195). However, unfortunately poetry has not so far been the answer to collaborative heritage management undoubtedly due to the prominence of certain language-games (for example we do not write poetical planning applications, although see: Grenville 2007, 451-2, Ablett & Dyer 2009, 219)). Essentially, there are further barriers to collaboration and this must be discussed in terms of ontological and also social differences.

This section has laid out a position on the concept of place, local (locale and locality) and the relationship between social and physical terrains. However, there is more to be

discussed in terms of difference', the barriers of language and ways to acknowledge these differences without letting them hinder collaboration.

## 2.5 Social Difference & Place

Ontological difference between individuals, evident in language and experienced in place, requires further examination. On the one hand, for both Wittgenstein and Heidegger, there is room for hope for sharing different experiences of place, towards collaboration, through playing language-games or through poetry. On the other, the absence in phenomenological theory of explanations of social differences as influencing collaboration—racial, class, age, gender, sexual, and religious—has been criticised (Bourdieu 1990, qtd in Moores 2012, 60). Heidegger's stance has been particularly interrogated due to his, since regretted, affiliation with the Nazi Party (Peet 1998, qtd in Wollan 2003, 38). The consequences of social difference on collaborative practices in place is more deeply examined by poststructuralist and postmodern theories, which developed both Wittgenstein's and Heidegger's work.

Notably, Wittgenstein's 'language-games' have structured postmodernist accounts of difference, for example, Lyotard explains language-games as divisible 'clouds', enveloping us at different levels in society and resulting in 'permeable' fogs of difference (1984, xxiv; also Johannessen 1988). As a result, the concept of a discursive "meta-narrative"—a unitary authoritative cloud—is fully dismissed; there are instead many different clouds and language-games in society (Harvey 1990, 46). Language can be seen as a 'boundary making' exercise within society, reiterating differences between and by different groups, for example, politician's countless speeches to represent "working classes" (Bourdieu 1983a, 246, Delanty 2009, 153). Particularly in social sciences, studies tend to attribute difference to what is referred to as 'social capital' or 'distinction' (Bourdieu 1984, Barber 2013, 103). However, such divisions of social difference do not necessarily restrict collaboration outright. Richard Sennett has suggested that in modern society, some are "bent on reducing the anxieties which differences can inspire" leading to a homogenisation of society and reduced ability to cooperate with others (2012, 8; also Bourdieu 1990, 137). Moreover, difference is more complex than an acknowledgement of demarcations between people (e.g. I am/you are black/white/richer/poorer/male/female/

blond/brunette/fat/thin/old/young). Such binaries are not static, in fact they “are products of history, subject to being transformed, with more or less difficulty, by history” (Bourdieu 1983a, 248). Overcoming difference, one has to take a new stance on the binaries in our language. As such difference—via *différance*—is not static but:

“a rigorous and renewed analysis of the value of presence, of presence of self or to others [...] *Différance* is ‘to be conceived’ [...] As a strange ‘logic’ that brings together identity and difference, differing and deferring, repetition and otherness, *différance* is a ping pong ball you can never follow”

(Derrida 2000, 534, qtd in Royle 2003, 79-80).

Difference is never an ‘end’ point but part of a chain of understanding selfness and otherness at various points in time—this can include the binaries I listed above but essentially social difference is an ever-growing list of distinctions. If differences are ever-emerging then the ever-seeking of common ground alongside ongoing recognition of difference is key to collaborative efforts.

However, whilst it is important to consider the emergent nature of differences, such a standpoint easily bypasses the importance of difference within a key moment in time. Social theorist Anthony Giddens argued Derrida discarded the difference of present to past and future ones: he was instead more interested in Wittgenstein’s conception that knowing a language-game can assist in participating in the different “forms of life” in specific times and also places (1979, 36). Importantly, physical place has important links to the notion of social difference. That “spatial practices are concretised over time in the built environment” (Lefebvre 1991 qtd in Urry 1995, 25) can be attributed to the language-games of those who create the built environment (e.g. architects, city planners, heritage regeneration experts, or place-makers) and the everyday interaction within places thereafter by the ‘public’ (e.g. residents, children, policemen, students, tourists, or taxi drivers.) This may not necessarily lead to a Foucauldian concept of place where those in authority shape practice as is argued by Kuper (2003, 258-9) and Rabinow (2003, 358). Instead, different people can appropriate and adapt place to their own notions of identity, to create unofficial connections within official places (a pertinent example is with immigrants in new countries) (De Certeau 1988, qtd in Vis 2009, 36, Buciek & Juul 2008,



111). But because authorities are heavily involved in the shaping of places, any collaboration between local authorities and community groups must overcome a variety of social differences prevalent in context.

Indeed, for Giddens, overcoming difference towards collaboration had to be ontologically comprised in place and with humans who are reflective of their embodied interactions (Giddens 1984, 34). Time, space and agency are key notions in Giddens' structuration theory, with locale comprising, not as a passive back-drop but the active setting for interaction and social change from which reflective actors draw on order to "warrant and regularise what they do" (Giddens qtd in Tucker 1998, 87; also Giddens 1979, 207-9). Moreover, Harvey has considered how group activism and collaboration forms as "patches" of locally-based determinism (1990, 46) which can be enacted in "spaces of hope" and more specifically "theatres of thought and action" (Harvey 2000, 234, also Giddens 1984, 118 qtd in Grenville 2015, 47). This is the main point of this chapter; to essentially emphasise the physical and social aspects of locales which are key to collaboration, such as town halls, guildhalls (Giles 2000), plazas and market-places (Richardson 2003, Koch & Latham 2011). Being-in-the-world, being in these places and to explore difference is an embodied or 'flesh bound' experience (Levinas 2008, 75). For example, within a physical handshake lies: "the common act of feeling and being felt'. [...]it is always that knowledge of the alter ego that breaks egological isolation" (2008, 76, original emphasis). Levinas also explained differences as both constituting the world and interconnected by being part of the world (80); thus, knowing another's difference is much better than 'indifference' and can support any wish towards common good (98). Such embodied social relations are important, as Smith maintains (Campbell & Smith 2016). Following Giddens and Harvey however, there is a need to give equal weight to the location of such interaction and to consider how it is immersive with the embodied and language we use to collaborate. This is raised by the work of Miles and Gibson who are concerned with a failure in cultural practice to recognise "everyday participation as a situated process" and how "cultural practices and relations give meaning to, are impacted by, and shape the material spaces, environments and institutions in, and through, which they occur" (2017, 1).

How these arguments bear on heritage management is important. That heritage management is usually carried out in the UK by the 'white middle classes' (in either paid or voluntary roles) has long been recognised and indeed, class and racial differences or other exclusions does remain as important today as ever (Smith et al 2011, 2, Graham et al 2016, 41-2; also Hanley 2016). Grenville focuses on these issues and considers the practices of planners, heritage bodies, local councils, practitioners and other campaigners as being driven by specific "ontological insecurities"—a concern of loss (social, economic etc.) resulting in development that either detrimentally impacts upon or unhelpfully valorises the historic environment (for example, spending budgets on museums where better housing is needed) (2007 & 2015, 57). However, whilst focusing on these psychological motives, her attention could more fully account for how conservation activities are ontologically comprised in time and space themselves, by distinctive groups of "real people in real places" (Kraus 2008, 427-32). Burström has recognised the importance for heritage practitioners and community groups to hold in situ dialogue or "two way" communication (2013, 102). He also recognises that effective communication skills, such as in a meeting, are not necessarily held by all, which could lead to social biases (difference) if efforts to create collaborative places are not provided (105; also Pendlebury et al 2004, 23-24).

In short, social differences take an effort to acknowledge in situ. However, obviously we are not always face-to-face, in situ with the people we aim to collaborate with. We reside in vastly-structured fields across the globe and time-zones, that is the basic characteristic of hyper-modernity (Tucker 1998, 88, Rantanen 2005). At this point, collaboration beyond places, and indeed through specific language-games using media, I now discuss.

## **2.6 Media and the City**

Media is a wide term for numerous graphic materials (Perry 2007, 1) which can impact the way in which place is encountered for example: "writing, architectural designs, paintings, guide books, literary texts, films, postcards, advertisements, music, travel patterns, photographs" (Urry 1995, 30). There are (at least) three reasons why media and particularly cities as places must be associated. Firstly, because cities can be seen as visual phenomena which people can look at (in an 'eye-to-place' sense). Secondly, phenomenological

arguments show that visual media can be situated statically **in place**, e.g. signs or billboards, which influence the way cities are seen. And thirdly, because media can also be **of place** (i.e. captured in images, paintings, photographs) and therefore transcend it.

Let's first consider how the city is itself a visual phenomenon, a 'thing' seen, and the consequences of such thinking. Theoretical work on this area has been provided by the writer and literary critic Walter Benjamin, who, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, produced a number of 'portraits' or Denkbilders (thought-images) of cities such as Berlin, Paris, Bergen and Moscow (Gilloch 1996, 3). In these semi-ethnographic 'sketches' Benjamin hunted for a visual "Urphenomen", a 'clue' that belonged to the city and brought together "significance and appearance, word and thing, idea and experience" (Arendt 1992, 17). Underpinning this was Benjamin's belief that the urban environment was created as a reaction to and in turn restructured human behaviour (Gilloch 1996, 5). For him, this meant that the city was reflected: "'in thousands of eyes, in thousands of objects'" (Benjamin, qtd in Gilloch 1996, 6). Landscape and city-scape as aesthetic phenomena have both been discussed by visual and heritage theorists and geographers (Harvey 1990 cited in Schwartz & Ryan 2003, 6, Urry 2007a, 189, McDowell 2008, 39-40). And researchers have since evoked Benjamin's work when discussing the changing of aesthetics or rebranding of city-scapes: they recognise this political process as the assimilation of visual "architectural codes" in buildings, the production of city-scape designs (Pusca 2010, Thompson 2010, 56; also Peel & Lloyd 2008, Dunn et al 2014). The view of the city is captured through the eyes of the traversing-pedestrian, the flâneur, a sight-seeing role Benjamin exercised, developed from the work of Baudelaire (Arendt 1992, 18). Walking by foot at the ground level and seeing cities proffers a visual-phenomenological connection (Ingold 2004, 2010 & 2011b, 313-314, Pink 2008 & 2011, 14) which in turn can also uncover how different bodies experience and see(k) place (Degen & Rose 2012, 3275, Rosenberg 2012, 131), such as through the quest for the centre of places (Cohen 1979) or everyday residential interaction (Ennen 2000). And walking at this ground level, the visual elements of cities emerge more easily through such things as interpretation boards or street signs.

And so this brings us to consider media that is **in place** via phenomenological arguments. Returning to Heidegger, we can deconstruct the term phenomenology into its two

linguistic segments; 'phenomena' and 'logos'. He first describes phenomena as revealing, making visible, a thing announcing itself, or indeed, announcing another thing ([1927] 2001, 49-55). In this vein, individuals come across 'signs' (phenomena) which reveal important information in place: "We find such signs in signposts, boundary stones" (108). These signs are useful because of their 'readiness-at-hand and their proximity' (113-114). Different static signs—a public toilet sign, a historic plaque, an attraction pointer sign, interpretation signs and a road sign—reveal specific kinds of dwelling within a place (living, working, and visiting). And Heidegger acknowledges, these are often simply beheld for their 'revealing job' and hence become ordinary (191).

Such signs are "visual background noise" unless they are disrupted in some way, which can be read as political intervention or activism (Rosenberg 2012, 142). So, if these static signs were taken away, place may undergo a loss of wayfinding and a loss of perceived concern or safeguarding (or even indicate more political tactics such as place concealments during wartime). More specifically, interpretation boards for heritage sites possess the ability to reveal place's pastness in a phenomenological manner, as recognised in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century by Freedman Tilden ([1957] 2007; also Stewart et al 1998, 257, Uzzell 1998, 1). Ablett and Dyer (2009) have highlighted that Heidegger's work is compatible with the Tilden's approach because the latter's form of interpretation reveals place as part of an emergent process of knowledge gain in place (which sometimes can be poetical) (219). Importantly, they also suggested an extension of Heidegger's understanding to include Gadamer's understanding of social difference and 'traditions' of or 'prejudices' towards place (226). Thus, interpretation signs located within the historic environment can reveal the ways that place is managed by others and for others who have different requirements of place and thus reiterate certain social differences.

Moving on, media can also be **of place**. Logos is understood to be an ongoing "discursive communication" which "makes manifest what it is talking about and thus makes this accessible to the other party" (Heidegger [1927] 2001, 56), essentially 'information sharing'. Such media is made accessible because it manifests as more fluid, ephemeral forms of communication—such as through newspapers and social media sites—which are connected to specific kinds of material and mobile technology (Urry 2007b). When

discussing such technology, Heidegger charges it with disrupting locality, the rooted aspect of place and pushes humanity: "towards the quest of remoteness" ([1927] 2001, 140); "Dasein has so expanded its everyday environment that it has accomplished a de-severance of the 'world'" (140). A very similar argument is present in Walter Benjamin's notable work "Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction", which focuses on the movement of media in bringing places from their original location:

Above all, it enables the original to meet the beholder halfway, be it in the form of a photograph or a phonograph record. The cathedral leaves its locale to be received in the studio of a lover of art; the choral production, performed in an auditorium or in the open air, resounds in the drawing room

(Benjamin 2008, 6).

In his focus on the mobilisations of media, Benjamin also discussed that the explosion of artworks, filmworks, or photoworks across time and space shrinks the 'aura' of the original object, fracturing its uniqueness into a "multiplicity of incidences", leading to a "liquidation of the value of tradition in the cultural heritage" (7-8, original emphasis). Because such media can supersede space, it can also supersede time. Media essentially has 'velocity', that is, movement away from an original source in a short amount of time. This has an impact upon social interaction and collaboration. Notably, herein lies a point where Giddens and Harvey idea of social spaces diverge (discussed in the section above). As Rantanen explains, Giddens believed globalization, telecommunication and media 'stretched' social relations across time and space, whereas the Harvey considered them to be shrunk and therefore made more robust because there is 'less-time and space' in order to reach out to someone (2005, 47). In my view, both shrinkage and stretching can occur at different times and in different contexts. We should consider media's impact on social interaction in terms of 'where it ends up', including those times spent walking down a street with one's nose to a phone or reading a poster advertising a political rally stuck to a wall. The velocity of media has raised concern regarding the loss of authenticity of cultural heritage, for example, tourists experience place through guidebooks, leading to the attachment of wide expansions of place through mobilised symbols, without having experienced the place first-hand (Tuan 1977, 18; also Malpas 2008a & 2008b). However,

others have seen the potential for such media to positively enhance (or at least change) experience (and indeed, have discussed that Benjamin shared the view the mass media can be lead to social action) (Graves-Brown 2013a, Morgan 2015, Perry 2016; also Walsh 2007). Furthermore, it is argued that the weirdness of digital, visual replications of cultural heritage can not only encourage a new authentic engagement with the past, but that this experience encourages collaboration beyond social differences (Jeffrey 2015). The use of mixed-media:

open[s] up new ways of exploring and articulating a community's relations with the physical and social settings of the heritage, thereby enabling a form of social production of heritage as the locus of our sense of place

(Giaccardi & Palen 2008, 282).

This is an optimistic standpoint. But because media are now seen to be pervasively embedding the social world, there are also more complex critiques of them (Banks 2007, 40, Rose 2012, xviii).

It has been noted that visual media, particularly photography, from an early stage built on assumptions of truth and ideas of evidence or even of a universal language beyond words (Arago 1980, Daguerre 1980, 13, De Zayas 1980, 129, Sekula 1981, 18 & 1989, 16). This assumption has been critiqued because media is produced in specific contexts and indeed, looked at in specific contexts (Berger 1973, 8, Tagg 1988, 61). Particularly with photography, it is possible to predetermine visuals because the framed edges of an image can reveal place in certain ways: photographers materially control visual perspectives by shrinking focus and enabling alterations to be made (Cheung 2010, 259-262). Essentially, in practice media production and consumption is formed by different intellectual fields (Bourdieu 1983b). In recognition of this, archaeologists are calling for increased reflexivity into the use of media in disseminating knowledge about the past within and without the sector (Copeland 2004, Mapùnda & Lane 2004, Merriman 2004, Schadla-Hall 2006, Bevan 2011, Moshenska & Schadla-Hall 2011, Bonacchi 2012). For example, in academic research, the assumption that media (such as photographs, diagrams and illustrations) offer infallible evidence has been questioned (Shanks 1997, Bohrer 2005) and unethical presentations of past (and current) cultures through media have been scrutinised (Perry

2009, 401, Perry & Marion 2010, 97). Media, such as newspapers or television, have long had the potential to be used as a tool for public engagement and raising the profile of archaeological sites or historic buildings, (Grenville & Ritchie 2005, 221, Moshenska & Shadla-Hall 2011) but it also has been recognised that the academic, professionals and the press operate within their own divisions of practice (Hills 1993, 222). Within both online and analogue publications geared towards attracting the public's attention, archaeologists have become aware some works are sensationalist, over simplistic, inaccurate, or potentially created without due consideration to their audiences (Clack & Brittain 2009, 30, Richardson 2012 & 2014). On more pragmatic terms, creators of both analogue and digital media must meet high expectations and basic etiquette (McDavid 2004, 74, Chitty 2015 pers. comm, Hadley 2015 pers. comms) in a world where browser updates abound and novel or attractive media compete for attention (i.e. books made of coffee, mirrors, or that glow in the dark) (Temple 2012). Furthermore, in constructing web-platforms through which to engage people with the past, archaeologists have noted apathy (Affleck & Kvan 2008, 100) or disagreements between archaeologists and the public which require further engagement (McDavid 2004, 173). Such disagreements can be known to escalate into conflict over political or other significant standpoints on social media, as shown by the dispute generated by the 'black Roman father' animation (Higgins 2017).

Thus, both media production and consumption also reflect social differences. Media usage is not replicated across all countries, cities, and societies as explored by the international "Why We Post" project (Miller 2017). Furthermore, the 'do-it-yourself', self-promotional aspect of media (drawing from Habermas's concept of action in the public sphere) means that media created by different groups can flow regardless of each-others differences (Ratto & Boler 2014, 12-13). So, whilst local authorities produce various types of media (e.g. newsletters, leaflets) to provide essential access to information to residents (Dooris & Heritage 2011) resistance against institutional narratives can manifest as undercurrents of activist postcards, posters, newsletters or even alternative blue plaques depicting untold LGBT histories posted in significant areas (Atkinson 2008, 385, MyFutureYork 2017b). These examples highlight that media can play a role in both overcoming and reiterating differences both in and of cities. Thus, whilst the use of different kinds of media can assist collaboration, it is understood that they are no social panacea. Media essentially has a

“wild side”: the messy aspects of the world are reflected through and created by them (Gallagher & Freeman 2011, Morgan & Eve 2012, 522, Morgan 2014, Piccini & Schaepe 2014, Perry 2016).

To summarise, via Benjamin we can see that media are dialectically entwined with place and also the social differences inherent within them. This is inherent in media in place which encourage wayfinding and through media of place, which can encourage certain forms of collaboration. Both reiterate social differences. Within the city, a place encompassing both community groups’ and local government’s priorities, it is important to consider how (and where) visual media and language play a role.

## **2.7 The Multi-Local City**

As I have discussed with Heidegger, Ingold and also Benjamin, cities are at once physical and social. They are a gathering of social and physical elements and thus become “mirror and a mould” to the ongoing social relations occurring within them (Meinig 1979 qtd in Knox 1991, 181). The bringing together of physical and social is further developed by assemblage theory and highlights the interconnected nature of cities through different analogies.

For instance, following Actor Network Theory as framed by Bruno Latour, some have posited the city as a high density “network”, wherein the construction of knowledge is enabled through the circulation of both ontological “ingredients” and practices by individuals that can be traced across both the micro (local) and macro (global) scales (Bestor 2003, 303, Latour 2005, 28). Technology, money, materials and indeed, mass media are also mobilised within these networks (Urry 1995, 30; also Amin & Thrift 2002, 3 & 2017, Urry 2007a, Atkinson 2008, 382, Büscher et al 2011, Gillen & Hall 2011). However, Ingold has contested network theory (which he argued, placed too much focus on the connectivity as lines ‘in between’ things) and instead maintained his concept of a meshwork analogy. He argued that the pathways (the navigation and not just destinations) are equally important to being-in-the-world and thus create the places or localities (Ingold 2008b, 1796 & 805-6; also Harrison 2013, 212, Piccini 2015). I posit that there is an analogous similarity between Ingold’s meshwork of pathways and the concept of ‘rhizomes’ or interconnecting roots between “semiotic chains, organisations of power”



which are ever in the process of 'becoming', growing or being destroyed (Deleuze & Guattari 2004, 7). Places (created by pathways) are similarly in a process of becoming and can also become unbound (Massey 2005, 10, Ingold 2008b 1797, Pink & Morgan 2013, 5). Some pathways fluctuate more than others; perimeters can shift with every walker's trajectory of alleyways, streets and paths, whilst the city-space can be mapped by council ward boundaries or car-permit zones as with the City of York Council (CYC 2017a & 2017b), residents' interpretations of 'Local Distinctiveness' (Common Ground 2017), archaeologists' 'historic character areas' (Fairclough 2008b), the footpaths of the marginalised or the homeless (Graves-Brown 2013b, Kiddey 2013), or the invisible re-conceptions of places by immigrants to create homes (Buciek & Juul 2008). We may not practice the pathway, experience the demarcation it makes for others, or see how it changes, but they exist for others and that difference can be acknowledged. In acknowledging different pathways in local places, one acknowledges both social difference and possible bringing together of connections, but also to consider the temporal nature of these connections over time (Koch & Latham 2011, 527). Ultimately, to acknowledge social difference in place is to render the city multi-sited as a "multi-locality" (Marcus 1995, 96, Rodman 2003, Gupta & Ferguson quoted in Meskell 2005, 91, Pink 2008, 4, Weißköppel 2009, Ryzewski 2011). Such demarcations between different localities (uptown, downtown, west-end, east-end, high street, or alleyway) can also be understood as the concept of scale, as has been raised by Meskell (2005, 90-1), who highlights the extension of hierarchal powers over place and wider collectives (i.e. local scale, national scale). However, scale assumes a neat, absolute division of places (which in practice does not exist through our connective being-in-the-world) (Ingold 2009, 30).

This issue of scale can be resolved through understanding how people congregate and are drawn to different places. Essentially, 'being-in-the-city' is not simply 'being-amongst-a-pathway-of-moving-things-and-people-moving-through-place' but involves understanding the places and pathways—simultaneously physical, visual and social—essentially reading them and learning them like a language (Raban 1976, 1, McFarlane 2010, 659 & 2011). Learning the multi-local city (and communicating about it) occurs within specific points in the city: i.e. town halls, market squares, and community centres, (Richardson 2003, McFarlane 2010, 659 & 2011). These centres bring pathways together

and can encourage “everyday diplomacy” or indirect collaboration (Sennet 2012, 221). For example:

Citizenship is nurtured through social contact in places you can return to and value as meeting places [...] public libraries and community centres [...] why not have social centres in every urban neighbourhood, governed from below, with no pressure to attend or undertake prescribed activities, offering recreation, leisure, and meeting rooms [...] these ‘insignificant or ‘particle’ community centres should not seek to politicise, but work on the value of political education through sociability

(Amin et al 2000, 37).

Potentially, a dispersal of “centres” and “arenas” that enable dialogue in locales can achieve the ambitions of localised democracy for heritage management (Burström 2013, 103). Museums and art galleries are associated with this role by accounting for different voices in urban environments (Mason et al 2013, 164). Additionally, public libraries have been highlighted as ‘incubators’ for different people’s activities and forms of social justice (Marino & Lapintie 2015, Pateman & Vincent 2016). Furthermore, it could be that heritage Community Asset Transfers may take similar roles in locales, as buildings or other assets that can disrupt capitalist or neoliberal tendencies for the benefit of underprivileged groups (Murtagh & Boland 2017, 3). And, although aware of Ingold’s disregard for points of connectors as part of a network (34; and 2008b, 1805), I posit ‘place-node’ (drawing from Deleuze and Guattari’s rhizomatic nodule rather than Latour’s node) as an appropriate term to identify a point of congregation such as a building, or a centre, or even a popular bench within (and therefore also helping to create) a locality or terrain. In terms of scale then, place-nodes are formed along pathways (routes/roots) across localities leading to larger, more connected place-nodes (i.e. local councils). Thus, scale equates to a higher congregation of pathways. One has to simply view a road map of Britain to see how scale functions in an actual pathway sense (with more pathways congregating towards the capital city of London or other large cities).

Within this entangled meshwork of pathways and place-nodes in the city, heritage is pervasive (Baker & Shepherd 1993, Harrison 2013, 38). It can be found in the traces of the past pathways and boundaries that may still be trodden (i.e. popular places such as the

York Minster) or lay forgotten, dormant. Heritage is knotted within street corners, plazas, nightclubs, the other side of the street, towards the town hall, under the car park, statue-ed outside the council offices and marked in the gutter (Piccini 2011). Indeed, a multi-local approach (which identifies localities and place-nodes) reveals how city-developments intensify the numbers of interactions between 'now' and 'then', rendering the city as a complex meshwork of ancient and contemporary pasts (Buchli & Lucas 2001, 9, Schofield & Harrison 2010, Holtorf & Piccini 2011, McAtackney & Ryzewski 2017, 7). Thus, different heritages tangle within localities as place-nodes and are in inevitable conflict or seeking dominance over others (McAtackney & Ryzewski 2017, 13). Having arrived at this concept of the multi-local city—where heritage is entangled and expanding over time—evidentially, any Babelic statement regarding a city is over simplistic. "[T]here is no mother tongue" (or meta-vision)—only multiplicity and pathways in processes of becoming (or fading) (Deleuze & Guattari 2004, 7). Considering both the role of language and visuals here, it is better to consider the city as a collective assemblage of statements and views essentially because it is also a messy assemblage of people and places under numerous (important) guises of demarcation established for different everyday practices.

What is important for researchers, local authorities, and community groups seeking to facilitate collaboration between official definitions and unofficial definitions of heritage (particularly in urban environments such as cities) is ultimately to draw on multi-local methodologies. These must acknowledge differences within localities and the place-nodes during moments of becoming.

## **2.8 Discussion**

To summarise this chapter, I have laid out above some of the practical challenges that local authorities face in enabling collaboration around heritage management in cities. Various case studies which advocate inclusive management here indicate some progress in the field using a variety of different approaches. Moving on, whilst theorists have highlighted the issue of hegemonic discourses, it seems clear that such politicised 'meta-narratives' cannot be pinned down without thinking in terms of place as an actively involved in the crux of social action, as part of the pathway. Drawing from Wittgenstein to Heidegger, then onto postmodern and assemblage theorists it becomes more feasible to

conceive of heritage management—a field of expertise—as undertaken within places and with places in mind. Everyday diplomacy in places—in communicating points of view in situ, or through media in and of place—addresses the challenge of collaborating with difference.

Indeed, the subject of the next chapter explores further the concept of multiple statements and points of view as heritage values. In chapter three the different ways that professionals, community groups and researchers articulate value will be further examined as part of a language-game assembling across the multi-local city, resulting in considerations into how best to approach the term value in research. The consequences of considering values as action and articulating them as such, in places, are then examined.

## 3: Narrowing the Theoretical Position

### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter narrows my theoretical focus. In Chapter Two after examining the challenges facing collaborative heritage management a multi-local approach was proposed which asserts both people and places (local areas, localities, locales or terrains) are equally important to the generation of collaboration and in the acknowledgement of differences. The purpose of this chapter is to situate the term heritage value within this perspective. Firstly, how heritage values relate to city-wide ambitions or **visions** held by local authorities is explained. Sustainable development is discussed as an important (yet nebulous) goal which guides the visions for cities within an international framework. Consequently, heritage values are shown to supplement both city-visions and sustainable development. Thus, the pros and cons of different value-gathering methods (both qualitative and quantitative) to support this ultimate goal are reviewed.

I then discuss how such methods synchronise with current localism policies. As part of this, heritage values are explored as motivations or drivers, satisfied through action by people who engage in various forms of heritage-related activities (ranging from visiting sites to collaborative civic action such as campaigning against developments). Such activities form as 'value-action'; a motivation enhanced by knowledge gain, driven towards visions. But, considering the barriers of social difference, I query how 'value-actions' form across different groups in the multi-local city (i.e. tourists, experts, residents). To answer this query (which forms as the crux of the research inquiry), multi-local methodologies are required to compare different value-actions within collaborative heritage activities by different groups. Such methodologies should also include an understanding of value through non-textual forms and multi-modal media.

To begin this narrowing of the theoretical discussion, how heritage values function within the plans of local authorities in their widespread shaping (and pathway making) of cities is now explored.

### 3.1 Supporting Visions: Heritage Values & Sustainable Development

In this section, the relationship between heritage values and city-wide visions is laid out. The most prominent tool shaping city-visions can be found in the notion of 'sustainable development', a term relevant to heritage management since planning policies in the 1990s (Arup Economics & Planning 1995, Fairclough 1997, 39, DCMS 2001, 12, Clark 2008, 82, Howard 2013 & 2017, Auclair & Fairclough 2015, 4). Sustainable development, as a global endeavour, connects the historic environment to the other environmental, social and economic priorities of cities (Davoudi & Healey 1995, Pendlebury et al 2004, 13-14, Stubbs 2004, 285, Mansfield 2013, 7). It has been viewed as a practical solution to "restless tension" (Harvey 1985 qtd in Knox 1991, 181) between development and conservation (Strange 1997, 227, Riganti & Nijkamp 2004, 5, Olwig 2008). This section covers two questions: firstly, how has sustainable development become an all-encompassing goal for city visions? And secondly, why is it useful to think of heritage values in relation to its priorities?

In its broadest sense, 'vision' (as a term evolved from Plato's 'political imagination', Hobbes's 'condition of stability', or Martin Luther King's 'dream') is often evoked to signify a desired and improved status of existence, made achievable by humankind in the future (Wieck & Iwaniec 2013, 497, Wolin 2016, 19-21 & 293). In the context of cities, 'visions' often signify the physical and social future plans towards an improved, more efficient, yet 'expanded' version of a city (Peel & Lloyd 2005). In the lead up to the 1980s, sustainable development was established as visionary framework for cities, initially instigated by the first photograph of the Earth from space which highlighted our world as a finite resource (thus providing a global Urphenomenon: a synergy between vision thought and vision seen) (Fairclough & Auclair 2015, 1-8). The concept of sustainability was encapsulated in the United Nations' Brundtland Report (1987) as an overall global vision towards worldwide, long-term efficiency on resource management (247; also Labadi & Gould 2016, 199, Labadi & Logan 2016, 6-8). This viewpoint was pragmatically supported by the United Nations' Agenda 21, which advocated collaborative dialogue between Governments, NGOs and local communities to achieve this endeavour (United Nations 1992, 3, Labadi &

Gould 2016, 200). Eventually, heritage was highlighted as a supporting worldwide sustainable goals; for example, in UNESCO's adoption of the 'Budapest Declaration' (2002) and later the Hangzhou Declaration (2013), in the Council of Europe's 'Faro Convention' (2005) and in the ICOMOS 'Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values' (2014) (Fairclough & Auclair 2015, 9, Labadi & Logan 2016, 7-10, Howard 2017, 42). Essentially, sustainability development encompassed heritage within a global, utopian framework and emphasised sustainable practice as an integral task for city management (Stainforth nd, Bentivegna et al 2002, Rodwell 2003, 67 & 2008, 111-12, Landry 2013, Gressgård 2015).

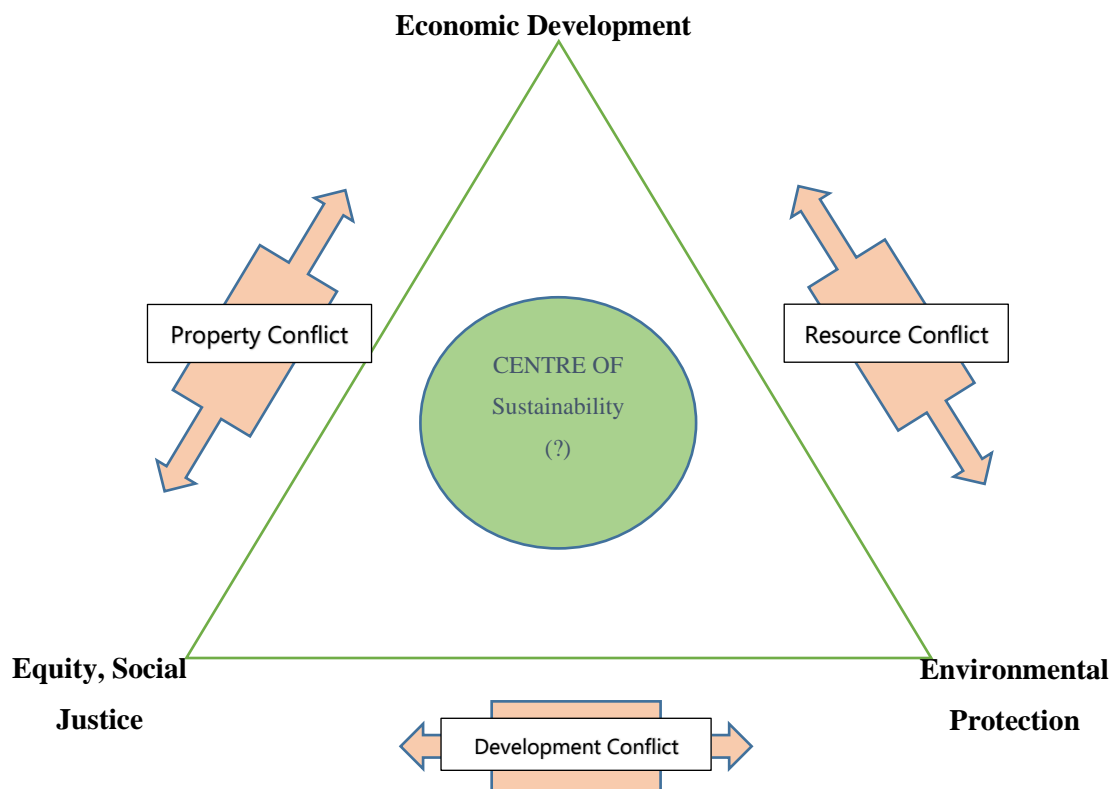


Figure 3. Planners' Triangle of Sustainability adapted from Campbell (1996)

In the context of local authorities of English cities, sustainable development is a long-term balancing act between potentially conflicting social, economic and environmental priorities at different scales of place (Campbell 1996, 308, Stubbs 2004, 287, Connelly 2007, 269, Mansfield 2013, 9). And yet, it is recognised that sustainable development is

never attained in practice but rather a “guiding pole” for decision-making experts, the aim being the elusive centre of sustainability (Campbell 1996, 297-8, Connelly 2007, 269 see fig. 3.1. above). This elastic endeavour generates varied approaches in sustainable archaeological, heritage and tourism practices, particularly those collaborative in nature (Gould & Burtenshaw 2014, 6, Labadi & Gould 2016, 202-4, Gould 2016a, 7-8). In light of this elasticity and the resulting variety of approaches, some argue that sustainability can only be achieved within city visions if there is further synchronisation and crosspollination by actors such as council workers, policy makers, archaeologists, and community groups (John et al 2015, 95-6). However, such synchronisation will undoubtedly be a challenge because the meaning of sustainable development also reflects the changing nature of policies and cities themselves. As it changes, this has consequences for how heritage values are utilised as tools for city management.

The change of the term sustainable development is connected to the evolutions of multiple national planning and local authority policies (Peel & Lloyd 2005, 44, Wieck & Iwaniec 2013, 497, John et al 2015, 87; see Howard 2017 for an extensive overview of this evolution). Thus, during Labour’s control of government in the 1990s, links between the historic environment and sustainability were outlined in Planning Policy Guidance 15 (Department for National Heritage and Department of the Environment 1994, Fairclough 1997, 39). In considering the historic environment as supplementary to the wider goal of sustainable development, PPG15 indicated the need:

to identify what is special in the historic environment; [...] to define its capacity for change; and, when proposals for new development come forward, to assess their impact on the historic environment and give it full weight, alongside other considerations

(Department for National Heritage and Department of the Environment 1994, 6).

Answering this call for definition, English Heritage’s ‘Sustaining the Historic Environment’ (1997) discussion paper flagged up the need for understanding and presenting the value of the historic environment towards the vision of sustainable development (EH 1997, 3 & 7). Elsewhere, sustainable development featured in the governmental report, the ‘Urban Task Force Paper’, which stated that urban renaissance represented “the true vision of a



sustainable city" (Urban Task Force 1999, 18). Notably, the revitalisation of historic districts and reuse of historic buildings was seen as valuable components to this vision (5, 16 & 17). At this stage in the late 1990s, the relationship between vision and values at this heritage policy level is clearly symbiotic: heritage values are required as accessible body of knowledge in order to consider their weight among other considerations (social, economic, environmental) which can be assessed as part of the city's sustainable development vision overall. As a result of this clear relationship, a more instrumental, or functional approach to heritage emerged as a move away from monument-focused assessment "to the sustainable management of towns, cities and landscapes as a whole" (Clark & Drury 2000, qtd in Loulanski 2006, 215; also Rojas 2007, 45, Howard 2017, 42).

However, the vision of sustainable development became blurred within heritage policy after the millennium. The publication of 'Power of Place' (2000), located the historic environment deep within cultural and economic aims for the country but it did so with scant reference to sustainable development, simply referring to the heritage sector's contribution to "sustainable jobs" (EH 2000, 8). This seminal document was answered by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport in 'Force for Our Future' (DCMS 2001); here, underlying the "New Vision for the Historic Environment" (7), the term sustainable development was solely connected to green environmental management (9 & 12). The term was again scarcely present within the 'Heritage Dividend' (publishing results from 1999-2002) which demonstrated weakly how heritage contributed "to the regeneration and sustainable development of communities" (EH 2002, 1). Furthermore, the 'Heritage Protection' paper published by the DCMS, partners sustainability, solely to the notion of "sustainable communities" (2007, 5). However, after 2010, the term sustainability began once again to feature more strongly in policy, particularly after the publication of Planning Policy Statement 5 (PPS5) (DCLG 2010). Reflecting this, English Heritage's 'Heritage Counts' (2010) strongly pronounced heritage as contributing "a blueprint for sustainable development" (2; also EH 2011, 19, 2012, 17, 2014, 2). More pointedly, the NPPF which replaced PPS5 takes its definition of sustainability straight from the Brundtland Report, with "presumption in favour of sustainable development" as its main ethos (DCLG 2012, 37). Policy 12 in PPS5 (30) mantles the historic environment with the task of supporting sustainable communities through economic empowerment, with visions of sustainable

development to be shared collectively between local authorities and communities (37). It should be noted that the following Heritage Counts between 2015-2017 do not make explicit mention of sustainable development, but vaguely draw on the concept of sustainability. Yet, Historic England has since embedded on its website the link between Heritage and Sustainable Growth, creating a clear link between heritage and economic development (HE 2018). Simultaneously, the Heritage 2020 framework, established by the Historic Environment Forum, proposes "Conservation and Sustainable Management" as the second of its five key strategic priorities (HEF 2015, 8). Essentially, in this political environment, the meaning of sustainable development has fluctuated over the last eight years.

The elasticity of sustainable development (and unequal weighting in policy over time) impacts how it is applied in cities. The most extreme consequence is that the vision of sustainable development becomes solely political rhetoric, a national 'moonshot' ambition leading to exaggerated claims within knowledge sets, misinformed steps for best practice and thus, unhelpful city developments (Belfiore 2009, Howard 2013, 1). It has been argued that politicians paint rhetorical 'blue-sky' visions about the steps messy cities must take to achieve sustainable development and research has shown pragmatic failings to this aim (Amin et al 2000, Williams & Dair 2007). At the same time, finding a viable 'one-size fits all' model for sustainable development remains a challenge. City visions are liable to change due to physical evolutions in their demarcations; social geographers have tracked city-planning over time and revealed multiple local, national and international planning trends which have been impacted by political conflicts, changes of the role of state, perimeters of states, and shifts in the structures of property ownership (Freestone 1993, Ashworth & Tunbridge 1999, Rodenstein 2010). City-visions are also inevitably somewhat disparate due to the competitive drive to promote different brands or identities of place within a global market (Strange 1997, 229 & 232, Glendinning 2013, 418). These political and physical shifts are at once epistemological and ontological; they indicate no-less than the cultural biography and growth or rebranding of cities, resulting in a "shuffling" relationship between global social and economic spheres (Kopytoff 1987, 83). This is not to say that every city is totally specific (they are after all, connected): cities are different physical combinations of things, people, buildings, terrains made of the same 'stuff' that are

expanding at a rapid pace—more so than ever before. Maintaining long-term visions—such as Edinburgh and Reading’s ambitious ‘2050’ visions—requires nothing less than an ease of the restless tension of cities. (Examples of slower city management include the international ‘Citta Slow’ movement (CittaSlow 2018) and slower, more thorough collaborative place-making activities (Fofiu 2015, Farías 2017, Foth & Guaralda 2017)).

City-visions will undoubtedly change over time and the way that heritage values can support forward-facing visions will therefore adapt in real terms. Numerous heritage values which orientate directly towards the sustainable city visions have been presented, for example:

- Contributing to the cutting of carbon emissions and saving of embodied energy costs through continued use of buildings and adaptive reuse of listed buildings (EH 2008b, Bullen & Love 2011, Hines 2011)
- Encouraging sustainable development though considering the history of urban development (EH 2008b, 2)
- contributing towards jobs through tourism, (EH 2010)
- boosting the wider economy in general through tourism (EH 2010).
- a positive link between historic places, social health and wellbeing, and the aesthetic pleasure of historic-scapes (EH 2014, Fujiwara et al 2014)

Such values are essential in order for the heritage sector to demonstrate that it can contribute to England’s economy, in order to gain funding (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016, 89). If heritage values then must ‘move with the times’ for the sector’s own sake, undoubtedly there is a contradictory risk of over-utilising heritage’s value for the sake of city-visions and the country’s economy (Strange 1997, 232, Mansfield 2013, 16).

Problematising this further, recent studies of interviews with heritage professionals have shown awkwardness in discussions about the future, a complacency about visions in everyday practice and a “history will judge” attitude (Högberg et al 2017, 644). Researchers have therefore called for the heritage sector to act more proactively towards vision-creation (645). To step up in this way means that heritage values should be more proactively grappled with too. Thus, in acknowledgment of city shuffling, heritage values should be researched with rigour (Belfiore 2009, 350) but also forward-thinking awareness.

Hence, with sustainable development remaining pertinent to city-visions and heritage values continually being sought, the concept of language-games as explored in Chapter Two is once again important. This is because it is the struggle of a particular field of expertise (Bourdieu 1983b) to evaluate heritage value as relevant within visions—sustainable development has been put forward as an international and ubiquitous example relevant to the management of cities. How heritage values are approached by experts must now be explored.

### **3.2 Definitions of Heritage Value**

In this section, the term heritage value is explained as stemming from and developing within the field of conservation. The development of definitions of heritage values have long been discussed; many have detailed how the designation of assets and sites is now tied to the concept of values as part of expert practice (Clark 2005, Darvill 2005, Jokilehto 2009, 29, Glendinning 2013, Smith et al 2016). Instead of providing in-depth discussion (see Glendinning 2013, Lennox 2016), the purpose here is to highlight how changes in definitions of values have developed continuously and how these changes presently coincide with the impetus towards collaborative heritage management.

As Walter (2014) has highlighted, 200 years of western philosophical approaches to value have shaped conservation practice in England today. He takes pains to demonstrate that a “static” or “pure” notion of values is ludicrous within a practice which ultimately deals with the conflict inherent in change (635-6). My addition to Walter’s point to the contrary is that the fluidity of values is recognised by practitioners and that the consequence of their fluidity raises important issues (to be discussed below) (Glendinning 2013, 417). Thus, in current heritage management, values are applied to assets and sites through Statements of Significance or Conservation Plans, interpreted to wider audiences and also assessed by heritage bodies (Heritage Lottery Fund 2002 & 2013, Clark 2005, 319-20, & 2008, Darvill 2005, 21, Hewison 2006). Yet it is understood that the terminology connected to values has developed from a legacy of approaches concerning the care of historic places in England particularly since the 1870s. Initially, the early conservation movement, led by William Morris and his contemporaries, was configured against restoration practices by the establishment of the Society of Protection of Ancient Monuments (SPAB) in 1877

(Glendinning 2013). SPAB was strongly stimulated by John Ruskin's earlier provocations of value for historic structures in attempt to combat practices of restoration (wherein buildings were drastically restored using modern materials to an 'original' state) (Neuwirth 1987, 127, Price et al 1996, 9, Jokilehto 2009, 174, Glendinning 2013, 116 & 123). Ruskin had given a poetic understanding of 'value' for historic buildings in his *Seven Lamps of Architecture* ([1849] 1996), associating them with having a "deep sense of voicefulness" and possessing the "golden stain of time" which could not be replaced, only conserved (42). Such language was adapted the ethos of SPAB's Manifesto, which identifies several (shorthanded) attributes—"artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, or substantial" ([1877] 2017)—that justified the conservation of buildings as living entities in time. Notably, SPAB was more pragmatically positioned than Ruskin against restoration practices (referred to as a falsehood) and this reflected in the less superfluous prose of the Manifesto (which was essentially a call to arms.)

Thereafter, at the start of the twentieth century, Alois Riegl's discussion of historical, art and age value demonstrated a delineated handling of language in conservation practice which was thoroughly reflexive and gave justification of the labels of those values applied ([1903] 1996, 72; Price et al 1996, 19-20, Wells 2011). Such terms developed into policy in differing ways within international frameworks such as the Athens Charter (1931)—which quite simply laid out guidelines on the restoration of "historic" and "artistic" buildings—and the Venice Charter (1964)—a more complex document which discussed historic monuments as 'witnesses to the past' and recommended that conservation should be applied according to specific cultural practices. Subsequently, value-led conservation practice in the UK developed into the late twentieth century as a method to evaluate heritage significance by reflexive practitioners (Lipe 1984). This evaluation continuously involved listing various **value compounds** (combined descriptive 'labels' to highlight specific quality, e.g. cultural, use, and emotional) and **sub-compounds** (e.g. documentary, functional, wonder etc.) as value typologies a way of assisting conservation management (Feilden 1979, 1982, 2003). Elsewhere, international value frameworks also continued to develop the terminology around values. The Australian Burra Charter (1979) underpinned different values key to practice (aesthetic, historical, scientific, social or spiritual). This trend

continued to incorporate more diverse and subjective values to heritage towards the end of the twentieth century (Jokilehto 2009, 29-31).

In the UK at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the think tank Demos (in collaboration with the Heritage Lottery Fund) brought the notion of public values to the fore, categorising these as "instrumental" (created benefits), "institutional" (service benefits) and "intrinsic" (naturally arising), as part of a Cultural Value framework which strongly placed values into the heart of the heritage management processes (Clark 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, Holden 2004, Hewison 2006, Clark & Maeer 2008, Lennox 2016, 91). However, later the Council of Europe's Faro Convention (2005) proposed a radical approach to values: it outlines that heritage values are constantly evolving and prepones the need to recognise and enhance different heritage communities' values, even when contradictory (Article 2a, 5b & 7b). Thus, the Faro Convention advocates a more 'open to interpretation' approach to values and whilst prescriptive in approach, no actual value compounds or categorisations were put forward. The Faro Convention was not ratified in the UK at this point and moreover, heritage values continued to be encapsulated into authoritative compounds in key guidance documents. Most obviously, English Heritage's 'Conservation Principles' categorised four values—evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal (2008, 29-31)—which drew from the notion of sustainable management in both PPG 15 and 16 and other previous international frameworks (see Lennox 2016, 75-77, for the specific policy context in which this document was created). Importantly, the Conservation Principles also gave guidance on approaches to value, highlighting the significance of places which should be managed to sustain values (13). Thus, this document has stood as an expedient and respected value framework for the management of cities which focus on place and the inevitable changes that occur within them.

Essentially, value compounds have remained a ubiquitous method for experts to define and weight heritage in practice. Whilst value-led management may be a reflexive action as researchers have demonstrated, it is an action nonetheless which produces differing results. A recent inventory details over 180 value compounds in conservation practice between 1902-2010 (Fredheim & Khalaf 2016, 3-4). From this study, it is also clear that changes in value compounds have continuously evolved (6). Indeed, a pertinent example

of this lies in Historic England's recently proposed changes to the original Conservation Principles (HE 2017h, Chitty 2018). In reaction to the continual adaptation of values, it has been argued that their worth and credibility has been undermined within a globalised culture (Glendinning 2013, 417-418). This issue is also indicative of relationship between changing city-visions and heritage values: the latter is now to be considered as a "product" for the former (Jokilehto 2009, 29). Yet, in contrast to this concern, it is recognised that value led-conservation is an operation inevitably carried out within specified frameworks within different countries (Lipe 1984, Satterfield 2002, 80, Feilden 2003 vii, Demeter 2014, 10, Fredheim & Khalaf 2016, 6 &12). Hence, valuations will undoubtedly reflect the specific changing context of projects, sites or cities, as demonstrated above.

In addition, discussions have arisen over attempts to create an overall 'language of values' in order to collaborate with different community groups (de la Torre & Mason 2002, Clark 2005, 321, Scott 2008, Ripp & Rodwell 2016). For example, Mason (2008a) focused on the collaborative value typology method (co-collation of value compounds), wherein the values of "experts, community groups, communities, governments and stakeholders can be voiced and compared more effectively" to influence decision-making processes and account for social value (101). While aiming for collaborative activity, Mason recognised that the "yardsticks or unit" of value will be seen differently by different people; essentially, there is a paradox in the very conception of the term value—the word will have different weight according to different people (2008a, 101, also Johnston 1992, Boyd et al 2005, 91-2). This diversity in interpretation prevails and cannot be avoided. Agreeing with Fredheim & Khalaf 2016 (12), what is required is not a standardisation and collation of all value terms; instead what is required is a credible value framework which, in prescribing overarching value compounds, can act as an important reference point (Meyer-Bisch 2009, 62). Such a reference point could achieve three things. Firstly, to acknowledge multiplicity in the definition of values—i.e. Conservation Principles Article 5.3 (EH 2008a, 23) and the Faro Convention (CoE 2005, Article 7b). Secondly, to scrutinise the methods by which these values are weighted at different stages in heritage projects; for example, the Conservation Principles highlights the need for consistent transparency and monitoring and also advocates the writing of Heritage Impact Appraisal throughout project stages (EH 2008a, 47). Such steps undoubtedly would generate useful insight for the ongoing

management of future projects. And thirdly, to give guidance on the levels of collaboration by which different groups can achieve enhanced value creation (see Lennox 2016, 241). These three points are significant in light of the localism agenda and the proposed changes to the Conservation Principles.

This short evaluation of values as developing language-games demonstrates that value practice has developed over time from poetic evocations to different standardisations of value within an expert practice. The value debate is not a conversation in which absolute definitions and categorisations are going to be established; a global web of knowledge will continue to grow as the language-games continue to stretch across countries and diversify within local contexts. What to consider next is simple: if value collation assists in collaborative decision-making as is suggested (and as is pivotal within the climate of localism in the UK) then the method of capturing of values must be considered. A spotlight must be thrown on the methodology of research, or how 'values' become 'known' and subsequently become 'data'.

### **3.3 Methods of Capturing Heritage Value:**

Value typologies are just one framework within which the value of heritage can be captured or gathered to be understood (and therefore interpreted) as data. Different methodologies from disciplines beyond conservation, such as economics or the wider social sciences, can capture heritage values, bringing with them a variety of theoretical or pragmatic assumptions about what heritage value is and what the valuation process achieves (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016, 120). To consider the methods of capturing heritage value within the city is to consider how knowledge can be myriad, understandable in specific contexts and allow different degrees of collaboration. In tables 2-3, a list (non-exhaustive) of quantitative and qualitative methods are summarised along with the level of collaboration associated with each method and their originating discipline.



Table 2. Qualitative Methods Tool Box

<b>Title</b>	<b>Discipline</b>	<b>Method</b>	<b>Collaboration opportunity?</b>	<b>Comparability</b>	<b>Examples (or see next box)</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Value typologies	Conservation	Collection of themes according to an agreed criterion	Potential	Yes—using lists		Mason (2008a) Stephenson (2007) for sustainability
Mapping and Characterisation- Participatory GIS	Archaeology/ Heritage	Labelling layers or areas on a map with values in collaboration with participants	Yes	Yes	LARA; Urban Assessments Landmap; HERs	Stocker (2008), Scott (2008), Fairclough (2008b), Piccini (2015), Kiddey (2013).
Constituency Analysis	Economics	Identifying stakeholders and demographics within a specific area	Yes	Depending on representation of 'findings'—summarised tabulations appear useful	Part of Low's (2002) mixed method Anthropological analysis of local areas	Low (2002) Satterfield (2002).
Expert analysis	Economics	Expert's review of "textual/iconographic/ Formal/semiologic " objects or sites	No	Yes		Mason (2002)
Ethnography	Anthropology	Observational participation with group of people	Yes	Depending on representation of 'findings'— summarised tabulations appear useful	Part of Low's (2002) mixed method Anthropological analysis of local areas	Satterfield (2002), Low (2008), Pink (2008) (see chapter four).
PESTLE analysis	Business	Identifying Themes (politics,	Yes- often as part of a meeting	Depending on representation of 'findings'— summarised		NI Business INFO (nd.a), Iqbal (2016 pers. comment)

		environment, Site, Technology, etc)		tabulations or mind mapping		
SWOT analysis	Business	Strengths Weaknesses Opportunities and Test	Yes- often as part of a meeting	Depending on representation of 'findings'— summarised tabulations or mind mapping		NI Business INFO (nd.b), Iqbal (2016 pers. comment)
Focus groups	Social Sciences/Ant hropology	Interviewed group meetings with sets of participants, often chosen for their demographic	Yes	Depending on representation of 'findings'		Bryman (2004), Schensul et al (1999), Davies (2007).
Participative Workshops	Social Sciences, Business/ Heritage	Workshops attended by self-selected participants, set up by researchers	YES	Depending on representation of 'findings'—could be a report	Creative Gatherings, MyFutureYork	Cunningham & Shafique (2016), MyFutureYork (2017a)
Case Study Analysis	Social Sciences	Desk-based work carried out by researchers	No	Depending on representation of 'findings'—could be a report		Stephenson (2007), Carman (2015)
Audience Development	Business	Identifying audiences to a site and discerning values through compiling different statistical and qualitative profile information	No	Depending on representation of 'findings'—could be a report		Heritage Lottery Fund (2010b), Branson personal comment (2016)
System MODEls and	Systems theory	Analysing networks of value	Yes	Depending on representation of	COBA	Ripp & Rodwell (2016)

qualitative indicators		between people, organisations, places and objects		'findings'—tabulations used		
Qualitative Survey	Social Sciences	Asking of questions to participants in situ or through correspondence	Yes	Depending on representation of 'findings'—tabulations used, perhaps quantitative or charts used also		Ennen (2000), Tweed & Sutherland (2007)

Table 3. Quantitative Methods Tool Box

<b>Title</b>	<b>Discipline</b>	<b>Method</b>	<b>Participation?</b>	<b>Comparability?</b>	<b>Examples or --&gt;</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Statistical indicators	Economics	Measuring mainstream regeneration funding	No	Yes	Heritage Dividend, Heritage Monitor, Heritage Counts, Heritage Index (RSA)	EH (2002, 2010, HE 2017), Crossick & Kaszynska (2016, 86)
Willingness to Pay	Economics	Quantifying amount a sample would be willing to pay for an asset or heritage 'product'	Yes	Yes		Allison (1996), Satterfield (2002)
Economic impact assessment	Economics	Studies the effects of an organisation on a local area (i.e. rate of employment)	No	Yes		Crossick & Kaszynska (2016, 89)
Cultural Satellite Accounts	Culture studies/Economics	Assessing the economic size or footprint assessment of cultural organisations or institutions	No	Yes		Crossick & Kaszynska (2016 90)
Contingent Valuation (Stated-Preferences)	Economics	Through surveys this technique aims to discern "the monetary value of a	No	Yes		Mourato & Mazzanti (2002, 74-76)

		change in a public good or service" based on WTP style questions (if x cost y, would you...? etc)				
Benchmarking	Economics	Analysing companies successes and comparing why success and changes have happened over time	No	Yes	'Xerox Project'	Nijkamp et al (1998, 7).
Spider-Models	Economics	Visualising internal factors/scenarios that impact future— demographic developments etc etc) (compare to SWOT & PESTLE.)	Potentially	Yes		Nijkamp et al (1998, 9-11).
Meta-regression analysis	Economics	This collates past works and other data already existing to generate more data	No	Yes		Nijkamp et al (1998, 11-13).
Regime analysis	Economics	A comparative analysis of either quantitative or qualitative data, based on different sets of criteria	No	Yes		Nijkamp et al (1998, 13-14).

Flag Model	Economics	The numeric assessment and weighting of sets of indicators important to a outcome (i.e. sustainability)	No	Yes		Nijkamp et al (1998, 16-18).
Agglomeration, attractiveness and 'urban buzz'	Culture studies/Economics	Discerning attractive locations for creative clusters and start ups through market and existing quantitative data	No	Yes		Bakhshi et al 2013 qtd in Crossick & Kaszynska (2016, 91).

The two tables highlight how such methods can be viewed as a 'tool box' or kit from which practitioners/researchers have to make a methodological choice. Such choices may be influenced by certain factors, such as 'ready-to-handedness' of the tool—meaning the familiarity of the method and resources easily available (Heidegger [1927] 2001)—but also, with associated hierarchies of method (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016, 122). For example, evidence-base data (as required for policy-making) is generally 'big' data, scientifically assessed, and often quantifiably measurable (Belfiore & Bennett 2010, 6). The desirability of data to have external validity, reliability, and comparability (so as to determine the relative 'weight' or truth of values) (Satterfield 2002, 78, Crossick & Kaszynska 2016, 122) is arguably high if the weighting of heritage values alongside other considerations is required, so that 'chords' of data work together to generate a big picture, especially for those organisations (such as the Heritage Lottery Fund) who are required to justify their spending (2013; also Pugh 2017). Essentially, in the current climate of impact there is a need for measurable, fit-for-purpose information (Whelan 2015). Yet, critiques surround the functionality of quantitative data, as they offer "restrictive value judgements", and can be overly focused on the "measuring rod of money" (Nijkamp et al 1998, 3; also Holden 2004, Hewison 2012, Ellwood & Greenwood 2016, 11). As part of the cultural value debate, it is recognised that neither "a pretty piece of theory" nor "standard economic models" can easily be established to determine how a cultural economy as a whole can be utilised (Throsby 1999). So, whilst economic models have been produced in order to evaluate heritage's economic value (Allison 1996, EH 2002, 2010, Historic England 2017g) and to assist cultural policy decision-making (Throsby & Rizzo 2006), the concern remains that the process of gathering quantifiable data excludes subjective, softer benefits of culture experienced by stakeholders (Whelan 2015, 219).

Another related concern surrounds the ubiquity and use of 'big data'—masses of quantitative or quantified qualitative data usually gleaned from online trends or other transactions. Recently, critiques have emerged over the use of algorithms which use big data to exacerbate socio-economic divides by reinforcing gaps in the financial market or 'nudging' the population towards political mindsets (O'Neil 2016, Helbing et al 2017). Whilst it is unclear how automated decisions impact the heritage sector directly (e.g. whether heritage funding decisions are made by algorithms which assess big data as

values), it is important to bear in mind how AI and big data impact the sector considering the wide social and economic aspects that have featured in these heritage value conversations so far. If heritage is deemed useful for city ambitions, how would big data about it be used ethically? Essentially, ethical frameworks are required with regards to big data in heritage management (Harrison 2010c, 330, Varley-Winter & Shah 2016).

To continue, in light of the HE "Heritage makes you Happy" Report (HE 2014, Fujiwara et al 2014) alongside the discussions of place in chapter two, it is worth considering that "the scientific way of looking" is not necessarily the way to consider the profound elements of being in or proximate to the historic environment (as discussed in chapter two), or how it could potentially link to the ontologically based "miracle of existence of the world" (Wittgenstein [1929] 1968, 14) or the "resonance" and "wonder" generated by historical objects (Greenblatt 1990). Context is everything and deep effectual experience within historic environment—and place—might be different for different people within different value gathering environments. If interactions with the historic environment occur in place, in everyday conditions, (for example, when encountering ruins on a walk to work or through looking out one's window) rather than through a more controlled or institutional context (focus groups, interviews, workshops) qualitative techniques will be more capable of uncovering it through several contexts (e.g. walking interviews, ethnography) (Pink 2008, Rose & Degen 2012, Kiddey 2013). Place-based qualitative methods offer rich data and specific validity which complements participative processes (Low 2002). The drawback is that the collation of social value for place can cause difficulties in locating general patterns across a sample, as shown within a study on the values of the Cornish landscape expressed by local residents (Orange 2011). If you chose qualitative methods it is essentially more difficult to generalise data due to the very specific nature of research contexts (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016, 122).

If quantitative value is associated with mass generalisation and qualitative deep, but specific knowledge, this divide can reflect a dichotomy between an "internal" city (linked to everyday experience by individuals) and the city of potential "external" economic value (linked to institutional contexts); dissonance is rife between the two as each dwells and



create pathways concurrently within the “knowledge-based” city (Graham 2002). We have therefore arrived at the somewhat romanticised problem that Raban upholds:

The city as we imagine it, the soft city of illusion, myth, aspiration, nightmare, is as real, maybe more real, than the hard city one can locate on maps in statistics, in monographs on urban sociology and demography and architecture

(Raban 1976, 4).

Here, the city is split between worlds of ‘myth’ or ‘aspiration’ and ‘statistics’ which can be compared to qualitative and quantitative data respectively. Whilst the latter still dominates the heritage sector, a conversation has continued towards demonstrating values as fluid and part of exchange of heritage practices (Hewison 2012, Lennox 2016, Jones 2017). And often, an approach towards gaining the advantages of both quantitative and qualitative data it is suggested that mixed methods be used to “enrich and expand the conventional methods” (Nijkamp et al 1998, 1). Mixed methods can be used to capture heritage values which can help identify the complexity of both the “affective elements of cultural experience [...] as well as the full range of quantifiable economic and numerical data” (Holden 2004, 10). Indeed, Graham et al (2009) call for mixed methods in order to understand barriers inherent within the social differences attributed to the historic environment and to consider the different ways that collaboration can effectively be achieved. Adopting mixed methods could demonstrate how values are created through collaboration and civic action. Lastly, whether qualitative or quantitative, it is worth considering whether new methods are required within the heritage sector or if the upcycling of previous models will provide suitable solutions, so as to maintain the sector’s organisational memory (Satterfield 2002, 97, Heyworth 2016, pers. comment, Kransdorff 2016).

The collation of heritage value as knowledge is an activity of methodological choice which reveals varied approaches towards potentially wider visions. Furthermore, there are myriad ways in which heritage value can be articulated and contexts for them to be expressed. How this might happen in regard to collaborative work in a multi-local city is of upmost

importance. Considering again the call for localism and the focus on encouraging collaboration, my question is thus: is it possible to conceive heritage value not solely as 'viewpoints' but in accordance with **action** connected to places, taking account of the multi-local? I now turn to this question in the following section.

### **3.4 Heritage, Values...ACTION!**

This section examines methods which reveal values as motivated action (shorted handed to 'value-action) carried out in situ, for example: visiting a heritage site, undertaking volunteer activities or collaborative civic action (such as urban place-making). This latter activity can be described as the collaborative "processes of civic engagement" towards a "common good" (or vision): this is explored as a learning process wherein values guide actions (and through this process, they may be altered) (Satterfield 2002, 96, Meynhardt 2009, 200). Since the Localism Act 2011 and the increase in mechanisms supporting civic actions by community groups, it becomes even more important to consider who becomes compelled to act and what visions they generate.

To illustrate how values can be understood as action within cities, the argument here extends from theory discussed in Chapter Two. Places (localities/terrains) can hold within them "centres of value" (Tuan 1977, 17-8) (referred to as place-nodes—buildings, benches, corners, viewing points etc.) where basic human needs are satisfied and collaboration can be enabled; pausing or undertaking activity in localities enables such value to be experienced (also Tweed & Sutherland 2007, 64, Vis 2009, 77). Human experience with places and place-nodes differs depending on their familiarity and the specific nature of their pathway. Both value and consequent actions will differ according to different social rules held by, for example, tourists visiting a place, residents that live in them, or students who live somewhere temporally (Vis 2009, 76-7). Research methodologies have picked up on these different 'value-actions' in place. For example, in tourism studies, the correspondence between value and activity within places has been assessed by observing touristic behaviour alongside obtaining perceptions and attitudes through survey results (Timothy & Boyd 2003, 7-9, Palmer 2009, Chen & Chen 2010, Žabkar et al 2010, Calver & Page 2013). Heritage is valued for a variety of reasons (e.g. authentic experience, social experience, education etc) and the corresponding activity is therefore one of consumption

of these benefits, enacted through the consumption of narratives, aesthetic gazing, social performances, the drive towards exotic destinations and quests for the authentic centre of places: such actions are then reinforced, promoted within the international tourism market (Cohen 1979, 183, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, Urry & Larsen 2011, Watson & Waterton 2017, 54). Counter-tourism has also been put forward as a corrective to the oft critiqued passive consumption of place; one such study has encouraged tourists to take part in “mis-guided” tours that both de- and then re-construct place, thus indicating that value can be reconfigured by inventing new forms of action in place (Smith 2013).

However, translating values into civic action within places is more complex. For instance, a qualitative study has categorised residents into groups of “take it or leave it”, “connoisseurs”, or “rejecters”, of heritage in their home towns, thus indicating some indifference (Ennen 2000). A quantitative study by McDonald (2011) demonstrated that, although heritage is valued (as a ‘general good’), the numbers of those actively collaborating (in a civic sense) are relatively low, especially when compared to media consumption of heritage or visiting a site:

Table 4. Frequency of heritage-related activities adapted from McDonald (2011, 797)

<b>Frequency in %→</b>	Not at all in the past year	Once in the past year	Two to five times in the past year	Six to twelve times in the past year	More than 12 times in the past year
<b>Engagement category↓</b>					
Played an active role in the heritage protection of something (e.g. attending meetings, submitted nomination forms)	72.7	15.8	7.6	2.0	<b>1.9</b>
Visited an Australian heritage site	33.9	35.9	25	4.1	3.0
Watched a TV show related to Australia’s heritage	9.4	20.0	40.1	18.8	11.7

From this study we can calculate that around 60 people out of 3,200 were actively engaged more than 12 times with a heritage meeting, etc., over the course of one year. McDonald concludes that high motivation for engagement occurs with those who find direct relevance “to their own specific interests, culture or history” (780)—thus supporting

the same point as Merriman (1991). However, the requirement for strong personal affiliation to harness motivation is critiqued in the concept of a '**value-action gap**' as has been discussed in environmental studies (Kollmus & Agyeman 2002, Satterfield 2002, 84-5). These studies posit that green sustainability is a wide-ranging goal that does not necessarily compel individuals to act on their values, despite participants making positive statements about it. Additionally, Burström highlights that collective ignorance and indifference (symptomatic of having too many lifestyle-choices) should also be considered as impacting heritage activities (2013, 105). Therefore, more than personal affiliation with heritage is required to spur people to act and this is confirmed by a study which researched heritage volunteers' motivations. In this study, Rhoden et al (2009) undertook a review of mixed sources, which indicated several volunteer motivation categories:

Table 5. Motivation categories adapted from Rhoden et al (2009, 24)

<b>Motivation Category</b>	<b>Description</b>
'Altruistic' or 'value'	Acting on or fulfilling individual held beliefs towards helping others, giving back to the community/society/organisation.
'Egotistic/esteem/protective/for me'	Selfish reasons, learning development, escape, feeling the need to be useful/important, work substitute, self-enjoyment, time-filling exercise
'Social/affiliative'	To increase social networks and to be involved, to meet people/friends, to gain a positive experience
'Instrumental' (specific purpose; future benefit)	Establishing business contacts, development new skills, increase employability, hone a specific skills relevant to a job, pursuing a hobby or interest
'Volunteer traditions'	Habitual volunteering

This useful overview, showing how a range of values (and gained benefits) can lead to action in volunteers beyond personal affiliation, unfortunately does not make any clear connection between places. However, similar work carried out by BOP (2010) for the Heritage Lottery Fund has shown trends in ages (general older) and motivations (showing high trends for 'pro am' or self-cultivation in volunteer motivations) and also that connections to local sense of belonging was "fairly strong" in HLF volunteers (83).

The connection between place and civic action is further discussed in a mixed method study by Barber (2013) conducted in Halifax in Nova Scotia who sought "to query the relationship between the actors who figure prominently in the production of the built environment" through "a critical spatialized account" over time (92). This case study utilises desk-based analysis and interviews in order to track (throughout 50 years) how different people—heritage activists, councillors, urban planners and property developers—took part in the management of this city, where the views of the landscape were endowed with symbolic value by community groups (98). Barber demonstrated that, in the 1950s a redevelopment of a particular urban area with lower socioeconomic status was proposed by developers in order to combat social issues (crime, delinquency, health issues etc.).

These plans:

caught the attention of local residents, many of whom were young urban professionals involved with newly formed neighbourhood groups centred in the gentrifying South End [...] They were not so much concerned with the unequal power relations associated with relocation, but that the view from Citadel Hill would be encroached upon

(Barber 2013, 99).

According to the study, this mix of middle-class professionals still dominates the place-making activities in Halifax (some of whom have been involved for many years) and now have financial means for "allowing legal representation and campaigns" (102). This study demonstrated that civic action (motivated by values for the view) were enacted by those with a high social status and 'distinction' (103). Barber criticizes this course of action and highlights an inherent issue with civic action: essentially, the goal to "enliven and recreate cities" (Houghton et al 2015, 3) by either planners or community groups is at risk of

causing negative impact (i.e. through gentrification) on less capable groups who have not the resources nor collective clout to make their values known (Karacor 2014). In terms of collaborative action, Sennett (2012) has recognised that capitalism and the inequality it creates (as a result of overly competitive, short-term jobs) can undermine the ability to share goals across social differences which in turn exacerbates inequality further (and ultimately reiterate social differences) (279). Thinking reflexively about heritage values as action (and inaction) can therefore illuminate social differences and political tensions between local authorities, developers and local people within the multi-local city at specific times and places.

At this point, the relationship raised in section 3.1—that ‘heritage values=data supplementary to vision’—is rendered socially complicated if heritage values and visions are shaped by social differences. Following the concerns highlighted above, collaborative civic action seems to be increasingly generated by those with free time, money and good health (referred to holistically here as ‘capability’). A simple equation is therefore proposed:

high value for place + vision = action if capability to act

Another such equation is offered by Abel et al (2015) as a model for greater collaborative engagement in city management:

“ $P \times B + D > C$  in which P=Probability of engagement, B= Benefit to the participant, D=sense of civic Duty and C= the financial Cost.” (5).

With the former equation, those acting are assumed to be instigating their own place-based activities, driven by their values, irrespective of (and potentially against) the actions of others (essentially drawing from Barber’s study). The latter equation assumes action can occur through partnerships between external instigators (in this case researchers) offering others the opportunity to participate and also a benefit which draws on an innate sense of civic duty. Both equations also consider the potential for a value-action-gap (signified by the ‘if’ and ‘probability’). Lack of capability may cause a value-action gap especially if experienced alongside a lack of perceived benefit.

Whilst capability should be considered a very tangible barrier, both equations above can be complicated further by considering the possibility for groups and individuals to undergo a 're-valuation', to change their value perception through collaborative activities and external impacts regardless of social differences. Indeed, re-valuation can occur across whole populations in reaction to official policies and law, the gaining of new knowledge and the wider adoption of attitudes from initially 'unofficial' activist standpoints. For example, as has been shown by several studies, state-enforced legal frameworks propagating social change have been shown to be effective in changing trends in behaviour, for example, in stopping domestic violence, smoking in public areas, and recycling (Tankard & Paluk 2016). Alternatively, activist groups or researchers, acting against the 'norms' or revealing new information, can create values and behaviour that become more officially subsumed into society and indeed laws: e.g. women's rights, or the ban on smoking in public. Thus, it is recognised that "institutions both communicate norms and are affected by norms" (Tankard & Paluk 2016, 193). Vis (2009), also supports this using De Certeau's theories on social rules:

Social rules are the interaction systems of human action, and thus human action is fundamental to both types of rules, while in enactment it may (re)interpret the same rules it constituted itself before. Both structure and formulated rules are thus temporal and changeable

(Viz 2009, 77).

Yet Tankard and Paluk put forward a sanguine proposal: that it may be possible to determine when state-enforced changes to values are appropriate and effective or not (2016, 200). For instance, compulsory voting in countries like Australia is a salient example of mandatory citizen action, which has been met with criticism especially in light of the concept of de-valuing of this civic action, of 'anti-politicism' and the rise of a withdrawn "cynical society", particularly pertinent in light of recent referendums in Britain and the US (Goldfarb, qtd in Sennett 2012, 134; also Pycock 2017). Compulsory voting has been seen as undermining the quality of democracy through 'bogus' voting, simply ineffectual and a waste of resources (Jakee & Sun 2006, Singh 2016). Whilst no parallel legal requirement can be drawn upon for the heritage sector (e.g. a law which enforces civic action rather

than simply prohibiting behaviour such as damage to or theft of cultural heritage) the legal mechanisms found in the Localism Act in the UK, as discussed in Chapter Two are intended to impact on 'normative behaviour' by encouraging value-led citizen action (Jacobs & Manzi 2013). Indeed, Tankard and Paluk's proposal is highly pertinent for the Localism Act, which, as has been discussed, is criticised for over the instrumentalisation of civic or volunteer action. Bradley (2014) however, whilst acknowledging the issues of the instrumentalisation of the 'charitable self', still perceives opportunity for those (particularly marginalised groups) to take advantage and experiment with that which is offered by Localism policies, through adopting performative practices:

These are performative practices in which spatial norms are transposed under licence of localism and in which promises of devolution and empowerment are explored through the reiterative practices of lived space. Applying these practices within the jurisdiction of localism, community organisations appear able to challenge the restrictions of socio-spatial positioning to experiment with participatory governance that is empowering and inclusive

(Bradley 2014, 653).

At this point, this more positive outlook can be applied to value-actions in place. So, while it is not obligatory to save your local crumbling pub unless you want to (holding some values for it, perceiving a new threat to it) in which case, even if you live in a deprived area (following Bradley's examples) you can follow certain mechanisms (and maybe knowing about this prompted you to think more actively), and thereafter, you may be able to be creative and bend such policies to your will to create a 'new version' of the pub, one which constructs new equalities between people (or join a group that has started to do so). Thus, it may be that values and the value-action gap are subject to changes by legal frameworks, or simply a gain of new knowledge (which at first may have stemmed from a smaller group's concern which has become more widely established). A new gain of knowledge, leading to a swell of value redefinition, can signify important "tipping points" or when localised movements "catch fire" (Gladwell 2001). Thus, the relationship between values, action-gaps, visions must also include knowledge gain.



To understand this relationship further, G.E.M Anscombe's work on 'Intention' ([1957] 2000) can be applied. She explored how people accounted for their actions through language. In this work, Anscombe drew from Aristotle's "practical reasoning" or *phronēsis*, the habitual practice of virtuous acts (value-actions) towards a desired end (i.e. a vision), the best choice towards which is learnt from experiential knowledge (Anscombe [1957] 2000, vi, Aristotle n.d. [2009]). Value-actions can therefore be perceived here as desiring something that is pleasant and the movement towards it. An expression or statement of desire (when inquired of) explains the 'prompt' towards an action that an individual undertakes (Anscombe [1957] 2000, 62&65-6). Drawing from the cases above, this could manifest in a person saying (for example) "I wanted to visit a historic monument for the sake of enjoying a family memory" or another saying "I will increase civic engagement in a local community in this area so I can enjoy others' company". The desires are the 'enjoyment of family memory' or 'others' company'. However, according to Anscombe, neither of these examples would fall into practical reasoning as they lack any statement of what is known in both situations (i.e. "I know my father's grave is there, I will gain enjoyment in visiting my father's grave") (65). Essentially, the statement "I want A, so I'll do X" is not reasonable (66). Crucially, people's intentions involve reason and in fact, knowing: "it is not mere movement or stretching out towards something, but this on the part of a creature that can be said to know the thing" (68). Essentially, drawing from Anscombe's work the undertaking of a value-action can be seen as a process where the desire for change, combined with a person's capability and their knowledge gain through practical reasoning. The value-action can be discoverable through the statements, or explanations of action and through the actions themselves. Moreover, in terms of knowledge gain, the role of physical place can be reiterated as part of this learning. Essentially, one has to learn the city and its pathways (including its heritage) to be part of it, to 'be-in-the-world' and therefore to collaborate and commit to social change within it (Gladwell 2001, Miles & Gibson 2017). It is also possible to consider the deeper psychological aspect of motivations in regards to place-based 'needs', which can lead to the further creation of values (Tweed & Sutherland 2007, Epstein 1993 qtd in Meynhardt 2009, 200-202). However, in this study, whilst psychological insights of motivations are considered important, they are not necessary to understand intentions (Anscombe [1957] 2000, x) and

furthermore choosing a specific psychological model could be overly reductive (also Hansch 1997, qtd in Meynhardt 2009, 202). This is specifically important when considering collaborative value-action by different groups in places. This study focuses instead on what is meant by heritage values in language and value-action, and the methodological priorities held by different groups (unofficial/ official, expert/ non-expert). To create a model that underpins the value-action→knowledge→vision process, however, still cannot be produced across the board, across social differences, or indeed across places. This issue is demonstrated in the charts below (figures 5-7).

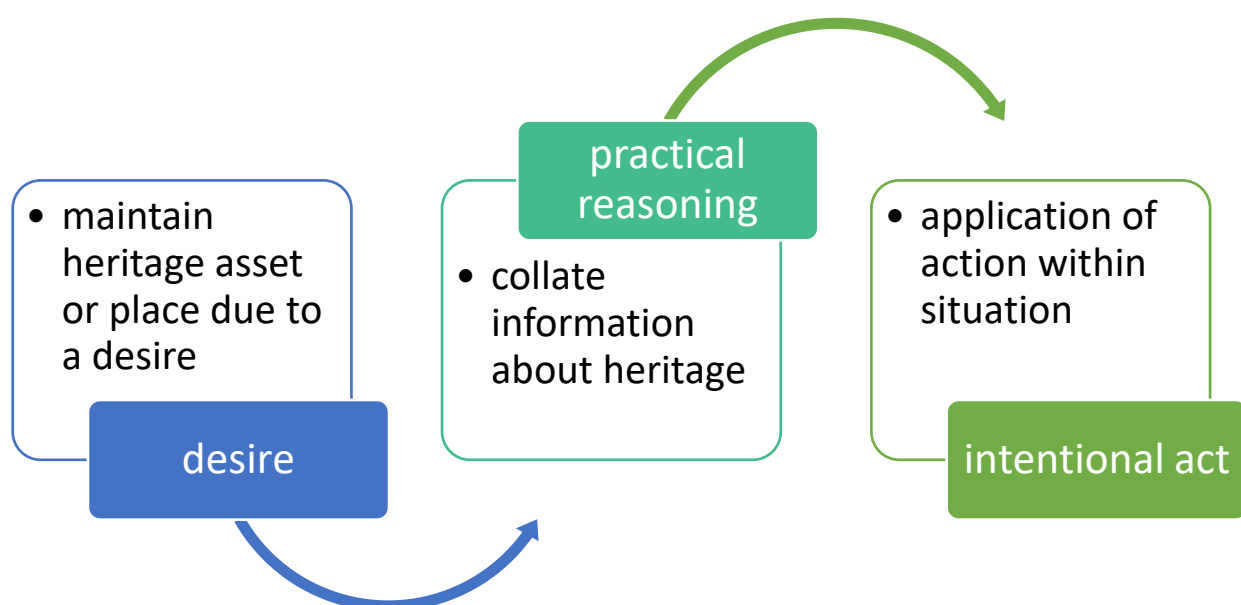


Figure 4. Desire-practical reasoning model: drawn from Anscombe ([1957] 2000)

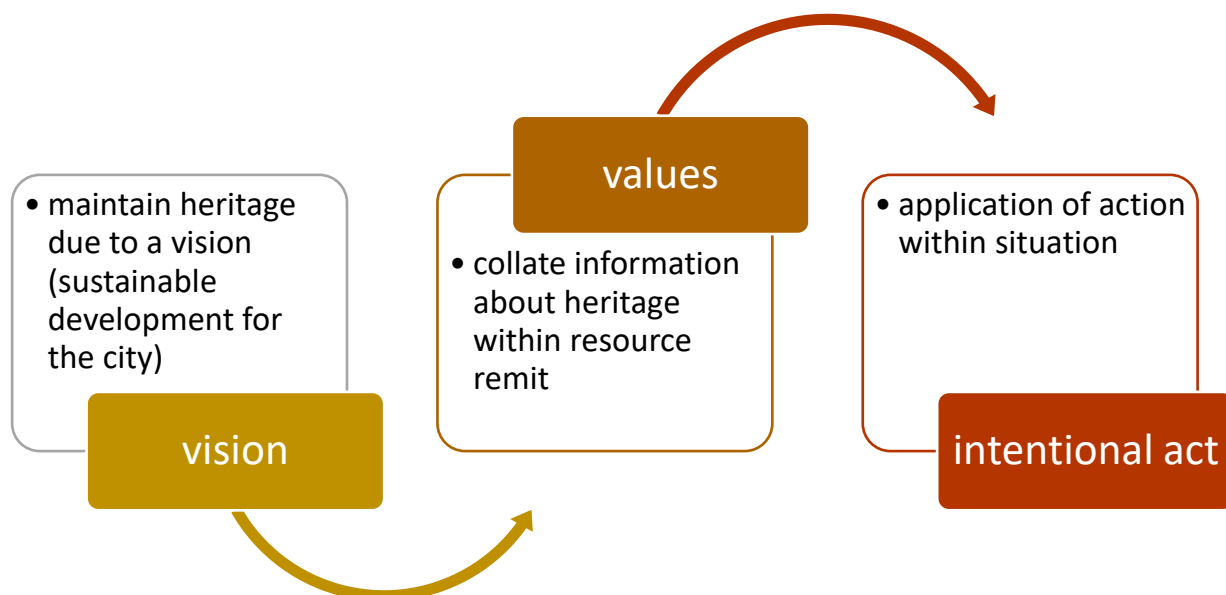


Figure 5. Vision-value-action process EXPERT process?

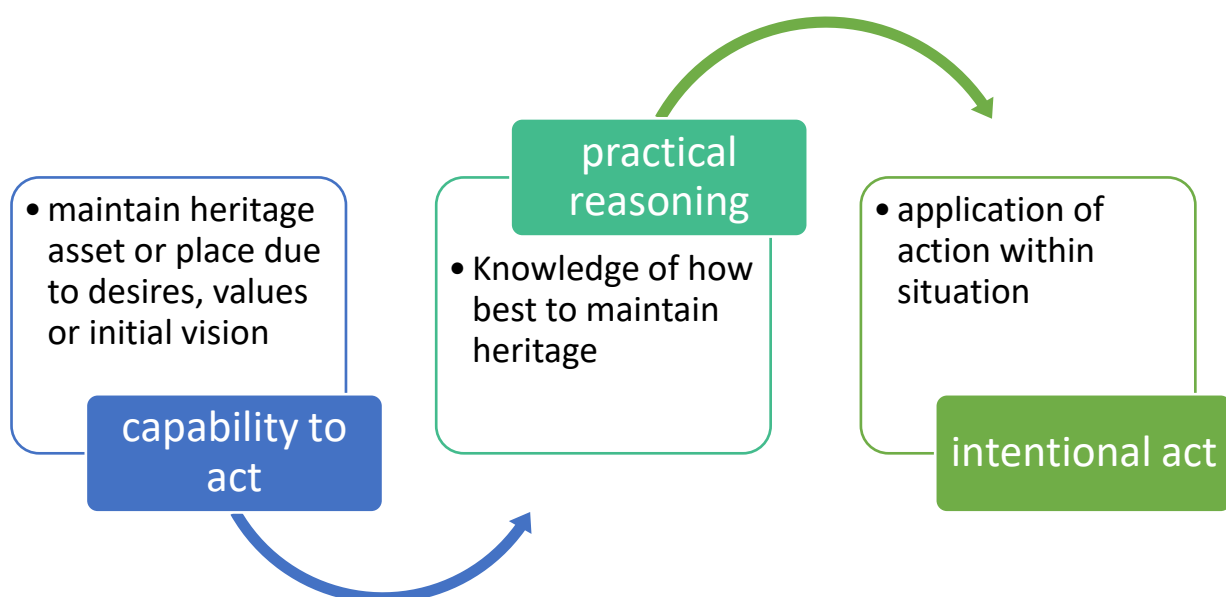


Figure 6. Value-knowledge-action NON-EXPERT process?

From these three hypothetical charts, an all-encompassing equation (i.e. vision=end goal and values=desires + knowledge) cannot be established for local authorities and community groups or organisations working in heritage management. Several questions arise including—where do city visions come from in the first place if not from prior knowledge? Do visions change if non-experts know their values in different ways, and have to make decisions about heritage in dissimilar ways? Essentially, in considering the

differences between expert and non-expert values (and the contexts and legal frameworks in which they occur) we have an extension from the question 'who knows values and with what methods' to 'who acts on values towards (vision), and with what methods'?

Furthermore, considering the multi-local city, is vision impacted according to place? How can visions be found and compared across places? Importantly, these questions highlight the sticking points that render absolute collaboration a challenge between official and unofficial forces in heritage management. In raising them, the crux of inquiry for this project has emerged:

How do heritage value-actions compare between multi-local groups working towards visions within a city context?

Through comparison, can one make recommendations of best practice for collaboration between groups?

Numerous questions have been raised here, but undoubtedly reflecting on value as connected to action is a highly important area of research for the heritage sector within the localism context. Moreover, as I now discuss, examining this relationship between 'value-action, vision and place' may require mixed methodological approaches, including those that go beyond uttered statements.

### **3.5 Visual Media & Value-Action**

The previous section has shown that the relationship between heritage values and visions is not as straightforward as conceived in section 3.1. Values for heritage may be 'known' in the expert sense but also can be understood as motivations towards action; this is of importance within a localism clime which supports civic heritage activities. Different models of value-action, which account for knowledge gain and capability, are not clear at this point (as shown above). However, as has been flagged up previously in this chapter the limits of value definitions through language have remained in the heritage sector. Therefore, research requires understanding beyond words.

Indeed, Satterfield (2002) has shown that whilst 'environmental' values are held as beliefs, interview or survey results cannot predict action (93). Thus, not all declarations of value can be necessarily 'taken as gospel' within uttered statements. The limitation with

interviews, surveys and focus groups where words do not reflect action, encourages us to seek mixed methods (Waterton has also highlighted this need to go beyond words frequently (2007, 69, 2010a, 24, 2010b, 155, Watson & Waterton 2015a)). At this point, following up from section 2.4 in Chapter Two, considering visual media (created and shared by both experts and non-experts) as a way of understanding value-actions in the multi-local city is put forward as a fruitful endeavour. Visual research can reveal values and visions by different groups and can be studied in different ways (Rose 2012). For example, within the **content** of visualisations (produced by developers), visions towards the creation of new city 'atmospheres' can be examined; these are "productive of very specific and therefore also limited (embodied) subjectivities and (emplaced) communities" (Aiello 2013, 1; also Rose 2013, Rose et al 2014, Degen et al 2017). Wider 'city visions' created by planners (or other visionaries) throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century imaginatively portray parallel pasts, presents and utopian futures (Dunn et al 2014).



Figure 7. Palmtree Island (Oasis) Project © Haus-Rucker-Co. (Dunn et al 2014, 83)

In these cases, visual media are politically resonant and politics resonate visually (Ranciere 2009 qtd in Oommen 2016); thus examining the content of such media (created by planners, councils, and community groups) reveals the different motivations that support their visions. In addition, the perspective, 'framing' or presentation of the image content, as **layout** is important to study in order to understand the focus shaped by the creator of the images (Cheung 2010, 259-262, Waterton 2010a & 2010b). Moreover, in the multi-local city, several different visions will be present in a battle of mass representations in and across place. Thus, the **velocity** of visuals—as was discussed in Chapter Two (see page 65)—can be revealing of place dynamics, for instance:

a woman submitted a reproduction of a painting of a historical view of the downtown landscape for consideration at a planning hearing. She stated that the painting is on display in a local gallery and said that the proposal in question would negatively affect such views [...]

(Barber 2013, 104).

The study of the contexts in which visuals emerge, the way people depend on them in specific situations is yet another way to consider the traction (and even the development) of value-actions. Furthermore, a study by Tweed and Sutherland (2007) captured residential perceptions of place across five cities (Belfast, Liege, Prague, Telč and Copenhagen) using visual-elicitation techniques: i.e. showing members of the public manipulated photographs that indicated changes to specific historic environments. The study found that across the five cities, residents had different levels of mood, attention and sensitivity whilst in situ. The **experience** of media in specific contexts (and places) is therefore pertinent to the strategies of participation (potentially leading to collaboration) between different groups (Kleinhans et al 2015).

Essentially, in exploring and comparing the content and pathways of visual media the collaborative value-actions and visions of different groups can be further interrogated alongside words. Thus, in this section I have put forward four different areas of visual analysis: content, layout, velocity and experience. These analytical approaches will be further discussed in Chapter Four, as part of a visual media toolkit.

### 3.6 Discussion

In this chapter, how heritage value feeds into city management has been exemplified, drawing on the policy-driven vision of sustainable development. Value-led conservation management was then outlined leading to a discussion of how definitions of heritage values have to evolve in line with specific contexts. However, the dangers of conceding unconsciously to the restless tension of cities and their visions is highlighted. In addition, recognising the tendency for heritage valuations to be made by experts within institutional contexts, heritage researchers have called for increased collaboration with different participants (even though such interventions flag up several theoretical issues as to the shared meaning of words—including the word value itself). After reviewing various methodologies for value-data capture, I moved onto the concept of value in line with action (reflecting the call-to-action mechanism of localism policies in the UK). It is from this discussion, that the need to compare how different groups might act on values collaboratively to get to visions bearing in mind different capabilities and any social differences should be made. Moreover, the importance of considering value-action beyond words and language, by considering visual media was raised.

The value-action models can only at this point be hypothetically comprised. The crux of inquiry for this project has been identified. The questions above (p106) are developed further in the following methodology chapter, which also pin points the steps taken to address this inquiry and the methodology approach from which data in the field was gathered.

## 4: Methodology & Methods

### 4.0 Introduction

In the previous two chapters, the theoretical discussion brought to the fore the following key points which structure this research:

- Within an increasing localism context, challenges and resource reductions impact local authorities, whilst localism policies encourage them to support and essentially collaborate with community groups in localised forms of heritage management (CATs are identified as a pertinent, if complex, example);
- Multi-local is highlighted as a relevant theoretical perspective considering the rise of localism policies. Such an approach can account for social differences in place and/or through media;
- The value-action approach (within a multi-local framework) is a useful for comparing the different motivations of groups who collaborate on heritage management towards their visions for heritage in cities. Such an approach can include the study of uttered statements, observed actions and any associated media.

At the end of chapter three the crux of the research inquiry emerged. In this chapter, I outline the methodological choices which guided two years of fieldwork in the city of study, York, towards this inquiry. Firstly, the paradigmatic position is explained followed by an account of why the method of ethnography (immersing myself within certain settings) was chosen in order to gather data. Thereafter, the role of researcher is discussed alongside the ethical challenges with, on the one hand, researching the value-actions of multiple groups, and on the other, achieving different kinds of collaboration with them. Thereafter the selections of sites (referred to as localities) within York, and the heritage 'centres' within these (the physical buildings which are referred to as place-nodes) are outlined alongside the identification of my participants. The selection of the localities and associated place-nodes assisted the re-phrasing of the research questions, which are also outlined. The specific methods applied during research (including fieldnotes, interviewing, visual research and contextual research) are then laid out. The everyday ethics in fieldwork with multiple groups, those anticipated and those that emerged, are also discussed. Lastly,



I outline the processes by which data was organised and analysed, as well as the methods for presenting the findings.

So, to begin with, I account for the methodological approach within the academic discussion of 'paradigms' and thereafter the choice of ethnographic methodology.

#### 4.1 The Paradigmatic & Methodological Approach

A paradigm indicates the position of the research within a theoretical "framework", "idiom" or "disciplinary matrix" and often directs which (and how) research methods should be undertaken. Essentially, method "connotes a way of knowing" (Gubrium & Holstien 1997, vii; also Guba & Lincoln 1994, 105-106, Lincoln & Guba 2000, 163, Trigg 2001, 258-259, Bryman 2004, 539-541, Morgan 2007, 49, Silverman 2010, 14, Denzin et al 2011, 97, Creswell 2013, 299). Whilst paradigmatic traditions are not statically connected to intellectual disciplines, they are some general trends to take account of. For instance, **positivist** and **realist** paradigmatic approaches roughly assume that research must be undertaken through external observation of the world, and as such are often associated with sociology and the social sciences (Bryman 2004, 539, Smith 2004, 48, Waterton 2007, 62-63, Ablett & Dyer 2009, 218). In these approaches, frequently the researcher assumes a "value free" position and data collection methods follow that of the natural sciences (such as social experiments) in order to prove or disprove a deductive hypothesis (11-12; see also Trigg 2001, 258). Positivist and realist approaches are often associated with quantitative methodologies, although a fixed association has been critiqued (Silverman 2010, 13, Bryman 2012, 614, Chowdhury 2015). Notably, this research model does not seek to prove or disprove a hypothesis but rather explore and compare social activities through mainly qualitative information (i.e. value-action and heritage management by different groups). In terms of alignment then, more suitable paradigms are identified as **interpretivism** which seeks to account for actions by participants through an understanding of the meaning (as knowledge) behind them, and consider the worth of a reflexively subjective researcher (Bryman 2004, 13). Moreover, **constructivism** supports an ontological approach whereby actors are observed to undertake being-in-the-world as they remake it under specific conditions, in specific settings, using specific resources during periods of time (Gubrium & Holstein 1997, Holstein & Gubrium 2011, 341). These

two paradigms are usually associated with qualitative research and combined can focus on values (or motivations driving action) within data whilst also reflecting on the researcher's position and affect in context (Guba & Lincoln 1994, 114, Silverman 2010, 433). However, in this study, meanings behind uttered statements and actions (focused within the interpretive framework) were quantified in order to present trends across different groups. Furthermore, the constructivism approach focuses on the development of phenomena over time in contexts: therefore, it was possible to count qualitative meaning over time as quantitative data in analysis. The effectiveness of these mixed methods analysis is reflected in the data chapters following Bryman (2012, 626-633) and Blair (2015). In essence, these latter two paradigms, with a mix of qualitative and quantitative analysis are vital to this research inquiry which seeks to understand and track collections of heritage values within ongoing activity centred around heritage management or wider practices in certain setting and places. Such a combination of paradigmatic approaches answers a call to go beyond a "clip-board survey" approach (Palmer 2009, 128-129, Sørensen & Carman 2009, 1, Watson & Waterton 2015a, 3-6).

The methodological choices are now explained further. In order to immerse myself in different settings (gaining qualitative data that could possibly be interpreted in both qualitative and quantitative ways) the method of ethnography was adopted. Ethnography is a method frequently undertaken "to describe the lives of people other than ourselves, with an accuracy and sensitivity honed by detailed observation" (Ingold 2008a, 69, qt. in Pink & Morgan 2013, 1; also Emerson et al 1995, 2). This activity is often partnered by fieldnote taking, however, mixed methods such as interviewing and media analysis have also been utilised (Schensul et al 1999, Schensul, Schensul & leCompte 1999, Davies 2001, 44, Dicks et al 2006, Pink 2011). Moreover, the concept of 'multi-sited ethnography'—which here is adopted to multi-local following Rodman (2003)—provides a direct link between the theoretical position and methodological activities (Marcus 1995 & 1997, Rodman 2003, Falzon 2009, Ryzewski 2012, Pink & Morgan 2013, 7). Ultimately, a multi-local ethnographic approach encourages us to consider the complicated ways in which different sites of study, and their perimeters in place, become known and compared:

[...] in multi-sited ethnography comparison emerges from putting questions to an emergent object of study whose contours, sites, and relationships are not known beforehand but are themselves a contribution of making an account that has different, complexly connected real-world sites of investigation

(Marcus 1995, 102).

So, while it is important to outline a research design or “fieldwork programme” ahead of research (Harper 1998, 67), there is also a need to account for alterations during the fieldwork, due to the emergence of situated knowledges (Haraway 1988, Marcus & Saka 2006, 101, Marcus 2013, 204). Multi-local research essentially pre-empts challenges of access and adaptations to place-nodes and localities, upholding these as significant knowledges in their own right (Marcus 2011, 17). And as shall be seen, these emerging aspects were inevitable in working with multi-local groups and inherent in my attempts to conduct collaborative research.

This section has located the paradigmatic and methodological position of the research project and indicated how multi-local ethnography can make comment on the emergent nature of ‘sites’. Before explaining how the sites were chosen in this study, I first discuss the theoretical implications of collaborative work in heritage research (with an ethnographic slant).

## **4.2. Collaboration in Heritage & Ethnographic Research**

In Chapter Two, several examples of collaborative heritage management undertaken by local authorities or organisations were reviewed. In this section I focus further on how collaboration within a research context raises both ethical challenges and opportunities.

At the onset of the Within the Walls Project, the collaborative possibilities of the research project were evident. But because the brief encouraged work with multiple groups, the notion of collaboration quickly became more complex and politicised. Research-based collaborative heritage projects (like local authority projects) are firmly situated within the contemporary ambitions of social endeavour. But unlike local authority projects, since 2014 UK research is encapsulated by the Research Excellence Framework and impact agenda (Belfiore 2015, Hazelkorn 2015). Research must attend to different ways of

approaching collaboration, in order to demonstrate impact and knowledge gain. Acknowledgement of a long, nebulous and interdisciplinary field of study must also be given. Collaborative researchers—whether focused on public service (such as health or other civic), business research, or emancipatory research in human rights—refer to collaborative models such as Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR), Participatory Action Research (PAR), and Co-production. These models stand as vanguards of collaborative practice between governmental, institutional, professional and community groups (Kemmis & McTaggart 2005, Stringer 2007, Bowen et al 2010, Verschuere et al 2012, Mileski et al 2014, Ersoy 2017b, Evans & Picinni 2017). Bowen et al (2010) have demonstrated that such collaborative research has developed and expanded over the last two decades. Theorists advocating these models uphold knowledge and value creation as a group activity so that research becomes a process rather than simply about achieving outcomes or expected results (Bovaird & Loeffler 2012, 12). Sharing control and including a multiplicity of voices is also a means of protecting the ethical integrity and validity of the research from bias (Lincoln & Guba 2000, 180, Mason et al 2013, 169).

Considering specifically heritage research (carried out through the university context), ethical concerns have been raised over:

- the erosion of role and knowledge of the teacher/expert in heritage studies beyond the classroom (Hamilakis 2004);
- researchers simply observing the unchecked activities of powerful, agenda-led communities—i.e. not mediating (Crooke 2011, Perkin 2011, 116);
- tokenistic (funded) outreach work by university institutions, where universities 'parachute in' (driven by the urge for impact) and subsequently do not share their knowledge effectively (Perkin 2011, 115, National Co-ordinating Centre For Public Engagement 2013);
- the difficulty in overcoming apathy within communities during university-led community excavations (and even prejudices held by students towards certain communities) (Neal & Roskams 2013);
- and the overly reductive requirement to gather impact as metrics as opposed to more meaningful data after research is complete (Thelwall & Delgado 2015).

On the other hand, more positive assertions towards a heritage research, not only 'for' but to differing degrees 'with and/or by' the public, support:

- A recognition of complexity in community groups leading to the inclusion of multiplicity of values in heritage management (Smith & Waterton 2011);
- the ability for a 'humble' expert to facilitate collaborative and empowering work with communities in their understanding and participation of their 'pasts' (Perkin 2011, 115, Schofield 2013a, Wolferston 2013);
- the social and economic gains to a community stemming from collaborative heritage research (Meskell 2010);
- linking participation of heritage work to human flourishing (Schofield 2014);
- and the ability to create more sustainable forms of collaboration for the future (National Co-ordinating Centre For Public Engagement 2013, Balestrini et al 2014).

Essentially, the benefits and disadvantages to collaborative practice in heritage research projects forms a debate that should continue to be discussed and debated pragmatically (May 2014). And, I posit that there is likely "no silver bullet" (Graham 2014c) or magic method of heritage collaboration that will work across all cities.

The challenges of collaboration in heritage research particularly impact those that follow ethnographic methods. With ethnography, the ethical position of researcher as either involved 'insider' or distanced 'outsider' has arisen as a complex debate since the 1970's (Pierce Colfer 1976, Rabinow 1977, Headland et al 1990, Hammersley 1992, Heyl 2001, Pink 2007, Fetterman 2008, Ingold 2008a). On the one hand, an outsider position prioritises "anthropological strangeness" or exercises "cynical disenchantment" in order to obtain usefully radical knowledge which can change practice (Latour & Woolgar 1986, 29, Bourdieu 1990, 15). From this stance, overly familiar relationships with participants within 'applied practice' are argued to produce reports of local knowledge from a perspective of "urbane romanticism" (Hammersley 1992, 15). On the other hand, since postmodernist discussions in ethnographic research, it is deemed highly problematic to maintain a "view from nowhere" (Law 2004, 8) or to claim a pure positivist/objective standpoint (Rabinow 1977, 151). In light of the discussions surrounding how far the written word can represent 'truth' (Geertz 1983 & 1988, Rabinow 1984, Clifford 1986, 1990 & 2009), an outsider

position has been criticised for leading to the unethical presentation of participants in written work (Hickerson 1992, Xia 2011). The arguments for an insider position uphold ethnography's social and emancipatory abilities within various frameworks of practice (Haraway 1988, Foley & Valenzuela 2005, Lassiter 2005a & 2005b, Smith 2005, Tedlock 2005). A pertinent example here, is the combination of applied and action ethnography during urban regeneration projects, which has offered insight into the complexity of local life and enabled spaces for "inclusionary argumentation" between planner, policy makers and communities (Maginn 2007; also Foster 1969, Green 2010, Huby et al 2011).

However, considering the different stages of research projects (e.g. data-gathering then analysis), the researcher's position is not necessarily fixed but a "dialectic process" between outside and insider identities (Hickerson 1992, 187). As such collaboration between research and participants is neither an "either/or proposition" but on a "collaborative continuum spectrum" between different stages of research (Cowell-Chanthaphonh & Ferguson 2008, 11). This spectrum "has to be worked out in each context and the balance will not always be the same" (Pyburn 2009, 162) and furthermore, collaborative researchers should "tentatively achieve a [...] 'reflective equilibrium'" to guide their ethical position (Wylie 2003, 12-13). Collaborative positions must bear in mind the distance between broader ethical standards (such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and the emergence of localised ethics 'on the ground' (Meskell 2010, 841, also see section 4.5). Essentially, I recognise that my insider/outsider position did develop at different stages of research (and see Roberts & Sanders 2005). Initially, my project was pre-calibrated to focus on the wider context of heritage values and to recommend collaborative approaches (see CDA framework Appendix A.i). Moreover, the project was assumed to be undertaken close to home (e.g. within the setting of the Council and at other locations in York) in order to investigate a particular set of practical issues (i.e. how to encourage more collaboration). Because of this closeness to home my ethnographic approach had the potential to be more insider with some groups than perhaps if I had been abroad (although I found varying outsidership and insidership in unexpected of situations). At the same time, my "'poised perception'" (Appelbaum 1995, quoted in Law 2004, 10), drew from theoretical interests and a wish to undertake "interdisciplinary and multimethod" approaches for reasons of intellectual rigour (Davies 2001, 60). Therefore,

my analytical workings at the latter stage of the project distanced me from all my participants (although subsequently I have remained actively in touch or acquainted with several participants across my sample groups). Ultimately, George E. Marcus's term "complicity" is highly relevant for this research design; this represents the active ethnographer working in and observing the world with non-researchers, across multi-local settings (1997). He argues that the "figure of complicity" (the researcher) must enter into the field, sharing their outside perspective within the 'here' of local contexts (96). Affinity is achieved between the researcher and 'subjects', because both are sensitive and curious to the uncovering of connections between the elsewhere and the here (97 & 100). Marcus points out that: "most anthropologists have always understood themselves as being both inside and outside the sites in which they have been participant observer" (97; also Law 2004, 108). Moreover, I also agree with Jaarsma's response (2005, 98) to Lassiter's position (2005b) wherein the former warns against ignoring the weight of participants' own intentions outside of the research framework and how these intentions impact the circumstances that lead to collaboration (in addition to the settings in which these occur). At the same time, it is also important to recognise (as is Lassiter's focus) the impact of power relations within research.

Indeed, the ethics of engagement (Downey 2009), "reciprocity" (Falzon 2009, 1) and the social differences inherent within heritage management must be acknowledged. For instance, with Maginn's (2007) study, it is clear that in being funded by an institution, access to community groups can prove difficult due to mistrust through affiliation to a governing body (38). In my experience, as a result of being associated with the City of York Council through funding, both my access and relationship to multiple groups or individuals caused barriers. For example, at one point a male Red Tower co-worker joked that I was a 'honeytrap' when wearing my CYC staff lanyard and access card. This (also gendered) response was pertinent because he had exclaimed against CYC staff on a previous occasion but it should be noted that we established a working relationship thereafter—such barriers are not static. Essentially, my own and others positions shifted within different circumstances of the multi-local settings in which we moved (Enguix 2012): this became apparent particularly after the York boxing day floods where I undertook to set the Red Tower up as a distribution point for supplies and information (see Red Tower

Diaries Appendix D.ii). Reflexivity across the multi-local is therefore an ethically pertinent task to understanding how knowledge generation is premised and carried out before, during and after fieldwork (Davies 2001, Law 2004, 152-3, Roberts & Sanders 2005, Pink 2007, 23, Thomas 2013, 144). Therefore a complicit ethnographer—a participating observer working in and observing the field—must demonstrate the use of “vigilant methods” which in my case occurred through reflective fieldnotes and the creation of visual media (Wiles et al 2008, 24).

A small reminder must be made as to the use of media to aid collaborative research, before moving on to discuss the selection of the sites. As discussed in Chapter Two both media and public archaeology theorists continue to advocate the ability for communicative tools to cater for the “messiness” of multiplicity and to create forms of collaboration, whilst remaining critical of its abilities to ‘distribute sense’ (Evans & Piccini 2017, 118). Recalling that which was discussed there and the warnings of Gallagher and Freeman (2011), two points can be made. Firstly, communicative tools and technology do not provide a master-key for collaboration, we must critically approach the premise of media as an engagement tool. Secondly, critical attention should be paid to the dynamic ways that collaboration between different people manifests, taking note in these instances how, when and where visual or other forms of media are present. More on this will be discussed throughout the chapter.

And so, at this point I have already touched on some reflection of my complicit ethnographic position within different settings and times in York. The specific steps in selecting the localities for study and the generation of the research questions are now discussed.

### **4.3. Locating ‘localities’ & developing the research questions**

The multi-local ethnographic approach within the city is a strong model for this project. Following the brief of the Within the Walls project—which put forward York as a laboratory for best practice—place-nodes (centres or buildings) situated within localities were sought at an early stage of the project and were selected in the following way.

During the initial conceptual stages of research, I familiarised myself with York through an



“exploratory period” (Weißköppel 2009, 254): this included walking around the city (as far as Osbaldwick and Nether Poppleton) and undertaking twenty informal conversations with local heritage practitioners, local society leaders, and academics in the field (see Appendix iv). Thus, I learnt of many different activities in York, stemming from different heritage place-nodes (e.g. York Minster, the Bar Convent). Meeting with numerous heritage groups I became rather anxious: determining how many ‘place-nodes’ and ‘localities’ to incorporate is difficult as a researcher has to balance the urge to include as much data as possible against viable objectives (Weißköppel 2009, 253). So, a purposive sampling technique, utilised in case study research, was adopted to narrow my focus (Bryman 2012, 416-18). In considering the theoretical position, it was meaningful to narrow the focus to selection which demonstrated relevance to the following criteria;

1. A locality which intersects with the historic environment in York within which different groups are dwelling, working in, moving through, or otherwise creating pathways,
2. A heritage place-node where collaborative activities occur, which may impact an associated locality,
3. A heritage place-node where different communication of activities by people about the locality occur,
4. Potential for further inclusion and collaborative work via research.

Thus, these formed as relevant ‘prioritised criteria’ (Kennedy 2006) which helped filter the possible localities for study. My final selection emerged from connections established through the Within the Walls Project CDA and increased understanding on how heritage asset transfers were important to local areas. Thus, the selection resulted in “opportunistic” sample (Roberts & Sanders 2005, 297, Jupp 2006, Bryman 2012, 414-415), a type of sampling I deem highly complementary to the emerging contours of multi-local research.

The **first place-node** was early on identified as a direct consequence of the CDA studentship, although research began some months after fieldwork on the second place-node had commenced (and certain fieldwork techniques had been tested). I was offered a placement at the City of York Council (CYC) West Offices—a Grade Two Listed building, previously York’s railway station (1840-41) and thereafter a hotel until its restoration as the

West Offices in 2013 (HE 2017e) (previously the CYC were based at St Leonards Place). I decided to use the placement opportunity to consider how different practices within council management could foster collaboration between community organisations working on heritage projects (honing strong relevance to the third criteria). I was also interested to compare the way that different visions for place fitted together within the practices of the Local Authority. The selection was also considerably weighted by the fact that the West Offices are the offices of the local authority (arguably, as one specific place-node which extends onto all other localities within the CYC boundary).



Figure 8. City of York Council's West Offices © Harrison (2017).

The choice of the **second place-node** also came about during the early exploratory period of the project. Through a gatekeeper at the council I was introduced to a 'green/local activist' group known as The Incredible Movement (TIM). This group proposed a project to take the Red Tower, adjoined to the City Walls, into the hands of the community seeking to turn it into a community café through negotiating a Long Lease Asset Transfer from the Council. I chose this place-node because I was able to collaborate directly with the volunteers and because of the complex way the Red Tower is connected to the Foss Islands, Walmgate and Navigation Road localities. The tower was built in 1490 AD and is situated on the north-east side of York's medieval City Walls. It is parallel to a busy ring road. The council housing to the south of the Red Tower are home to a mixture of permanent residents and transitory students. The premise of tracking the initial stages of a heritage asset transfer, towards vision creation, in such a complicated area of different

thoroughfares and pathways rendered the Red Tower a compelling project which met all four of the prioritised criteria.



Figure 9. The Red Tower © Hatton (2009)

After becoming more curious of the impact of CATs to localities (through the being involved in the Red Tower project), two other Heritage Asset Transfers, Tithe Barn, Poppleton and Holgate Windmill, were selected as the **third** and **fourth place-nodes** (Holgate and Poppleton formed as comparative localities). This selection again was opportunistic: several key contacts were approached from connections through the Red Tower and the CDA framework, but only two York-based asset transfer projects were responsive to my invitation (the two others sought were still active in their 'becoming' stage). Both these asset projects had already completed their transfers and restorations (realised their visions) over a decade ago. However, I decided that the becoming period of these asset transfers would be important to compare to the Red Tower, in order to similarly compare how visions had emerged, who had been involved and in what context (and thereafter examine the impact on localities). However, because their becoming periods took place in the past, the data formed as accounts or the previous action and the ethnographic dynamic became somewhat stretched: the impact on the data collection on analysis and interpretation is noted upon further in this chapter (section 4.6.).





Figure 10. Image of the Tithe Barn, by author (2017).



Figure 11. Holgate Windmill © HWPS 2012.

Due to my involvement with the Red Tower project from the start of its conception, and a wish to fully grasp fieldnote techniques before starting at the West Offices, the sequence of the research into these different place-nodes was as follows:

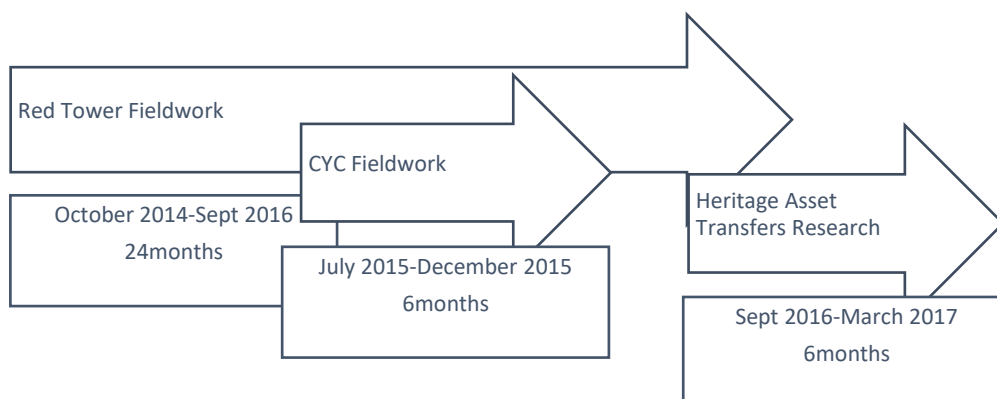


Figure 12. Sequence of fieldwork and research with case studies (place-nodes).

Notably, the layout of the chapters does not follow the fieldwork sequence chronologically but is instead scaled to reflect the narrowing of focus on the localities of York (getting closer to the city walls) as is theoretically pertinent to the research. The scaled approach inwards also highlights the increasing level of detail captured in the data about specific place-nodes, with the Red Tower ethnography capturing the most qualitative detail about mine and my participants interaction with place. A review on the balance of the fieldwork is given in the conclusion chapter.

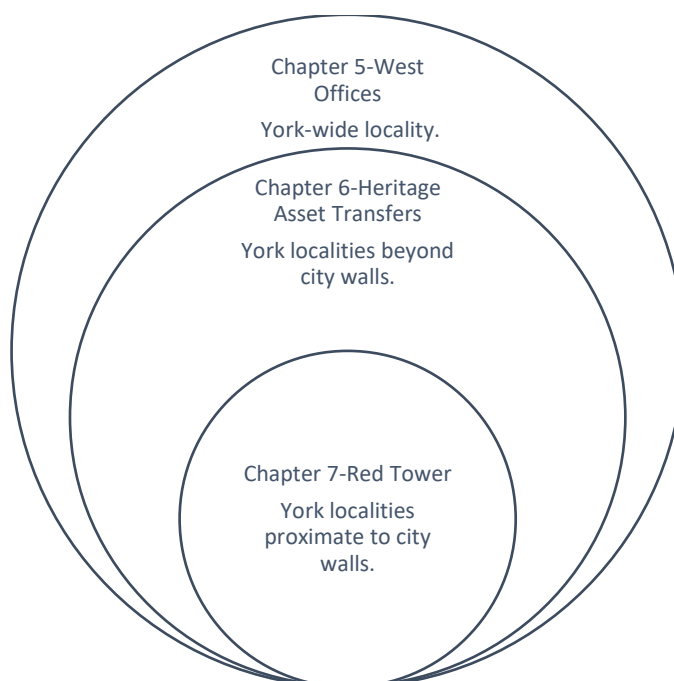


Figure 13. The chapter sequence following a 'zooming' movement into the centre of York and heightening of qualitative detail.

During fieldwork, the identification of participants within each place-nodes initially formed into the following groups who were associated with the place-nodes or localities in different ways:

Table 6. Identification of participants across place-nodes

<b>PLACE-NODE</b>	<b>ASSOCIATED LOCALITY</b>	<b>PARTICIPANTS</b>
CYC West Offices	'City of York'	--Various practitioners within the West Offices
Tithe Barn & Holgate Windmill	Poppleton & Holgate respectively	--Trustees of the two projects (proximate to localities)
Red Tower	Navigation Road, Walmgate & Foss Islands	--Supporters (volunteer team) --Students (proximate to localities) --Residents (proximate to localities) --Wallwalkers (temporarily proximate to localities)

In both theory chapters, social differences, affluence and capability are raised as potentially impacting collaboration enacted in places. In order to give an account of 'affluence' (via, inversely, indexes of deprivation) associated with locality, statistics from York's ward profiles have been cited and other relevant information is given in the contexts of place-shaping for each chapter (see section 4.4. below). Participants' capability and any other social differences are documented in fieldnotes and within reflections on the analysis (and not via statistics). Differences include the dwelling status of participants and any available description of backgrounds. I found this method allows more ability to reflect on the "misrecognition" of sample groups (Smith & Waterton 2011) and how an array of differences (poor/rich/mobile/resident) were enacted or overcome in real-time and in place. Notably, the whole sample was white and English—several Polish and Asian people were interacted with in the Walmgate area, but interaction with them was not substantial. This was as a result of opportunistic selection in specific place-nodes in York (e.g. the population of York overall is predominantly White British) (CYC 2017c). The mix of genders (I worked with slightly more women) were also of varying ages ranging from

around 18 to 80 (but specific ages or genders were not inquired of). The size of sample for groups at each place-node was an ambiguous notion to deliver at the early stage of place-node selection, as with the multi-local, the opportunistic sampling method became the operative means of recruitment (however numbers in terms of interviews are acknowledged further below, whilst a quantitative amount of interactions are discussed in the data chapters).

Before these methods are outlined, I first need to attend to the functional formation of the research questions. Here again is the crux of the inquiry:

How do heritage value-actions compare for different groups working towards visions in the city context?

Through comparison, can one make recommendations of best practice for collaboration between groups?

These main research questions were deconstructed into different analytical aims, although the wording took some time to solidify. They eventually formed as Place-Node Research Questions and the Comparative Research Questions:

#### **Place-Node Research Questions:**

1. What heritage value-actions can be identified at the place-node?
2. How do value-actions correspond to any identified 'visions' of the place-node?
3. If there are challenges & contrasting value-actions, what are these?
4. What is the relationship between the place-node, and
  - i. local collaboration and
  - ii. other forms of engagement?
5. Overall, what is the relationship between the place-node and associated localities?

#### **The Comparative Research Questions:**

6. What are the noticeable differences and similarities in the value-action processes between the place-nodes?

7. In light of the above question, what recommendations can be made for further collaborative heritage work between local authorities and community groups?

Essentially what I aim to achieve with these questions is an understanding of the differences between, on the one hand, a local authority dealing with official definitions of heritage and on the other, smaller community-group led centres working with contradictory unofficial definitions of heritage within smaller remits. Comparing the practices of local authorities to that of community organisations is necessary in the localism clime (where responsibilities for heritage management are being shared) in order to see how dialectical relationships can be established, not only between council and active community organisations, but community organisations and more general community groups in places. I want to compare how the scale (literally size) of place-nodes impacts upon the level and quality of collaboration in heritage activities in local areas. In acknowledging the differences between the place-nodes and their operations (their pathway making), I am leaving space for recommendations of best practice being made, recommendations which may consider ethical movements towards the sharing of responsibility of the historic environment in cities. The 'Place-Node Questions' are discussed within the data chapters corresponding to each place-node, whilst the 'Comparative Questions' are discussed in the overall analytical Chapter Eight.

Hence, this section has detailed the selection of localities, the selection of participants and the functional version of the research questions. At this point I now explain how a mixed methods approach was undertaken at different localities. I also explain the reasoning behind adapting certain methods to differing situations with multi-local groups.

#### **4.4 Data Gathering in York**

The exploratory period also gave me the chance to consult with key contacts ahead of fieldwork and from this experience I formed a research-design which fitted my theoretical objectives. Below I lay out the initial methodology which was submitted and approved by the Arts and Humanities Ethic Committee based at the University of York, alongside my comments on how these methods had to differ across localities.



#### 4.4.1 Fieldnotes & Visual Media Collections:

Fieldnotes and Visual Media Collections feed into the Place-Node RQs 1-5.

STEPS:

1. Enter the locality of study (CYC placement, Red Tower Team Activities, or Pre-2011 HAPs participants' home);
2. Participate in and observe participants' activities (i.e. placement work, event planning, or other discussions)
3. Take photographs during activities and collect any present visual media;
4. Write jottings;
5. Take descriptive notes after activities—consciously focusing in on steps 1-4;
6. Share fieldnotes and photographs with groups and discuss;
7. Reflect on any research interviews that had been undertaken during fieldwork.

Essentially, my ethnographic work has three basic elements: my collaboration in activities, participant observation and fieldnote writing. A brief discussion on fieldnote taking here. As Clifford (1990) suggests, fieldnotes can be compiled of three ingredients: inscription, description and transcription (58), which can also equate to "jottings", "writing-up" and coding analysis (Emerson et al 1995, 19, 39 & 142). In participating with groups at Red Tower and the CYC localities, I would afterwards (no more than two hours later) write 'raw' jottings in my fieldwork journal (via my laptop, either in cafes or other spaces away from my participants). At the end of the day, these became fleshed out written descriptions of the activities, which included details of who did or said what, when, how, how many, and the setting. Notably, "thick description" of behaviour and descriptive detail were gathered (Geertz 1983, Emerson et al 1995, xiii); I found myself focusing on people's non-verbal gestures (e.g. pointing or looking intently), and this I later found to help identify motivations beyond words. I also accounted for where disagreements arose whilst making explicit my positionality within discussions or activities. Eventually—before the end of the project—these notes were shared with participants on a protected web site specifically set-up in order to enable participants to discuss the notes confidentially.

In terms of collaborative activities, fieldwork at the Red Tower was highly productive, due to my high involvement within the Red Tower project between October 2014-September

2016. I collaborated with supporter participants and took part in the shaping of the asset project. This involvement increased when I became a paid consultant for the project during a prefeasibility stage between November 2015-March 2016—during this stage my insider role was highly complicit and practice-based (see section 4.5. for further ethical reflection on this role change). In this role, I took part in setting up events, leading community engagement strategies and contacting businesses and organisations in the local area to seek their potential interest in the building. This resulted in my creating (for the prefeasibility write-up) a consultancy report (which details various ways myself and the team had sought York residents' ideas regarding the tower's future, including a feedback form technique which I had designed with team members) and an interpretation report. This period also resulted in a deluge of fieldnotes detailing my collaboration with Red Tower supporters or other groups. Notably, this highly involved role gave insight into how the other sample groups (the local residents, Wallwalkers and the student community) interacted within the Red Tower and the surrounding localities. Indeed, my initial intention to utilise the Red Tower as an epicentre for inquiry to attract the other sample groups (particularly residents) became problematic mainly due to apathy in the local community (although this was not always the case: some key contacts were established.) And as part of my fieldnote taking during this time and thereafter, I was able to reflect on the reasons behind either apathetic or collaborative behaviour (and the spaces in between).

In contrast, the West Offices posed different challenges for fieldnote taking. At start of the council placement (lasting five months among the DSCD team's hot-desks in the West Offices) it became apparent I could not participate as an active collaborator in the same way as at Red Tower, for several reasons. Firstly, the participants were involved in different bureaucratic practices ranging from transport to community management. In-depth involvement in activities required training and sustained focus, and this was not possible in the five-month time-frame. Secondly, despite contacting participants, my request to observe or shadow practitioners sat at their desks or when busy with colleagues was not taken up, and indeed I also felt this action would be futile and invasive (without deeper knowledge of their activities gained over time). Lastly, when I was invited to meetings by participants, I realised gaining informed consent became problematic in large groups (for example, at Neighbourhood Planning meetings or consultations regarding the Local

Plan—see section 4.5 for the informed consent process). It was a challenge to be an observer researcher in that space due to the open-plan hot-desks set-up (which allowed viewing into multiple practitioners' working environments) which again was in contradiction with the informed consent process. I was also told by my gatekeeper not to include the conservation staff in my research, due to their busy workloads, thus highlighting a major access issue. (All these issues are discussed at length in fieldnotes in Appendices A.viii and B.ii). Working around these issues, it became more viable for me to engage in interviewing and then to undertake my own separate tasks as part of the placement (which resulted in two reports on the HER and City Walls). Indeed, some of the most yielding fieldnotes emerged out of discussions with the heritage and archaeological staff about these reports.

With the Pre-2011 asset transfers, a different category of fieldnote-taking, that of retrospection, took place. The research with the Pre-2011 asset transfers took place after Red Tower fieldwork had finished and having gathered many thousands of fieldnotes with the latter (see 4.6.3) I decided to ask the trustees of Holgate Windmill and Tithe Barn to condense their asset transfer project (in some cases spanning over ten years) into several 'key moments' in order to create a timeline of the project (comparable to the key moments that were being identified within the Red Tower data). I also asked them about the connection between the asset and the locality and whether this had changed over time (as a result of the asset transfer). The discussion of the timeline and other insights took place in their homes during two meetings with each trustee or via email using notes and annotations (see Appendix Ci-iii & Cvi-viii). These retrospective notes were repeatedly emailed to the trustees for further editing and thus formed a collaborative activity which had not been achieved with others. Thus, solely steps 1,3,4, and 6 of fieldwork were undertaken and the retrospective nature of these fieldnotes, as co-produced accounts of action rather than my perception of actions, stretched the ethnographic aspect of the study. However, these notes feel less like interviews as they do not fit the topic schedules given below; they remain classified as retrospective fieldnotes as they account mostly for activities. This data was nonetheless very useful in understanding further the stages that CATs go through in order to succeed and the different impacts they have on localities (particularly in different areas of affluence within York).

In addition to taking fieldnotes, I also took photographs of and within all the place-nodes, and, if possible, of participants as a way of documenting groups' activities. This media-collection included media that was already in existence in places (e.g. posters and leaflets) and that which was produced by others. Both the taking of photographs and discovery of media occurred differently in each place-node. Within the West Offices, due to the nature of the ethnography described above, I found it hard to take photographs of participants in the hot-desk and open plan context (gaining consent was a challenge). Moreover, as I was not directly collaborating with participants on any projects, there were no group activities to document. Photographs were taken of people-less vistas to indicate the context of the workplace. Existing media was everywhere in the West Offices, but I paid special attention to that which participants had shown something to me or later if I had found it to be particularly important to the thematic discussion which structured the chapter (e.g. images that contextualised locality). With the two Pre-2011 heritage asset transfers as they were no 'group' activities in an ethnographic sense, so again, images of the place-nodes were taken to give a sense of context and media was selected if it was shown to me or deemed relevant to the thematic discussion. At the Red Tower many images were taken in context of the place-node with groups of people and of the posters or other media produced. Supporters of the Red Tower were active in taking photographs themselves and uploading them onto their social media pages, particularly Facebook, an aspect which I had not factored into my research design (I later invited my Red Tower supporters to send me their favourite photographs). In all place-nodes and where possible, I aimed to document the 'velocity' of this media by tracking the way it moves within contexts. This aim made me highly susceptible to the overwhelming "dazzle" of data (Law 2004, 9) and such analysis was unfeasible for a lone, collaborating researcher (who was also writing placement reports and setting up events). The effectiveness of tracking the velocity of photographs and media is discussed in the analysis of media (see section 4.6.4 below.)

I now move onto the next method, that of interviewing.

#### **4.4.2 Ethnographic Interviewing (Individual & Group):**

Ethnographic interviewing (individual & group) feeds into the Place-Node RQs 1-5.

STEPS:

1. Enter the field (documented through fieldnotes)
2. Recruit key participant(s) through participatory activities;
3. Inform participant(s) of project details and activity through verbal explanation (offer information sheet provided);
4. Gain verbal consent, and determine whether audio-recording is possible;
5. Undertake interview;
6. Finish interview, inform participant(s) of necessary follow ups;
7. Undertake transcript, organise digital photographs and carry out theoretical dialogue;
8. Send transcript to the participant(s).

This method enabled me to engage in direct dialogues with individual or groups of participants and focusing on specific questions. In terms of recruitment, I had aimed to undertake to up to 40 interviews across the whole project, with 6 individual interviews and at least 2 group interviews being undertaken within each sample group. These numbers are selected following the arguments of Mason (2010) concerning the numbers of interviews needed to reach information 'saturation point' in analysis (5; also Norton 2015). I was successful in carrying out thirty-three interviews in total (see table seven). Time of course was also a major factor as were the relationships with and access to participants.

Table 7. Numbers of interviews across place-nodes

<b>PLACE-NODE</b>	<b>Participant type</b>	<b>Number of Interviews</b>
CYC West Offices	Various practitioners	9 individual interviews including 1 group interview (of 5 participants)
Tithe Barn & Holgate Windmill	Trustees of the two projects	No recorded interviews; co-produced fieldnotes and noted conversations were created instead (see page 127).
Red Tower	Supporters (volunteer team)	9 individual interviews including 1 group interview (of 3 participants)
	Students	No interviews
	Residents	6 individual interviews (no group interview)

	Wallwalkers	2 x group interviews (6 participants in total)
--	-------------	--

Interviews took place with the convenience of the interviewees in mind, often in quiet cafes, offices or otherwise “in situ” (Schofield 2013b). Thus, in situ moved according to group. Two Wallwalker group interviews occurred outside the Red Tower because these people were typically making use of a thoroughfare and thus catching them as they walked past the Red Tower was the quickest way to interview them. I have reflected on this in situ impact in the data chapters. Unfortunately, interviews with students was not successful. Despite standing outside the student accommodation in April 2016 and managing to complete six recorded conversations with students leaving and entering the buildings, my topic schedule did not suit their interaction with the area because those who stopped to talk did not know much about the surrounding area nor were aware of the names of areas. This lack of insight impacted their views on the Walmgate and Navigation Road locality and I could not adapt the topic schedule (see below) to suit their interaction with place adequately.

The topic schedule for individual interviews with Residents, Council Practitioners, Wallwalkers and Red Tower Supporters was semi-structured (Schensul, Schensul & leCompte 1999, 149, Davies 2001, 94-95). My questions included a “baggage of concerns” (Harper 1998, 78) and “topics” I wished to investigate (Davies 2001, 94). This included discussing the roles of the participants and asking about their desires, aspirations, intentions (positive movements) or concerns (negative aversion) which were gathered in order to underpin the motivations behind value-actions, drawing from the theoretical concepts highlighted in chapters two and three (see topic schedule in Appendix A.ii). During interviews, an interactive dialogue was upheld by giving my own views on subject matters (these were highlighted): in doing this, the interviews formed as constructive processes or dyadic interaction and participants were noticeably able to identify their own positions, separate from mine (Davies 2001, 111, Palmer 2009, 131). Indeed, in some interviews different interpretations of heritage and also the word ‘value’ came to fore (see Betty and Mike’s interviews). Whilst I acknowledged participants attributed other

meanings to words, my role during interviews was never to bring my participants onto the 'same page' as myself (although some similarities and viewpoints were discussed). Such conversations would lead us into the discussions of chapter three and may indeed have led to a different kind of collaborative research, one where another new inventory of value-meanings was co-produced. Instead, my interests in the relationship between values and action led me to investigate motivations as value-actions, to interpret participants' accounts of actions following a theoretical method and thereafter to review this method (see section 4.6.2 on coding).

All interviews were audio-recorded as less intrusive and more reliable way of gathering data which could allow for a more engaged and attentive role within dialogue (Davies 2001, 99, Heyl 2001, 13). Ahead of interviews, all the selected participants were given an information sheet. Afterwards they were sent both summaries and audio files, and then once completed, the full transcript via the confidential research website to edit if they wished. After interviewing, it became important to reflect on various aspects of interviewing, challenges or insights gained in place, including emerging knowledge for myself and participants (Heyl 2001, 370). These insights were captured in the memos and in a word file titled 'Methodological Reflections' (see Appendix A.ix).

Group interviews (see appendix A.iii) were initially planned to happen in situ, however, once I had started the individual interviews, I became increasingly more aware that it was unlikely for such discussions to occur organically for some of my participants. Moreover, I became aware that group interviews shed light on the way that the West Offices and Red Tower Supporter collaborated as part of a team (Davies 2001, 105). Therefore, a semi-structured topic schedule was established which focused on media use and information sharing so that how they collaborated with others could be raised and then salient areas be picked up on during discussion (Bryman 2004, 352) (see Appendix A.iii). As with the individual interviews, reflecting on the settings and the interpersonal relationships was reflected within the methodological reflections (Lunt & Livingstone 1996, Davies 2001,105). I was able to organise group interviews with the Red Tower supporters, the CYC practitioners, the Wallwalkers (which followed the individual topic schedule, as the participants were not involved in team-work) but not the students or Residents or more

trustees of the Holgate Windmill and Tithe Barn (despite sending out emails to contacts in order to attempt to organise one for each group).

I now detail a research method which took place at the desk: that of contextualising the localities.

#### **4.4.3 City & Place Shaping—Contextualising the Localities:**

Contextualising the localities feeds specifically into the Place-Node RQ 5.

STEPS:

1. Whilst in the field identify where connections to localities emerge;
2. Engage in primary and secondary resource research (i.e. desk-based analysis)
3. Collate information and 'paint a picture' of the relationship with locality.

The purpose of 'contextualising' the localities is to lay out any possible connections between "micro processes to macro structures and dynamics" (Ò Riain 2009, 291), i.e. between places and the city. Drawing on the 'Conservation Principles' (EH 2008a), which highlight the value of place in line with its inevitable change, this essentially meant explaining the role and remit of the current local authority, the impact of any notable policy and law, and the impact that previous authorities have had on the shaping localities surrounding the asset transfer projects. In many ways, this contextualising aspect registers a Critical Realist position in line with Smith (2004), in the way that it observes data connected within an intertextual framework that impacts upon place. However, within each place-node study, dialectical relationships between places and context are made clear and place retains a share of autonomy which influences practice in unprecedented ways. To undertake this contextualising step in research I consulted documentary sources, both primary and secondary works by historians, archaeologists and theorists. I also included texts, maps and other visuals found within the place-nodes. Such sources have been demonstrated to be of use within both ethnographic and archaeological research designs, as a way of acknowledging that the social world produces documental information in accordance with wider events (Brown 1973, Harper 1998, Atkinson & Coffrey 2011). For the West Offices chapter, I include deconstruction of the emerging Local Plan, due to overt links and the significance on city-shaping identified through



fieldwork. For the asset transfers this included detailing the development of their locality, i.e. why the asset was there in the first place, how had the city authorities' ambitions made them thus. Localities proximate to the asset were identified through a 'footed' selection of localities, in an acknowledgement of Ingold's assertion that:

A more grounded approach to human movement, sensitive to embodied skills of footwork opens up new terrain in the study of environmental perception, the history of technology, [and] landscape formation

(Ingold 2004, 315).

Despite the initial grounded approach, this contextual aspect subsequently required an overtly observational stance away from the place-nodes, to explain aspects of them. It also allowed me to demonstrate how texts and visuals are still lively and adapting knowledge of place-shaping.

The above section has detailed the methods adopted both within and without the localities. I have also given examples of where these methods had to be adapted (or were not successful). At this point, I now demonstrate some of the specific ethical challenges that were faced (both anticipated and emergent) during fieldwork.

#### **4.5. Everyday Ethics with Multi-Local Groups**

As discussed above, ethics are a vital proponent of collaborative research. Essentially, an ethical attitude in advance of research, thus:

The ethics of any profession cannot be conceived in isolation from ethics in general [...] we should be good persons before we are good archaeologists, philosophers, politicians or bus drivers

(Scarre & Scarre 2006, 4, qtd. in Kiddey 2014, 69).

Indeed, 'virtue ethics' can correspond to prior knowledge or an "ethic of care", to treat participants (and those deemed vulnerable) with dignity (Banks 2001, 46, Wylie 2003, 4, Christians 2005, Farrimond 2013, 16, Kiddey 2014, 66-68). An ethic of care encouraged me to cultivate an emotional responsiveness to guide my instincts in emerging situations (Farrimond 2013, 16). For instance, at the beginning of the research, I undertook

discussions with the Ethnic Minority and Traveller Community officer at the City of York Council and several other contacts. As a result, I decided against making contacts within a traveller site near to the Red Tower localities to avoid what I felt could be tokenistic outreach, stretched alongside so many other groups I was attempting to collaborate with. Moreover, ethical research is also subject to unprecedented localised factors. An understanding of “every-day ethics” (Banks et al 2013, 266) and Aristotle’s concept of *phronēsis* (the acquirement of practical wisdom) (Ross 2009, xiv) is extremely pertinent when negotiating circumstantial ethics within the field, helping to avoid a fixated ‘tick-box’ approach. Thus, I was mindful of the following recommendation that researchers:

should expect to encounter ethical dilemmas at every stage of their work, and should make good-faith efforts to identify potential ethical claims and conflicts in advance when preparing proposals and as projects proceed

Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth (ASA 2011, 3).

Hence, as part of the completion of an ethics form for the University of York, several areas of potential ethical tension ahead of fieldwork were identified. Below, these areas are detailed along with how they influenced the fieldwork and my subsequent response:

- Undertaking fieldwork with different groups of participants in York:

Following the British Educational Research Association Ethical guidelines (BERA 2011) it is highlighted that in participating with different groups a researcher should “minimize the effects of designs that advantage or are perceived to advantage one group of participants over others” (Article 24, 7). In recognition that my work with Red Tower led to more collaborative relationships with supporters, I also critically reflect upon them. Furthermore, part of the revealing aspect of this project lies in navigating the diversity of opinion (sometimes at odds with my own) as I met with different personalities (Schmidt 2017, 4). As a result I also did find myself at times in a position to agree or disagree with different people’s standpoints, priorities and values (sharing my personal ‘in-heres’ and ‘out-theres’) (Marcus 1997). I attempted to use such discussions as a way to encourage useful debate, not to hamper it. Where such conversations were more animated, and personalities clashed, I had to take a balanced approach to what to include—not to “whitewash”, but to be mindful that a conversation in situ reads differently on paper (Schmidt 2017, 5). The

essence of agreement or disagreement between participants remains in my fieldnotes and the avoidance of privileging participants over others is also taken into consideration regarding anonymity (see below).

My position evolved through my part-time employment by the Red Tower during the feasibility project (October 2015 and March 2016). The task was primarily to gather York residents' opinions about the Red Tower alongside delivering events and managing social media. From the onset I took pains to deliberate on the new role with my supervisors (see Appendix xi. –Methodological Reflections entry 05/10/15.) I acknowledged that the role with the Red Tower project might impact my relationship with the team and other groups. Recognising I would need to defend the argument of ultimate insider (and the impact of working relationships that inevitably arose with participants) I made the bridge between researcher and employee in three ways. Firstly, I strove to give balanced and reflective reviews of any contrasting opinions in fieldnotes, even at the Red Tower team itself, so as not to give unfair advantage (as above). I also took pains to note reflexive insight into my work and the impact I made (including on the creation of social media). Secondly, my research role was not at odds with the research tasks for the feasibility project—accurate insight of local feeling was required, and this role (of collecting opinions) did not put too much pressure on my identity with other groups. As part of my reconfiguring role I adapted my consent process (see below) by creating feedback forms and information sheets which explained the dual purpose for my inquiries. Lastly, I made the bridge by considering the role of complicity by Marcus (1995) and by seeing value in being a practicing researcher (the extreme of complicity). Such a role is a highly important for the sector where understanding about how collaboration is enacted in real time is required. Essentially, I gained valued insight into challenges on the ground from a semi-professional perspective.

- Gaining informed consent within changing social environments, or groups with large or evolving memberships

In undertaking ethnographic fieldwork at events or environments of large membership, I took pains to inform all those whom I became acquainted with of my intention to conduct research, although sometimes this was impractical (Fluehr-Lobban 2003b, 172). Upon

commencing fieldwork, I communicated my intentions by meaningful, realistic and non-technical explanation of the project to participants, and if appropriate through project information sheet (Fluehr-Lobban 2003c, 228). This was particularly important during the consultative work undertaken as for the Red Tower feasibility project and resulted in the creation of feedback forms (see Appendix Dvii). Generally, and following the recommendations by ASA (2011, 2) informed consent was taken verbally during fieldwork to avoid over-bureaucratic interaction, whilst interviews, surveys and permission to use participants' photographs required more formal action (by use of consent forms— Appendix A.iv). I consulted participants on their consent throughout the different stages of research, particularly after I became a Red Tower employee. For instance, nearer the end of the project I shared the data that was to be published online, so that their consent was never a one-off event (Davies 2001, 48, Fluehr-Lobban 2003b, 172, ASA 2011, 2).

- Working with illiterate or vulnerable groups:

I aimed to take pains to consider the interests, welfare and views of all those deemed to be vulnerable within the research sample. In the potential case of non-literate participants, consent forms and information sheets (which are ordinarily offered at the onset interviews and photography) would not have been adequate. Clear, meaningful and non-technical verbal explanations of the project were given as an alternative (Davies 2001, 50, Fluehr-Loban 2003c, 228). In one case, after agreeing to consent verbally, one participant asked me to read out the questions of the Red Tower feedback form and then dictated his answers to me, and finally signed his consent on the form afterwards.

Lastly, during my time with the Red Tower, local children often visited the tower. Although this may have been deemed a highly important opportunity to identify a key group (potentially excluded), their presence had not been initially factored in and I had no ethical clearance (or an official criminal check for that matter). I felt it was a step too far to start photographing or interviewing them and but instead acknowledged their presence through the words and actions of other participants and by photographing their presence through the artefacts they left behind.

- Anonymity

This has been the most challenging aspect of ethical management. Anonymity is the protection of identification of participants through the obscuring or omitting of names or other identifying attributes in written, audio or visual material (e.g. addresses, contact details, job title, facial features). Initially, my decision to default to anonymity of all participants was weighted by Article 24 of BERA guidelines; essentially, my view was that anonymising participants helped to minimise any perceived advantage to some participants over others (those who may wish to promote particular views through the PhD) and to keep any sensitive information confidential. It was also weighted in recognition of potentially tense relations between various community groups and the council. As such, in my ethic form I advocated anonymity through the use of pseudonyms for all participants (Davies 2001, 51) and thus participants were anonymised within text, transcripts, audio files and any visual data gathered. But, as the ASA guidelines state, anonymity cannot always be achieved: "a particular configuration of attributes can frequently identify an individual beyond reasonable doubt" (2011, 6). This I realised would undoubtedly occur when co-working participants recognised each other once research was made public or if certain participants are prominent within public and social media forums (as indeed they were). Participants might also be identified due to their affiliations with specific working or localities (Wiles et al 2008, 15). For instance, the council was a partner in my research (a fact that had been advertised in the initial 'Within the Walls' call for applications) so I did not anonymise it as an 'x institution', although some place anonymisation was elsewhere negotiated. Nor was the Red Tower anonymised as photographs of it revealed its singularity as part of the city walls and its historic locality was integral to the research endeavour. Furthermore, I did not attempt to anonymise the places in which other sample groups were associated, such as Walmgate and Foss Islands as dislocating places from each other would undermine the notion of multi-locality. And yet, I was mindful of the study by Grinyer (2009) shows that anonymity can be an emotionally charged, and indeed, one of my participants did express a wish not to be anonymised at the end of the project (which we eventually negotiated on a more relevant pseudonym change). And indeed, blanket and imposed anonymity can also be seen as unethical in the articulation of heritage values (Macaulay et al 1998, Fleuhr-Lobban 2003c).

However, whilst reviewing such issues, Kelly (2009) states the case for anonymity as it: "is not a sacrosanct provision. It is conditional on various imperatives of morality, professionalism and common law" (439). So, considering all these points, I have kept my initial decision for default anonymity of participants (and reiterated these concerns to my participants as part of informed consent). The lack of guaranteed anonymity was explained in initial discussions and as part of ongoing informed consent with participants, along with the information sheet. Whilst voicing these issues to participants during research, I discovered it was not conceived as an issue by the majority (except by the one aforementioned). And in keeping anonymity, I still ultimately regard the importance of leaving space for dissent in research and endeavoured to make contrasting values clear.

- Multimedia ethics:

Various media were utilised as part of ethnographic fieldwork. I sought to take photographic images of any relevant media in the localities and value-activities (thus images included participants, place-nodes and localities). As discussed, any identifying features of participants were to remain anonymous as far as possible and identities were obscured in consultation with them. As the fieldwork is located in public, organisational and residential places, I did not take or use photographs where it could be deemed an invasion of privacy and consulted where necessary with participants on this measure (Wiles et al 2008, 4). Via the informed consent process participants were informed of the purpose of media gathering techniques used in research, their proposed dissemination, storage and the longevity of their access. After fieldwork all photographs were made available to the relevant participants in order for them to discuss their use within the research project. It was necessary in some cases to gain both consent and also assign copyright over through a signed form which was posted to the participants.

Thus, having given some of the anticipated and adapted consideration into the ethical dynamics of research in the localities, I now turn to the analysis of the data gathered. Obviously, the ethics do not stop here, but continue into the ways in which data went through my 'poised perception' and through the writing up process.

## 4.6 Data Management, Analysis & Presenting Results

Analysis was undertaken generally in three stages; the organisation of data, the immersing and pulling out of data and thirdly through presentation. Below, the steps of organisation, analysis and presentation for different types of data are laid out (Miles & Huberman 2002).

### 4.6.1 Data Organisation

The organisation of data starts from the very beginning, with its collection. In the process of organising data I differentiated folders for fieldnotes, interviews, photographs and made a separate folder for the Pre-2011 place-nodes. These folders were stored within the University of York's secure digital repository, my Google Drive, and the NVivo 'sources' folder (itself kept within the above two). The folders were structured to show distinctions between different sample groups (Red Tower, Residents, Council Practitioners etc). An inventory of the data was created (see below).

Table 8. Data gathered from sample groups within place-nodes

<b>Data type gathered</b>	<b>West Offices CYC</b>	<b>Pre-2011 Asset Transfers</b>	<b>Red Tower</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Photographs JPEG	96	12	160	268
Interviews MP3	10	X	17 (including residents, supporters and Wallwalkers)	27 (approx. 1,224 minutes)
Fieldnotes Word Docs	16,143	4,149	98,594	118,886 words
MISC Docs	Documentary sources, and websites.	Documentary sources, websites and promotional material.	Documentary sources, websites and promotional material.	NA

(See Appendix A.vi for data management plan and long-term plans for storage).

### 4.6.2 Analysis—Coding the Data:

'Being at the desk' is as vital as 'being in the field' (Van Maanen 2011, 138) and it was at the desk that data analysis was undertaken. For the West Offices and Red Tower Data, I undertook a coding process on all fieldnotes, photographs and interviews. Coding is the process where qualitative (and particularly ethnographic) data is categorised, a step recommended by Emerson et al (1995, 143) and Clifford (1983, 119) in order to dig into or

sift the data (Augustine 2014, Chowdhury 2015). This is important where little or no categorisation has taken place in the capturing of data (e.g. as would be by structured questions in surveys or questionnaires). In this project, coding was theory-led and achieved by short-handing data into theoretical themes (theoretically salient textual vessels or 'theme nodes') discussed in Chapters Two and Three (e.g. place, values, vision, action etc.) (Saldaña 200, 3). Grounded theory is an alternative, inductive, method of an approach to data whereby the main themes and theory are considered emergent (Charmaz & Mitchell 2001, Charmaz 2014, Chowdhury 2015). Such an approach I felt could not be incorporated; the theory-led method was chosen due to the initial brief of the CDA which focused on the theme of values and local collaboration. As with Blair (2015) the interpretative perspective of the research design meant I had already acknowledged my poised perception and thus could not simultaneously hold the idea that there was a white slate of truth 'out there' to be discovered objectively (16-17). Thus, following Saldaña (2009) coding was considered as part of interpretative act by the researcher (4). That said, even when working to a theoretical framework as opposed to inductive or grounded theory, creating a distinct and workable hierarchy of themes is an iterative task and many changes occurred to theme titles during early attempts to code data (Saldaña 2009, 4, Blair 2015). As a step of good practice, I created memos in order to keep a record of how (and why) theme-titles were changed; mainly this was due to overly complex/long titles and in some cases duplication (see Appendix A.vii and A.viii) (Emerson et al 1995, 150). After several cycles of coding (Saldaña 2009, 185), the themes formed within as eight main themes with over 60 corresponding sub-themes that extrapolate more nuanced aspects from the main theory. These key themes formed a theoretical toolkit:

Table 9. Key themes developed within NVivo (theoretical toolkit)

Theme Title	Theoretical Purpose
Locality (Multi-Local)	Gathers all codes that indicate the physical + social pathways across localities (including heritage), the relationship of participants to localities and place-nodes, and places to other places (Multi-Local) from different



	participants' viewpoints (including mine). Both uttered statements and actions in place are included.
Vision	Gathers all codes that discuss any 'ultimate/end goals' or how participants want to see the result of their efforts practically. Often people say 'I can see this happening' or 'this is the vision statement'. This is the perceived end result of the ASPIRATION so can also be seen in movements and actions.
Policy Context	Gathers all codes that discuss policy, law, paperwork and other documentary sources that impact/feature in the practices, actions and statements of participants. Also considers larger place-nodes' 'scale' impacting on smaller ones.
Challenges	Gathers all codes that discuss specific challenges or difficulties in heritage action. Both uttered statements and actions are included.
Collaborative Action	Gathers all codes that show what, why, and how actions within place-nodes take place. This includes the 'Collaboration Spectrum' (i.e. how people try to collaborate with others). This theme also overlaps with 'intentional acts' and the discussion of values & visions.
Media	Gathers all codes that show media, which are identified as various types of material (analogue, digital, mixed) used by people and can be visual or textual (often visual though so include maps, photos etc).
Value statements & value-actions	Gathers all codes that contain the following key words: desires, wants, intentions, motivations, motive. A viewpoint or observed positive action directed towards heritage/place or practice connected to heritage/place. These don't have to just be heritage focused. The purpose here is to flag up

	the active values of the participants within data, and not how they gathered others' values (this goes into Collaborative Action).
Physical Resources	Gathers all codes that contain themes of pragmatic, material resources including finances, assets and provisions.

One can also create codes for different participants which are useful in quantifying how much interaction took place during fieldwork, or which themes had been spoken about most by different people. Both theme creation and coding processes can be done either by hand or on computers (Emerson et al 1995, 143, LeCompte & Schensul 1999, 90). In this case, the “mountains of words” and masses of multimodal data had been stored digitally and so it was easier to carry out the coding process on screen using NVivo software (rather than with paper and post-its) (Johnson et al 2010, 11). This software was chosen as its functionality was fairly accessible (it took about 5 months to become fully acquainted with its various operative programmes). Whilst aware of other similar qualitative analysis software (for example Atlas Ti and MAXQDA), an NVivo licence was provided freely by the University and free training was given at a convenient time. During this training, it was made clear that NVivo is not an analytical machine in which to push data through in order to get results (Bulloch & Silver 2014, Silver 2015): the theoretical toolkit of theme nodes played this role.

Using NVivo, initially a ‘broad brush’ coding (using key word searches and saving results to the sub-themes) was applied to all West Offices and Red Tower data as a way of digging into the data. Thereafter, I went through each source more thoroughly (toothcombing) which in some cases led to deletions of text (sifting through the irrelevant results) (and I had to do this twice with Red Tower data—see below). After all sources were coded, NVivo could be tasked with hyperlinking themes and their corresponding codes to compare and group them via ‘Code Queries’ (QRS nd). For example, if ‘asked’ (via coding queries) NVivo could gather all ‘Locality’ sub-themes and numerically compare the amount of times the codes of ‘perceiving a place barrier’ was uttered by all residential participants across the

duration of the fieldwork. This query could easily form as a bar-chart; such queries are explored in the CYC & Red Tower chapters and forms as part of the mixed methods analysis (presenting qualitative data and quantitative data). The impact of quantifying and visualising the data is reflected upon within the respective data chapters. Indeed, as part of analysis, it became important to acknowledge how different sub-themes of value-action were emergent in the data and had to be brought up through analysis after coding (but as different value-actions are prevalent in the theory, an overall deductive approach has been maintained in the research design).

Importantly, I decided against coding the Pre-2011 Asset Transfer data. This decision was made for three reasons. Firstly, I initially planned these datasets as small case studies to compare to the Red Tower (covered in one or two pages.) I therefore assumed a coding process would not be necessary to dig into a small data set and did not work the procedure into my analysis schedule. Secondly; I had decided to capture the becoming moments of the past (to compare to Red Tower) so the fieldnotes taken with the trustees were not ethnographic in a practical sense (but rather recollections of how the asset transfers had already come to pass). As a result, this information grew and formed into very distinct timelines which continued to be edited over several months in collaboration with participants. Coding this co-produced data which continued to develop during the scheduled coding-stage was futile. Lastly, after these procedures had occurred (and all other data had been coded) I became curious as to how I could draw conclusions and apply my themes within the data without undergoing the coding process. I had read Ingold's criticisms (2014) about naively assuming software packages could "yield results" (384) and considered the warning that: "a rhizome or multiplicity never allows itself to be overcoded" (Deleuze & Guattari 2004, 13; also Augustine 2014, St. Pierre & Jackson 2014). Thus, following rhizome theory I experimented with a "rhizomatic coding" approach to the data (Cumming 2015) and answered the Place-Node Research Questions with this in mind. As many of the themes remained the same—bar one or two—I maintain this method is in keeping with the theoretical approach and agree with Cumming (2015) that, having initial completed coding, I did not move far from the preconceived themes laid out in the toolkit (145-146).

This reflection is continued in Chapter Eight. The benefit of coding, however, is demonstrated below in handling the mass of data generated during two years of fieldwork at Red Tower and West Offices.

### 4.6.3 Analysis—Narrowing the Fieldnotes:

As is touched on above, deletions had to be made to avoid the “mumbo-jumbo” that results in including everything gathered over 2 years (Emerson et al 1995, 97-8). For the Red Tower data, this was particularly important as I had almost 100,000 words of fieldnotes. After coding all Red Tower fieldnotes and interviews, I shrank my data set and created the ‘Red Tower diaries’ or “episodic excerpts” (Emerson et al 1995, 89) to show the ‘becoming’ process and “lines of flight” of the Red Tower over time (Deleuze & Gutarri 2004, 3). To do this, all the coded Red Tower data was sifted in order to identify twenty moments that demonstrated ‘becoming processes’ (it became nearer thirty). The criteria for the key moments were a high coding coverage to the theme “Changes to organisation” and a measurable high density of codes overall (see sifting process doc, Appendix A.x for more details).

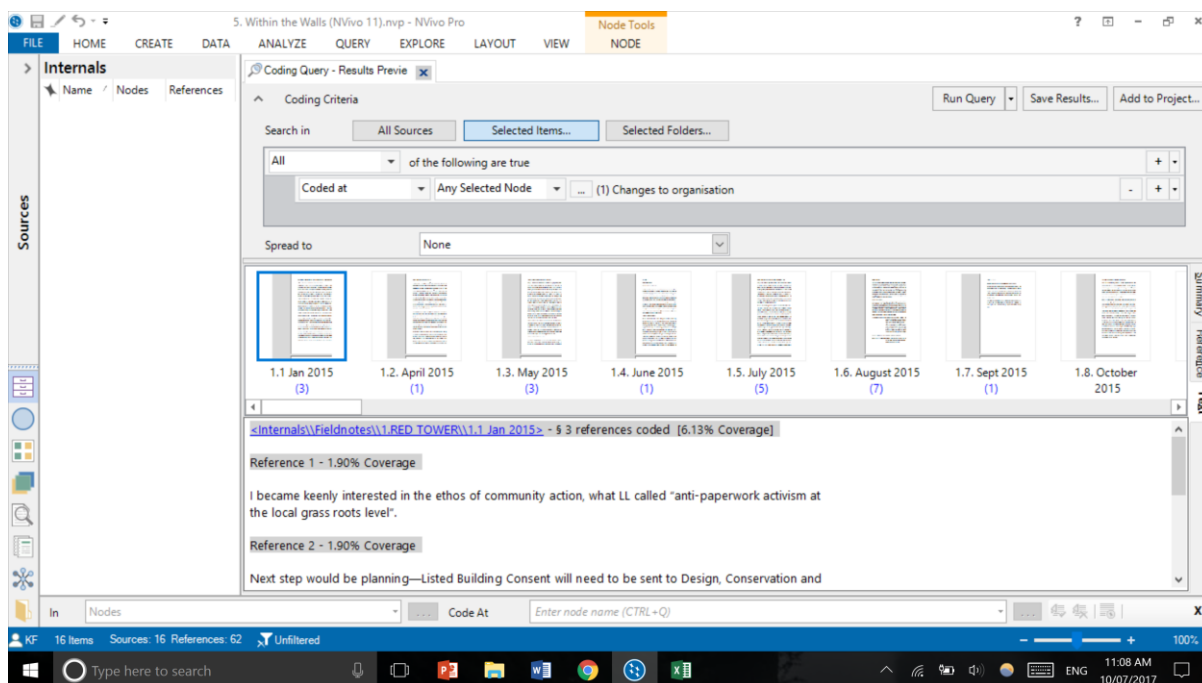


Figure 14 Screen shot of NVivo: sifting the moments through coding

This filter produced over 40,000 words, so I decided to shrink the data further to approx. 25,000 words, and so began to edit and delete text to create a narrative. As Brodkey raised

(1987), the interpretive ethnographic narrative is a way of telling the story of lived experience. This 'telling' is put forward in order to convincingly make sense of other worlds and to bring it to the attention of a wider field or audiences (47-8; also Clifford 1983, 120, Van Maanen 1988, 35-6, Agar 1990, Herndl 1991, Humphreys & Watson 2010, 41.) With the Red Tower diaries, I changed people's names to achieve anonymity (Emerson et al 1995, 67). Moreover, in order not to construct an overly authoritative voice, to undermine my own "claims to the authority of experience" (Clifford 1983, 142) I included everyday disagreements with participants, to demonstrate different points of view and the exercise of pathfinding within the Red Tower Project. All selected moments were then grouped into 'phases'—stages in the project which encapsulated an overall direction of management. These Red Tower Diaries were then second cycle coded and interviews excerpts were 'pulled up' alongside these episodes, to create a cohesive body of text (see Appendix A.x for more details on this process).

With the CYC, a small amount of editing took place to make notes easier to read. Thereafter these coded fieldnotes and interviews were 'pulled up' through coding queries and selecting due to their salience to the research questions (see Appendix A.x).

With the Pre-2011 Asset Transfers, the non-coded fieldnotes notes were collaboratively compiled in consultation with the participants into a 'timeline', which can be compared to the Red Tower's 'moments'.

Interview and fieldnotes, coded or un-coded were not the only form of data I inserted into the chapters. Documentary sources (gained from numerous un-coded primary and secondary resources) were also presented (as is described in section 4.4.). Moreover, photographs and visual media of various forms were integrated into the chapters in order to bring to fore multiple ways of knowing alongside the text (Pink 2007, 120 & 155). How I handled visual data is now discussed more thoroughly.

#### **4.6.4 Analysis—Visual Media:**

As a result of the activities outlined in section 4.4.1, many different types of visual media had been collated and created through fieldwork. These included:

- Photographs of static visual media in place taken by myself\*;

- Photographs of participants taken by myself\*;
- Photographs of settings taken by myself\*;
- Photographs taken by participants of other participants and/or in place\*;
- Photographs of media taken by myself during interviews\*;
- Leaflets and posters designed by myself;
- Leaflets and posters designed by others;
- Maps produced by others;
- Web shots of social media platforms or websites, containing images;
- Images from press releases.

All CYC and Red Tower photographs (asterisked\*) were imported into NVivo and coded, due to their large quantity (96 and 160 respectively, 254 in total). Using NVivo's 'Classification' system I labelled all photographs by acknowledging their location and source (see Appendix H and follow instructions), in order to track the velocity of the media. This was a somewhat tedious venture and, in most cases, did not reveal anything exciting about the relevance of movement of media to collaborative activity (but see next paragraph).

I did not code the Pre-2011 asset transfer visuals, nor any leaflets, digital platforms, articles and maps as they did not offer a large sample. Instead a visual toolkit was applied to them (see table below). This visual toolkit analysis draws directly from cited theories outlined in chapters two and, particularly at the end of chapter three:

Table 10. Visual Media Toolkit

<b>Analysis type</b>	<b>Question</b>	<b>Relevant Theories</b>
Content	What is in the image? Can any of the key themes, including value-actions or other positive/negative attributes be identified?	Basic description of image content. Developed from Waterton (2010a & 2010b), Aiello (2013), Rose et al (2014), Degen et al (2017).
Layout	How is this image organised? How is spaced laid out within the image's frame or within other frames?	Thinking about how the eye navigates from different parts of the image or images within a frame. Developed from Cheung (2010).

Velocity	Where is this image? Is it in place or of place somewhere else? Where is the image going, where does it come from?	Thinking about the phenomenological existence of the image among other information and its movement in space, i.e. velocity. Developed from Heidegger (2001), Benjamin (2008), Tilden (2007), Thrift (2008), Barber (2013), Kleinhans et al (2015).
Experience	What does this image do? Does it invoke 'weirdness' or other experiences? How do I/people react to it? Can any value-actions or positive/negative be experienced?	Considering personal reactions to image: Developed from Giaccardi & Palen (2008) and Jeffrey (2015).

The toolkit enabled me to write reflexively, free hand, in text boxes underneath the images. Considering the velocity in this tabularised form was again repetitive and unfruitful, except in a few instances. In these instances, it was clear that tracking the velocity (movement from the original source) added to the argument that media in place had an impact upon the nature of collaboration (for instance, with the poster by the Tithe Barn group, see page 225). In addition, within the Holgate Windmill section, it was possible to create an inventory of press article images (due to the availability of data): no such opportunity was available with the other localities. Whilst, the images were simply presented as a numeric inventory (not embedded in the text), their velocity as part of the press releases was discussed and this presented further insight into the relationship of media to collaboration and value-actions.

With the photographs coded or the toolkit applied to other images, selections were made of which images to include and where. With Chapters Six and Seven, images were included that were of high relevance to two sections: the 'contextualising the localities' sections and the 'visual media analysis' section. Specifically, with the Red Tower data, 40/160 photographs had been added to the Red Tower Diaries (the selection of these is discussed in Appendix A.x and in the comments column of the image archive, Appendix G). So within

Chapter Seven, seven photographs of these forty were these chosen at random to represent each of the Red Tower key moments. With these seven Red Tower photographs, I also applied the visual toolkit as I found that coding photographs could not reveal the qualitative aspects of the data in this context. Essentially using the toolkit on the photographs produced further insight into value actions.

The West Offices fieldwork had generated 96 photographs (most of these were taken within the HER interviews): 12 from fieldwork were inserted into the chapter (including one image from the Red Tower collection). Unlike the asset transfers case studies, in Chapter Five there was no discussion of the key moments due to the specific nature of the ethnography (as discussed in section 4.4.1). As a result, the insertion of all media was led by three factors which supported my reflections on multi-local ethnography:

- relevance to the 'contextualising the locality' section;
- relevance to the thematic sections being discussed in the key themes;
- to reflectively demonstrate, beyond the thematic discussion, the experience of being-in-the-world and the context of working in the West Offices (such images demonstrated the barriers that impacted the nature of the multi-local ethnography, e.g. see page 156 & 164).

The reasons for the selection for individual images is further detailed in Appendix G (see comments column). The visual toolkit was applied to highlight all the inserted images' velocity; as above, many of the entries offered tedious repetition except in some instances: however, in some cases the lack of velocity allowed for further insight into the nature of collaboration and value-actions (e.g. see image of the HER database, page 180).

Lastly, other visualisations were created through the analytical process; how these aided the multi-local and value-action approach is now explained.

#### **4.6.5 Presentation—Value-Action Diagrams & Other Visualisations:**

As part of presentation of data, visualisations were produced as part of my 'thinking things through'. Essentially, ideas of how themes within the place-nodes were connected became more apparent through a doodling or mind-mapping process. This illustrative urge was hard to ignore. Indeed, ethnographic illustration has been discussed in anthropology as



still important, despite losing its status in view of more scientific illustration (and the rise in popularity of photography and film) (Afonso 2004). I concur with Afonso in her understanding of the “plasticity of drawing”, allowing for more elastic understanding of knowledge (rather than scientific) (82). Examples for inspiration included the ‘biographical map’ as laid out by Walter Benjamin (2006, 295) which graphically detailed his lived experiences in Paris and Berlin; the hand-drawn community maps via Common Ground (2016) which highlight local knowledge and civic action; and the coproduced study by Abel et al (2015) which involved plotting and visualising of cyclists’ routes through city (also; Wreford 2006, Vo nd, Posavec 2013, Kiddey 2014). Evidently, some diagrams are artistic, others more data orientated. From my position, the doodling method followed the concept of rhizome laid out by Deleuze and Guttari, to “shatter the linear unity of the word” and consider the multiple “number of dimensions” at play within the makings of a heritage project (2004, 6-7). In the end, considering my curiosity to avoid overcoding a free hand approach to the data was my preference. So as a development of the doodling process, Value-Action Diagrams were established for each data-set in NVivo. The purpose of these diagrams is to visualise the results from the data as a constructivist picture, a dynamic landscape of heritage management. This step in analytical thinking led me consider my “imagery’s specificity” (Perry 2009, 398; also Edgar 2004), however, this creative act is also mirrored by the selections made in the text, and thus reflects another step in the interpretative framework of the research.

Charts and tables of quantitative nature were also visualised to demonstrate coding-queries of the data via NVivo (e.g. how many supporters were involved during the Red Tower project) or other queries (e.g. how many residents requested Holgate Windmill be ‘kept in good repair’ according to a survey by the council in the 1980’s) as a short hand way of delivering knowledge. Such diagrams, tables and charts are explained simply by captions and, where relevant, I critically review their role in revealing the qualitative aspects of data.

## **4.7 Discussion**

This chapter is a practical one and the discussion here offers a simple summary. Here I have outlined the methodological framework of the project, drawing from the theoretical

discussions of the previous chapters. I have considered the role of the researcher at both ethical and practical levels in terms of insider/outsider identities and asserted the role of complicity in ethnographic research, particularly within research which engages with theoretical and practical challenges whilst advocating collaboration within heritage management. I have also laid out my sampling strategy (which is a worthwhile challenge for a multi-local project which acknowledges the emerging contours of its focus). This involved identifying the localities and place-nodes of study, accounting for their qualities in terms of prioritised criteria (in line with my theory). I also identified the different types of participants whom I observed and/or collaborated with in line with their value-actions. Thereafter, I put forward my proposed methods for data gathering and acknowledged the impact of local circumstances on the ethnographic design alongside different ethical circumstances I met in the field. Finally, I have considered the aims and procedures of presenting and analysing the data.

What follows is the main three data collection chapters, in which the data from fieldwork are presented and discussed. This begins with an account of research undertaken at the West Offices, the first place-node, where the City of York Council are currently based.

## **5: Heritage Management in the City of York Council**

### **5.0 Introduction**

In this chapter the data gathered from the first place-node is presented: the City of York Council (CYC) based in the West Offices, York. Firstly, as part of the contextual research, the overall current role of the CYC is laid out along with its remit of management: the locality of York itself. This is followed by a brief account of its services, followed by commentary on the main services available for archaeological and heritage management. Following the contextual methodology on localities, Local Plan documents (existing and emerging) are examined to pinpoint where heritage sits within the CYC's wider strategic visions. The value of heritage as a touristic and economic opportunity for the Council is then reviewed. Thereafter, the data gathered from the ethnographic research is 'dug into' and presented. Despite not gathering a high amount of 'activity rich' data, in consulting the qualitative content from interviews, fieldnotes, photographs and other images different uttered and visualised values (and challenges) are identified across several the West Offices' services. All data is then analysed according to the Place-node research questions and a value-action diagram is created.

Overall, this chapter sets out an understanding of the value of heritage by York's local authority. So to begin, the contextual role of the council between 2015-2017 is now laid out.

### **5.1 Contextualising the City of York Council**

The role and remit of the City of York Council is now explained in terms of the scope of its boundary, the general services it provides and more specifically, the services provided in terms of archaeological management.



Figure 15. Adapted from "City of York Council election 2015 map" © Jamietwells 2015

**Image Content:** Map of City of York Council's remit and Ward boundaries using different colours to define the winning political party in each area. 'Value-action' attributed to voters, voting in their chosen constituency. (\* Indicates Ward which overlaps York Central Area and the City Walls).

**Layout:** York boundary is left of the centre of a square box. I have added a 'legend' to the right to label the different wards.

**Velocity:** This image was sourced through a Creative Commons search, and as the image was part of the commons, it enabled me to adapt it.

**Experience:** The image captures the concept of what is technically 'York'. Comprehension is the valued experience here and helps to explain the next section on the CYC's remit.

### 5.1.1 York's Perimeter & Population

The City of York Council (CYC) is the local authority which covers the unitary district of York. As is visible from an inventory by the Office for National Statistics (ONS 1999), the CYC became a unitary authority (UA) in separating from North Yorkshire in 1996 and has delivered services within this city perimeter to the present day, managing both rural and urban parishes (72-73 & 104). The electoral wards and parishes within York have developed over a century: for instance, between 1854 and 1996 there were nineteen ward boundary changes affecting York's registration district (UK Births, Marriages and Deaths Indexes Online 2014). Most recently, several electoral boundary changes occurred in 2015 (Local Government Boundary Commission for England 2014). Figure 5.1. shows the perimeter of City of York Council, the current electoral wards within it and the results of the local elections in 2015 (see above).

York's population (of over 207,000) has increased by 12.7% over a period of thirteen years (above national average); this increase is attributed to high student and migration numbers and is estimated to increase by a further 12.2%—projected at 224,498 by 2032 (ONS 2012, CYC 2017c & 2017p, 1, GL Hearn 2016, 61 & 66). It has a predominantly White British population of around 90% (2017c).

### 5.1.2 CYC Services & Archaeological Services

The services that the Council currently delivers to the population of York are grouped into four categories: Children, Education and Communities, Health, Housing and Adult Social Care, Economy and Place, and Customer and Corporate Services (CYC 2017d). Under these broad categories lie several different services, such as 'Strategic Planning' or 'Communities and Equalities' and beneath these lie several domains.

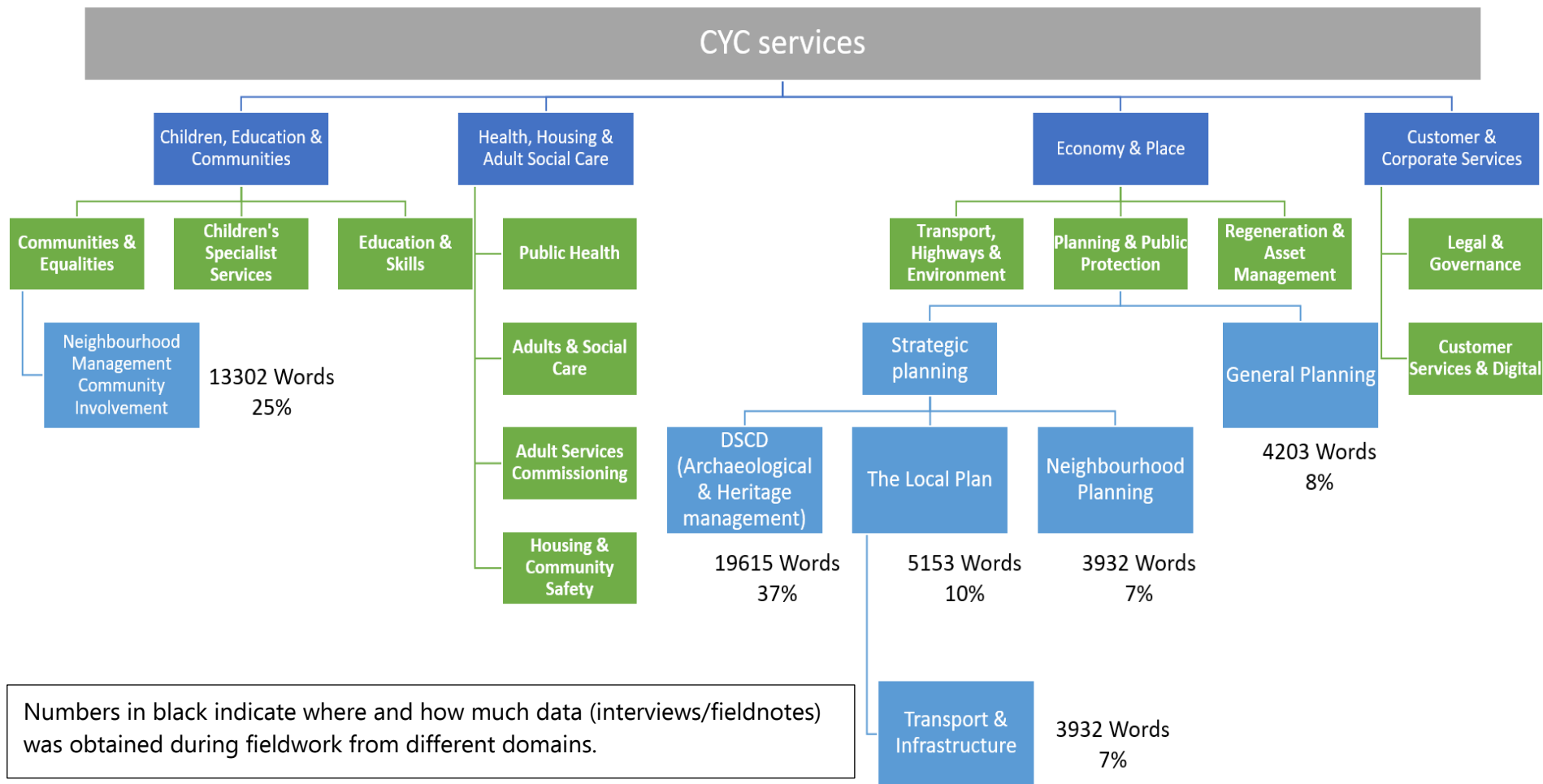


Figure 16. CYC 'Services' (dark blue boxes), 'Functions' (green) and 'Domains' (light blue) tree.

The domain in which I was situated during the CDA placement was the 'Design, Sustainability & Conservation Department' (DSDC hereon) which covers the historic environment including archaeology, the conservation of listed buildings and trees.

Currently CYC's archaeological and conservation services react to ongoing domestic planning applications and other large-scale developments within the boundary of York. They provide (for payment), necessary investigations (e.g. desk-based assessments and watching briefs), formal advice and appropriate consent to planning applications that impact Areas of Archaeological Importance, Conservation Areas, Characterisation Areas or Listed Buildings (Harry 2015, Interview 4, line 46-61, CYC 2017e). Other than the NPPF, CYC is guided by its current draft Local Plan (CYC 2005) and the significant report by Ove Arup which recommends any developments which impact deposits destroy less than 5% of archaeological remains (this report was reviewed again in 2014) (Ove Arup & Partners 1991, Davis et al 2001, CYC 2014a & 2017j). To inform the emerging Local Plan, the Heritage Topic Paper (CYC 2013c) and the subsequent Heritage Impact Appraisal (CYC 2017k) led to the creation of a framework which judges the impact of the Local Plan policies against six distinct characteristics of York's heritage:

- Strong urban form;
- Compactness;
- Landmark Monuments;
- Architectural Character;
- Archaeological Complexity;
- Landscape and Setting.

Importantly, these characteristics aim to enable transparent assessment of any asset within its wider historic environment (CYC 2013c). Alongside any archaeological activities, digital records of new excavations, designations and any new research emerging are created and inputted into the Historic Environment Record. This vast database can be consulted for a fee for either basic (£105) or enhanced (£210) searches (CYC 2017f). Other archaeological work is 'proactive' (Harry 2015, Interview 4, line 92-131) and includes

- research opportunities such as the York Historic Environment Characterisation Project;

- community activities, such as general public talks, an annual archaeological conference and support to community organisations such as the Friends of York Walls and York Past and Present;
- collaborative work with local heritage partners and experts including: the York Archaeological Forum (wherein council staff, archaeologists, the York Civic Trust, and heritage practitioners attend meetings to discuss arising matters across York); the Conservation Area Appraisal Panel (wherein the similar groups review selected planning applications); and the World Heritage Bid Committee (wherein similar groups and Historic England representatives discuss the next steps for a potential subsequent application, following the failure of 2011 application).

However, as is symptomatic of councils across England spending has decreased. The total cost of CYC services has over last 5 years decreased from £571.1 million in 2011/12 (CYC 2017n, 15) to £386.8 million in 2016/17 (CYC 2017o, 9). (These statistics were taken from the Statements of Accounts and the Cost of Services: a 'heritage' specific cost of services could not be determined without deeper investigation beyond the scope of this thesis). These reductions put pressure, not only on archaeological and conservation work, but on a variety of policies and concerns relevant to York, managed under one roof.



Figure 17. Under the roof of the CYC, West Offices by author (2015)



**Image Content:** The ceiling and windows of the West Offices, some of the 'Hot-Desks' and desktops.

**Layout:** I took this photo from a sitting position looking up. The supportive beam runs left to right. Desktops (screens on) to the lower right.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and in this thesis.

**Experience:** During my five-month placement I was logged into the computers as a user and came in to use the 'Hot Desks' twice-three times a week. Staff members were sorted into area domains as 'teams' and within these areas seats were supposed to be interchangeable (but often people had favourite locations). Looking at the photo brings the experience of shared space to mind including the open plan aspect which made it possible to view (and hear) people working on the other side of the floor.

How 'heritage' and the historic environment are evaluated alongside these other services is integral to understanding the CYC's value of heritage. A review of the weight of heritage in policy can be gained from considering the Local Plans, which guides the future development of York's urban centre and rural hinterland.

### 5.1.3 The Local Plan

In response to new requirement laid out by the NPPF, the CYC has been working over several years on an emerging Local Plan which will cater for York's growing population, projected housing needs and the subsequent impact on city infrastructure (CYC 2017g). The CYC's preparations towards this key document have been ongoing since 2005; between 2005-2011 Labour's government required a 'Local Development Framework' following PPS5, but this was superseded in 2012 by the NPPF which required smaller Local Plans. To avoid a Local Plan which would be exclusively guided by the NPPF, the aim of CYC is to produce a locally-customised document to guide planning across the whole city.

The following overview of the 'draft' Local Plans of 2005, 2013, 2014 and 2017 (not including their associated documents, which are numerous) indicates the weight of heritage within it. Whilst I acknowledge deeper epistemological analysis could here be applied (especially in research projects focused on discourse analysis) the purpose of this

overview here is to simply contextualise significant aspects of the qualitative data further below. Whilst the size of each Local Plan is outlined, considering merely the quantitative aspects (i.e. how much is covered, how many times 'heritage' is mentioned) is an unreliable way of determining the weight of any given policy. For example, 'Growth and the Economy' in the 2017 plan forms as a relatively small chapter, yet the stated 'vision' of the plan shows economy to be a key priority. So, the overall 'vision statement', context of policies, positioning and any other noticeable elements (such as partnering positive terms to policies) are also taken into account in the review of each draft.

Thus, York's Draft 2005 Local Plan (CYC 2005):

- Has 139 pages, fifteen chapters (6.6 pages mean average per chapter, 13 pages highest, 1 lowest)
- 165 policies encompassed by several 15 'meta-policies',
- it mentions heritage terms (archaeology, archaeological, historic, historic character, historic environment and heritage) 166 times,
- chapter four is dedicated to the historic environment as a meta-policy (7 pages long)
- Heritage and the protection of the Historic Environment are prominent as part Local Strategy Policies (out of 5 other policies) and is prominent in the first of five pages (it is also used in the 'How to use this document' section).

York's 'Vision' statement—as part of sustainable development—begins with the following paragraph:

For York, sustainable development means a vision of a vibrant historic city where modern life and business develop in harmony with the environment, while preserving the city's unique heritage for the future

(CYC 2005, 2).

The vision statement highlights York as a 'City Making History' and vision statements 1.15-16 both signal how York's historic character features alongside new development (and in 1.15 new development is to enhance the appeal of the historic environment). Moreover, because of the early positioning, it is clear within the first few pages that the historic

environment is a key consideration for the Local Plan as a whole—unsurprising considering the weight of the PPG 15 and 16 at that time. Lastly, the draft is a relatively straightforward document, simply structured by an introduction and policies being grouped to form as chapters.

Comparatively, three Local Plan drafts that have been created as part of the process of compiling a new Local Plan, are a great deal more complex (moreover, it is hard to locate them amidst the many documents listed on the CYC webpages).

- The 3 draft plans documents examined (CYC 2013a, 2014b, 2017h) each have on average 307 pages (2017h has 316);
- The plans are structured by 7 'sections' which encompass different sub-sections within them, 6 of them pertaining to the 'Vision Statement' given in the first section ('Background and Vision; Local Strategy Context'—all located on page 3);
- These sections and sub-section encompass (on average) 98 policies (most recent total is 108);
- All the plans highlight in their preliminaries the various key policies such as the NPPF and Localism Act, recent consultations (including the Heritage Impact Appraisal and Heritage Topic Paper) and ongoing consultation strategies, which they draw on as evidence base;
- The three plans mention the heritage terms (as above) on average 330 times (most recent 336);
- On average 19 pages (most recent 21) from the sub-section specifically pertaining to heritage management and relevant policies, positioned in the fifth 'vision section' of the plans.

Notably, in all three new drafts the structure of information is complexly comprised; in the first two plans this is according to a vision statement given as part of the 'Local Strategic Context' (2013a, 3) as the six sections (this structure is adopted into the more recent plan with some title changes). The most recent 'Vision Statement' within the Local Strategic Context given in the most recent form of the plan:

The Council will secure the future of York as a prosperous, progressive, and sustainable city, giving the highest priority to the wellbeing of its residents, whilst protecting the fabric and culture of this world-famous historic city

(CYC 2017h, 3).

With the NPPF being a presumption in favour of sustainable development it is unsurprising that the vision statement of the draft focuses on 'prosperity and progression' first, whilst the focus on heritage is placed within a global context at the end of the sentence. In essence, the protection of heritage of York remains a key consideration but its weight has developed since the 2005 draft plan; it is now more of a support to progress rather than an equal force in harmony with new development.

Having completed this overview and consideration of the changes to the valuation (or weighting) of heritage within the Local Plans, how tourism features as part of the CYC's ongoing evaluation of heritage is now outlined.

#### **5.1.4 York & Heritage Tourism**

York's tourism is supported by its heritage assets and this relationship is presented in both national and local data. Statistics gathered by VisitBritain estimate York as being ninth in the top twenty most visited cities (by national visitors) in England between 2013-15 (VisitBritain 2017, figure 17). These same statistics indicate that York is the second most visited city regionally after Scarborough in North Yorkshire. Despite a margin of error in the data (acknowledged in their online spreadsheets), VisitBritain has deemed their statistics able to provide local authorities "with a good indication of the range that their visitor numbers and spend fall into" (2017).

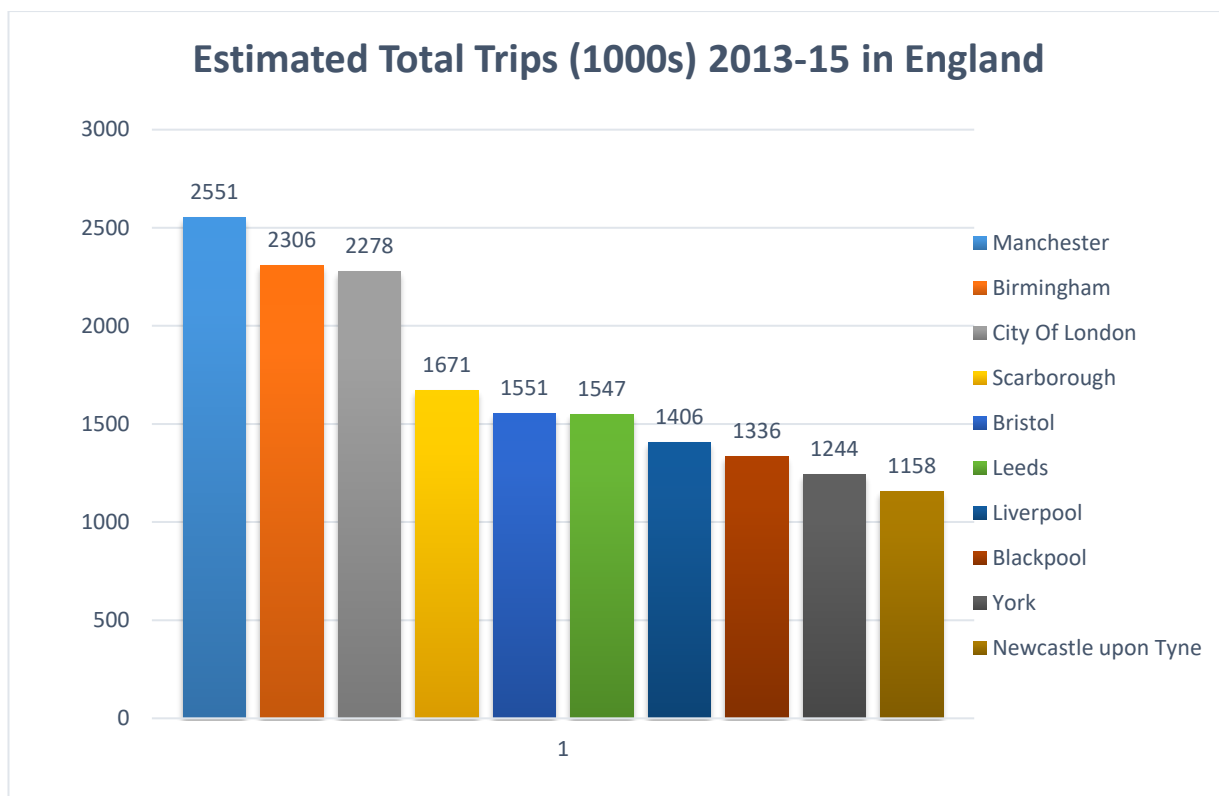


Figure 18. Bar Chart showing top-ten estimated figures of city visitors to cities in England between 2013-15 adapted from 'Local Authorities Spreadsheet' (VisitBritain 2017)

Furthermore, VisitYork (York's official tourism office) collates further visitor statistics through ticketed transactions (either paid or free) (2018). They announced in February 2016 that in 2014 York benefitted (among other highlights) from:

- 6.8 million visitors (both UK based and overseas)
- The tourism industry contributed to 20,300 jobs (1 in 5) in the city.
- Annual visitors spend £608 million (up 6% from the previous year)

(VisitYork 2016).

These statistics are updated on a monthly basis (VisitYork 2018). Furthermore, from their most recent Visitor Survey, VisitYork has highlighted the motivation for visitors consist of:

- Enjoying York's Ambience **91%**,
- Eating and Drinking **89%**
- and Shopping **71%** and
- Visiting its attractions **63%**

(VisitYork 2015a).

Whilst it is difficult to discern from the data how 'Ambience' can be attributed to the general historic environment, however, this term can be connected to 'sense of place'. Moreover, an attraction is defined by VisitYork as a site which provides "entertainment, interest, or education" under single management, wherein an admission fee can be charged to visitors without prior booking (Rawson 2016). Examining their 2015 Big Attractions Monitor, ten out of the eleven can be described as heritage attractions in that they make evident or draw attention to different aspects of the past:

- |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. the National Railway Museum (NRM), | 7. Jorvik,                            |
| 2. YorkBoat,                          | 8. York's Chocolate Story,            |
| 3. the Castle Museum,                 | 9. the York Dungeon and               |
| 4. the Yorkshire Museum,              | 10. York City Sightseeing in York and |
| 5. York Minster                       | 11. Castle Howard, 15 miles outside   |
| 6. Clifford's Tower,                  | of York                               |

(VisitYork, Big Attractions Monitor, 2015b)

Furthermore, all of the Small Attractions are of heritage quality, two of which are physically integrated as part of the Walls (indicated by \*):

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. the Bar Convent,                             | 9. the Merchant Adventurers' Hall,  |
| 2. Barley Hall,                                 | 10. the Quilt Museum (since closed) |
| 3. the Cold War Bunker,                         | 11. the Richard III Experience*,    |
| 4. DIG,   | 12. Treasurer's House,              |
| 5. Fairfax House,                               | 13. the York Army Museum,           |
| 6. the Henry VII Experience at Micklegate Bar,* | 14. York Brewery and                |
| 7. Holgate Windmill,                            | 15. the Yorkshire Museum of         |
| 8. the Mansion House,                           | Farming.                            |

(VisitYork, Small Attractions Monitor, 2014)

There is one additional attraction identified as important to visitors: the City Walls also feature as part of VisitYork's monitoring. During transactions visitors are asked whether

they intend to visit them and as a result have been confirmed by a VisitYork spokesperson to be the third biggest attraction (albeit non-ticketed) of the city, despite the acknowledged difficulty in gathering solid data on this statement (Rawson 2016). To complement this data, the most recent CYC Big York Survey results collected from York's **residents** show that access to 'Cultural Opportunities' (including access to libraries and museums) qualify York as somewhere as "good to live" for 71% of residents—below Low Crime Rate, Health services (e.g. doctors, hospitals), Good schools, Good public transport links, Clean streets, Access to nature, green spaces, Parks and open spaces (CYC 2013b).

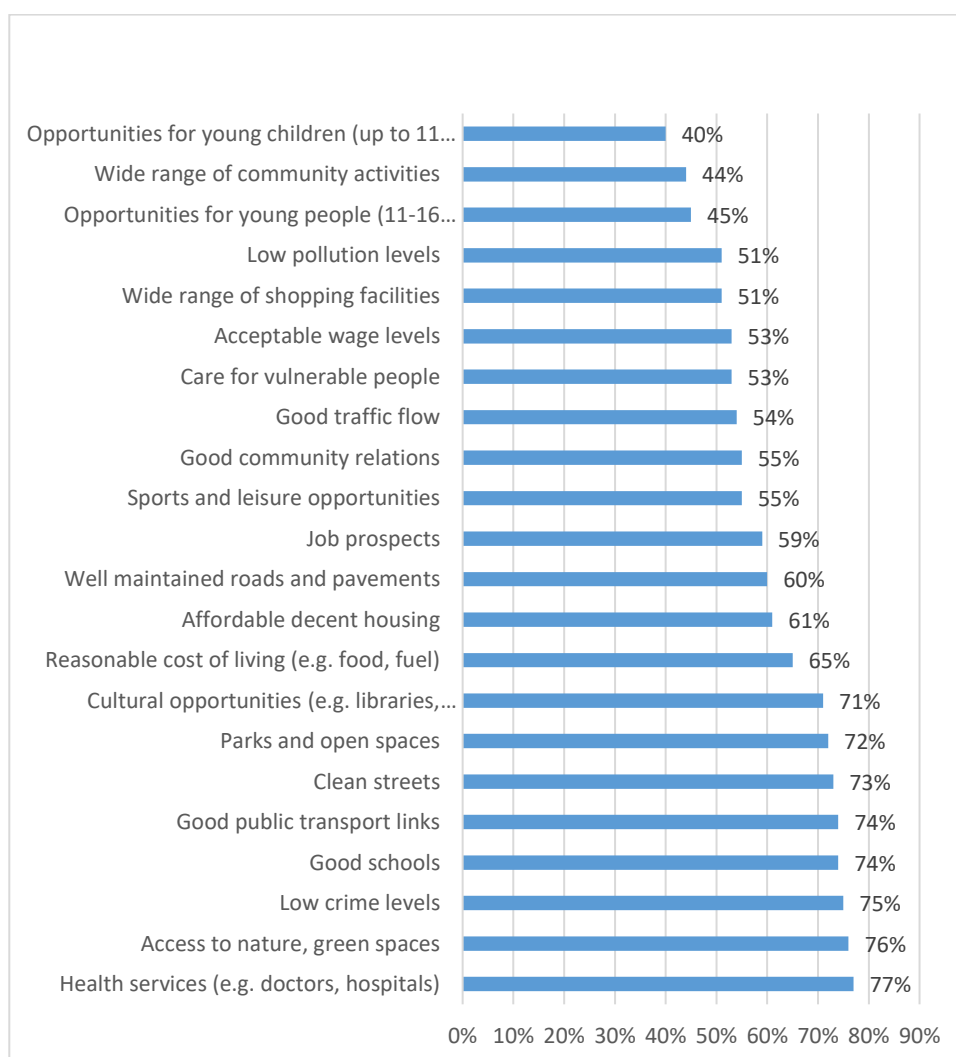


Figure 19. Bar chart adapted from Big York Survey (CYC 2013b).

Combining both the visitor and residential surveys, these statistics essentially indicate that heritage (in terms of attractions and museums/cultural centres) are of high appeal.

The data above contextualises the remit of CYC services and the pressurised role of archaeological services within these. It then gives some indication of the developing weight and role of heritage within draft Local Plans between 2005-2017. Lastly, the tourism appeal of the city of York is examined through national and local statistics. Whilst the above contextual data has given some indication of the value of heritage to the local authority, I now turn to consider more deeply the accounts of practitioners working at the West Offices.

## 5.2 The CYC Data



Figure 20. Sitting at the Hot Desks on the Third Floor, by author (2015)

**Image Content:** A 'desk shot' across my desk and over to the tree conservation officer's desk (her notebook is just visible, as well as my desktop's mouse, my phone and camera case). At the centre-forefront is one of many mugs, given to me as I was included in many tea-runs by the Local Plan team or the DSCD team. Value-action: tea sharing collaboration.

**Layout:** Mug in the centre, to draw attention to it and its cartoon design.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and in this thesis.

**Experience:** Looking at this image reminds me of the comradery of the team I worked with and the experience (and pressures!) of diplomatic office work (still a mystery to a lone



PhD researcher). The mug literally jumps into my sight and makes me want to show others.

Alongside understanding the value of heritage through planning documents and statistics, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork during a placement period of 45 days. As has been discussed in Chapter Four, the office dynamics meant I did not participate in many collaborative activities with participants and thence could not gather as much 'activity rich' data (important to the value-action argument). However, the qualitative data captured (fieldnotes, photographs and interviews) does offer some situated insight and viewpoints of different council staff within these six domains:

- Heritage and Archaeological Management,
- General Planning,
- Neighbourhood Planning,
- the Local Plan
- --(including Transport & Infrastructure),
- and Communities and Equalities.

Some of the following extracts from data are given, showing varying opinions and statements relevant to heritage management. They were shared again with participants in 2017 as part of the ongoing consent process.

The interviews and fieldnotes gathered offer a multitude of overlapping information which can be examined and presented in various ways. Through a thematic coding process **Top Ten** sub-themes are presented for each domain in simple charts below. The Top Ten charts reveal the most frequent sub-themes brought up by participants, which did not always centre around the subject matter of heritage.

### 5.2.1 Top Ten Charts

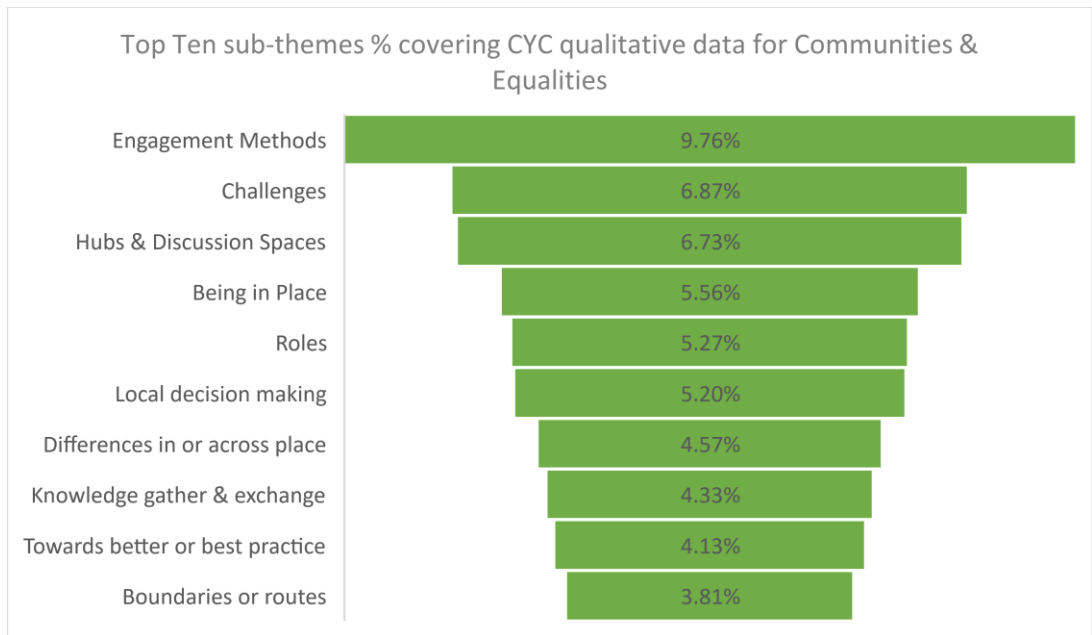


Figure 21. Top Ten sub-themes covering for Communities & Equalities

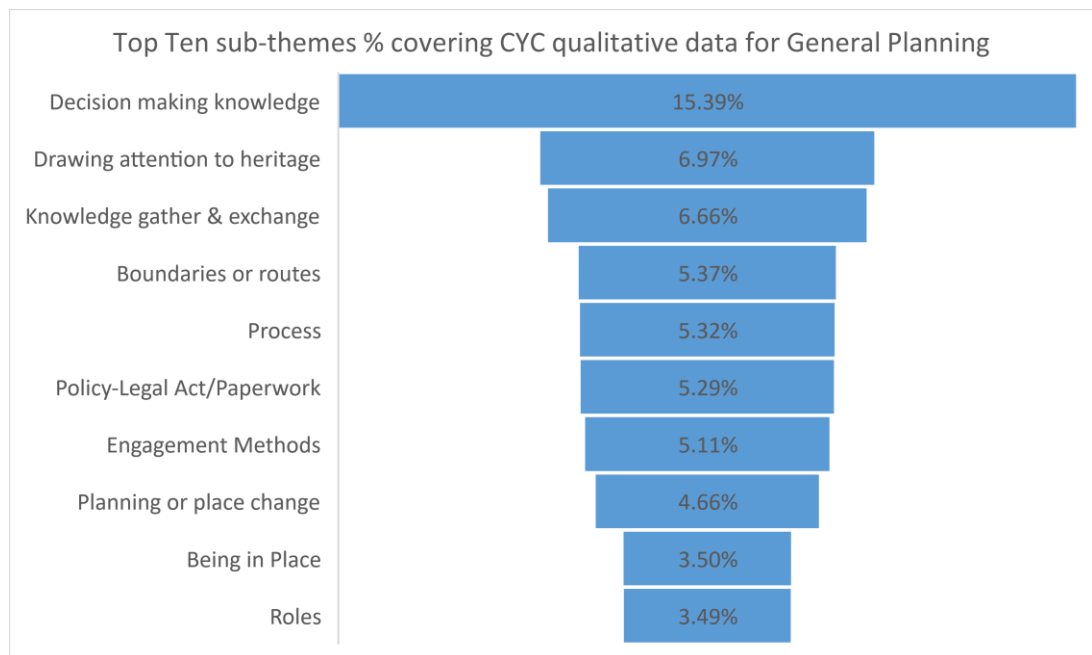


Figure 22. Top Ten sub-themes for General Planning

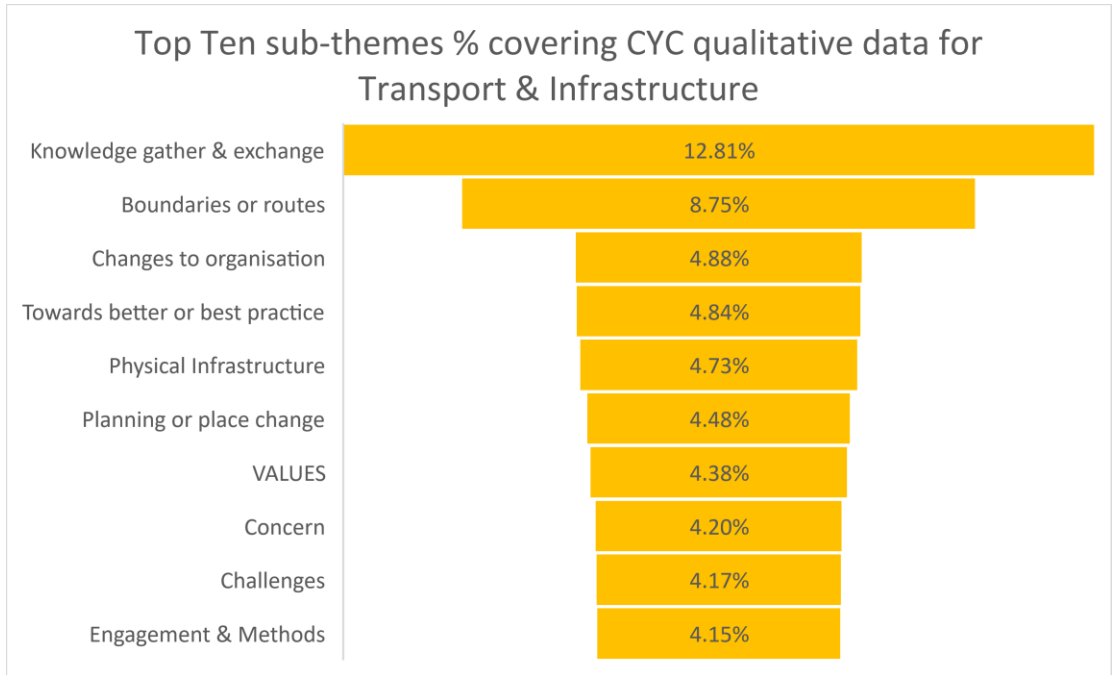


Figure 23. Top ten sub-themes for Transport & Infrastructure

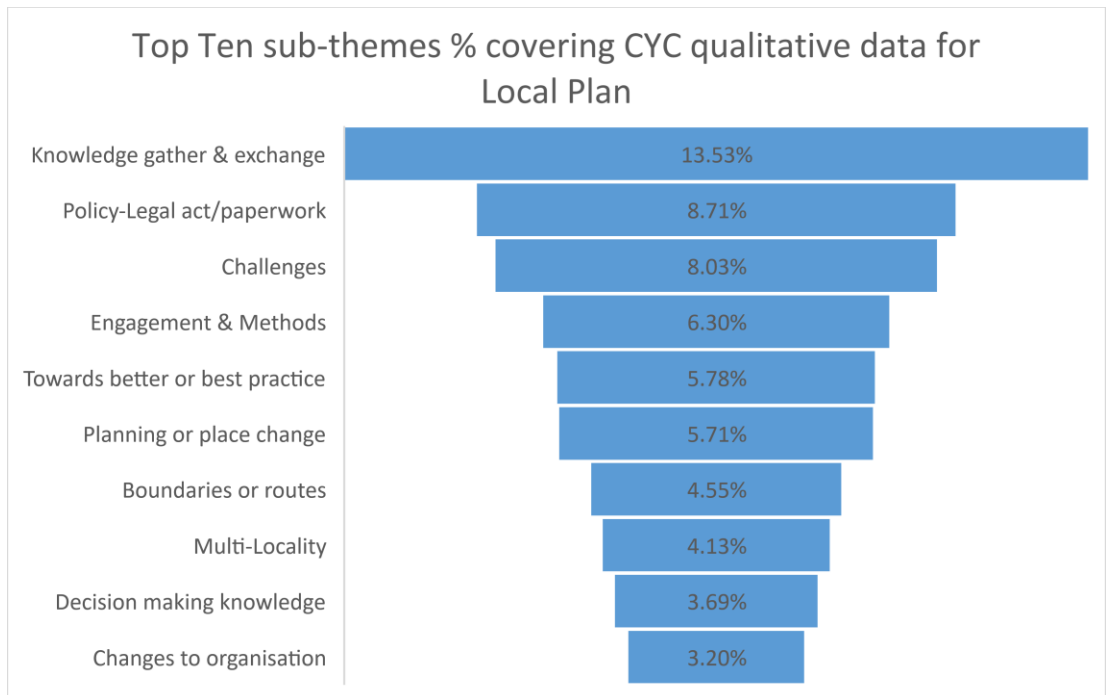


Figure 24. Top Ten sub-themes for Local Plan

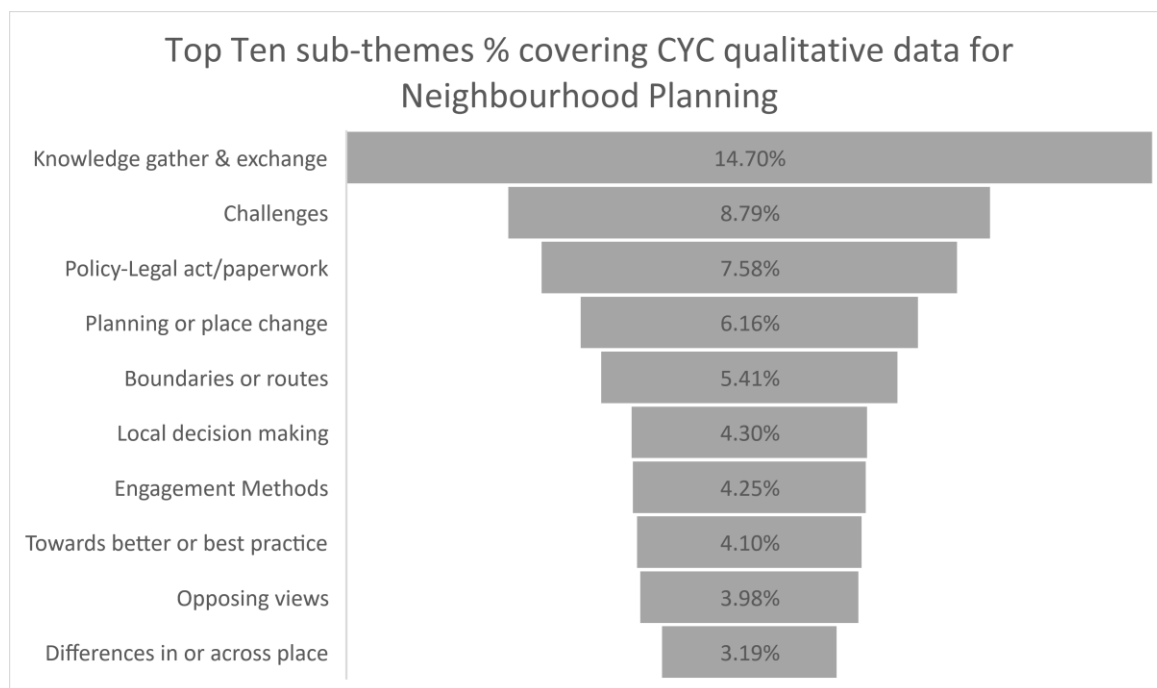


Figure 25. Top ten sub-themes for Neighbourhood Planning

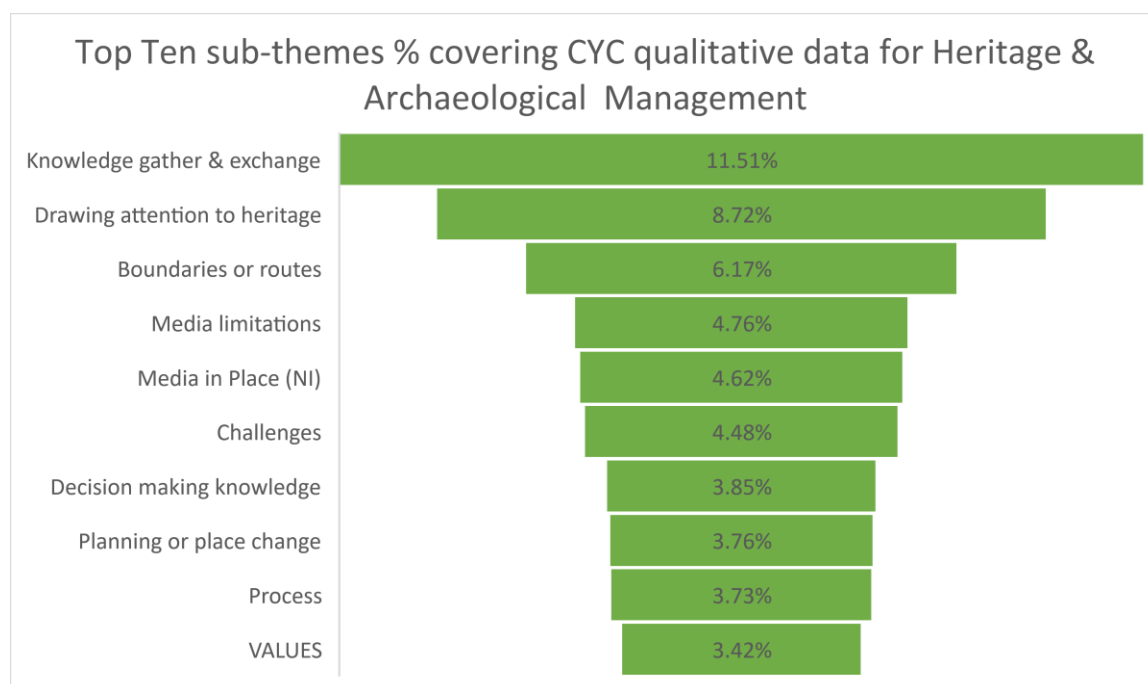


Figure 26. Top ten sub-themes for Heritage & Archaeological Management

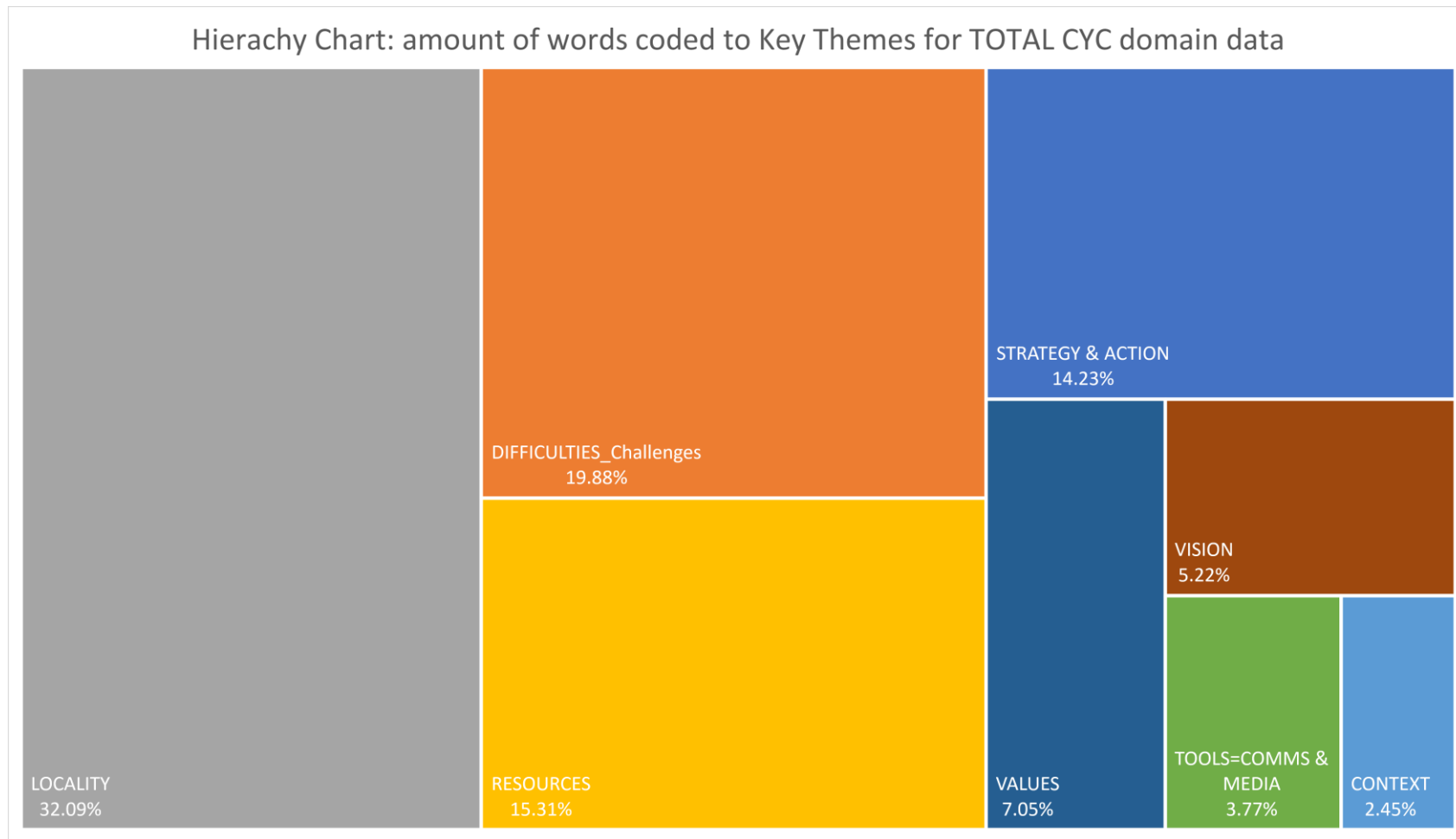


Figure 27. Key Themes for TOTAL CYC domain data

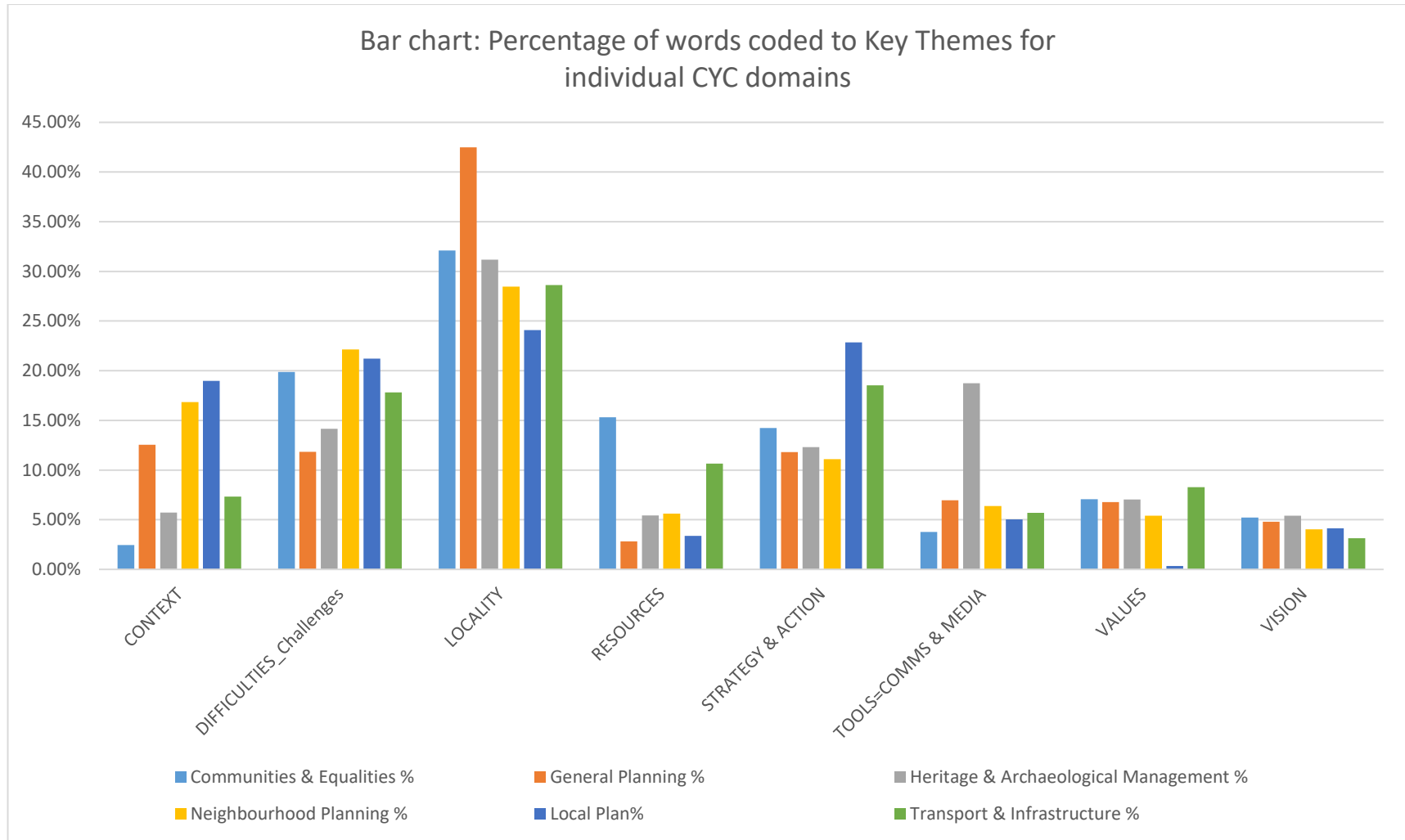


Figure 28. Percentage of words coded to Key Themes for all CYC domains

The Bar Chart and Hierarchy chart visualised (figures 26 & 27) compare the total percentage and total amount (respectively) of words coded to key themes (and therefore all sub-themes) in the interviews and fieldnotes across all CYC domains (See B.iii for the Excel spreadsheets where these charts were created).

By presenting the Top Ten charts and Key Themes charts the reader can consider different approaches to the data and judge the quantitative aspects of my interpretative analysis (i.e. how much coding had I attributed to certain areas). However, I am wary of overly reducing words to numbers (St. Pierre & Jackson 2014, 715) in light of my theoretical approach focusing on highest frequency codes would not help to show what is necessarily crucial to the project inquiry (Saldaña 2009, 122). Discussing the themes relevant to heritage management is vital here even if they were not discussed at length. During the write up of the next section, I have teased out specific themes that feature in the data relevant to the research inquiry. Initially, the plan was to present all of the eight Key Themes alongside selected extracts from the data. These could be pulled to the fore through 'coding queries' on NVivo (see Appendix A.x). For each theme this activity brought up many extracts and writing with them highlighted that words are essentially "exploding with meaning deferred" (St. Pierre & Jackson 2014, 716). As such, the following themes—Difficulties, Context, Resources, and Collaborative Action—are not discussed in their own headings because it became obvious that writing about them would result in dull repetition. These themes reflect "part and parcel" (to coin a phrase used by one of the participants in the group interview) of local council work. Instead, the following discussion focuses on four areas deemed central to the theoretical discussion: Vision, Values, Communication & Media, and Locality, whilst the other four are woven within the interpretations, alongside images judged to be relevant to these themes. As direct extracts from the data are presented please refer to Appendix B.ii for fieldnotes and Appendix F for interviews.

## 5.2.2 Key Thematic Discussion

### VISION

#### Visions for Local and Neighbourhood Planning

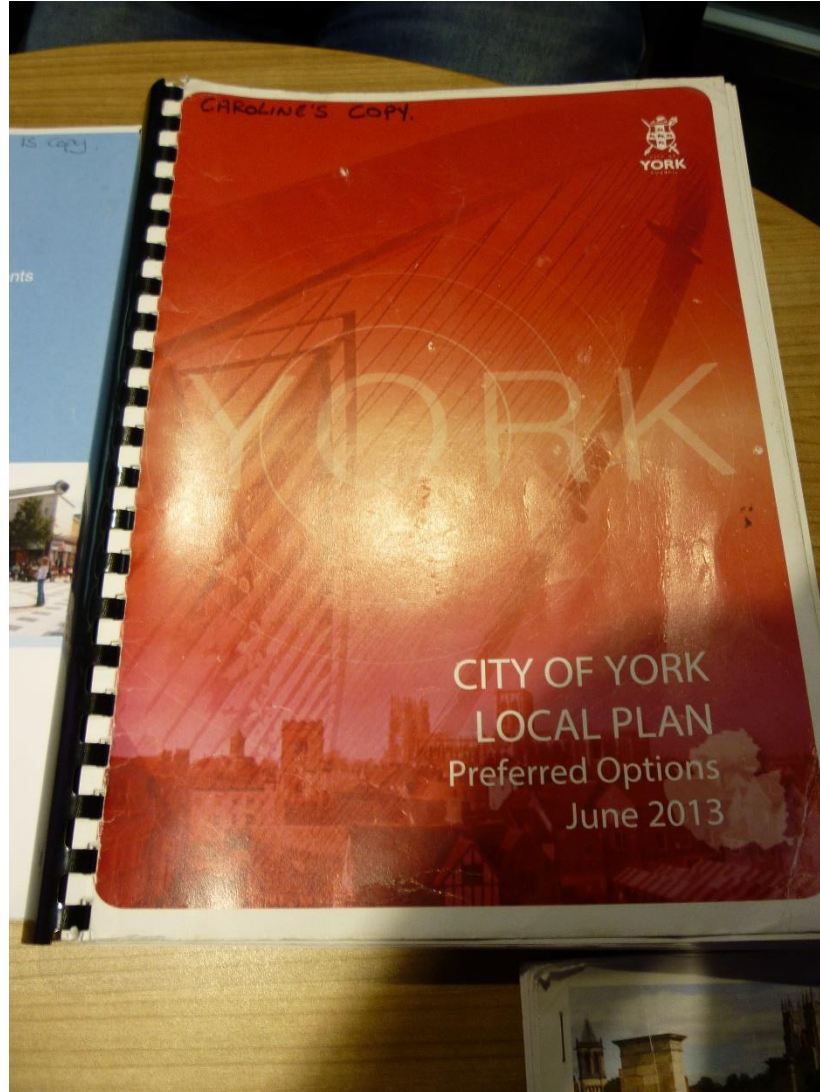


Figure 29. 'Caroline's copy' of the Local Plan Preferred Options Document, by author (2015)

**Image Content:** The document in question, shown placed on top of other documents on a small round wooden table in an enclosed 'pod office' in the West Offices. The image on the document is a red city-scape of York (including York Minster), superimposed with the ark of the Millennium Bridge. Value-action: picturing York's heritage at the front of this document highlights its importance to the city.

**Layout:** Portrait layout to coincide with document.



**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and in this thesis. The image of the Local Plan document can be found on the CYC website (CYC 2013a)

**Experience:** Caroline was never identified (she remains anonymous), but the name on the page highlights the fact that different members of the Local Plan team were working on these documents, editing them collaboratively (a process taking over 12 years.)

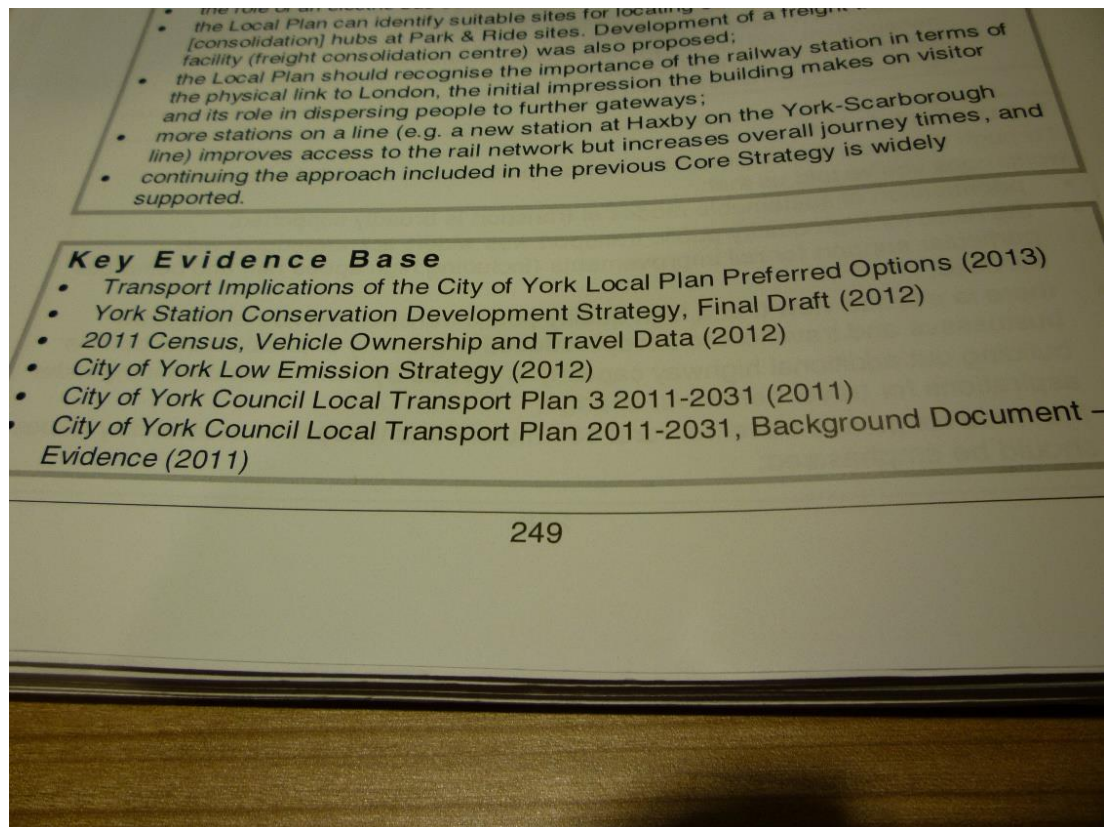


Figure 30. 'Key Evidence Base' page 249, by author (2015)

**Image Content:** One of many 'evidence base' boxes within the Local Plan Preferred Options Document.

**Layout:** Landscape to coincide with evidence base box

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and this thesis. The page within the Local Plan Preferred Option (2013a) document can be found on the CYC website.

**Experience:** As Mark explained in his interview "this was more of the evidence and the policies to enable these measures to be put into place", thus showing me what

demonstrating 'evidence base' meant in the context of a Local Plan. I quickly became overwhelmed by the information one needed to consult in order to be fully informed of the policies.

A key vision for the DCSD is the Local Plan. The developing Local Plan forms as the stages towards a "vision of the plan", as one participant (a city strategist) explained, involves "Spatial Strategy" (George 2015, Fieldnotes 2, ln. 119-142). Sitting in an office, in front of a map of the 'Preferred Options', stuck on the wall, he told me this was a process that incorporated heritage as evidence alongside other strategic priorities—or "slices in a cake"—when looking at York's overall development. Strategic priorities were described as either "drivers" (such as housing demands) or "shapers" (such as retaining historic assets); these are in balance or tension and often change. For instance, as related here (Mark 2015, see Interview 3, ln. 554-558) the housing driver or the level of allocated housing had to be reviewed after October 2014 after two members of the council "defected" the proposed options for the Local Plan. In addition, whilst the city strategist attributed heritage with both education and as a way of defining the character of areas, he also highlights that weighing up heritage in the process of Spatial Strategy is viewed negatively by politicians, whilst developers can see this shaper as a hurdle if perceived to be constraining the area (George 2015, Fieldnotes 2, ln. 142).

Whilst this issue is not new, fitting in heritage with other priorities has to occur within a new planning framework: i.e. via Neighbourhood Planning (NP). NPs are deemed as statutory documents underpinning a very specific form of residential vision which can be used to protect heritage or character within an area. NPs enables community organisations to develop a plan that supports their area and can incorporate heritage alongside other priorities, such as the retention of natural spaces:

I think neighbourhood planning is useful to protect areas. And it works from a natural perspective, not just heritage. Like if you have green spaces that are particularly important for local people, they can protect it through the neighbourhood plan. And of course, heritage can be as well

(Gill 2015, Interview 8, In. 137-140).

She stressed that, as part of the NP process, basic conditions must be met:

- A plan must have appropriate regard to national policy;
- It must conform to the strategic elements of the local plan;
  - In order to be compatible with EU obligations - a Strategic Environmental Assessment may need to be carried out if the plan is likely to have significant environmental effects;
- It must also be compatible with human rights obligations;
- It should be based on up to date and robust evidence.

Extract from Neighbourhood Planning Process (CYC 2017i).

Contra to the above guidelines however, the officer emphasised that a Strategic Environment Assessment (SEA) must be carried out and this research will incorporate other priorities: “Basically any plan needs to do this SEA. And it’s often combined with a sustainability appraisal” (Gill 2015, Interview 6, In. 180-181). In several discussions, the NP officer stressed the need for (and limitations of) the Council’s role to assist Parish Councils to develop policies that were properly written, could incorporate appropriate evidence that account for the status of the historic environment in their areas and the wider opinions of residents and businesses (Gill 2015, Fieldnotes 5, In. 18-21). In regard to the latter, the NP officer raised her concern about some NP groups’ lack of disclosure of their consultation methods (Gill 2015, Fieldnotes 1, In. 210-217). In other discussion, she adds that (from her experience) some NP groups utilise heritage to promote areas and as a barrier to change (Gill 2015, Interview 6, In. 413-418). A General Planning Officer also highlighted this distrust of NP groups, using the example that NP groups make use of population statistics to support their views, but these are not considered strong standards of evidence base and are utilised to block development (Max 2015, Interview 1, In. 95-101).

The requirement for unbiased information from NP groups is emphasised in the data as part of ‘Knowledge Gathering’ in the Collaboration Spectrum sub-themes. This emphasis seems to be heightened in York because there is a chance NPs may be adopted before the new Local Plan is finalised: already then-current drafts were in conflict with the Local Plan

(Gill 2015, Fieldnotes 1, 140-143). Dependable heritage information is seen to stem from other organisations: i.e. the NP officer highlights on several occasions that NP groups can seek advice from Historic England and other Heritage Amenity bodies (Gill 2015, Fieldnotes 1, In. 172 & 178 & Fieldnotes 5, In. 13-14). However, it became apparent through research within the Heritage and Archaeological domain there are several opportunities for 'in-house' heritage data to be utilised for the benefit of NPs, as is discussed below.

### Visions for heritage & revealing key information

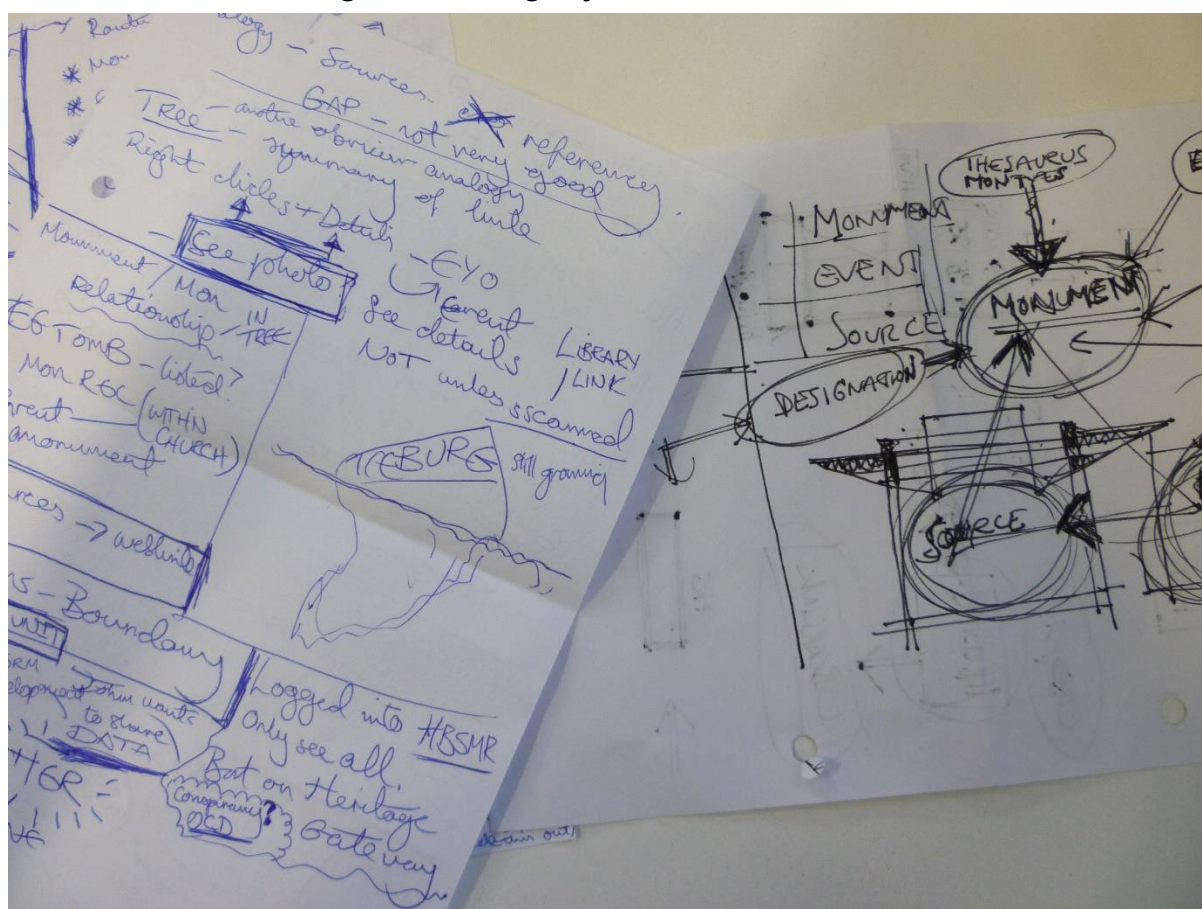


Figure 31. Doodling vision frameworks & challenges for York's HER, by author (2015)

**Image Content:** Sheets of note paper marked by both mine and the archaeological staff's 'doodling', generated as we discussed the HER. Value-action: trying to achieve shared understanding on a complex matter.

**Layout:** Both notepapers indicate a play on the layout of paper to create different understandings of the structure of the HER.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and this thesis. The original notepapers have since been destroyed.

**Experience:** In discussing my placement work, the archaeological staff explained how exactly the HER is formed. He described the HER as a labyrinth of information and an iceberg which is still growing with every archaeological event and any new information on designated assets. These notes highlight the differences between our conceptual thinking: his involves many more boxes and dynamic arrows, whilst mine is more 'segmented' with an illustration.

Within Heritage & Archaeological Management data, the most perceptible vision at the time was the goal of better revealing the historic environment for more people. The objectives towards this vision were:

- To make York's Historic Environment Record (HER) more accessible
- To enhance and update York's out of date 3D deposit model
- To reveal more important archaeology in place to the layperson, beyond common assumptions.



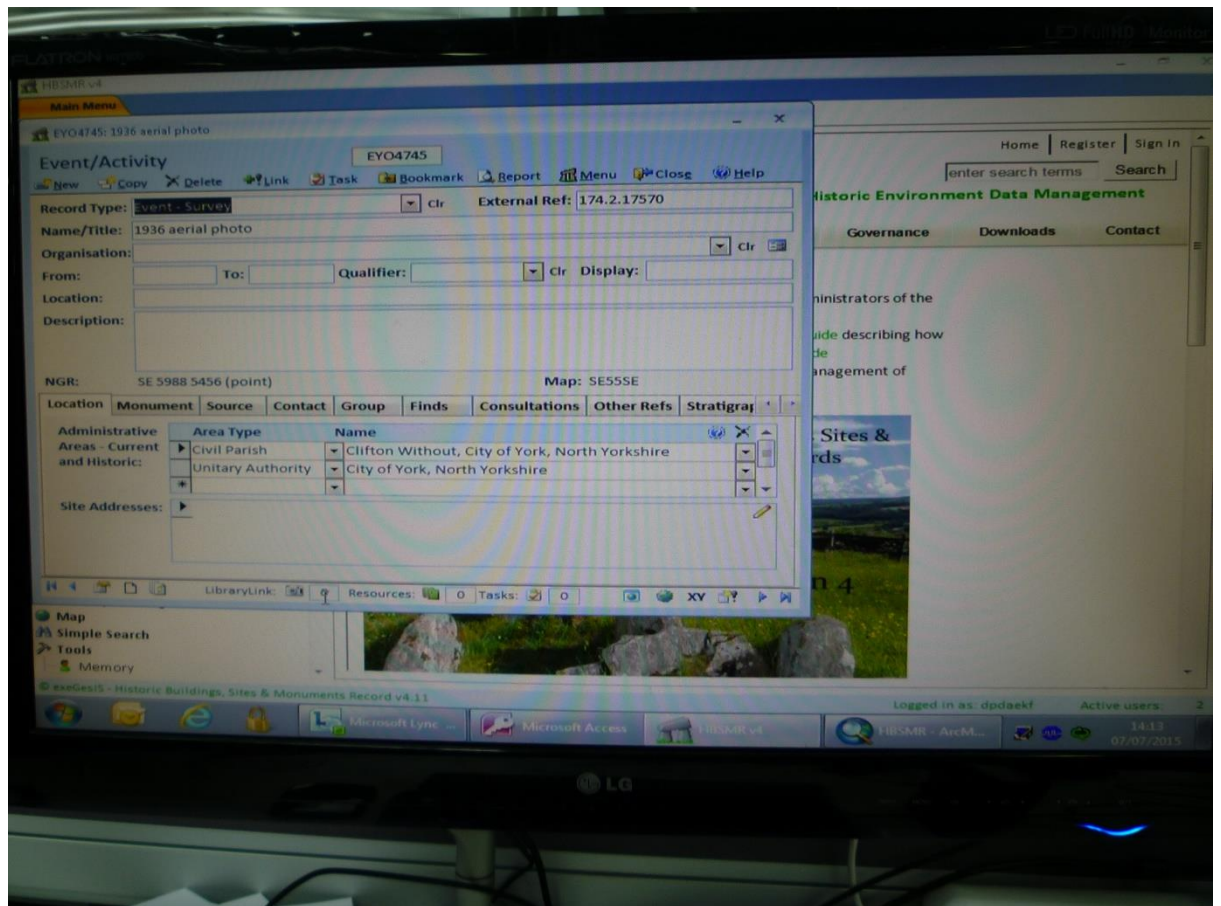


Figure 32. York's HBSMR/HER, by author (2015)

**Image Content:** Image of the desk top screen of the HBSMR portal with an 'Event' record (in this case an aerial photo) in a pop up box.

**Layout:** Landscape to capture the entire view of the desktop screen.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and this thesis. The HBSMR record itself can only be accessed via the CYC portal (if you have been allotted access by the IT services).

**Experience:** This screen shot highlighted my keenness to learn about the HER. I was trying to take in every detail shared by the archaeological staff, but taking notes and photographs.

Through writing a placement report regarding the interoperability of the HER, I gathered further information on this specific goal. The archaeological staff wanted to produce a HER which could reveal the historic environment more fully by making the data already kept within it more "clean and comprehensible to a wide range of audiences" as currently it is

inaccessible to the layperson both physically and in terms of readability (Harry 2015, Interview 4, 81-82). The ultimate goal was to link the HER with other existing portals, including the York Explore Online Archives and the Yorkshire Museum Trust online collection. And to enable users to upload personal historic photographs, other relevant heritage content and memories.

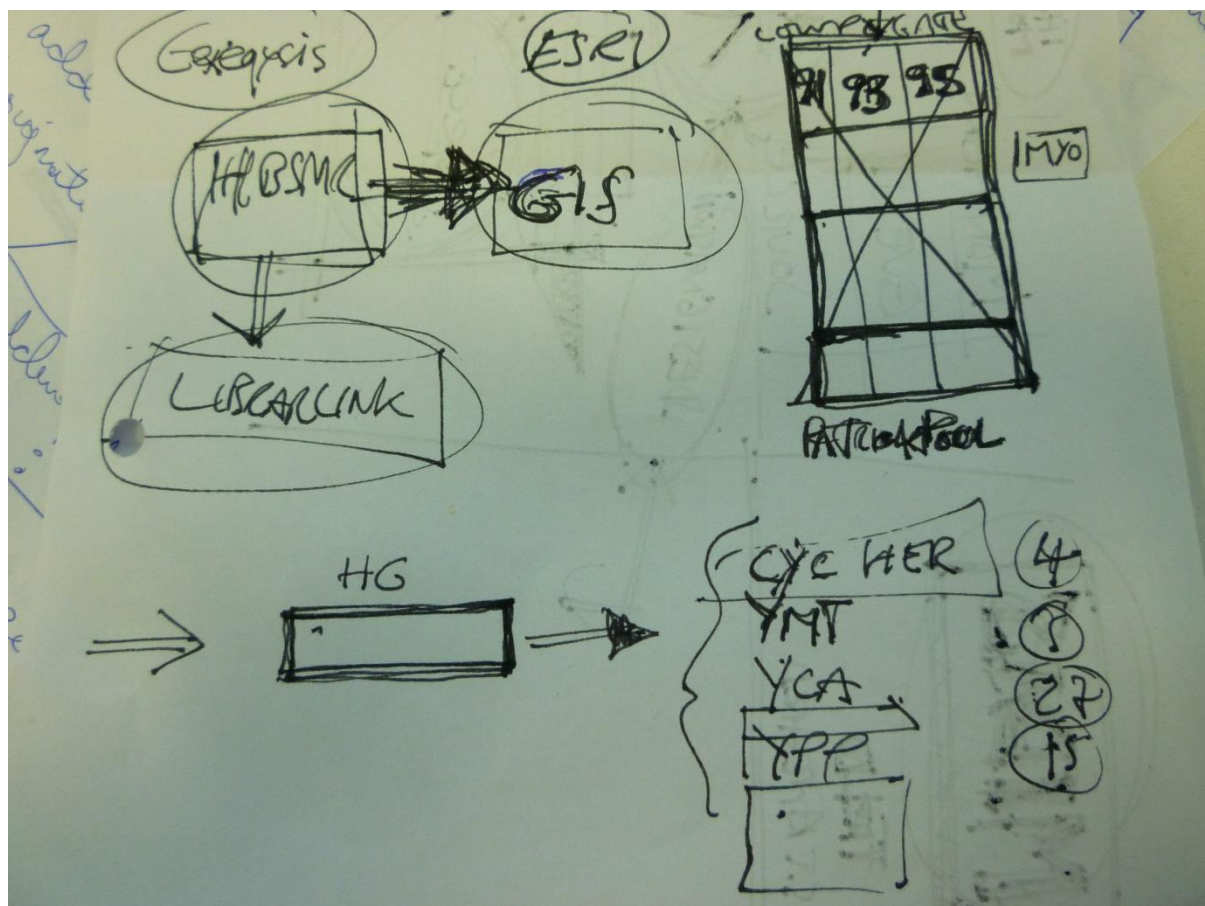


Figure 33. Further doodles on HER interoperability--drawn by Harry, photograph by author (2015)

**Image Content:** On this notepad, the archaeological staff presented his concepts of how datasets could be linked together. In this case, arrows indicate how the HBSMR are already linked to GIS and 'LibraryLink' (the latter enabling external documents, weblinks and images to be gathered within the HBSMR). The HBSMR is also linking to Heritage Gateway (indicated by HG) which is a nationwide portal for HERs. To the bottom right are doodled the different historic datasets relevant to York (YMT, YCA, YPP) which the staff aim to connect the HER with. The vision is essentially drawn out.

**Layout:** Different boxes and arrows show how the HER could be connected to other datasets. The layout of the boxes indicate a sought 'vision'.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and this thesis. The original notepapers have since been destroyed.

**Experience:** Looking at notepaper I find the sketchy boxes appealing. They communicate the staff's vision to move forward.

Ultimately, the accessibility of data and the interlinking between portals would directly impact or enhance more people's understanding of 'place', enabling them to be more active in decision-making.

I'm a great believer in the concept that information and knowledge is power [...] So making the record more accessible, I think for me, is very much tied up with that idea of providing people with information and knowledge that they can then deploy in the arguments that they put forward about the places that they live in

(Harry 2015, Interview 4, In. 182-192).

In addition, providing the opportunity for people to make data contributions to the HER was seen to enhance historic knowledge further: "keeping that data, creating a home for it will bring some sort of value in the future" (Harry 2015, Interview 4, In. 539-540). This is important to processes like Neighbourhood Planning, however at the time of fieldwork the issue over the access of the HER to both internal and external colleagues was clearly recognised:

Gill: Historic England, one of the statutory bodies that I consult with, do they have access to the Historic Environment Record? Or is it just the council officers?

Hannah: Yeah: it's just us!

Gill: Right. Because obviously, they provide comments on any emerging neighbourhood plan, and they would flag up if there was likely to be any impact on the national assets. But then I suppose it would be down to us and our officers to pull up if there is anything else on the Historic Environment Record. Especially if the communities can't access it yet.

[...]



Hannah: They couldn't look at ours because, like I say, it's an in-house system. An HBSMR system.

(Hannah & Gill 2015, Interview 8, In. 141-163).

Whilst Historic England have their own resources to consult, this lack of access to the HER highlights the issue in gaining the most comprehensive information to pull up in house and consequently the hypothetical role that the heritage staff could play during Neighbourhood Planning. Moreover, this connection between Historic England and Local Authorities and which level of record should be determined continues to be discussed two years later with regards to the access of HERs (CifA 2017b, 5-6).

Other in-house information includes the York Historic Environment Characterisation Project (drawing from the Historic Landscape Characterisation work by Historic England). The heritage officer highlights the ability for the York Historic Environment Characterisation Project to give insight useful to both planning officers (to an extent) and community groups as it is more accessible, both practically and in terms of legibility than the HER (Hannah 2015, Interview 9, In. 665-671). Therefore, the vision of revealing the historic environment has been achieved with the Characterisation Project resource (one which is suggested could supplement NP processes) yet at the time it seems to work 'as a possibility' rather than being applied in practice at the time of interviewing.

### **Visions for the City Walls**

Another important vision within the Heritage and Archaeological domain involves the City Walls, York's most expansive heritage asset. The Walls overlap with two key visions. Firstly, the walls contribute to York's tourism economy, which signifies a 'vision' realised in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, by those who collaborated towards the retention of the walls against those who would demolish them (and is discussed further in Chapter Seven). The walls still support this vision (as shown by the statements from VisitYork). Indeed, one participant highlighted, the Walls areas as an important touristic draw for the city; "something from the past is something that the present want to appreciate and preserve, hopefully, into the future as well". (Mark 2015, Interview 3, In. 101-102).

The second key vision which the City Walls overlap pertains to the use of heritage assets as community 'loci' which they themselves support due to dwindling local services. As the archaeological staff worker highlighted in an interview, the goal here is to:

involve the wider community in either the management or the day-to-day care of the walls themselves. So this community interface and community interaction with the walls, I think, is a really important area over the next few years because we in the Council are going to have less money.

[...]

I think realistically the only way of raising external funding is through having a very strong community strand running through how we deal with the city walls. So, when a councillor came and talked to me four, or five years ago about setting up Friends of York Walls, fantastic. That was a really good idea.

(Harry 2015, Interview 4, ln. 235-247).

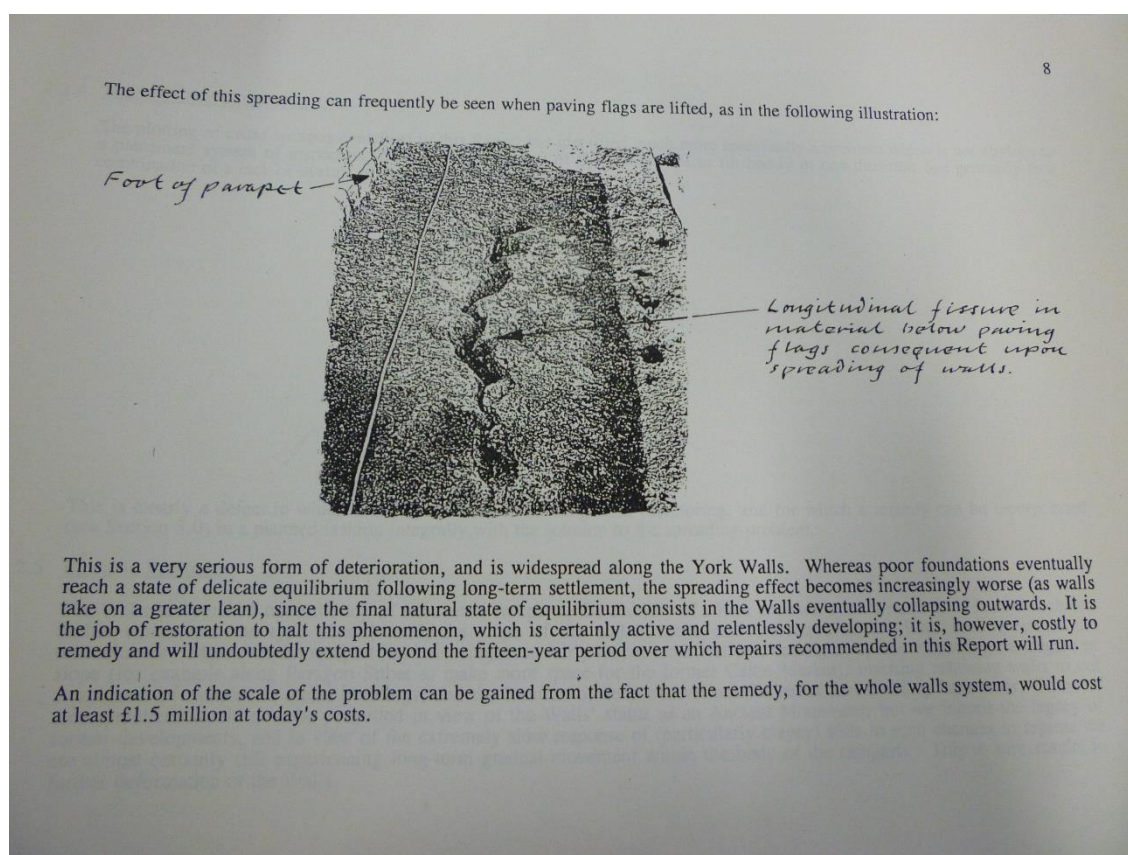


Figure 34. Page within the ARUP 1990 City Wall Survey, photograph by author (2015)

**Image Content:** Photo taken of an image of fissures in walls from 1990 survey of York's City Walls, with some text. This indicates a major challenge for the archaeological staff.

**Layout:** Landscape photograph to capture the entire page.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and this thesis. The page itself is available at the West Offices in the survey report in a large, red, leather-bound book.

**Experience:** The experience of this page should take account also of the large, red, leather-bound book it was found in. I was drawn to this book; its bulk (for me) resonated with the significant material regarding the walls' material state. The book was important as a static statement about the walls. This page was chosen as it made the most important statement of all: an (albeit outdated) indication of how much it would cost to fully repair York's City Walls.

The archaeological staff collaborate with the Communities and Equalities team to make decisions on how the Walls are maintained by council funds (Harry 2015, Interview 4, 71-76). This connection to the Communities and Equalities team is important not just in terms of decision-making. The vision to maintain the Walls as an increasingly more public asset, overlaps with how community-based visions can be grounded within different assets in different localities. To understand the overlap further, the Communities and Equalities domain must be further explored.

### **Visions for community groups in general**

Within interviews from the Communities & Equalities team, vision belongs to 'communities', due to their wishes to change something in their area. Their steps are assisted towards this goal by council staff:

at a practical level we might seek to establish or to maintain a number of projects which would contribute to the aims, which would realise the vision, and hopefully that would address the aspirations of the people who live in the area

(Mike 2015, Interview 2, ln. 37-49).

Here the council officer highlights the collaboration with communities or residents, who may have different visions or similar aspirations for areas. A vision held within the council, by the Communities and Equalities team, is to bring services more locally to the residents via individual assets:

the aspiration is that some of the council services would be available in those buildings in the future so we can take those services to where people are, where they live, rather than expect them to come to us as a council

(Mike 2015, Interview 2, In. 227-230).

Several heritage assets (i.e. designated buildings), are identified as important cases and have been (or have the potential to be) used towards this aim of devolving services in place. To this aim, often challenges arise from the heritage building's fabric.

[...] So the space is there the building is there but the money or the will or the knowledge or whatever to deal with the space hasn't been there until now. [...] We've seen how the Library, the Art Gallery, soon to be the Theatre, can all be brought back to use for their original purpose which is a similar but somewhat different task. But in the case of say the Guildhall, the Red Tower, the Methodist Church what we're looking for is a new use because the space is useful but it's a different use. So you need the money you need them people have the confidence to invest in. You need to reconfigure the space. So you need somebody who knows what they're doing

(Mike 2015, Interview 2, In. 552-564).

Essentially, using heritage assets to this aim impacts upon the 'vision' of those community groups. Vision is described here as held by certain people:

I think it does also sometimes require all the right people being in the right place at the right time, some people just have vision or have the will to see something through or to get something going or to forge alliances with others to make it happen

(Mike 2015, Interview 1, In. 579-581).

The participant also suggests that these visions can change to reflect reactions to pragmatic issues, giving the example of a Community Cooperative Housing initiative which had to change its objectives due to unforeseen circumstances. Likewise, the archaeological staff recognise the importance of strong community organisation and their tendency to adapt:

You know, sometimes these groups work and sometimes they fail and sometimes, you know, within the groups you've got, you know, the commitment ebbs and flows according to who's working within the group at any particular time. So, they're complex entities, these community groups, and you can't – my experience is that you can't force them, you've just got to go with the flow and see where they are and try and respond as positively as possible when asked for help and input

(Harry 2015, Interview 4, In. 257-264).

Essentially, the Heritage & Archaeological and the Communities & Equalities domains share a common goal which seeks to support community groups appropriately to achieve their own visions—in the Heritage and Archaeological case, particularly in regards to increased community support for heritage assets—yet challenges are recognised regarding the nature of these groups.

In this section, it is clear that the visions of the Heritage and Archaeological domains overlap considerably with Local Plan, Neighbourhood Planning and the Communities and Equalities teams. Where they overlap it is clear that such visions require suitable knowledge, resources, and collaborative people power in order to be achieved.

Several visions are prevalent within the West Offices, including the Local Plan, Neighbourhood Planning, Revealing the Historic Environment and Community Action in assets—the way that these visions overlap is of considerable importance and will be discussed in the analysis. Different heritage values (via uttered statements) will be now be discussed.

### **Heritage Values—How the Experts See It:**

A major goal of this research is about trying to trace heritage values within action and not necessarily through words outright. However, as much of the council data is spoken word,

uttered attributes to heritage values are recounted, as part of accounts of practice and are given below as subheadings.

### **Talking Values Outright: Heritage In (and as part of) Place**

The character of the historic environment was raised several times in the interviews and fieldwork. One participant, the Transport and Infrastructure Officer for the Local Plan, discussed how the historic environment is: “part of the evolution of a place, that everything gets built on what was built there before to a certain extent”. He considers also how a place (in this case the Castle Area) might have been valued differently, if York Castle had not been destroyed: “maybe if the castle had remained, it would have been appreciated even more” (Mark 2015, Interview 3, In. 141-145).

Furthermore, this participant pinpoints the Minster as an example where a designated heritage asset interacts with its surrounding area, indeed the whole city, for different people through time:

It’s such a key building that it’s there, it’s in the centre of York and I think everything else is kept below it, in terms of planning terms. It’s the focal point of the city. [...]

You can see it from miles around. And certainly within the city and the approaches to it, you can still see it, which is the importance of the Strays is providing those viewpoints so you can see it. There are lots of other places, I would have said, that have got impressive cathedrals, but they’re somewhat lost within the urban area around them

(Mark 2015, Interview 3, In. 233-244).

Within a fieldnote interview, a General Planning officer’s reactions to the concept of heritage in place highlights individual experience with place, grounded in personal everyday interactions:

Max mentions his experience cycling through the area in front of the Minster; on one occasion, late, when there was no-one around, he found himself ‘looking up’

(Max 2015, Interview 1, In. 140-143).

In addition, the heritage officer pinpoints her own individual attentiveness to heritage and the feeling of care that leads to curiosity and concern while travelling through places:

[...] you just sort of care. I don't want to see the historic environment trashed. I mean when I...or even just forgotten about because when I was doing the characterisation, I would go around on my little cycle and I'd just notice something like a little...not even a milestone. It was just like a little stone, an arch stone boundary marker or something, just literally in the grass verge in the middle of Tang Hall at a crossroads of two busy streets

(Hannah 2015, Interview 7, In. 636-641.)

This attentiveness leads back to the vision of revealing the historic environment more fully:

And I'm not suggesting stick a big interpretation board and all that. [...] But I thought, 'Well it's worth mentioning though. It's worth flagging up and taking a photo of,' and you just want people to have a bit of respect for things

(Hannah 2015, Interview 7, In. 645).

These words highlight personal responses to the heritage environment and its entangled relationship to place.

### **Understanding others' heritage value:**

This next sub-theme on heritage values focuses on how council practitioners view community value for heritage. For example, an ex-Neighbourhood manager summarises value for heritage as 'resonating' for individuals:

It is something that's resonant, something, yeah resonant of a particular time, isn't it. I'm trying to think, everybody is different. [...] And my ideas of heritage might be completely different to somebody else, but it is stuff that's resonant of a time or a piece of history

(Betty 2015, Interview 6, In. 298-302).

The planning officer noted how, in an example of a saved wood yard when he worked in another city, other types of values he had not anticipated had been upheld:

Max also adds that an inspector brought up the mention of the sights, smells and use of the wood yard as a consideration—the use of the place being something that Max had never before or since heard of as a determining factor. And to consider also that this wood yard was within a conservation character area amongst grand stately homes (so it didn't fit in)

(Max 2015, Interview 1, In. 62-67).

Furthermore, it is indicated by the archaeological staff that, whilst recent heritage management has begun to focus on communal experience with place, there is tension between different valuation methods:

A Statement of Significance includes the concept of Conservation principles and the 4 values. Harry relates that the [Know Your Place] team from Bristol were criticised by HE for moving away from the notions of historical, aesthetic, evidential and communal value—but looked more at the concept of people's experience of place

(Harry 2015, Fieldnotes 1, In. 282-286).

The NP officer, having studied heritage concepts during her education, also conceived of community values as being beyond assets in the physical sense:

So that was looking not just about the material heritage – so the things you might think of straight away like the listed buildings and things like that – it's about the community heritage and the value of place, I suppose, rather than the physical buildings. It's more the context of everything together and the historic events that might have happened there

(Gill 2015, Interview 6, In. 405-409).

Evidently, the communal nature of heritage is recognised and attributed to 'subjective' and sensory qualities. Yet simultaneously, it is also recognised as difficult to incorporate into practical planning practices (413).



### **Valuing others' heritage value & best practice examples**

By contrast, value is placed on 'the knowing of' others values, as research, in order to make decisions. Value can be attributed to 'best practice' examples or previous positive experiences which the workers can draw from or work towards in their own activities.

The first example is with the heritage officer who previously worked with other community organisations. She had struggled to reveal their valued historic environment during work with them (due to resources) but acknowledged the personal connection she had with an organisation in Durham:

So I wanted to help them unlock that and put it in something presentable. And I cared about that as a thing and...but I also did have a bit of a connection with them in that I'm from County Durham as well. And it was a bit of a connection in like, 'Oh we're just a small pit village and we've got no money sort of thing'

(Hannah 2015, Interview 7, In. 628-633).

As well as personal reasons, heritage data is valued for practical reasons too, as shown by the heritage officer's positive point regarding the York the Buildings at Risk Project:

[...] as a means of us gathering some information, the Council getting this added value data so we weren't just doing it all for English Heritage. And we managed to get some quite nice information out of that, actually

(Hannah 2015, Interview 7, In. 166-169).

(Note she was also somewhat critical of this project and gave a balanced review). Other projects which helped to 'unlock' the historic environment, resulting in further knowledge, were also highlighted as resulting in extra information:

Hungate is a good example of where it has been done properly, they excavated it over five years and found loads of stuff and got loads of research out of it

(Hannah 2015, Interview 7, In. 357-358).

Other best practice examples are cited by two other participants:

He mentions also the work at Berwick town walls wherein the CYC environmental team are looking to work with English Heritage to define a walls health and safety measure (they have fatalities as walls include a sheer drop of 30ft). He wonders if maybe we could commission a report to Historic England and make a city walls audit standard?

(Harry 2015, Fieldnotes 5, In. 151-157).

there is something called the Lido, and it's not a Lido, it's a section of the river where people used to swim. It's just historically known as the Lido. It's not protected through any national or local policy. But that's something that through their neighbourhood plan, they've developed policies to protect it from any change. From that perspective, I think neighbourhood planning is useful to protect areas

(Gill 2015, Interview 8, In. 131-136).

These two case studies are raised when seeking more positive (potentially experimental) ways of working with heritage (note: both these examples are given in the context of group discussions, wherein ways forward are being shared by participants).

Moreover, the archaeological staff attributed value onto others' valuable data (in this case photographic memories) which could potentially enhance the HER in the future (Harry 2015, Interview 8, 470). Collecting others' valued photographs, irrespective of type leads to the enhancement of the HER and is seen to attribute to the overall vision of understanding place and its historic development:

[...] and which could be of great value in adding to our understanding of the development of place and the way in which places have been used and how they might be used again in the future

(Harry 2015, Interview 8, In. 514-516).

When asked about whether we should be deciding to keep all information, or be more selective (for example, as archivists have required to be), the answer was given as follows:

[...] there is a process of self-selection going on in there which puts that information into the database and I would say that we don't necessarily know the value of that

data at this point in time. But if somebody is ascribing a value to that data now because, a, they have kept it and brought it all together, b, they have put it into some sort of format that they feel is appropriate, and c, they are willing to share it through the system.

I would say you almost have embodied in it there a set of values which makes sense to an individual now and may well make a lot of sense in ways that we don't at the moment fully understand or can even think about to people in the future

(Harry 2015, Interview 8, ln. 532-540).

Essentially, whilst case studies or examples enable reference points for other practice, collecting valuable evidence is viewed as good practice and seen as helping decision-making in the future.

Knowing the methods of value collection is an important aspect of this research. Indeed, the formats in which others' heritage values are captured or presented may impact attitudes towards them as is discussed further in the next section.

### **Media: Communication & Media Use By Archaeological Staff**

As previously discussed, one of the key visions for the archaeological staff is to enhance the HER by providing further evidence of its value. Embedded in this vision is the staff's grasp on how the visitor would physically use the 'ideal' platform which would reveal the HER content:

Harry: You click on that, and it then brings up a box that allows you to then tick all of the different data recorders. Click on that, click search, it goes away and then it pulls back York Museums Trust pictures of the Mansion House, YPP pictures of the Mansion House, you can then look at and search and look at that information.

Kat: That is the next stage.

Harry: That is where I want to head. You might also have a little button that says, 'do you want to print out your results?' You click, 'yes.' Then it would give you something that might print out a little thumbnail of each one and tells you who

holds the original information, and then if you want to get a full resolution copy then contact the original data holder

(Harry 2015, Interview 8, In. 542-550).

The anticipation here is to provide technology that draws from other models, such as the successful Bristol Know Your place platform:

We want to have a layer that's this community layer where people can add things, and it won't be defined by a character area. That will just be anything. And I'm really interested in that side of things [...] because Bristol Know Your Place does that quite well, I think, where you turn on the community layer and then there's a point, and you look at that and someone's uploaded a photograph of something or a memory of something

(Hannah 2015, Interview 7, In. 525-529).

The ideal accessible HER would offer "Google-like functionality" but it is understood by the archaeological staff that for the HER to get to this level will take a lot of effort and time: "it could take...it will take years" (In. 434-435).

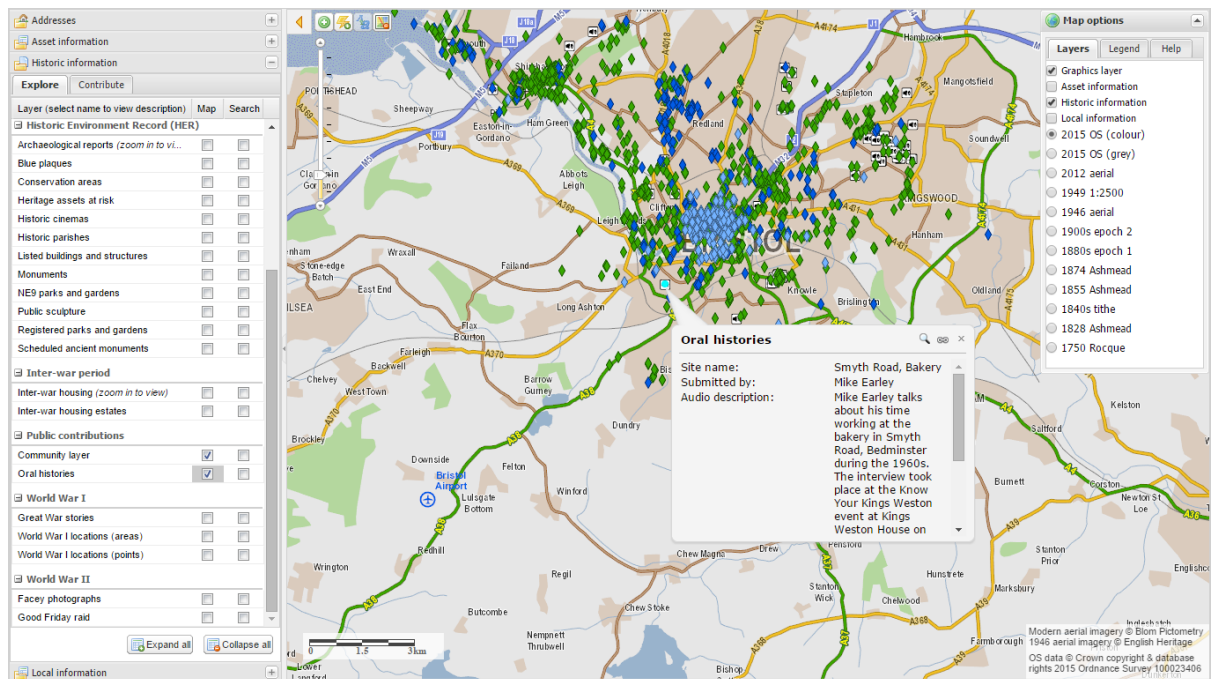


Figure 35. Web-shot of Bristol Know Your Place Platform-Bristol City Council (2016). © OS

**Image Content:** Web-shot taken by my laptop of the Know Your Place Platform, with the different layers showing numerous coloured 'diamonds', signalling different data (e.g. historic and community). One such diamond (for an oral histories data-set) has been clicked. Value-action identified by the amount of diamonds showing community history contributions.

**Layout:** I cropped the screen shot to focus on the webpage completely, including the various 'legends' and pop up box to the bottom right.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and this thesis. The webpage is available on the Know Your Place website (Bristol City Council 2016).

**Experience:** This platform has set the bar. During my time at the West Offices, the archaeological staff met with the Bristol Know Your Place team and discussed the options for York's HER. So seeing this image brings to mind the staff's goal and their efforts.

In addition, the wish to reveal the historic environment within place through other forms of visual media is equally important:

There are books and things written on it, but for a layperson to access it easily, like a sign in the street or an app or something like that

(Hannah 2015, Interview 7, In. 370-372).

The need to reveal the historic environment through various media is particularly important for the City Walls;

The level of intellectual access to the city walls is limited because if you want to find anything out about the city walls then you've got to trawl through a wide-range of disparate sources, in different places to start to pull-together whatever it is that you want to know about the city walls. So, in that sense the HER, you know, fails miserably to do anything for the city walls. Pretty much every website in every other resource in the city, and beyond, you know, fails to give you a comprehensive access to the information that is available for the city walls

(Harry 2015, Interview 4, In. 221-227).

The use of non-interactive (signage) communication tools and media highlight several pragmatic issues (i.e as discussed at length on Fieldnotes 2, "13-08-14 West Offices Harry and others"). In terms of interpretation boards these questions included:

- locations for interpretation signage,
- the cost of equipment,
- the quality of material,
- the fixture techniques (i.e. will it damage the historic fabric?),
- the size (and therefore amount of information included),
- the desired 'permanence' of signs and
- whether to include QR codes (see specifically Fieldnotes 2, In. 60-62 & Fieldnotes 5, In. 214-224).

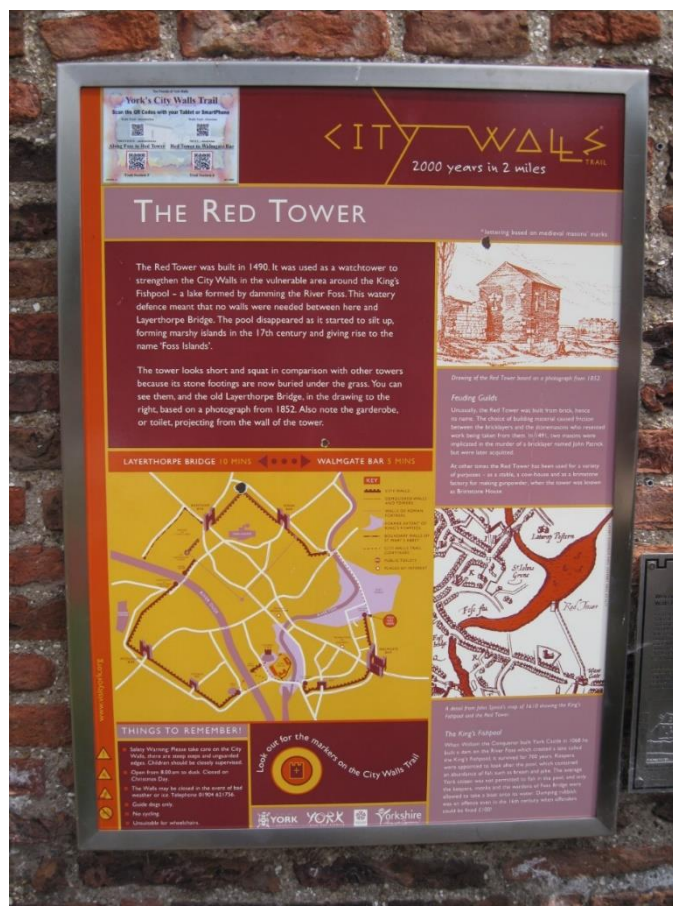


Figure 36. Red Tower interpretation board, by author (2015).

**Image Content:** This image consists of an interpretation sign located at the Red Tower. It includes various boxes of information and graphics (to a theme of warm colours) and also, to the top left, the laminated QR codes created by the Friends of York Walls.

**Layout:** The image is portrait to capture the entirety of the board.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and this thesis. The board itself remains outside the Red Tower.

**Experience:** Two different reactions are evoked here. This photo was taken after a walk with the archaeological staff. He had noticed three 'chips' on the board, which he decided could be caused from the shots of bb-guns. The board itself, as part of my Red Tower work, became 'part of the furniture' and associated with my volunteer activities (and research on Wallwalkers).

This data highlights mainly the 'forward facing' considerations of media use by the archaeological staff and the challenges and choices to be made in revealing the historic environment to audiences. Their own use of media (in the everyday use of the HER) highlights how their practice is aligned with visual knowledge and this will be discussed further in the 'Locality and Heritage' section. But first I discuss how other services used media and the challenges they face in revealing information to the public.

### **Media use, sharing information and engagement**

Within interviews with participants from the other domains, different communication tools and media are used and critiqued in the following ways. For instance, the NP officer is initially critical of the way images are used by Parish Councils within the draft plans, and posits how they might: "show images in order to sabotage a development site plan and in order to demonstrate how nice their area is." (Gill 2015, Fieldnotes 5, ln. 10-12). Yet, 'evidence-base' maps can be provided to Parish Councils by the CYC (ln. 24-27). Moreover, she identifies that the 'context' in which such information is shared is varied within a local area:

Paper copies in the library and a website will be set up (in process currently). The application will be included in the website

(Gill 2015, Fieldnotes 1, In. 206-207).

The Transport and Infrastructure Officer also revealed the different uses and contexts of visual media in the Local Planning documents. He showed me the importance of maps that give information:



Figure 37. Mark pointing out graphics in Local Plan document, photograph by author (2015)

**Image Content:** This image shows the transport & infrastructure officer using a graphic of a map of York's roads (with colour coding used to show congestion statistics).

**Layout:** My image frames both the graphic on the page and the tips of the officer's hands.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and this thesis. The graphic can be located on page 22 of the Local Plan Transport Infrastructure Investments Requirements Study, kept in the West Offices.

**Experience:** The experience of this image is linked to the transport officers interview: "So if you looked at this, this would be showing the amount of linked roads in the city centre that would be operating above capacity. So actually they're going to have queuing traffic on them and they're going to be standing still, largely." (Mark 2015, Interview 5, 745-750)



He points to the image to demonstrate. I note his use of graphics to deliver it, as a valuable tool for explanation the issue at hand.

Other graphics had to be moved to an appendix:

[...] there's more graphical information in there, potentially, things like our bus routes and usage and stuff like that. There's still some nice graphics in there

(Mark 2015, Interview 3, ln. 864-865).

In addition, photographs are sometimes used within such documents (i.e. the 2005 Local Plan), to reflect aspects of York:

Kat: [...] it has a lot of pictures of York's visible streetscapes, river scapes, the minster's features, and these are all part of what I would consider to be the historic environment.

Mark: Mmm. It's to create the feel of the place and just some selective photographs in there

(ln. 850-856).

These comments suggest positive attributions to the use of visual media in the documents. Turning now to how media is used in the context of consultation, he highlights that with the most recent Local Plan consultations the setting ('in place') where communications are shared are varied. These took place online and in place:

[...] you can have physical exhibitions where you get members of the public in to come and offer their views, you can have focus groups or stakeholder meetings where you involve people that have got either a means of delivering your ideas or got a vested interest in it

(ln. 313-316).

In both online and in situ contexts, the Local Plan drafts were shared (along with the media within them), which has generated many responses: "I think overall for the consultation on the Local Plan we got about 19,000 responses" (ln. 528-529). Feedback

from both these contexts are gathered, consolidated and then repromoted again using online tools:

They [Preferred options documents] were taken out to all the consultation events so the officers could make note of the comments that you made in the event, or you could take a leaflet, fill it in, give it back to the officers there and then, or post it in

(ln. 524-527).

Everything was then summarised and presented to council to say, 'There are so many comments in relation this; there are so many objections in relation to that policy.' So it was taken forward and a lot of the things were noted

(ln. 565-568).

Within this interview, media within the Local Plan documents have various uses (feel of place, information, evidence-base), are then brought along to various communication or information sharing settings and thereafter reiterated online in a consultative 'cycle'.

Notably, the Communities and Equalities team show how communication tools and engagement settings are reassessed for their usefulness in communicating with community groups:

Kat: Can we talk about how the way that information [...] goes up the ladder, how do those pieces of information get communicated?

Mike: Well this is a changing area, because I think over the years, most of the methods in the book have been tried at one time or other, but they come into fashion and go out of fashion, for example this year as of Thursday of last week, we are looking to strengthen and reintroduce direct communication, whereby we invite people to a public meeting and have a conversation with them, and then they go away and hopefully take that information back to their own family or community or residents or whatever.

[...] We've taken some of our engagement actually out to where people are, so for example consultation was done on the buses, consultation is sometimes done outside particular buildings or inside particular buildings or with particular groups

(Mike 2015, Interview 2, ln. 130-146).

Different settings, in place and in-between places—including public transport—are being explored as useful arenas for consultation. Furthermore, key buildings are deemed to be useful for leaving information in place.

Mike: We use them as a place to leave or to root information, communication and we might some cases work from these buildings

(ln. 440-441).

What information, how to present it and where to present are considerations that arose within the group interview between the Heritage Officer, Neighbourhood Planning officer, the two Neighbourhood and Equalities team members and the Transport and Infrastructure Officer (Interview 8). The skill of information-sharing using media was raised, along with the inherent issues of community engagement. Due to the length and topics covered, I have summarised the following challenges and questions discussed in the group interview and used a table to indicate potential solutions suggested by participants and my own understanding.

Table 11. Challenges &amp; solutions identified in Group Interview (Interview 8)

<b>Challenges Discussed</b>	<b>Potential Solutions discussed</b>
--How much information is too much?	--Create documents (which 'move' like the internet) to help digest pieces of information, --The use of Heritage Impact Assessments, 'slimline' version as 'revealing information' more effectively, balancing knowledge with level of detail --Positive use of visuals & maps in Neighbourhood Planning
--Where (and possibly when) should information be accessed to avoid 'misinformation'?	--Looking at particular places and settings: i.e. where to do consultation (buses, libraries etc). Emphasis on importance of face-to-face interaction. --Planned access to certain information for people ahead of meetings --Community Conversations (lunchtime meetings) given as an example of good (if surprising) practice
--Social media is thought likely to cultivate 'misinformation'—how to manage this?	--Example given where officer sought out vocal citizen on an issue being discussed on Facebook and talked it through with them face-to-face --Use of monitoring social media platforms, drawing on admin example from York Past and Present
--How not to produce consultation fatigue?	--seeking ready-at-hand in-house databases for useful consultation results and methods
--How to handle 'animated' conversations?	--Need for training and confidence building in consultation roles

	<p>--using empathy to draw understanding from people, with regards to developments (will your daughter go to university? Where will your carer live?)</p> <p>--'role play' where others adopt characters when discussing their opinions on matters</p> <p>--Thinking about the physical set up of meetings themselves (circle vs lecture)</p> <p>--Using icebreaker moments –moments at meetings before the initial start of the talk— coffee breaks when people can chat to their councillors: "If you let people come in first, have a chat and then sit down, they've had an opportunity to mention some of those things to other people already".</p>
<p>--Talking through can be constrained by whether or not something is a 'blank canvas' –i.e. local plan is not a blank canvas, as so many factors constraining the possibilities—how to engage people with these issues without appearing tokenistic?</p>	<p>--bringing in props to show and share how decision-making at the council level is carried out (i.e. tiddlywinks example to show how money gets divvied out)</p> <p>--using empathy to draw understanding from people, with regards to developments (will your daughter go to university? Where will your carer live?)</p>

These conversations also led to the discussion of the use of social media as a form of facilitating conversations between council workers and community groups. Social media (including Facebook) was seen by one of the participants as an 'ineffective' communication tool—i.e. lack of engagement (ln. 1090), two gave negative examples of engaging with people of Facebook (ln. 1112-1117, 1134) and one gave both bad and good examples (ln. 1163, 1189).

In essence, creating both useful platforms, media and settings remains a dubious yet ongoing experiment with these staff. Considering the challenges here, the archaeological staff commented on the way that archaeological information can act as a neutraliser:

Archaeology actually cuts through all of this [...] because people are really interested in the city, its past, and they set-aside all of the complaints about the Council once you start exploring these areas with them

(Harry 2015, Interview 4, ln. 301-303).

Thus, this solution—the neutralising factor of heritage as knowledge beyond council issues—could be added to the 'How to manage animated conversations' solutions box. He does however acknowledge that heritage can stir tensions (i.e. the Fulford battle field example is given straight after this quote). The presentation of archaeological information will gain much in being mindful of the engagement issues grappled with by the other CYC practitioners either in situ or by use of digital media platforms. Indeed, since fieldwork various consultative techniques are being explored by the MyFutureYork project in their use of different consultation spaces and media (MyFutureYork 2017a).

If the act of exploring historic aspects of the city can be a neutraliser, than the way that exploration is achieved is highly important to collaboration. Different forms of media—tools of information sharing—continue to be experimented with by the council staff in consultations with York's community groups and judged to lesser or greater effects. How different forms of media impact the revealing of different localities (and collaborative discussions about them) is now discussed.

## Locality & Heritage

### Changing boundaries:

The reader may notice that these thematic discussions are interwoven in their content. The next is no exception, as it includes themes of challenges, vision and communication etc., which can be seen threaded through the extracts. This theme of 'locality' and 'local' is a slippery term to consider as we have seen; i.e. there are several ways in which the CYC divides the area that it controls. Perimeters of the everyday and official boundaries can change and eventually become heritage pathways; i.e. after the 1996 boundary change new data from adopted localities were taken by the archaeological staff and inputted into the HER (Harry 2015, Interview 4, ln. 122-127).

In terms of planning, localities comprise the visual edges of place and these edges are seen at the high level of city strategy: [...] if designing a building in surrounding buildings looks like this then the perimeters have to reflect that building [...] a new piece of York is very difficult in this respect (George 2015, Fieldnotes 2, ln. 127-129).

Moreover, the relationship between routes and boundaries (as part of transport and infrastructure) is considering as a way of identifying heritage in different places:

[...] there's a vast difference between living in York and, say, living in Basingstoke. And Reading, I would say, is an example where a heritage has been destroyed by transport. Because you've got, I think, dual-carriageways cutting in and around the town

(Mark 2015, Interview 3, ln. 120-123).

Boundaries and routes can also be changed to reveal new and old localities by both the City of York Council and new economic ventures. In this example, the major insurance broker Hiscox (at one point in 2015) were considering changing a historical route between the gap in the city walls between Red Tower and Layerthorpe:

[...] they would be trying to re-develop the pathway from the Red Tower round to the HISCOX building, and then back up Peasholme Green. [...] Harry states that this will require new signage and potentially new interpretation panels for the Red Tower

(Harry 2015, Fieldnotes 1, In. 243-249).

We talked about how the Fishpool could be brought into Context it because you would be stood in the Fishpool if you were walking past that part of the city 100 years ago or more. The interpretation designer says that we could use the current studs and redesign with the fishes, although that will be fantastically expensive. Harry says he's not sure of the status of the public pathway

(Fieldnotes 2, In. 99-104).

Although this visual pedestrian-plan has not since come to fruition, positing route change in this way brings the ambitions of new developments to the fore (sewing old and new together). Revealing old localities after developments or place changes have occurred is exemplified with plans for St Leonard's Place:

He looks at location plans, "not many people know the history of St Leonards place". He talks about St Leonards place and the Roman wall and Civic Trust plaque that has been removed or stolen because it was bronze.

I ask: "You chose this space because it is a busy space next to the bus stop?"

Harry mentions that it's because this roman road is not visible to the human eye

(Fieldnotes 2, In. 42-43).

These extracts above highlight different ways of knowing the changing of boundaries and locality. Thus, knowing locality (on the part of the archaeological staff and others) depends heavily on historical research (which can occur through consulting the HER).



**Knowing Local:**

Figure 38 Archaeological & Conservation 'library' in West Offices, photograph by author (2015)

**Image Content:** A cupboard full of various books related to York's archaeology (the 1990 City Wall Survey is kept here, underneath several other books at the top right shelf).

**Layout:** The photograph is portrait to fit the entirety of the cupboard.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and this thesis. The books remain at the West Offices.

**Experience:** I noticed this cupboard full of documents on York's archaeology on the first day of my placement. I was drawn to this mini library for York's archaeology and

wondered how these resources were used in practice—I asked the archaeological staff and he said they were sometimes consulted and were slowly being digitised.

For the heritage officer, knowing places and localities comes from a mixed familiarity with place and the 'ready to hand-ness' of information from websites or the HER:

So I'm using a bit of knowledge just from experience that I've got, that I've checked this, I check the HER first just to see if there was anything there, you know, but if it's in an area of archaeological importance, you know, there's probably going to be a watching brief. That kind of thing, you sort of, you learn where and if it's along the Mount, you know, there's Roman – you know? [...] The thing is you've got to work out where they are. So I use, because I don't know where every single street is in York, I use the York map thing that I've got saved on my computer [...]

(Hannah 2015, Interview 9, ln. 223-230).

Alongside the use of HER maps, the Characterisation Project that the heritage officer had worked on previously has since become a shorthand knowledge of local areas, to get a general feel of place:

[...] I've been looking at my character statements and going 'right, key-views, that, that, that...' You know? General feel is that and it just is good for the general feel like that, rather than all the nitty-gritty detail

(ln. 666-668).

But the archaeological staff worker highlights that the below ground deposit model can assist further towards understanding local areas:

Well, the character areas are actually defined by their above ground appearance. Whereas these are very much definitions which relate to very much what is going on below the ground.

[...]

[...]although it is covered by Hannah's subsequent work in the more detailed characterisation we have carried out outside that Central Historic Core Conservation

Area. These were essentially defining research zones rather than character zones, or you could say that they were related to each other, and it then sort of applied these contour maps, these deposit model maps to the city to suggest where the deposits for each period are going to be preserved, where most of them are going to be preserved. So, this is just a model of the natural subsurface, but then you have got similar plans which relate to Roman

(Harry 2015, Interview 10, In. 296-316).

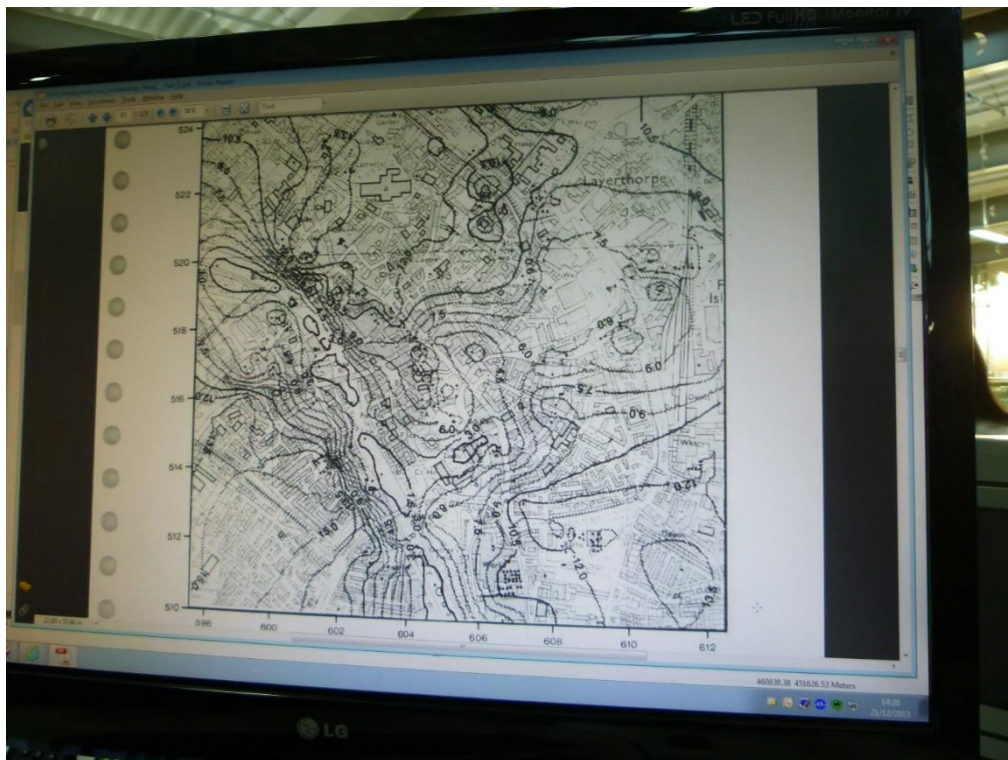


Figure 39. Image of page within Ove Arup & Partners report (1991), photograph by author (2015)

**Image Content:** This image shows a page from the ARUP report kept within the archaeological staff's documents folder. The page details different periods' stratigraphy across York, signified by the sweeping lines and numbers.

**Layout:** The photograph is landscape to fit the entirety of the desktop screen.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and this thesis. The page can be found in the Ove Arup report (Ove Arup & Partners 1991).

**Experience:** The experience should be directly linked to the interview with archaeological staff from which this photo was taken: “The Arup document viewed the whole city as a site, it was composed of different period stratigraphy’s on that it tried to map these deposits and then by applying different criteria to it, like depth, whether the deposits were wet or dry, whether they had anaerobic preservation, whether they covered all of the periods or just some periods.” (Harry 2015, Interview 10, In. 289).

To summarise, knowing places locally can stem from the HER and other key repositories of information brought together. These repositories of knowledge are at the fingertips of some but inaccessible to others. Thus, other ways of knowing local inevitably exist.

### **What’s Local to WHO?**

Knowing local in the ways outlined above is part of an archaeologist’s remit within local authorities. Yet, the wish to compare expert views (more archaeologically detailed) to other lived experiences is clearly something wished for:

I wanted to know where my character areas differed from other peoples. And I knew that there would be instances where people say, 'Well I think I'm in that area but I live on this side of the line.' So I wanted to do those workshops and things if we had a second phase. But I knew I would be opening up a can of worms and asking for a bit of trouble at the same time

(Hannah 2015, Interview 7, In. 463-467).

This brings us to the need to compare different and contemporary viewpoints of local, particularly with regards to how boundaries are comprised, i.e. Neighbourhood Planning. Who decides to create the initial boundary (and where) is equally important, and can be distinguished by urban and rural distinctions (as shown by a conversation between the archaeological staff worker and neighbourhood planning officer):

Harry brings up issue of Non-Parish or urban NPs—why aren’t there more of these?

Gill explains that these can occur once a Neighbourhood Forum has been set up.

Harry: Does this cause barriers to wards in the setting up of NPs?

Gill: No these are treated in the same way at PCs once the NF has been set up.

Harry: No ward areas can apply for NP?

Gill: No too big an area

Kat: What defines too big?

Gill: Ripon is an example of a NP which covers a whole town. But the issue with a ward is that there are too many communities—not cohesive organisation

(Gill & Harry 2015, Fieldnotes 1, In. 187-196).

Indeed, the point regarding 'cohesive organisation' of a community, those who do not know or value the same local, comes up again with regards to place-based decision-making:

We spend a lot of time on street lighting, because you'd get half the village saying, 'This village is in the dark ages and we've got no proper street lights.' And the other half of the village says, 'That's why we live here! We like it! We like the old rusty columns, don't touch them, don't put new ones up! We want this.' So you would get these opposing views

(Betty 2015, Interview 8, In. 211-214).

These opposing views are highlighted by one participant in C&E as part of place-based concerns, which are handled differently at different levels:

Sometimes perhaps the residents are interested in more what you might call grass roots, pavement politics if you like. Whereas the council might be more concerned in the underlying economic factors that create those conditions which is usually wrapped up in, in some kind of jargon or red tape.

[...] So it's a question of scale perhaps. You start with the person and then you have somebodies' immediate neighbourhood and then you have their sort of local sphere of influence, and then that builds up into wards and then into the whole city so the council has a responsibility for the whole city, and to provide services equitably across the city in a sort of strategic way and to achieve economies of scale whereas people exist in their own day-to-day zone

(Mike 2015, Interview 2, ln. 59-64 & 81-92).

Thus, scales (which I understand as smaller and larger connected place-nodes) range between the smaller localities of pavement politics and the whole city, all of which are historically configured. Expert historical knowledge meets with contemporary local scales and can be brought to the fore through various platforms. And yet, as has already been discussed, fitting in heritage into both city-wide strategic priorities (in order to make future place-making decisions more informed) require ongoing conversations (and therefore resources) which in turn require some thought as to their settings, and appropriate levels of information conveyed and queried (through different media).

After discussing these different theoretical themes at length, I now move to discuss how they work together in line with the research questions.

### **5.3 Analysing the data**

This chapter has explored:

- CYC's archaeology services within the context of reduced services and York's current and emerging local plan;
- the value of York's tourism economy in connected to aspects of the city's heritage;
- key theoretical themes drawn from interrogation of fieldnotes, interviews and photos through NVivo coding queries and my interpretative selection of the data.

To help consider how the different themes shape together, the following research questions are answered alongside an interpretative 'Value-action diagram' which visualises the dynamics that are discussed in the themes. This can also be found in NVivo and forms an interactive hypermap which connects themes straight to the coding queries from which I formed my thematic discussion above.

#### **I. What heritage value-actions can be identified at this node?**

From the data the following value statements and value-actions have been identified

##### **Valuing heritage in (and as part of) place**

Heritage is valued aspect of the evolution of place, within the fieldwork data but also within Heritage Topic Paper.

## Tourism value

Place—as ‘Ambience’—and heritage attractions are connected to York’s tourism economy for York and confirmed by ongoing statistics collect by VisitYork.

## Understanding others’ heritage value:

Values in the form of others’ heritage values are sought (as knowledge) and can be comprehended (when referencing other community groups’ interests) as connected to individual interactions with place and other personal connections to the past via objects, memories or other connections. It is also identified as part of cultural opportunities—i.e. access to museums—which are shown to be a signifier of a good place to live in the Big York Survey for residents.

## Valuing data for others’ heritage value and best practice

In addition, valued best practices (to aid weighing up for decision-making) are evident in some of the strategies towards gaining understanding, such as through the collection and maintenance of heritage data via research or successful case studies.

## Heritage as part of growth/identity

This is implicit in the role that heritage plays in York’s future within Local Plans. However, the role for heritage in this aim has shifted somewhat between 2005 to 2017.

### 2. How do these values correspond to any ‘visions’ of the CYC?

**Visions** are connected between the different domains; each have their own goals to pursue which feed into a greater visions for city management. These can be influenced by Policy Contexts (such as the Localism Act, planning policies, York’s need for the Local Plan etc.). The contexts and policies can in turn both shape, instigate and inform consultation with community groups (and shape how knowledge and values are gathered and decisions made via a collaboration spectrum). This is where values (either sought or being attributed to best practices) become part of the medley of decision-making, towards established visions.

### 3. If there are challenges & contrasting values, what are these?

The collaborative actions are beset with both pragmatic resource dependent (i.e. lack of staff, skills, finances and time) and theoretical challenges. Managing the disagreements between council workers and community groups of York and the agreement of what

counts as knowledge or evidence is an ongoing challenge (and arguably the crux of contrasting values and opposing views). There is a contradiction evident where participants highlight the need to work with such values for heritage and the scrutiny paid to it in terms of meeting evidence base. These are highlighted in green in the Value-action diagram and can be considered pressure points.

#### **4. What is the relationship between the CYC, and**

##### **a. local collaboration**

Specific domains of the council seek to support community groups in differing ways across the whole of York to achieve their own visions (i.e. via Communities & Equalities), whilst understanding how their vision or their organisational structure may fluctuate. Examples are given including Neighbourhood Planning, Reinvigorate York, or other forms of heritage activity through general discussions (i.e. Friends of York Walls).

##### **b. other forms of engagement?**

Other engagements including consultations and the exchange of information and values are given through different forms of media. Conversations, such as with the Local Plan, can be spatialised and configured through different contexts and platforms (offline and online). Trends have developed in these strategies over time (and in 2015, changed to consider face-to-face strategies as best practice).

#### **5. Overall, what is the relationship between the CYC, heritage and locality?**

Locality is known (and can be revealed) as historically comprised yet contemporary localities are impacted by contemporary drivers (such as housing). York localities may be scaled in terms of the priorities (or visions) between pavement politics to the city at large.



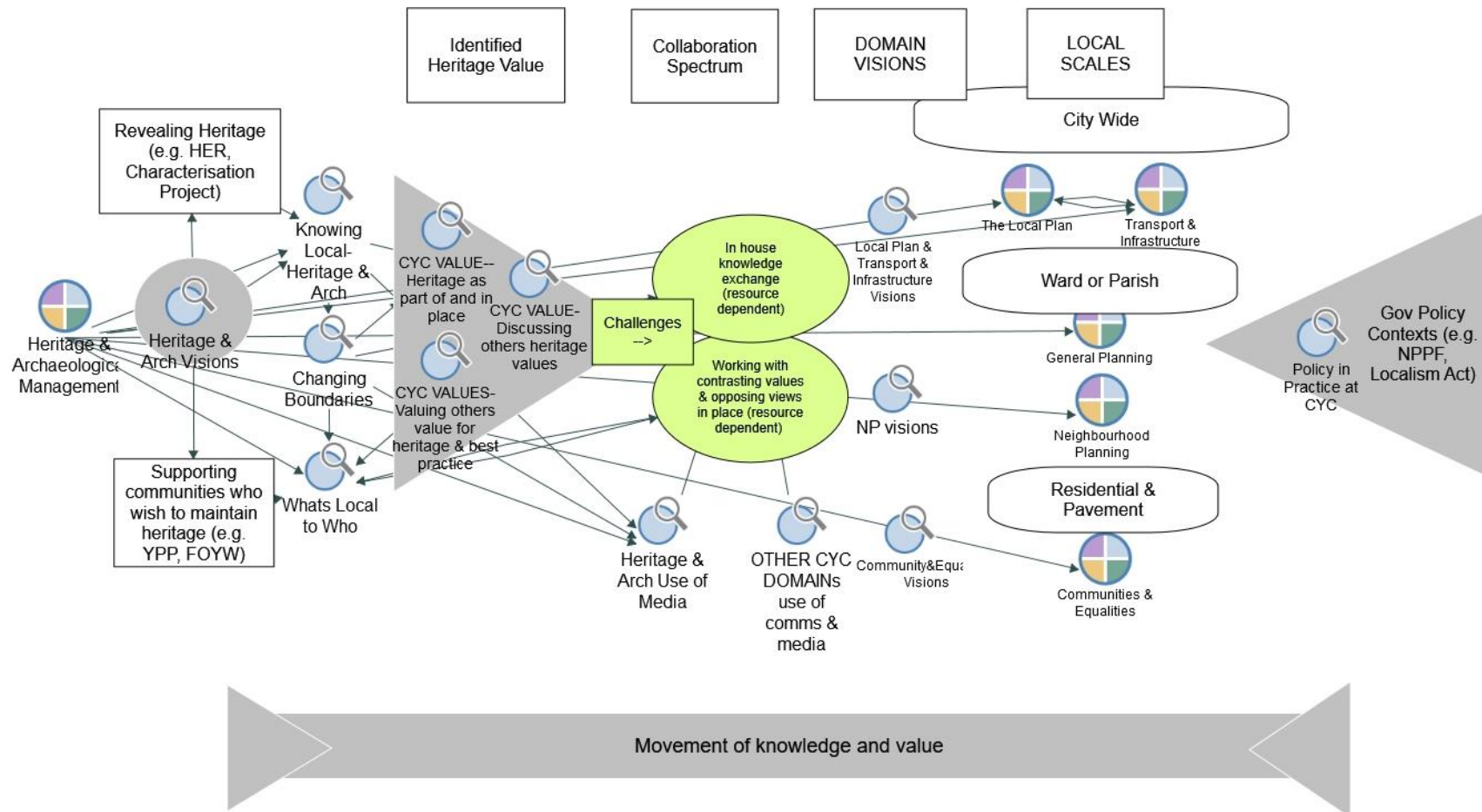


Figure 40. West Office place-node Value-action diagram

## 5.4 Discussion

The data here shows several aspects. Despite the lack of gaining a strong constructivist insight—i.e. how certain projects or systems of work developed over time at the CYC—consistent accounts have been gained on how heritage management takes place and how it interacts with other domains. How heritage is weighted overall by the CYC has altered between 2005-2017 via the Local Plans. Moreover, through the accounts of work by different participants in 2015, it becomes clearer exactly how heritage management is not happening in isolation but alongside various services. In considering the initial value-action diagrams of Chapter Three, it becomes clear there is certainly a more complex 'picture' to behold in terms of how heritage values function within this local authority.

Indeed, there are many contradictions regarding the practical approaches to heritage value at this place-node. On the one hand, as is expected and typical of English cities, a strong heritage value permeates the CYC's relationship with its historic city in policy documents (whilst acknowledging that changes in weight have occurred). Moreover, value is clearly attributed to heritage through the focus on tourism attractions. However, the archaeological and heritage staff's aim to reveal both more historical information and communal heritage value—for the purpose of generated valued data for the future—has practical and theoretical challenges at the time of research. Steps to enhance/reveal the HER were beset with lack of resources, whilst communal heritage values are devalued due to lack of evidence base and perceived in some cases as biased information by different groups. Yet simultaneously, localism efforts occur under the same roof, seeking to enable community groups to take responsibility for their local areas. A beguiling area of knowledge comes from the concept of pavement politics—which suits the notion of multi-local—and the importance of being able to support local communities in their own visions of place. In addition, certain ways of engaging with people in different contexts are known within the council and are highly relevant to the further involvement of local people in heritage management. Lastly, it is also possible to consider the circulation of information within documents and media as part of a cycle of knowing, (i.e. Local Plan consultations) that are metamorphosed within the physical challenges of consultation and reiterated.

It is of interest therefore, whether these contradictions evident within the CYC might also be evident in practices between the council and community groups (and in addition, the latter with other community groups). The following chapter considers heritage management at the pavement level. To this end, Chapter 6 examines the development of two heritage asset disposals, having succeeded prior to the 2011 Localism Act. Examining the disposal of heritage assets reveals the values of the councils which devolve the assets, those who take them on and the locality of the asset in question.

## 6: Pre-2011 Heritage Asset Transfers

### 6.0 Introduction

After considering how heritage is valued within the City of York Council based at the West Offices, two smaller place-nodes will now be laid out. In this chapter, two York-based heritage asset transfer projects—the Tithe Barn (Poppleton) and the Holgate Windmill (Holgate)—are examined through the recounted value-actions of two community organisations. The major difference between these place-nodes and the West Offices is the obviously smaller scope of the organisations studied and a clearer account of asset projects' progression over time (which span over ten years before the Localism Act). Here I present the becoming stages of both projects wherein initial visions were created and realised, including some information regarding the subsequent impact of the assets. Neither ethnographic interviews nor live accounts of practice were undertaken. The information gathered was not coded in NVivo for several pragmatic reasons (as outlined in Chapter Four, page 137, and reflected on in Chapter Nine). Despite this move away from coding as a way to dig into the data, the Place-Node research questions were answered as part of the analysis, followed by a Value-action diagram and a conclusion.

I now begin with the first case study, Poppleton Tithe Barn, which commenced in 1989.

### 6.1. Poppleton Tithe Barn (Nether Poppleton, York)

#### 6.1.1 Contextualising the Locality

The following information is taken from the Tithe Barn website (Friends of Poppleton 2016), Poppleton Village Design Statement (2003), Hodges and Watson (2000), Historic England (2017f) and from recent fieldnotes conversations with current trustees (Appendix C.iii).

The Poppleton Tithe Barn is a 16<sup>th</sup> century grade two listed building within the Manor Farm building complex located in Nether Poppleton, York. Nether Poppleton is within the City of York's Rural West York ward, which has currently a population of 7,892 and an index of deprivation of 6.67 (ranking 14/21 wards in York) (CYC 2017p, 10). The ward was previously part of Harrogate Borough Council, part of the North Yorkshire County Council, before a boundary change in 1996. Despite the building of a railway station in 1848 (which

gradually increased housing development in the area) up until 1967 the villages of Nether and Upper Poppleton were predominantly rural in purpose and physical form (attributed to the Enclosure Act of 1769). After 1968, Nether and nearby Upper Poppleton were joined together due to wide scale development. Aspects of the historic and rural character of the conjoined Poppleton villages remained. This included the Manor Farm with its adjacent farm buildings, Moated Site (a Scheduled Ancient Monument), and fields, all next to the church, on the edge of Nether Poppleton. The Manor Farm area had had little development or interventions other than repairs.

The Manor Farm complex consists of an integrated historic cluster of buildings and open space in Nether Poppleton. As part of a reassessment of the area between 1995-7, Historic England (then English Heritage) extended the boundary of the Scheduled Ancient Monument well beyond the moated site as they felt that archaeological remains highlighted the development of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical intuitions and their evolution into the medieval period. The Anglo-Saxon church site (St Everildas) was considered high status (probably monastic) and its significance was continued into the early medieval period (as indicated by the presence of the moat). The moat is interpreted as symbolic rather than for defensive purpose and indicates the medieval "distribution of wealth and status in the countryside" (HE 2017f). The significance of the site is also attributed to have "influenced the development and layout of Nether Poppleton" (HE 2017f), particularly the road (Church Lane) which complied with the location and scope of the Manor Farm area. The fishponds to the east indicate later economic and domestic uses connected to key buildings on the site, which continued to be important to the village as new spaces were developed.



Figure 41. Aerial Photographic of York in 1971. © York View (2017b)

**Image Content:** Aerial photograph in 1970s of Poppleton localities. This photograph shows the new housing development which conjoins Upper and Nether Poppleton together.

**Layout:** This image is cropped from a large aerial survey of the whole of York.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and in the thesis. The original can be sourced from the York View website.

**Experience:** This image indicates the evolution of the localities over time. The black and white again image is appealing but again, active looking is required to locate the Manor Farm area (so I have pinpointed it using a ring).





Figure 42. Roof tiles removed by NYCC after some storm damage. Image © Friends of Poppleton Tithe Barn (2016).

**Image Content:** The Tithe Barn in 1990 after storm damage. The North Yorkshire County Council (then owners) removed the roof tiles and replaced them with plastic sheets. The Tithe Barn trustee related that this perceived negligence caused much concern for the volunteers seeking to save the buildings from development at the time –value-action

**Layout:** Landscape shot, with entirety of the length of the roof in view.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the research database and thesis. The original is accessible on the Tithe Barn Website.

**Experience:** The photograph has been 'tinted' which adds to a very solemn view of the barn.



Figure 43. Restored Tithe Barn by author (2017)

**Image Content:** The Tithe Barn in a complete state, doors open and a plant pot in the foreground (value-activity: placing of pot outside)

**Layout:** Landscape shot, with entirety of the length of the roof in view, taken from the front verge.

**Velocity:** This image I resides in the research database and thesis.

**Experience:** This image is a lot more positive than the first (both open doors and plant pot suggest active use). I have purposefully placed this and the above image together in order to provoke a 'before' and 'after' experience for the reader. The two also show both 'left' and 'right' of the building. In respect to the Tithe Barn specifically, from the mid 1500's it stored farm-produce paid as tax to the Manor House. Later it was used as a threshing barn and later still as a storage facility for hay and potatoes (in the 20th century). Other notable uses of the Tithe Barn (again reinforcing the significance of the site) include the sheltering of Prince Rupert's troops during the English Civil war, and in 1660 the gathering of Lord Fairfax's soldiers at the Tithe Barn (his sister lived at the Manor



House) ahead of marching to York for the proclamation of the restoration of King Charles II. Physically, the Tithe Barn is predominantly a sixteenth century timber-framed building encased in eighteenth-century brick with twentieth century repairs (after fire damage in 1928). Along with the other farm buildings (such as the cow sheds) the Tithe Barn was used by a farmer up until the late 20th century.

After the farmer retired in 1989, several culminating factors meant that local-residents formed an action group. They eventually took on the ownership and restoration of the Tithe Barn building from the then current local authority, North Yorkshire County Council. The following timeline summarises the development of this project.

### **6.1.2 Tithe Barn restoration timeline**

This summary timeline is drawn from the timeline created in collaboration with two trustees of the Tithe Barn. The full and more detailed timeline is located in Appendix C.i. The more detailed timeline shows the different people involved—maintaining anonymity—and the challenges that were overcome during the becoming stages of the project. It also highlights some key moments that instigated further action which lead to the vision creation

### **1989-1990: Call to Action**

- Farmer retires, Manor Farm area is left empty.
- North Yorkshire County Council (NYCC) create plans for 13 dwellings.
- Formation of Poppleton History & Poppleton Preservation Group (PPG). They campaigned against the plans by organising local meetings, approaching supporters and encouraging English Heritage to review the site's scheduled status.

### **Nov 1990-April 1994: PPG take advantage of time**

- In late 1990, the NYCC planning application was withdrawn because of the PPG campaign.
- Inactivity from NYCC thereafter (caused by Green Belt and boundary changes) allowed PPG time to draw up plans, to press EH to review their designation, to press Harrogate Borough Council to include the site in a Conservation Area and to campaign for Manor Farm to be included in the new Green Belt.

### **May 1994: A productive meeting**

- NYCC call a meeting with all parties involved, to discuss the PPG's ideas for the site.
- This is a very productive meeting and PPG were given 6 months to develop a feasibility plan, which if it was successful, would allow them to complete an asset transfer of the Tithe Barn. PPG had to raise the funds to restore it and also purchase the wider Manor Farm Area.

### **Summer 1994-1995: Further Campaigning**

- The PPG then sought to convince the local community of their plans for the area and gained donations towards the funds to buy Manor Farm from NYCC.
- They divided into different teams to work on the different areas in the Manor Farm.
- When 6 months ran out, an NYCC officer allotted them further time to raise the funds.

### **1995-1997: Consolidating ideas**

- After the local church turned down offer of ownership the Tithe Barn Trust was established (and the decision to make it a venue for hire was consolidated)
- After an initial approach, HLF offered them grant funding for restoration of Tithe Barn if certain conditions were met
- The Manor Farm's scheduled status was renewed, it was also included in Green Belt and in the Conservation Area.

### **1997-2000: Grant succes**

- After HLF's grant was awarded (£130K) and the local community had raised £75K, the outright purchase of Manor Farm was achieved and the asset transfer of the Tithe Barn completed.
- A business plan was created and decisions over restoration continued.
- The Tithe Barn received the Duke of York award in 1999. It opened for business in 2000.

### 6.1.3 Current Relationship with Locality

Whilst the timelines show the becoming stages of the site, one of the trustees was asked whether they felt the building is connected to its locality at the current time. The answers are located in Appendix C.iii and will be discussed further as part of the analysis.

I now examine some of the media associated with the Tith Barn during its becoming stages and contemporary media. As with the images above, the visual toolkit to the selected media.

### 6.1.4 Visual media analysis: posters, websites & social media

#### Flyers:

As part of the local fundraising campaign between 1996-1997, the Poppleton Preservation Group designed flyers which were distributed to the local houses and at meetings.

Analysis of the visual content of two flyers follows:



Figure 44. FLYER A: "Poppleton Tith Barn—Restoration Project" (DATE approx. April 1997) Front and back. Photographs by author (2017).

**Image content:** On the front side, a photographic shot of the south west facing Tithe Barn takes prominence under the title heading and sub-heading of the A4 poster. The clear blue sky and greenery are also visible in the photograph. A miniature Tithe Barn in black and white features as a footer at the bottom of the page. A faint rusty 'watermark' image of the Tithe Barn is also visible, taking up 3/5's of the centre of the background. On the second side there is an illustrated map of the Manor Farm area and a square (black and white) image of the rafters inside the Tithe Barn (possibly implying where work is required for restoration, but this is not made overt). The logo (somewhat obscured) includes the image of the Tithe Barn in a circle with a title (the word RESTORATION is visible).

**Layout:** The layout of the front and back page of the flyer are very different. On the front, the title heading is followed by the main image, then bullet-pointed questions are listed, followed by 'answers'—the overall affect is conversational application of promotional tactics. These bullet points highlight several benefits of the Tithe Barn—it's an interesting place to visit, historical, beautiful, not crowded—while emotive action words seek to engage.

**Velocity:** Both front and back images reside in the research database and in this thesis. The original will have been designed by a volunteer (so will likely be in their database), a copy has been kept in the Tithe Barn Archives. An unknown amount of copies will have been circulated to the homes in Poppleton in 1997.

**Experience:** The warm colouring (in the title, bullet points and of the page itself) is complementary to the red roof and brick walls of the Tithe Barn as depicted in the image. Whilst on the back page, the colour change is apparent (white or grey background, black or red text). The information is segmented into three blocks. This change in design may reflect the more informational aspects of the content and the option to 'cut' the flyer in order to make a donation. Overall, this flyer is multifaceted.

## FRIENDS OF POPPLETON TITHE BARN

We are trying to restore the TITHE BARN at MANOR FARM, CHURCH LANE, NETHER POPPLETON and make it a useful addition to our community.

THE BARN'S uses could be:  
 a centre for heritage related 'workshops' (activities/courses) where possible linked to the surroundings;  
 a venue for church, cultural, social and business functions .  
 Low key, mainly daytime use.

OPEN from Easter to the end of October with storage facility during the winter months.  
 (Full background folder available in Poppleton Library with more details)

The NATIONAL HERITAGE LOTTERY FUND has approved our application for a grant "in principle" but we have to raise £34,000 as soon as possible to confirm their grant of £132,418 (80% of the total estimated cost of £165,522).

IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY PLEDGED YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE BARN, Pledge Forms are available in Poppleton Library.

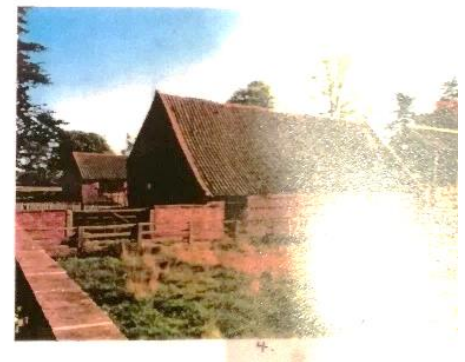
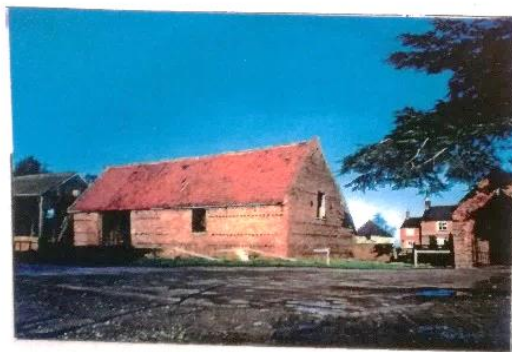


Figure 45. FLYER B "Friends of Poppleton Tithe Barn" (DATE: Approx. Summer 1997). Photograph by author (2017).

**Image content:** Two images of Tithe Barn (both south west facing and North east facing aspects) are shown with blue skies within their rural setting, and as part of the Manor Farm complex.

**Layout:** While this poster is not as multifaceted in its design as the former flyer, its simplicity proves effective (especially in the use of capital lettering). This is reflected also in the 'to-the-point' sentences (one is a little as five words long).

**Velocity:** The images resides in the thesis. Originally the flyer will have been circulated across Poppleton. Notably, there are instructions to donate or consult the 'folder' for more information at the Poppleton library, which accounts for the simplicity of the flyer. These instructions indicate that further information gain is more appropriate (perhaps due to size/complexity) in a library rather than wherever the flyer could be viewed.



**Experience:** The 'blue sky' images are appealing and the simplicity (or rough and ready feel) of the flyer indicates less time was paid to its design. The quip bold statements signal the cause promptly. It is highly functional.

### Website:

Notably the new Tithe Barn website has been updated in 2016 and therefore cannot be attributed to the period of restoration (the trustee has commented that had DIY websites existed in the 1990s, they would likely have invested in such a platform). The new website indicates the development of marketing strategies to target audiences since Tithe Barn has opened.

The website consists of eight tabs, all of which include images (in various forms and content). While a full analysis could not be carried on all images, content categorisation is provided instead to indicate the variety of images present across all the webpages, whilst the visual toolkit analysis is applied to main image on the homepage. Please see Appendix C.iv for visual analysis of all other website images.

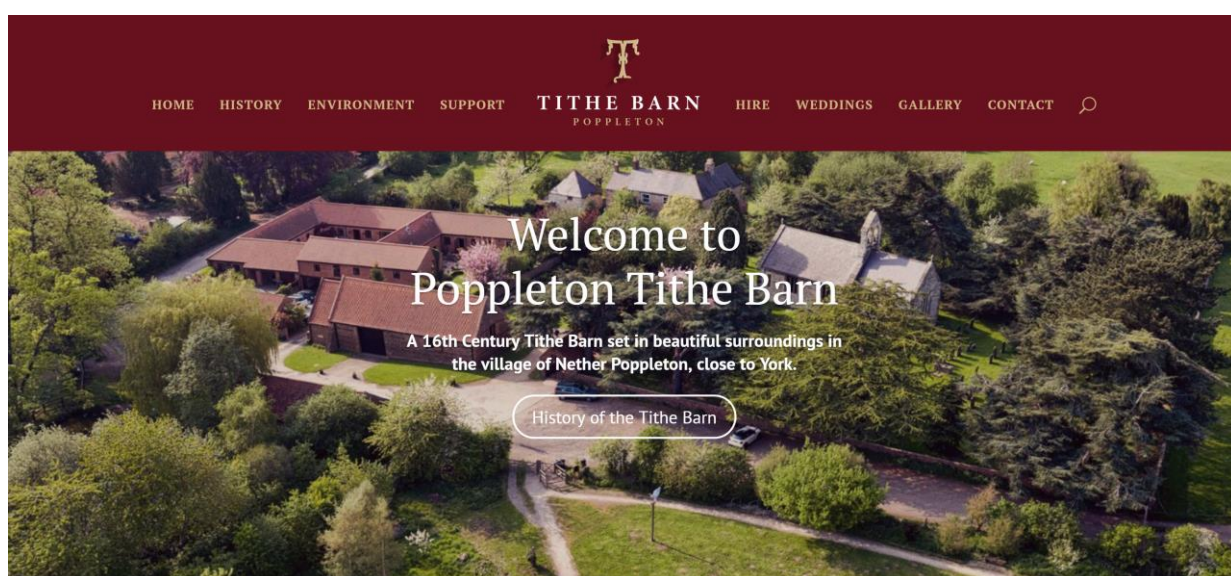


Figure 46. Web-shot of Tithe Barn Homepage. © Friends of Poppleton Tithe Barn (2016).

**Image content:** The homepage image is an angled 'birds eye view' (possibly a drone-shot) of the Manor Farm Area, with a partial view of Nether Poppleton village in top left corner, with the River Ouse running from top right along to the left, along with pastoral fields. The image offers a view of a verdant area, 'framed' by trees: a highly rural view.

**Layout:** The positioning of the Tithe barn (just off centre to the right of the title) and a wooden gate at the very bottom centre of the image emphasising the 'routeway' towards the Tithe Barn (perhaps deliberately inviting the viewer in). Dark red, gold and beige colouring complement the colours of the Tithe Barn, while the banner at the top of the page (along with the seriffed-typeface title) are regal in style. The 'History of the Tithe Barn' tab under the title recommends the viewer to learn about the building first. If the viewer doesn't click on this, the navigation is directed horizontally, and scrolling down reveals six tabs with 'business card' sized images (bigger than thumbnails) which takes the viewer to the other pages. Scrolling lower still, a darker red banner with a complementary quote comes into view, followed by the map, and thereafter, the contact form.

**Velocity:** The images resides in the thesis. The original web-shot is located on the website. The original image will be in someone's database (author unknown).

**Experience:** The overall web experience is of elevation created by the perspective. The layout is easy to navigate. The lack of vertical blocks on either side of the page gives a sense of spaciousness and somehow, slows the process of looking, as the viewer is prompted to digest 'what is coming next'. The colouring warm with elegant style. It is a very attractive website.

### **Social Media:**

Both Facebook Pages and Twitter pages are unofficially available, unmanaged by the Tithe Barn Trust. They are rather used by social media users, either 'checking in' within the proximity of the Tithe Barn or making use of its space (and many of the posts/tweets include photographs). The Unofficial Facebook page had (in the summer of 2017) 76 likes and 392 visits. Within Twitter, the Tithe Barn at Poppleton has 79 mentions since 2009.

At this point, a wider discussion on the place-node research questions is now addressed.

## **6.2. Discussion for Tithe Barn**

Before presenting the information in the next discussion (following the research questions) I first draw attention to Hodges and Watson's (2000) insight into how heritage assets can stimulate community action. After studying the Tithe Barn project, they put forward the following factors as being important to the success of a community led heritage project:

--Community Factors: Critical mass (coming together of the community); the presence of existing organisations in the area; the relative affluence of the demographic of the area; and the positive psychological impact that community ownership has on the success of the project (as opposed to private ownership).

--Site Factor: The site itself, in being perceived an integrated whole, rich with archaeological history, was a major factor whilst the 'threat' to the site kick-started the developing 'cause'.

--Organisation and Management: Good leadership skills enabled key individuals to act as a decision-making nucleus whilst representing the views of a wider group (despite some indifference). This included good managerial competence organisational skills, networking, human resource management, communications, delegation and learning skills on the go (such as fundraising).

Considering the points that Hodges and Watson have made, I offer similar summarised factors which relate to my research questions:

## I. What heritage values can be identified at this node?

### **Organisational value-action**

The actions by the PPG and then Tithe Barn group were catalysed by a perceived threat of the site by the North Yorkshire County Council's plans. The organisational value-action varied in terms of goal-adapting, project management, delegation of roles, organising and attending public meetings, attending site visits, contacting and maintaining correspondence with key individuals (as Hodges and Watson have highlighted). Three other key incorporated value-activities include:

### **Historical value-action**

One of the two immediate interlinked responses in early 1989 to the 'threat' was the formation of Poppleton History Society by a large number of residents interested in Poppleton's history. The formation of such a group had been considered previously (in order to research and record the village history): the catalyst brought this idea into fruition. The second response, the formation of the active Poppleton Preservation Group, was led by those who also perceived the historic value of the site (although not fully



understood at the earlier stages) as a prime motive for fighting the threat. This group subsequently contacted local historians to write in support of the importance of the site. All these successful steps can be described as historical value activities.

### **Visual value-action**

The creation of posters and flyers, newsletters and reports (as highlighted by Hodges and Watson) featured as part of the ongoing communication and promotional stratagem to the local community after a vision was created. These in some case included images which offer blue sky views of the Tithe Barn, reiterating positive messages about the building or delivering information to the local target group. In one example, viewers are encouraged to seek more insight into the project elsewhere (e.g. "Go to Poppleton library for more information"), thus basing the interaction within the local scene. These instructions therefore indicate productive collaboration with other organisations in the area who supported the PPG's cause. In addition, the more recent website gives insight into the success of the Tithe Barn in the hands of the community since its opening in 2000; the general design, images, maps and illustration function as part of marketing techniques and the establishment of a Tithe Barn brand. Lastly, the lack of social media management by the Friends of Poppleton Tithe Barn Charitable Trust does not seem to dissuade interaction on Facebook and Twitter by others.

### **Financial value-action**

Campaigning for the raising of funds is an act of valuation on the part of the core heritage group (asking for funds) and of those contributing. The financial donations by residents indicate that those proximate were considering a benefit that they could contribute to (this act an altruistic benefit in itself). The Heritage Lottery Fund also invested financially in the project. Eventually, since opening the Tithe Barn to hire, the Tithe Barn Group has enough bookings to be sustainable, covering both costs and a Capital or Endowment Fund of £20,000 for major repairs each year. Wedding reception bookings are the highest earning activity, but these are often not local and (along with other large parties and music events are restricted in number in the year due to noise levels) (see Appendix C.ii, question 7). More local activities (Wine tasting, Christmas Fair, Yard Sale, Friends Group

etc) can use the barn for free. Financial value-action by the Tithe Barn group is therefore responsive to different kinds of groups and their particular resources.

## **2. How do these values correspond to the 'vision' of the heritage group?**

The vision for the Manor Farm site (and for Tithe Barn specifically) emerged after the North Yorkshire County Council's site visit in November 1990 and was strengthened after a period of inactivity and the chance to create the feasibility plans, thereafter informing the goals (1994). This means that the vision, the end goal of restoring the Tithe Barn, came after an initial value-action cycle (responding to the catalyst of the planning application for development by North Yorkshire County Council).

## **3. If there are challenges & contrasting values, what are these?**

The North Yorkshire County Council contrastingly valued the site as an opportunity to capitalise on a housing development opportunity. As explained by one of the trustees; "one of the difficulties we faced was that NYCC was both the owner, therefore applicant of the planning proposals and also the body which determined the application!" The NYCC's position changed over time in reaction to other catalysts (i.e. due to their preoccupation with the York Green Belt Review and the significance of the Boundary change).

Minutes of a meeting by PPG (in December 1995) indicate some local contrasts in value. These were regarding concerns that the Tithe Barn would be in direct competition with the local community centre. Another comment captured in minutes suggests that for some "the activities proposed on the heritage side were considered elitist and of interest to a relatively small number of villagers" (see Appendix C.v). These viewpoints were then responded to by the PPG with their deliberate approach to keep an open mind about the use of the building (the heritage activities had been a focus relevant during the write-up of grant applications.)

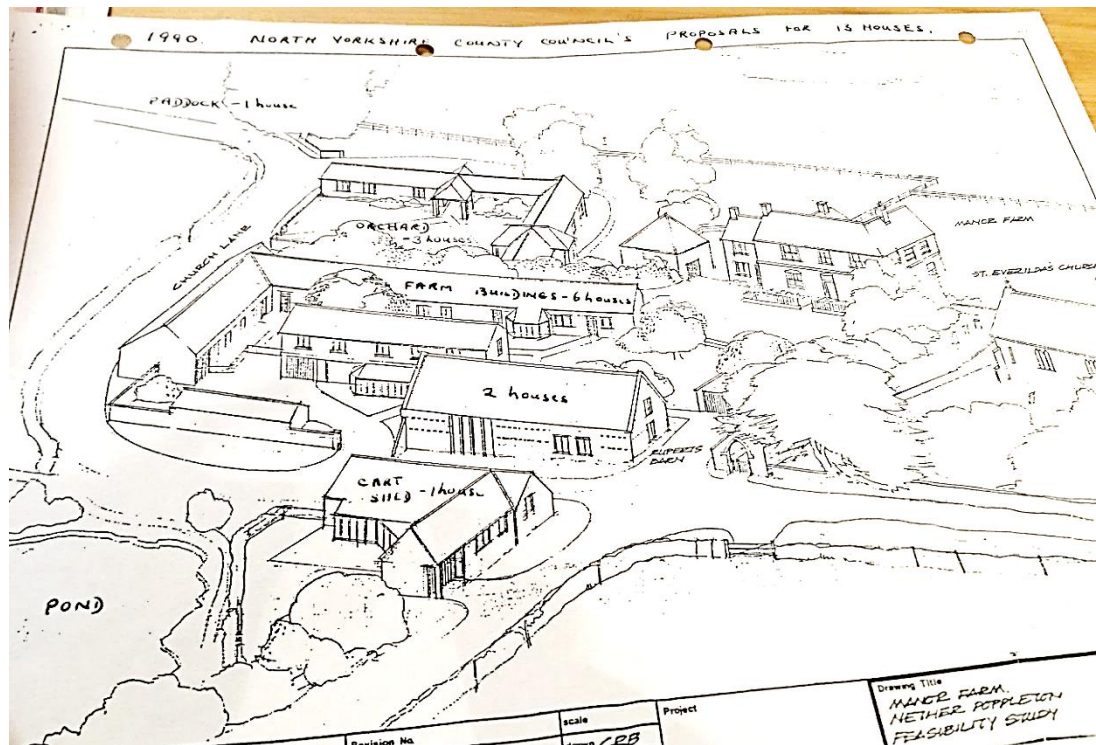


Figure 47. Development plans by North Yorkshire County Council. Photograph by author (2017).

**Image Content:** A black and white sketch design of the development plans for the whole manor area, put forward by the NYCC. Title on top of page: "1990 NORTH YORKSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL'S PROPOSAL FOR 13 HOUSES". Various labels on top of buildings are visible.

**Layout:** Birds eye view of the site framed by a black edge with boxes located underneath the main image.

**Velocity:** The photograph of the image resides in this thesis. The original copy will be kept within the Tithe Barn Trust's archives. A copy is likely kept somewhere in the NYCC archives.

**Experience:** A functional simple image: the designer's sketch is good but the labels appear somewhat informal. This is perhaps because it was at an early stage of planning. Alternatively, these labels may have been applied afterwards by members of the PPG (the handwriting at the top of the page is also very similar). If the latter is the case, it is as if the sketch has been 'incorporated' by the Tithe Barn Trust, as part of organisational value-action.

#### 4. What is the relationship between heritage asset project, and

##### i. the level of local collaboration

Proximity is mutually inclusive to civic action here. Before the instigation of the Manor Farm project, Nether Poppleton had well-established community organisations including the Parish Council and the Church Council (as is highlighted by Hodges & Watson). During the project, further local groups were established quickly indicating an ‘on the ground’ responsiveness which could reach out to other key contacts. As shown by the York Ward profiles, Poppleton has relatively high levels of affluence, however whether affluence can be directly attributed to high levels of local collaboration cannot be proven directly through this research.

##### ii. and other forms of engagement?

Other forms of local engagement (those not actively involved in the groups) will have been generated by the direct contacting, and proximate leafleting campaigns. High levels of local engagement are indicated by the numbers of people attending public meetings, contributing their opinions and making financial donations.

#### 5. Overall, what is the relationship between the heritage asset and its locality?

In terms of locality, the Tithe Barn now has several ‘rings’ of local connection: first to the historic Manor Farm area, second to Nether Poppleton and third to ‘Poppleton’ as a whole. These connections are articulated in several ways. Since the opening of the Tithe Barn in 2000, the rural landscape and historic fabric of Poppleton has been connected to the “character” of the Poppleton village (evident in the Village Design Statement (2003, 8). That the Manor Farm site contributes to this character—particularly to Nether Poppleton—is also clear within the VDS document (8) and is justified by the research and rescheduling by Historic England (2017f). In addition, a focus on the relationship between the Tithe Barn and the historic cluster is emphasised visually within a recent interpretation

board set up outside the Tithe Barn around 2011.



Figure 48. Tithe Barn Interpretation Board, by author (2017)

**Image Content:** The interpretation board includes 10 different images (8 photographic, 1 illustration and 1 map), and an overall title banner at the bottom of the board. The title connects the Tithe Barn to the “surrounding area”.

**Layout:** The board has two sections divided between an interpretation of the Tithe Barn and an interpretation of the Manor Farm.

**Velocity:** The image of the board resides in this thesis. The original board remains static outside the Tithe Barn.

**Experience:** The title banner lies at the bottom of the board awkwardly, but it does highlight that connection between the building and the rest of the site. The intention is clearly to convey this to visitors.

Furthermore, one trustee has stated that “Poppleton as a whole feels it has ownership of the Tithe Barn and the Trustees come from both Upper and Nether” (Appendix C.iii). However, it may be these local connections have been newly articulated as part of the process of the restoration of the Manor Farm (this study cannot determine how they may have changed since 1989). There is certainly evidence of new local relationships to have been made between localities and the buildings as indicated by the comments made by the trustee in their acknowledgement of the connection between “ancient and the new” and improved local access (Appendix C.iii). Evidently, change in the value has occurred (in the form of improvements and further protection).

Alongside the enhanced rings of locality, and the protection of historic space achieved by an active community, new local connections have been established (between team members, with external heritage bodies, local councillors, etc.). These people may have benefited from the establishment of Tithe Barn as part of a more ‘communal’ concept of the historic cluster whilst enabling others to do the same (in hiring the space) for various forms of social activity. A wider connection has been established from further afar, made by people booking the Tithe Barn for their events (weddings etc).

After reviewing this first case study, I now move to the second which also occurred before the 2011 Localism Act, the Holgate Windmill.

## **6.3. Holgate Windmill (Holgate, York)**

### **6.3.1 Contextualising the Locality**

The following information is taken from Holgate Windmill Preservation Society (HWPS) webpages (2016a) and from information supplied by the HWPS archivist (Cook 2017, see Appendix C.ix).

York Ward Profile data shows that currently Holgate has a population of 12,721 and an index of deprivation of 14.8 (ranking 5/21 wards in York) (CYC 2017q, 10). Holgate Windmill was originally built in 1770 in what would have been a large rural estate and fields outside of York (HWPS 2016a). When it was initially built, the mill’s location benefitted from: the elevated ground; lack of other mills in the area at the time (the nearest being located on the Mount); the accessibility to local farming areas and possible

markets in Holgate and Acomb villages via Poppleton, Boroughbridge and Acomb Roads; York's growth and; the strength of the milling industry generally.

Between 1867-1877 the Gutch family bought the land and the mill, which continued to grind corn until 1933. After Eliza Gutch's death in 1931, her heirs—Wilfrid, John and Bertha—decided to sell the windmill to York Corporation. The land was sold to various building firms for housing development; the heirs, particularly, Wilfrid Gutch, had designed this estate and remnants of family history can be found in the proximate street names. The offer of the windmill was made on the condition that it became a public asset within the new housing estate. However, these wishes were not followed through. While several councillors agreed to take on the mill in October 1938 others felt that the resources would be better spent elsewhere. In the same year Councillor Hatfield stated that there was "no beauty in this windmill, with five 'sticks' in the air." (Cook 2017, Appendix C.ix).



Figure 49. Image of disused Holgate Windmill looking over rural landscape in the 1930's, author unknown. © York Explore 2017a.

**Image Content:** Photograph taken from field adjoining the mill. The windmill is without its sails (the 'sticks' which prompted the councillor's comments are clearly visible).

**Layout:** Portrait photograph, the base of the windmill is in the centre.



**Velocity:** This image resides in this thesis. The original digital image can be sourced from the York Explore website. The original photograph can be sourced in York Explore archives, York.

**Experience:** The windmill appears 'derelict' and earth in the foreground adds to the sparsity apparent in the picture.

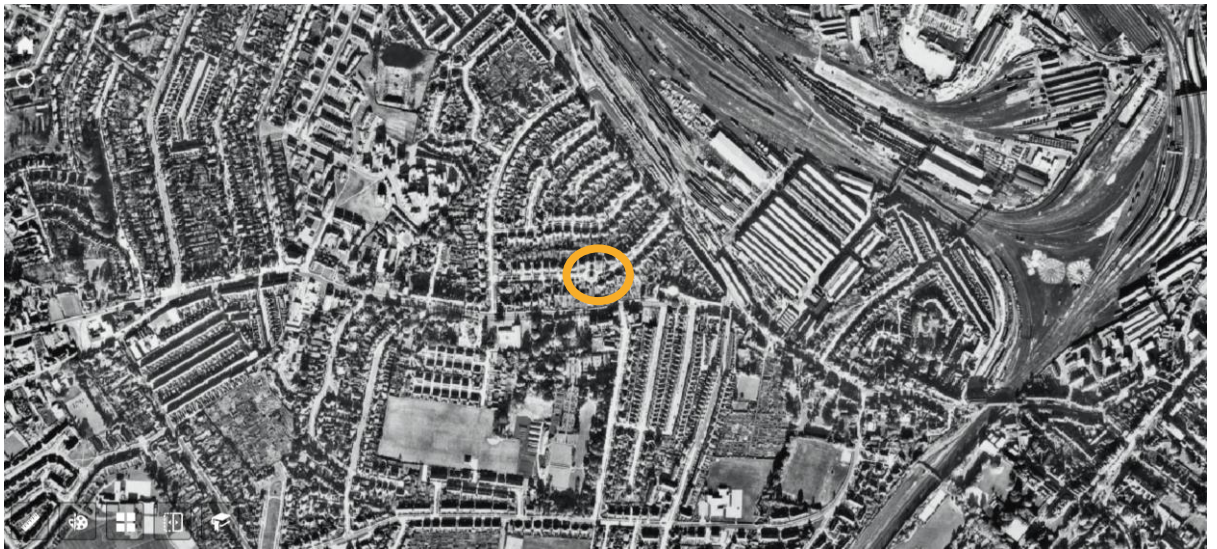


Figure 50. Web screen shot of 1971 Aerial Photographic map over Holgate. © York View (2017b).

**Image Content:** This 1971 aerial photograph shows further development since 1958, particularly in the fields between the windmill and Holgate Lodge.

**Layout:** I cropped this web-shot image to focus on the Holgate section.

**Velocity:** This image resides in this thesis. The original photograph can be sourced on the York View Website.

**Experience:** The increased amount of development in the area continues to fascinate the eye. Shadows are visible and somewhat obscure the detail.

Ultimately, York Corporation became the owners of the windmill in 1939 but did not maintain the building efficiently. The cap was replaced in 1939 but the outbreak of World War Two halted any further work and the mill was left to itself, on a roundabout within a



new housing estate. It stood redundant next to fields not yet developed (which offered an attractive place to explore for children according to HWPS oral history records). Indeed, the local Boys' Scouts Group voiced interest in the mill, who, on inquiry in 1950, were told they could not use it as their 'hut' as it was unsafe. In 1953, minor repairs were carried out following a letter to the council from a resident of the new "Windmill Rise", who was concerned with the poor state of the windmill (which in turn instigated a York Press fundraising campaign). It was listed as a Grade II building in 1954 in recognition that its machinery was still intact but the local authority removed the sails in 1955. After much development in the area, further minor repairs were made by the council between the 1960's and 1980's. Their interest in the windmill were stoked by a local resident historian living on Windmill Rise, who campaigned for the windmill's upkeep from the 1970's. In 1981 the council's chief architect (who had been corresponding with this historian) identified that large financial resources would be needed to preserve the mill and that "in view of close proximity of the houses on Windmill Rise it would not be possible for the sails to be reconstructed". The council considered other ways to make use of the building including giving it to an amenity society. In 1984, considering an offer to convert the mill into a private dwelling, the council ran a survey asking residents what they thought should be done: the option with the highest score was "Keep in Good Repair" (Cook 2017, see figure 49).

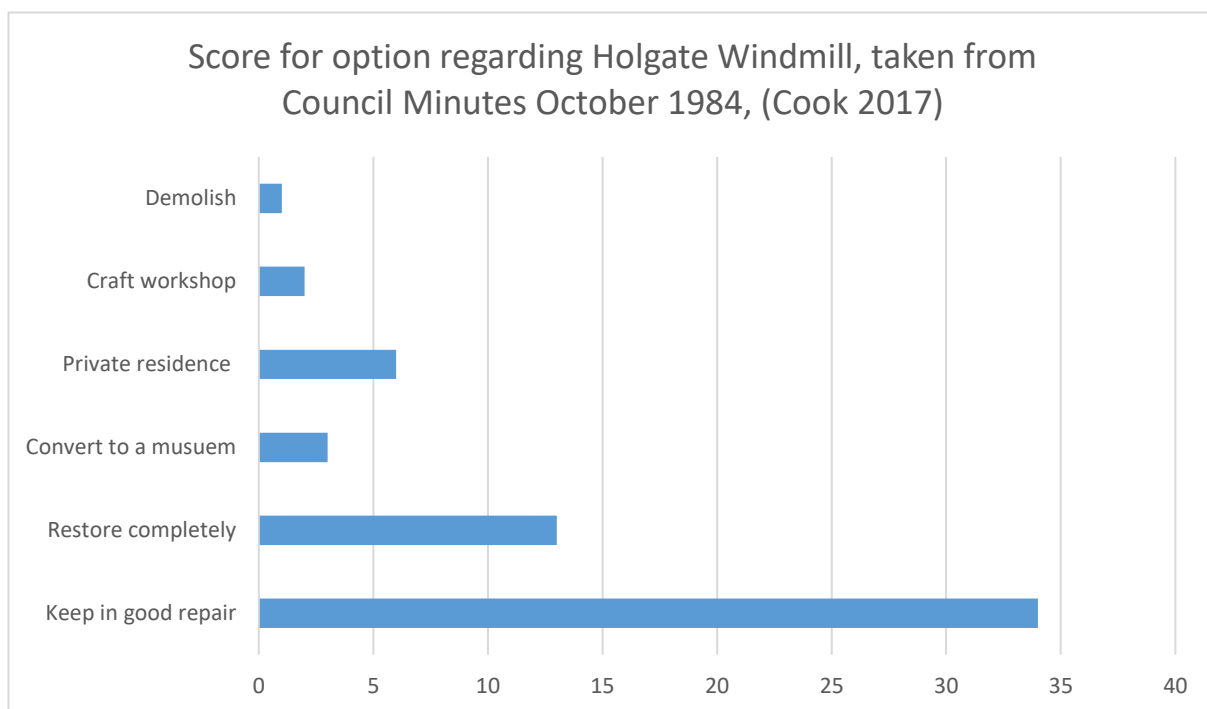


Figure 51. Score for option regarding Holgate Windmill, taken from Council Minutes October 1984

In the end, planning permission was not granted due to its listed status. Despite positive interest from the York Civic Trust in 1985, no money could be raised to properly restore the mill and it fell further into disrepair as the surrounding suburban estate continued to expand.

In 2000 the mill caught the eye of a new resident to the estate. She stated that the windmill was one of the “highlights of York’s skyline” (Cook 2017, Appendix C.ix) and started a Millennium Pledge, being concerned about its state of repair. She helped form a group and started a project that completely restored the Mill both as a visitor attraction and flour producer.



Figure 52. Restored windmill in 2012. © HWPS (2012).

**Image Content:** Photograph taken from Windmill Rise leading up to the windmill, completely restored. Residential houses and hedges are also visible.

**Layout:** Landscape photograph, with the sails centred.

**Velocity:** This image resides in this thesis. The original digital image can be sourced from the Holgate Windmill website (HWPS 2012). The original photograph had no declared author.

**Experience:** A very different picture to that of 1933, the windmill looks triumphant against the blue sky. This image was chosen because it is taken soon after the public opening of the mill. The windmill appears as if it is 'posing'—it is easy to anthropomorphise the structure.

### 6.3.2 Holgate Windmill restoration timeline

As with the Tithe Barn, a summary timeline is drawn from the timeline created in collaboration with two trustees of the Holgate Windmill. The full and detailed timeline is located in Appendix C.vi. Again, the more detailed timeline, shows more specifically the different actors involved including the local residents, challenges and key moments toward vision creation.

#### **2000: A new resident makes a millenium pledge**

- A resident (who'd recently moved from London) made a millennium pledge to make the mill more noticeable.
- Other residents were approached through doorknocking strategies for their thoughts. This way she met other 'key residents' including a local historian.
- This led to the creation of an external interpretation board for the mill.

#### **2001: A public meeting**

- These events led to a local meeting which was key to the setting up of the Holgate Windmill Preservation trust. Directors and treasurer roles were allocated.
- A council representative was present and gave advice on how to set up a trust and the process of asset transfer.

#### **2002-4: Fundraising & conflicting ideas with the HLF**

- A successful Heritage Initiative Fund grant in 2003 paid for a technical survey by a consultant mill wright who outlined every stage of the restoration and costs.
- In 2004 HLF offered £250,000 but on the condition that the mill was not fully restored to working order. The HWPS rejected the HLF offer and subsequently became resolved on full restoration.

#### **2006-8: Cap is removed**

- In 2006 the cap, (including wind-shaft, break wheel and "iron cross") were taken off.
- Fundraising & restoration continued. An article was published detailing the generosity of an anonymous business man, who had responded to a previous press release by donating £25,000.
- Several more grants are awarded.

#### **2009-11: Further funding & stages of restoration**

- The cap was replaced in 2009.
- The last big HLF grant (£50,000) covered health & safety measures and training for working the mill. But HLF noticed a clause in the lease they disagreed with (stating asset would go back to CYC if the HWPS folded). The lease was adjusted after 18 months of communication between HLF and CYC in 2011.

#### **2012: A Grand Opening**

- A grand opening was organised to celebrate the full restoration of the windmill
- The York Mayor, Sheriffs Lady, York Conservation Trust and the then York MP attended.
- A video captured of procession and sails moving for the first time with a public audience.

### 6.3.3 Current Relationship with Locality

Both trustees were also asked whether they felt the building is connected to its locality at the current time. The answers are located in Appendix C.viii and are discussed further as part of the analysis below.

### 6.3.4 Visual media analysis: York Press Articles, Websites & Social Media

#### York Press:

The York Press covered many of the Holgate Windmill successes during its restoration period (York Press 2017). Between 2001-2017 Holgate Windmill either featured in fully related stories, in commentary about York in general or readers' letters (for example: "Musing on a wish list for Christmas" (York Press 2006)). Search results of the York Press articles and readers' letters (which had been digitally archived and therefore available online) were downloaded into NVivo and arranged according to date (see Appendix H: Fieldnotes: Pre-2011 asset transfers). 208 were found mentioning Holgate Windmill between 2001 and 2017, 139 of which were published between the restoration period (2001-2012). Given the availability of this sample of articles, it was possible to demonstrate how they propagated the windmill's story across the locality of York; many of the articles included images of the asset. The results of a simple analysis on the 208 York Press articles can be seen below. From the results (see Appendix C.x) the following charts indicate:

- the amount and level of relevance of these articles (Holgate Windmill is Mentioned, Fully Focused On or included in Readers' Letters) over time.
- and the different kinds of images used within these articles over time.

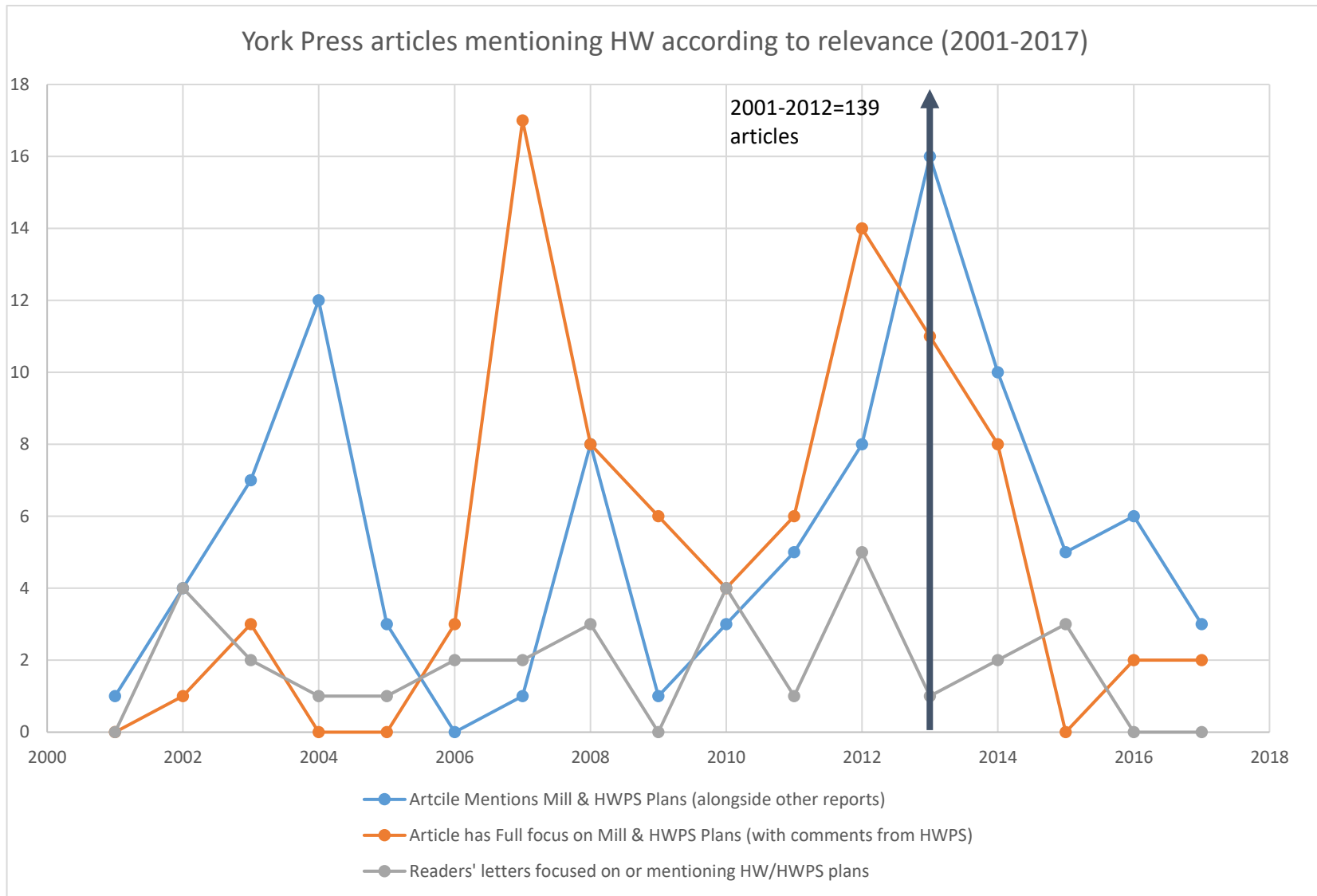


Figure 53. York Press articles mentioning HW according to relevance (2001-2017)

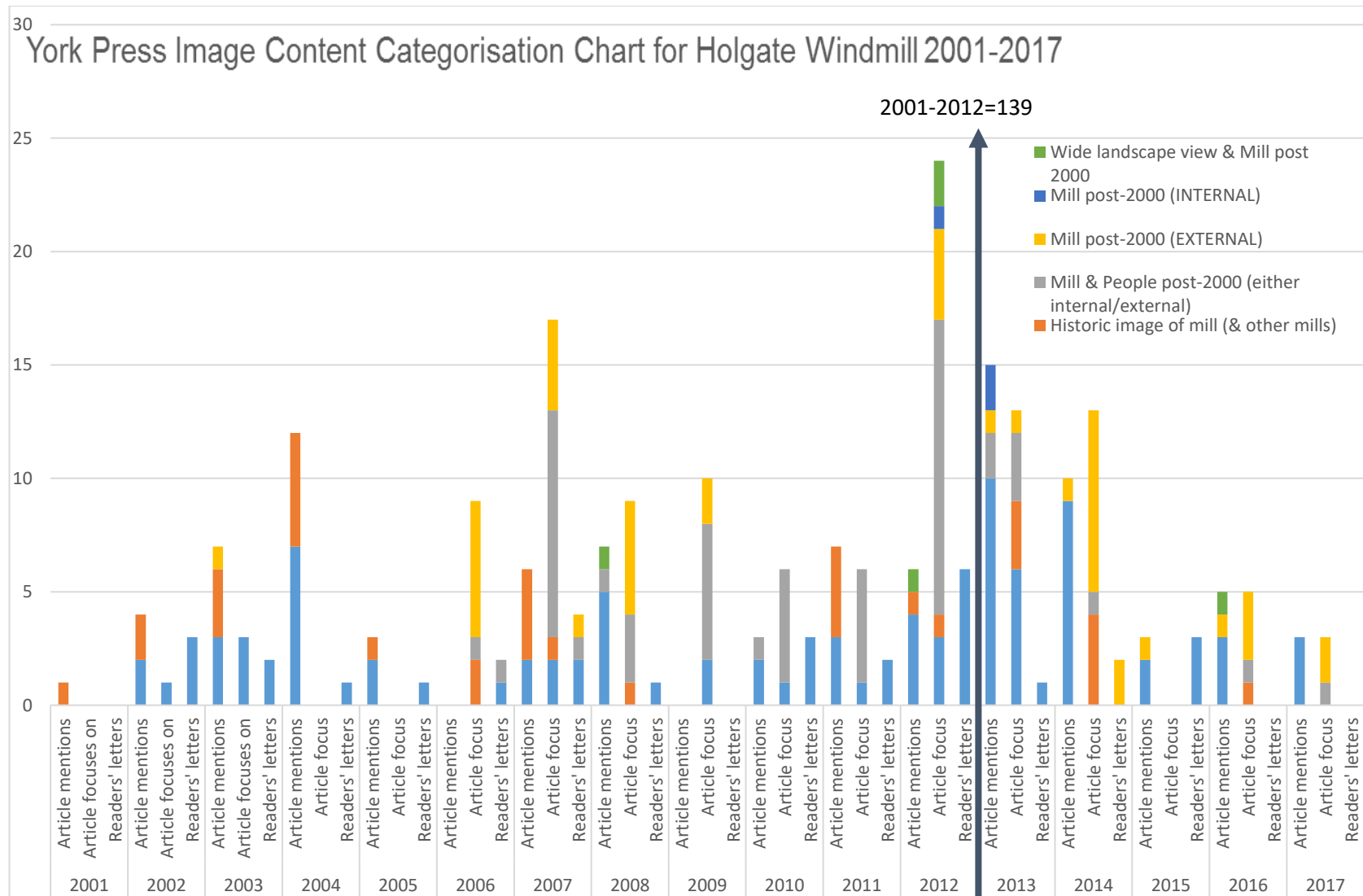


Figure 54. York Press Image Content Categorisation Chart

Looking at Figure 52 there is no obvious pattern between the amount of 'Mentions', 'Focused' and 'Readers Letters' across the time period (although all do increase around 2012 and there are noticeably less Readers Letters). By contrast, the assessment of the images in Figure 53 provides an interesting insight. Although a large percentage of articles included no images at all (**65/139** or **102/208**) the remaining half of articles containing photographs indicate that decisions were made by York Press photographers to capture people posing with specific props or doing active work around the mill. Over the restoration period of the asset (2001-12), the image of the windmill featured **74 times within 139 articles**. The highest occurring image type within this sample were of 'Mill & People (either internal or external)': **47/139**. My interpretation is that such images were more frequently published to highlight the sociable and collaborative nature of the project (discussed further in the analysis).

Limitations of this analysis must be noted. Several of the York Press articles are repeatedly inaccurate regarding information about the mill (despite corrective letters sent by readers). There were problems with the digital archive too; occasionally articles did not include any images despite clearly referring to a single or several photographs in the text. Indeed, it seems notable that within the results list there are scant photographs between 2001-2006 (therefore it is likely that a number of images are missing). In such cases, if any description of image content was given clearly in the text, it was included in the analysis. Some articles refer to earlier articles not present in the search results; these were not counted because image content could simply not be discerned.

The high number of images of the mill and people suggest a focus on the collaborative action of the project. Yet, the 'highest occurring words' do not function in the same way—the 'weight' of a word or topic might be greater than its number (as I have suggested in my Local Plan analysis), particularly if it is held within the title of the article. For instance, in many of the articles' titles the word 'landmark' is attributed to the mill. Thereafter, using NVivo's word frequency function, it is possible to show that 'landmark' becomes the 14<sup>th</sup> most frequently used word out of the 7,778 words that form the titles and first sentence of the 139 articles (minus dates, place names and people's names, e.g. York, 'Monday',



Holgate Windmill, 'February' etc.)

Holgate Windmill headlines san dates

new	open	preservation	city	wind	park	photograph
	historic	awards	restoration	taking	restored	weekend
society	sails	project	roundabout	landmark	year	award

Figure 55. Word Frequency Tree Map generated by author within NVivo from headlines of 139 articles (2001-2012)

The word 'landmark' brings to fore the visual relationship of the windmill to locality and consider how the press form familiar sentences (taglines) to reinforce the mill within the public imagination. The striking 'sails' (sails being the 5<sup>th</sup> most frequent word), the height and physical form of the mill may have contributed to the identification of the mill as a 'historic' (4<sup>th</sup> most frequent word) 'landmark'.

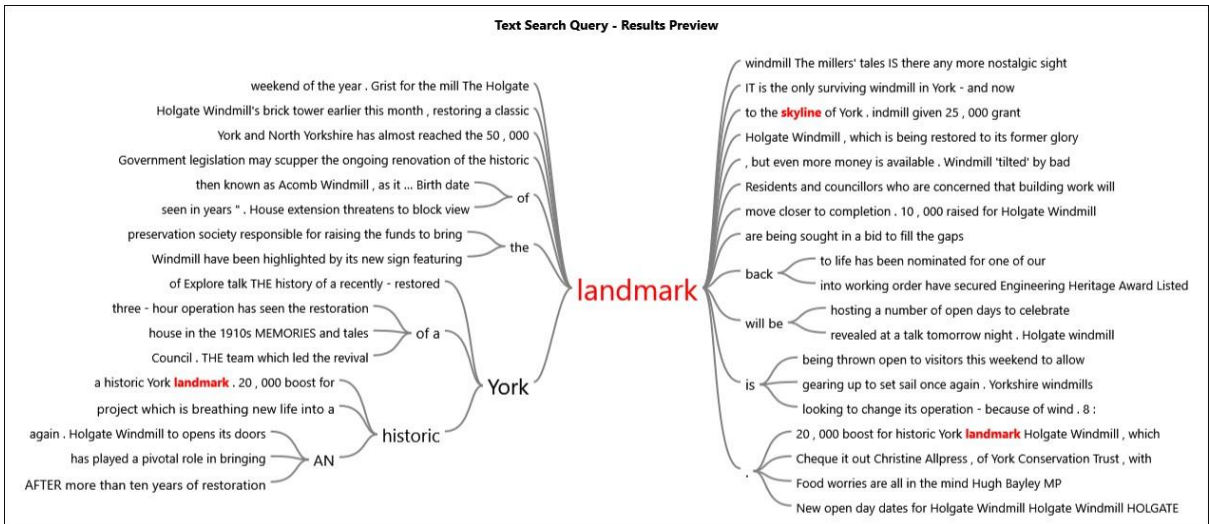


Figure 56. Word Tree (showing how term 'landmark' is connected to other words, generated by author in NVivo using headlines of 139 articles (2001-2012)

In addition to the study of York Press articles, examining images within the HWPS's self-managed media platforms will also reveal outward representation or messages. A mini

analysis using the visual toolkit has been carried out on several online platforms managed by Holgate Windmill Preservation Society; their website, Facebook and Twitter pages.

### Website:

It is recognised that these front-facing platforms may not have been used during the becoming stages by the Holgate Windmill Preservation Trust and like Tithe Barn, indicate the more recent 'branding' of the mill. However, on the website, under the "About the mill" tab and thereafter the "Images of the windmill" tab, are approximately 1,400 photographs of the windmill, its features, its setting, the stages of restoration and activities involving volunteers or other social groups. Unfortunately, the time limitations of this study mean these images cannot be analysed, but it is worth noting that they span 2007-2017 (and so cover the latter part of the becoming period). The sheer volume of images indicates that those submitting the photographs wish to visually capture the asset—it is covered from every angle, in every season and through many combinations of photographic filters.

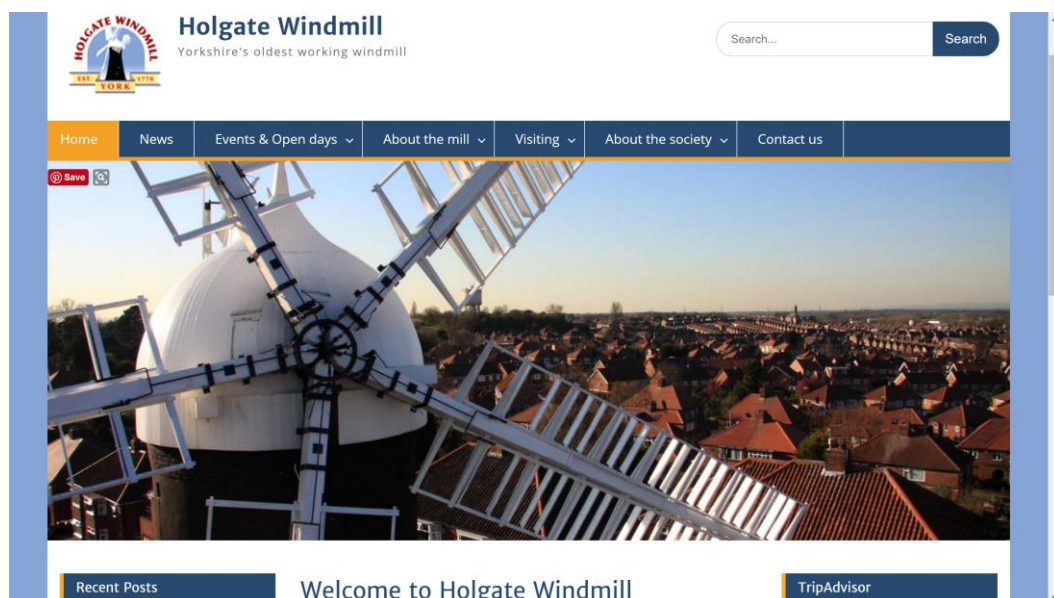


Figure 57. Holgate Windmill Homepage first image. © HWPS (2016b)

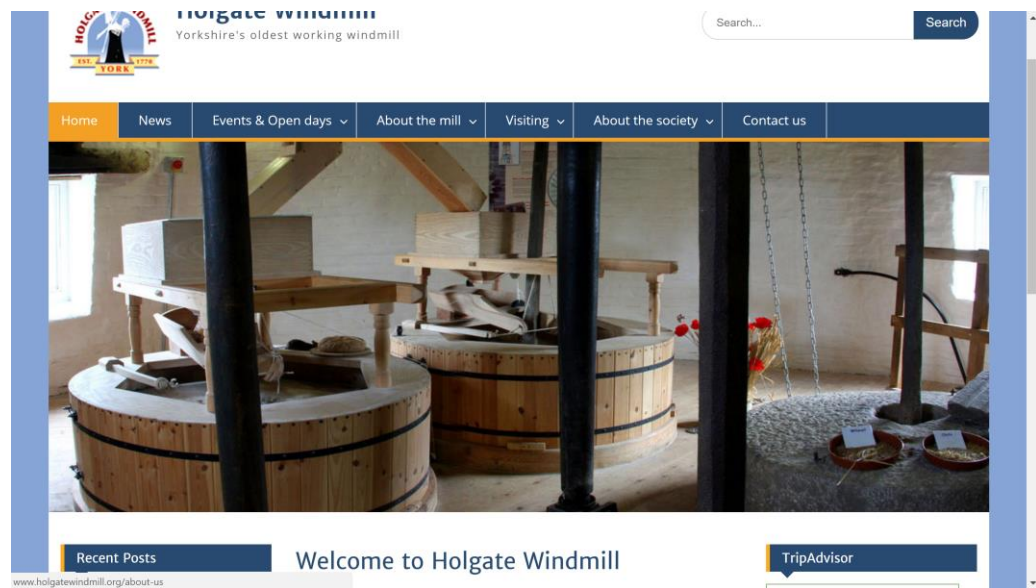


Figure 58. Holgate Windmill Homepage second image © HWPS (2016b)

**Image content:** The homepage is dominated by a photograph of Holgate Windmill, which also dominates a skyline and the view across houses, drawing attention to the proximate relationship between mill and the housing estate. This initial image then changes to internal fixtures after 3 seconds (see below).

The other noticeable visual is the logo at the top left hand of the screen; the position of the windmill is facing towards the viewer's left allowing a view of the angle of the sails and the fan tail.

**Layout:** The layout forms as different shades of blue, white and linear (perhaps mirroring the sky). Yellow is used to highlight selected tabs and the logo title is emphasised in red. A third of the screen is dedicated for the cover photographs, edged with either white or blues.

**Velocity:** The image resides in this thesis and the HWPS website.

**Experience:** The logo stamps the page, the group's efforts and the windmill together, emphasising the physical manifestation of the windmill (rather than, for example, a bag of flour). The whole webpage experience feel like a 'window' with panes.

## Facebook Page:

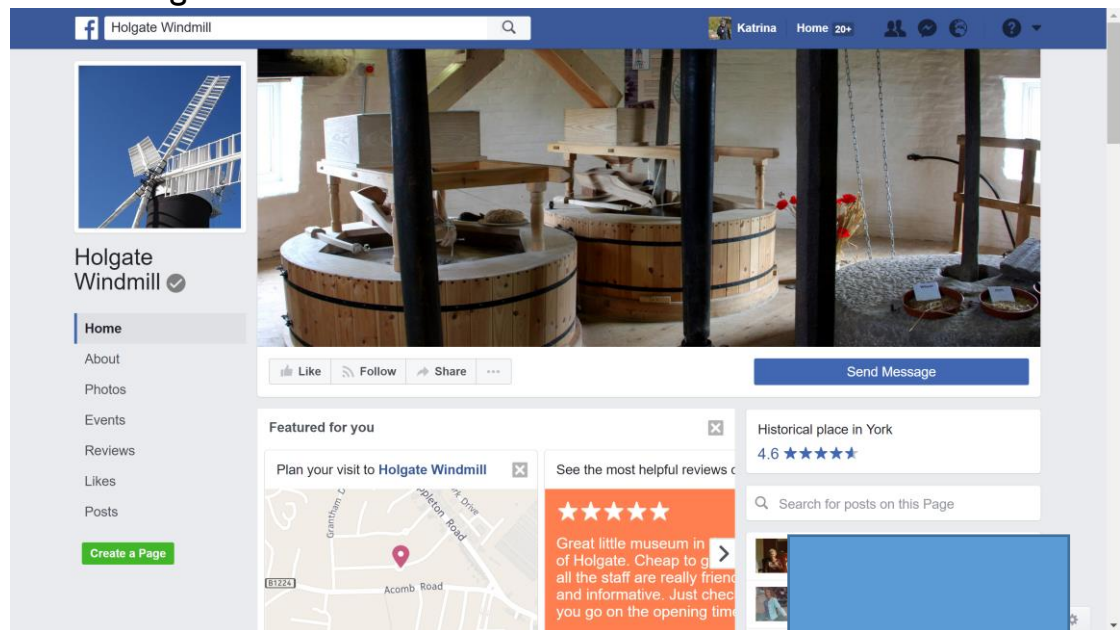


Figure 59. Screen Shot of Holgate Windmill Facebook homepage taken by author. © Holgate Windmill (2017a)

**Image content:** The cover photograph shows the same image as on the website of the inside fixtures and the grinding apparatus. The shot taken gives prominence to the natural light and wooden features, contrasted by red poppies in a vase in the background offering a rather homely scene. A further 75 photographs are located under the photos tab, starting with 'restoration' pictures that had been added in May 2014.

**Layout:** The square profile picture to the upper left almost mirrors the angle of the windmill's logo and is set against a blue sky (in sunshine), a view that is block-coloured (and almost graphic). Facebook's group page formats are un-editable, so it is interesting that there is similarity between this page and the website's own 'stylised' pages (in terms of colour and linear navigation). The main difference is on the page you scroll vertically, whereas on the webpage you scroll horizontally. Orange is used to highlight recent reviews by visitors.

**Velocity:** The image resides in the thesis and the Holgate Windmill Facebook platform. There were 559 Likes to this page in the summer of 2017.

**Experience:** Very similar experience to that of the website (feels like a window pane), but within a 'familiar' setting of Facebook.



## Twitter:



Figure 60. Screen Shot of Holgate Windmill Twitter Homepage taken by author. © Holgate Windmill (2017b).

**Image content:** The profile image is again of an external windmill view, this time facing left in the sunshine and a nearby tree, with a background of cloud (perhaps taken in the evening). This contrasts with the repeated cover image of clear wintery skies over the estate.

**Layout:** Again, Twitter's design is un-editable; here we have a white colour scheme with mainly vertical scrolling. A further 58 photographs are included, dating back from when Holgate Windmill joined in 2010. There are 1,105 followers to this page.

**Velocity:** Thesis and Twitter platform. There are 1107 followers on the day the web-shot was taken in the summer of 2017.

**Experience:** Considering such changeable skies one becomes aware of that the windmill is exposed to the elements (and indeed, the whole point is to take full advantage of them). The blurb under the profile anthropomorphises the windmill, introducing itself and its "great bunch of volunteers" in a highly sociable manner.

## 6.4. Discussion for Holgate Windmill

The next discussion will examine the above information, following the research objectives laid out in chapter four.

## I. What heritage values can be identified at this node?

### **Interest or unfulfilled value-action**

There were failed several attempts (including at the onset of the sale to the Corporation) to enable the windmill to become an attraction or of some use to others beyond its initial purpose i.e. the Gutch's wanting it to become a public asset, the boy scouts' inquiry and the residential 'offer' to the council. Connected to these interests are the concerns over the upkeep of the windmill in the form of the resident's letter's and several corrective letters sent to the Press (regarding inaccuracies in their articles).

### **Organisational value-action**

Post 2000, the organisation value is implicit in the years (and human energy) spent by various volunteers in bringing the project to fore, in order to deter the ongoing dereliction of the asset. This includes project management, goal-creating, in reaction to the challenges or contrasting values. Again, I have highlighted three other specific actions, which merge with the organisation value-actions of the restoration project.

### **Historical value-action**

The windmill gathered historical value over time as part of a remnant of the previous locality and the redundant national flour industry, as evident in the words of the previous trustees and the interest in the 'network of millers'. This is also prevalent in the fact that there was a local historian campaigning for the mill. The current Holgate Windmill archivist is active in researching the mill's history (and enjoys answering questions about it.)

### **Visual value-action**

Importantly, the ability for the Windmill to function and grind flour (the vision of the project) is tied to the visually striking sails which were often termed as a landmark by the media. The windmill thus became established as a part of the wider visual experience of York: indeed, one article included a photograph by a reader that brought together Holgate Windmill, the Minster and York Wheel, with reports of interest from other readers in York as to where the image was taken from (e.g. "Location of York Skyline photograph revealed" (Catton 2012)). The physical restoration progress (towards the vision of a fully working mill complete with sails) was delivered to the eyes of York's local audience by images within the Press articles. These were enhanced by the Holgate Windmill

Preservation Society's continuous portrayal of the windmill via various platforms. The repeating and contrasting of mill images across these platforms reinforced positive and tactile messages about the Holgate Windmill, enhancing its perceived value. It is, in short, visually idolised.

### **Financial value-action**

Economic value can be easily quantified in the cost of the restoration (quoted at around £500,000), but we should also consider who was providing these funds and why they valued the windmill (i.e. the anonymous businessman, the environment agency, and the HLF). Additionally, due to its inclusion as part of the "small attraction" the Windmill is now part of the wider York tourism economy and a suite of attractions for visitors; therefore there is now financial investment for the City of York Council.

### **2. How do these values correspond to the 'vision' of the heritage group?**

The values providing the 'wind' behind their movement stemmed from the historic disconnect with the locality (the windmill was recognised as one of the few remnants of the previous landscape before the 1940s), but also because it was a visually eye-catching part of the York skyline that had been neglected, as put forward by the then 'new' resident. The vision (in terms of the 'ultimate goal') came to fruition in response to the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF)'s advice not to restore the Windmill to full working order, around 2004. As the previous trustees have related, this dampening down of ambition in fact rallied the residents towards this more complex undertaking.

### **3. If there are challenges & contrasting values, what are these?**

A contrasting value-action can be found in the school boys (breaking into the windmill in the 1940s), which may be perceived as an act of 'fun' and exploration because of the windmill's uncared-for state.

The challenges and contrasts in value changed through the becoming period for the local authority which owned the mill; the Corporation and then York City Council initially devalued the building by negligence (i.e. a councillor suggested it was 'not a beautiful thing'). Yet, time and again the council would be reminded of its worth (particularly during the 1980's). In 2001, when a community took on the project it on it became a valuable project; the council invested at crucial points and assisted the HWPS at an early stage. At

one point the mill was graffitied (along with several other buildings, bus stops etc.), thus suggesting the offenders either did not value the building or acted to make some statement through the debasement of public assets. This was not a focused heritage crime as it also extended to other buildings and post-boxes (but may indicate how heritage buildings are part of general 'public property'). Another challenge lay with the HLF which did not want to fund a project that may be tied to the council and queried this arrangement in the lease. Despite allotting the funding after the lease was amended, the issue has not necessarily been resolved in that the council would legally take back the building if the HWPS were to fold.

#### **4. What is the relationship between the asset project, and**

##### **i. the level of local collaboration?**

One of the previous trustees suggested that no-one else could have brought the heritage asset project to fruition other than the residents (before 2000, the council had neither time, money or inclination). Local residents who lived in the area took interest at different stages. It is also important that the relationship between the mill and the residents was reinforced in the council's survey in 1984, asking their opinion of what should be done with it. Furthermore, the then 'new' resident knocked on doors and 'recruited' people in the street who later became involved in the project. Thus, proximity and civic action were mutually inclusive in this case and supported by the council.

##### **ii. and other forms of engagement?**

In terms of wider engagement—i.e. appealing to those who are not involved day-to-day but want to contribute in other or financial ways—this was highly dependent on the Press and the ability to advertise of social events and fundraising, particularly in 2007. As shown in the timeline, the engagement was very much residential at first, then became gradually York wide with the ongoing press releases. A national interest can be sourced via the 'network' of miller and an international audience now also appears to be present in the form of visitors.





Figure 61. Image of an interpretative plan of the Gutch/Holgate estate © HWPS (2006)

**Image Content:** This appears to be a photograph of a hand-made interpretation board detailing Eliza Gutch's impact on the local estate. It includes a basic map, 13 labels, the CYC logo (bottom right), 9 photographs and 1 illustration.

**Layout:** The area of the map (the Gutch estate) takes central position with image circling around it (a couple extra in the middle).

**Velocity:** Thesis and Holgate Windmill Website. It is now known what has happened to the original board or associated images.

**Experience:** This is draft interpretation board for a Street Party 9<sup>th</sup> July 2006 and-made by local historians and printed using basic office skills. The CYC logo (bottom right) shows some form of collaboration or partnership. There is a sense of the 'early' stages of the project, and the interpretation board has since been professionally update. The images and labels circling around the demarcated estate are easy to navigate and quite attractive.

## 5. What is the relationship between the asset project and its locality?

In terms of historical locality, the windmill initially had a practical rural and nationally established purpose on the outskirts of the city. Eventually, due to national contexts, the windmill became subsumed into the expanding city and made redundant. The affluent Gutch family had a tangible impact on the way the new housing estate was configured and took into consideration the windmill's preservation (thus valuing it). Subsequent

attempts by the local historian to define the area within these boundaries indicates a motivation for historic place boundaries being retained. This is also emphasised in the photograph (above) of an information board constructed by the volunteers in 2009. Therefore, part of the historic value of the windmill is its relationship with the notion of a historic locality (the lost Holgate estate) and the impact of the Gutch family on the new one.

In terms of contemporary locality, the mill's restoration has, according to one of the trustees, put Holgate 'on the map' and invoked a sense of local pride. It has accrued and cultivated further active value, recently winning the Queens Award 2017 for heritage projects in North Yorkshire. Whilst the Holgate area is of mixed demographic in terms of deprivation (relatively low) Windmill Rise is noted to be a valuable street on property listings found, some of which directly make reference to the Windmill (On the Market 2017, Purple Bricks 2017, Right Move 2017, YO2 2017). The Windmill is "always mentioned as a piece of history and unique to the area" according to Savills estate agents (Coffey 2017).

After having detailed the Holgate Windmill's restoration process and reflected on some of the connections and impacts these asset transfers have upon the local areas, a discussion of both place-nodes is now laid out.

## **6.5. Analysing Tithe Barn & Holgate Windmill**

At this point, both two projects are brought together for an overall analysis in order to consider their becoming stages and simplify this process. According to Hodges and Watson, heritage projects can follow the following steps:

1. a particular community type, with specific attributes, in conjunction with
2. a particular heritage site, that is one with sufficient interest and a cause for concern, can stimulate
3. particular management skills within
4. an evolving organisational framework, to achieve
5. specific community-based heritage objectives.

Whilst a useful summary for both cases, the linear process above cannot account for complex manner in which catalysts, value-actions, challenges, goals and visions come to fore, tangle and re-emerge together over time and in places. In bringing together the two projects (without coding their data) numerous factors within the process can be presented and are discussed alongside a value-action diagram, which demonstrates connections between these factors.

### **CATALYSTS:**

External actions instigated by people or bodies acting beyond (and sometimes against the interests of) the heritage group that mass together to act towards restoration.

Environmental factors and disrepair are also catalysts, for example, the long-term development or neglect by the council.

### **VALUE-ACTIONS:**

Value-actions help the group to create goals in response to catalysts, challenges and new information. The values-actions identified within the two place-nodes are:

- Organisational value-action
- Unfulfilled Action/Interest
- Historical Value-action
- Visual Value-action
- Financial Value-action

### **GOALS:**

Goals are intended ways in which the group wishes to act, informed by their active values and taking account of any specific challenges. Goals evolve time and time again in a project. Values-actions, goals, and outcomes blend messily during a project.

### **OUTCOMES:**

Outcomes are the result of goals enacted upon by a heritage group. At some point the ultimate goal—(vision)—will emerge and begin to direct goals and outcomes.

### **CHALLENGES & CONTRASTING VALUES:**

Several challenges and contrasts in value (i.e. between the Tithe Barn and NYCC, or Holgate Windmill and the HLF) meant that sustained civic or financial support for the asset

project were drawn upon, showing the perseverance and adaptability of both restoration project groups.

**VISION:**

This comprises the 'end goal' and idea of the point where the restoration is physically completed to fit certain objectives. In both cases the vision was adapted from the cycle of catalysts, value-actions, goals and outcomes and eventually emerged at key moments in the restoration processes. The vision feeds into the media engagement (see VALUE-ACTIONS).

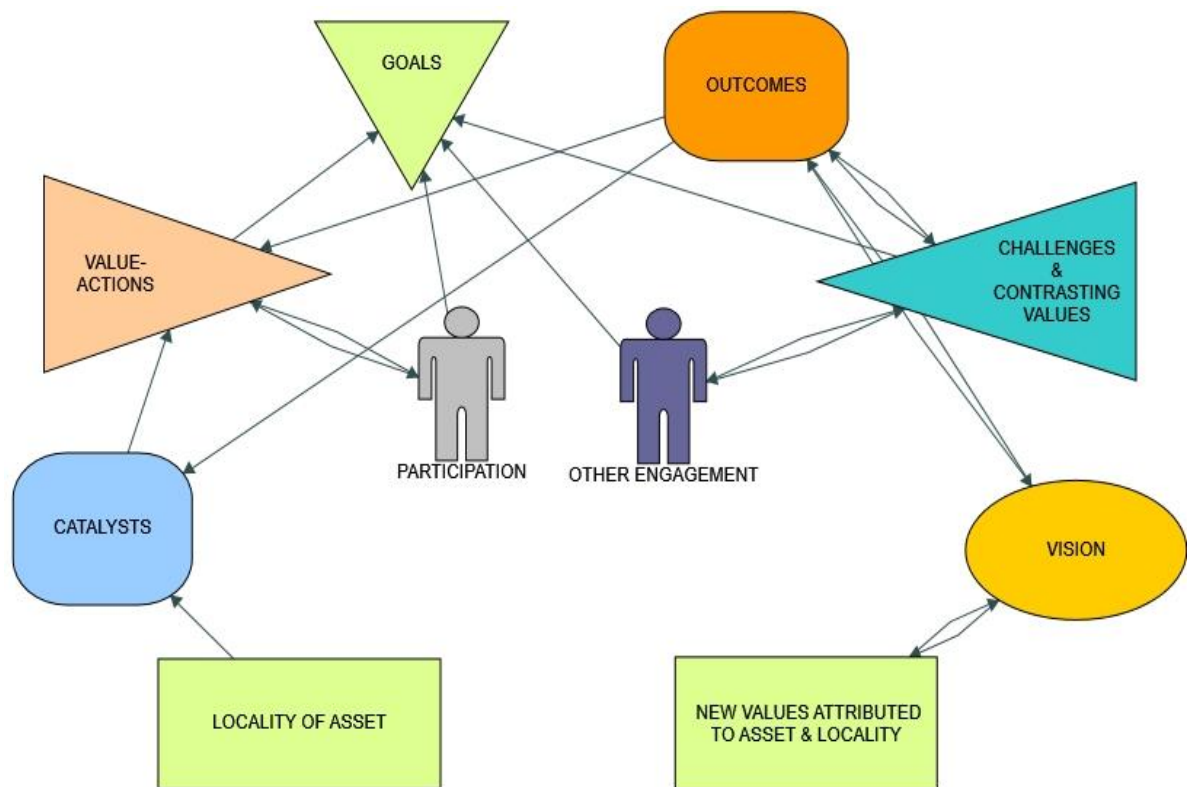


Figure 62. Pre-2011 Asset Transfer Value-action diagram

**COLLABORATION (People Directly Involved):**

Proximity is mutually inclusive to civic action in both asset transfer projects. As the level of affluence and deprivation of the ward locality for each project varies, quite considerably, it is difficult to pin down whether this impacts the level of direct action and support for the project in the area. It is noted that Windmill Rise has a slightly lower index of deprivation to the rest of the Holgate locality, but the road is not as affluent as Poppleton (see CYC 2017q, 10). Despite different levels of affluence, the skills of the Tithe Barn and Holgate

Windmill supporters and the capabilities of the organisation involved are both consistent factors.

**OTHER ENGAGEMENT:** Other forms of local engagement (those not actively involved in the groups) were generated by the proximate leafleting campaigns and are indicated by the numbers of people attending public meetings, contributing their opinions and making financial donations.

### **LOCALITY:**

The locality, in terms of the relationship between the asset, its immediate location and the surrounding area, has had an impact on how the projects came to fruition. Locality it is not just a stimulant or a cause for concern: communal and organizational frameworks are created for, around, within, inside and then bound to historic spaces, bringing them to the fore within new conceptualisations of place. For example, local campaigns can be supported by word-of-mouth connections and proximate media on doorsteps or placed at important service centres (e.g. the Poppleton library). With the Tithe Barn, the connections made between the asset and locality was overt: the retention of the whole manor farm area was paramount; thus the Tithe Barn was included within wider aspirations. In so doing, new connections were made and social and economic activities have since cultivated further value to the area. With the second case study, the Holgate Windmill, the relationship between the heritage asset and locality was also important but perhaps more complex as it became part of the 'York scene' and a landmark (now being one of the top Small Visitor Attractions.) In both cases, the history of the locality (the remnants of the Gutch Estate) prompted the value-actions which have led to an increase in the scope of the sphere of value. That Windmill is being used as a draw for the local house-market in the area is also indicative of the impact that the heritage asset on the market value of the locality.

## **6.6. Overall Discussion**

Before moving on, a few notes on the overall methodology and selection of the case studies. The selection of these asset transfer projects follows the inclusion criteria as discussed in Chapter Four. I had in fact identified four suitable asset transfer cases during

the second and third years of research (2015-2016). The other two heritage asset projects, which were still going through the stages of transfer, included:

- Fishergate Postern Tower project by the Friends of York Walls project who were conducting a Community Asset Transfer on the City Walls (which meant the place-node was relevant to the inclusion criteria by being within a locality which intersects with different groups –being on the walls and proximate to a Wetherspoons pub – and also to the potential for further collaborative work);
- The Backhouse Project, an asset transfer project also in Holgate, within West Bank Park (which again intersected within a distinct area in York, proximate to the less affluent area in Holgate and had high potential for further collaborative work with residents).

Various key contacts were contacted by email in the winter of 2016 (after I had finished fieldwork at the Red Tower) based on their knowledge of and involvement within the asset projects, in order to undertake the same analysis as is laid out above. However, in the case of the Fishergate Postern, I initially had no answer from the key contact I had been given. There had been some issue with their asset transfer at the City of York Council earlier in the year which I believe meant they could not commit to working with me at the time. With the Backhouse project more severely, a damaging arson attack upon the building in November 2016 meant that the team could not initially accept my request to study their project. After this, I reflected that the amount of effort required to achieve the vision of an asset transfer made it difficult to commit to extra activities. These 'key moments' could be quite stressful; I had direct insight into this at the Red Tower project and also appreciated how much effort the other trustees were putting into compiling notes with me with a distanced level of retrospect. That such challenges are rife in asset transfer project and diligence required also coincides with upcoming research carried out by Bethany Rex, the only other researcher I have discovered in this field (2018, personal comm.) Thus, I stand by my decision not to pursue these projects for in-depth study, to account for the live challenges that were facing them. However, some subsequent conversations with volunteers about the progress of these two projects, along with some discussion of the challenges they faced, has been documented in Appendix C.xi.

This said, I return to the overall points of discussion. In light of these findings, the initial concept of values-action, vision and knowledge gain by communities is again more complex than first anticipated in Chapter Three, although not as complex as is revealed in Chapter Five due to the relatively straightforward vision pathway sought by the community organisations. I have attempted to account for the 'ordering' of these processes (bearing in mind complex connections between categories of practice) which are fully interpretative. Nevertheless, it is understood from both place-nodes that several cycles of value-activity, goal creation and outcomes pass before an ultimate vision emerges. In terms of comparing this map to that of Chapter Five, the latter is more simple but it is impacted by the relevant local authorities' emerging wider priorities (e.g. Green Belt Review, general urban expansion). Importantly, contradictions between knowledge sets as was raised in Chapter Five do not feature as a practical hindrance to visions. It seems instead that time, the impact of different catalysts and the evolution of relationships between different places and contacts enabled restoration to take place. Whilst the occurrences of heritage asset projects run by community organisations and the animated discussions surrounding the local plans are very different subject matters, lessons can be learnt about how these projects develop differently, which will be useful to consider in light of the Localism Act (this will be further discussed in Chapter Eight).

Attributing these two projects to the Localism Act is anachronistic, as they took place before 2011. Yet they both indicate high levels of civic action, collaboration and also how different valuations of place which can cause some tension between communities, local authorities and funding bodies or individuals, which had to be addressed in different ways. Moreover, the study of these place-nodes has also highlighted the role that visual media plays in the becoming stages and subsequent promotion of heritage asset projects, sometimes set within different platforms within or without the local arena. The role of imagery and media being created alongside activities of localism ethos should not be overlooked. Lastly, that the value-actions that have taken place, stemmed from the historic locality but thereafter have arguably enhanced both the social and economic value (by emitting further rings of value). In both cases, the complete projects further establish the historical connections within the contemporary spaces of Holgate and Poppleton within a collaborative framework.

It is evident that localism activity in heritage existed well before the Localism Act (which, as has been posited earlier should be considered a policy context as part of knowledge gain). Comparing to a contemporary study the impact of this knowledge gain is difficult to judge, but, in the next chapter a more recent case study is laid out. In Chapter Seven, the efforts of the Red Tower project, a community asset project located on the city walls which commenced in late 2014, is laid out.



## 7: The Red Tower Asset Transfer

### 7.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the final ethnographic study, the Red Tower place-node. Firstly, the localities proximate to the Red Tower—Walmgate, Foss Islands and the City Walls—are contextualised through a summarised historical account of their development. I then present the timeline of the Red Tower project over the two years where I worked as a volunteer and was employed to conduct research with various groups of people proximate to the tower including Red Tower Supporters, Residents, Students and ‘Wallwalkers’ (people who walk on the walls and who aren’t necessarily visitors to York). As with the West Offices chapter, the ethnographic data gathered (fieldnotes, interviews and visual media) are then visualised through the results of coding queries in NVivo and these visualisations are critically discussed. Visual media are also analysed with the visual toolkit throughout the chapter. The research questions are then addressed and further interrogated by use of a value-action diagram. This value-action diagram presents the different values either uttered or acted on by individuals and groups during one specific phase in the project. The discussion of the data thereafter highlights the pragmatic and ethical issues in trying to reveal the qualitative data in both quantitative and qualitative ways.

So, to begin the final case study chapter in this thesis, the shaping of the localities over 1000 years of history, in a small area in York are now presented.

### 7.1. Shaping Places: Contextualising the Localities

Here the development of certain ‘localities’—Walmgate, Foss Islands and the City Walls—proximate to the Red Tower, are shown to have evolved between the Norman Conquest and the current decade as a result of different configurations of power exerted on York. The Red Tower is connected to these localities simply as they are the most immediate areas which a person needs to walk through before immediately accessing the building (thus what land can be immediately seen when situated at the Red Tower). In this case, the

Walls are considered as a distinct form of locality, whilst Walmgate and Foss Islands are defined by certain road boundaries (their historic development is also acknowledged).

Below a summary is given from the results of research on primary and secondary sources which includes both historical and archaeological records (see Appendix D.i for full details). What this study shows is how York's various local authorities' ambitions for the whole city impact the development of these somewhat marginalised areas and why their decisions have been instigated by numerous factors, including movements against the authorities' ambitions (or other external contexts). The summarised sections below are concluded with a discussion on the changing role of different authorities in shaping localities.

So, to begin with, the integral reason for the Red Tower's existence commences with the damming of the River Foss in 1069.

### **1069 AD—The Creation of the Fishpond**

The damming of the Foss and the creation of the Fishpond by William the Conqueror in 1069 in order to quash a Danish rebellion was a hugely important event in the ongoing morphing of York, its identity as both a municipal and bureaucratic town. It created a new, vast water landscape on the edge of the busy urban settlement, where the Red Tower would later be positioned. This authoritative stamp by the new monarch will have been a dramatic demonstration of power and ownership, physically transforming two urban areas including parts of Walmgate. As shown by a York Archaeological Trust (YAT) report, deposit and dumping seems to have occurred thereafter as a way of reclaiming land, which suggests that the Fishpond's existence may have been inconvenient over the following centuries (2003, 6).

### **12th-14th Centuries—Guilds & Boundary Making**

In the early medieval period, a tower at the edge or proximate to the Fishpond may have been a continuation of boundary making in order to control the town as symbolised through the ongoing construction of the defences and as established by increasingly municipal powers of York's guild corporations. This control also demarcated Walmgate from Heslington and the edge of the Fishpond, affirming new two human-made boundaries. And although there is little evidence to confirm a stone tower was built there in the 12-14<sup>th</sup> century, documentation does indicate that a later tower was erected in 1490.

### **15th-16th Centuries—A Red Brick Tower**

After Henry Tudor's succession to the throne a specific dispute emerged between the stonemasons and the tilers in York. The stonemasons were apparently jealous of the commission to the latter by the Mayor and Corporation of York, resulting in sabotage and the murder of one of the tilers, John Patrick. However, what is perhaps more puzzling (clouded by the intrigue of the murder) is the following ambiguity. There is yet to be found a clear reason for why the Mayor of York and Corporation decided to have a brick tower at that location. It may be that, in the sixteenth century, Walmgate was one of the poorest wards of the city (Palliser 1979 qtd in Dean 2004, 6) and the tilers were cheaper to employ. Additionally, perhaps brick was deemed more durable to water (being porous) in combination with a previous stone foundation. Unfortunately, the reasons are still unclear. As in shown in the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME 1972, 139-159), in 1511, the name of "Red Tower" is first mentioned when artillery was assigned to it and it remained the only brick building on the city walls.

### **15th-18th Centuries—Maintaining the Walls: External Or Localised Civic Duty?**

During the later medieval period, York's Corporation cultivated further civic power yet also enforced civic responsibility with regards to the maintenance of the walls in the role of muremasters (tax collectors) and city husbands (see figure 61 below). The responsibility was clearly at odds with some of the guilds who avoided the role of muremaster at all costs (i.e. the ill-reputed shoemakers refused to take up the role in 1557). So, in some cases, external expertise was commissioned by York to survey repairs, and in addition localised Wardens took on wall-maintenance tasks when more official roles such as the muremasters were not filled. Thus, a mix of localised civic and expertise was drawn upon to keep York's stone defences in good condition.

## YORK CITY WALL MAINTENANCE

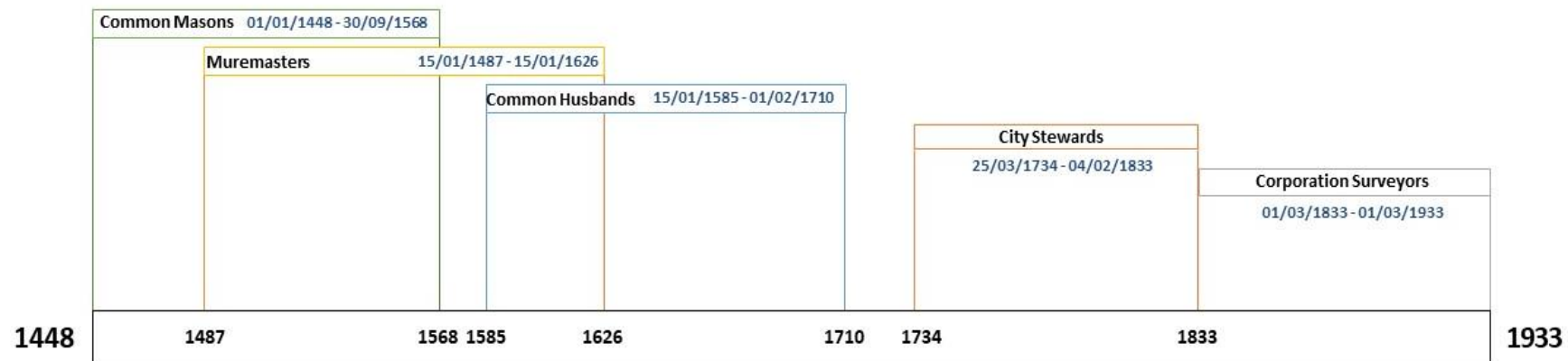


Figure 63. York City Wall Maintenance Timeline adapted from RCHME 1972 "City Official Responsible for the Walls", 174-175

### 17th-18th Century—Early Modern York: Red Tower Before & After The Civil War

Two points are relevant in considering the localities proximate to the Red Tower during this period. Firstly, the Fishpond (a mere marsh in the summer months) will have been a weakness during the Civil War attacks on York in June 1644. Despite efforts by the Mayor Sir Thomas Glenham to defend the city at this location, the Red Tower was obviously not a strong fortification to cope with the invasion of the Parliamentarian army, who planned to build a bridge over the Foss at Layerthorpe. This led to the eventual surrender of the city.

Secondly, after the Walls' military purpose decreased in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Walmgate section and the Red Tower had been particularly neglected and subsumed into decay, whilst other parts of the walls in the York began to be re-configured to suit a new capacity (that of touristic leisure). The marshy area of a forgotten fishpond, the problematic Foss, and the bustling Walmgate area (which now also included a cattle market) will have presented a distinct view of York, the consequences of which became increasingly more significant in the next century.

### **19<sup>th</sup> Century—Wall Restoration Movement**

During an 89-year period commencing from 1800, members of York Corporation had ambitions to demolish the walls to boost the city's economy. But they became divided in their opinion with members aligning themselves to the values of the Minster, local businessmen and local councillors in seeing the touristic opportunity that fully restored wall ramparts represented. Meanwhile, Red Tower and the Walmgate stretch of walls had decayed considerably (parts were used as pigsties). The wish to restore this stretch reflected the prioritisations held by the Restoration movement and local councillors to improve and incorporate the ill-reputed Walmgate as part of the rest of the city. However, Joseph Rowntree (along with the Board of Health) argued this was in fact impractical for those living there and recommended the demolition of the Walmgate stretch of walls. Whilst this did not come to the fore, (most notably after Walmgate businesses clamoured for the upkeep of the walls), the York Corporation were able to make some improvements to the area by draining the Fishpond (or marsh) in 1854. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the areas surrounding Red Tower formed two specific kinds of locality; there was a new industrial urban landscape with freight trains on Foss Islands and a place of bustling trade, livestock management, and dense living quarters (still linked to bad repute and conditions) in Walmgate.

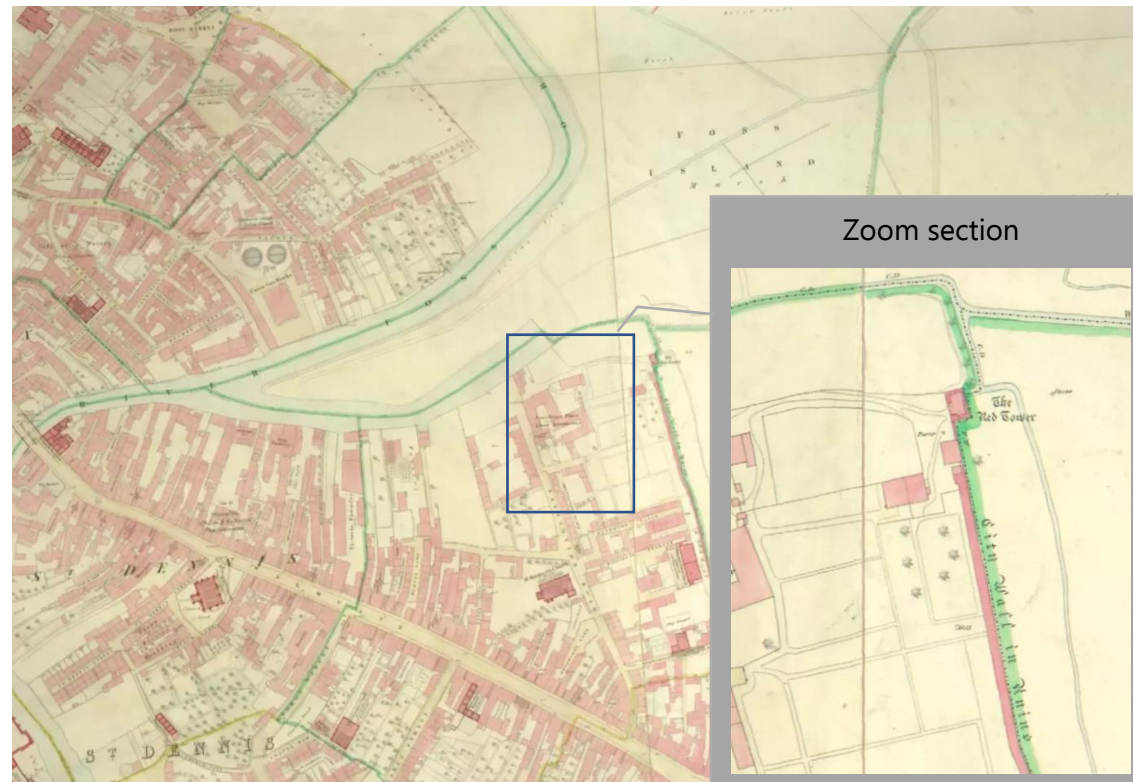


Figure 64. View of Walmgate, Foss Islands Marsh & Red Tower, 1852 OS Map. York Maps (2017) © Parallel.

**Image Content:** Web-shot of Walmgate area (the second 'V'), Foss Islands Marsh, and the Red Tower. The City Walls are labelled as 'City Walls in Ruins' (see zoom section).

**Layout:** The web-shot is cropped to focus on this section

**Velocity:** The image resides in the thesis, online (York Maps 2017). An original copy is held at York Explore.

**Experience:** The aged, pastel colours of the map are appealing. The 'City Walls in Ruins' label is highly curious as the thick line does not support the consequence of the label.

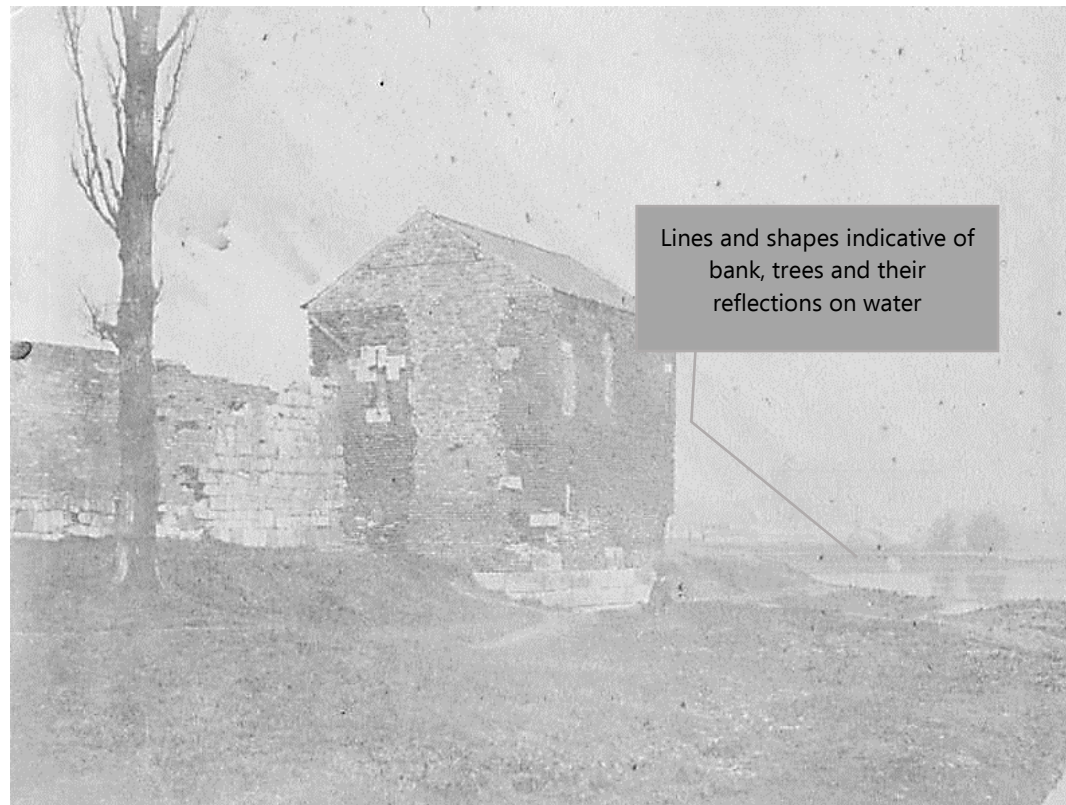


Figure 65. Red Tower in 1853 by William Pumphrey. York Explore (2017b). © City of York Council

**Image Content:** The Red Tower had had repairs in 1853 (and this is likely taken before the Foss was drained, as a body water can be viewed to the right of the image—see comment box).

**Layout:** Landscape image taken from outside the walls, facing north-west.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the thesis, the York Explore digital archives and in physical form in the York Explore building.

**Experience:** The hazy quality evokes a 'weathered' scene. Trees, grass and water evoke a 'removed rural' scene (see 1852 map above).

## 1901-1945—Slum Clearance & The Welfare State in Walmgate

By the Second World War, the role of York Corporation, in line with the reforms from the previous century, had largely changed from solely business-minded decision-making to that of welfare provision, particularly with regards to the slum clearance of Walmgate and Hungate. To the east of Red Tower, Foss Islands with its the waste depot, power station and non-passenger railway could be described at this point as the utility sector of the city. Whilst on the west side, the homes of Walmgate were slowly being taken down or improved.



Figure 66. Red Tower circa 1930's by Reece Winstone. York Explore (2017c) © City of York Council.

**Image Content:** Red Tower, post Fowler-Jones redevelopment (1858) & adjoining City Walls.

**Layout:** Landscape shot taken from the inside of the walls, looking north.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the thesis and York Explore's digital archives. A physical copy is kept in the York Explore building.



**Experience:** The image highlights the making of a wall, rough earth in the foreground and the buildings in the background suggest of the Foss Islands warehouses. The scene is more urban.



Figure 67. View of Red Tower, Walmgate and Foss Islands, 1962 Aerial photograph. York View (2017a). © OS 2017.

**Image Content:** 1971 Aerial photograph of the Walmgate 'V', Red Tower, newly developed Rosemary Place (with some development work visible in Huby's Court to the bottom centre of the shot). The Foss Island branch line is also in view (in use into the late 1970s)

**Layout:** The web-shot is cropped to focus on this section

**Velocity:** The image resides in the thesis and online (York View 2017a). An original copy is held at York Explore.

**Experience:** The hazy quality suggests that the exposure was left high on a sunny day (shadows) and it was necessary to highlight the location of the Red Tower in order to ease viewing. The scene shows both the industrial landscape surrounding Red Tower and development in Huby's Court, and the new paths of Rosemary Place and Court: thus a period of change for the localities.

## 1945 Onwards—Modern Commercialism

The latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> heralds a period of change particularly for Foss Islands (from utilities and industry to warehouse capitalism by the 1970s). In Walmgate, there is a distinct move from residential to businesses along the high street, with council housing being erected in the early 1960s in Rosemary Place and along Navigation Road. Eventually, student accommodation is built on Navigation Road and Walmgate area from the early 2000s.

From a recent York Ward Profile, it is evident the Guildhall Ward has a high deprivation index (18%, 3/21 wards in York) with a higher than York average percentage of child poverty and crime rates (CYC 2017m, 10). At this point, how the localities manifest as they do today is commented upon.

### 7.1.1 Discussion

The changes to the three localities over 1000 years are connected to the shaping of York as a town and eventually into a city. Each stage above reflects the priorities of the different groups (monarchs, guilds, masons, and mayors) and their ambitions for the city.

Sometimes these ambitions are contradictory and contrasts in value: the City Walls, and the Red Tower, particularly demonstrate this. The walls stand today primarily due to the ambitions of corporate powers between the 11<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries and an important period of ongoing and tense decision-making in the 1800s. The function (and value) for the walls on the part of the 'local authorities' fluctuated from control, defensive, ruinous, a drain on resource, iconic, and economic (often simultaneously). The Red Tower through its connection to the walls is intimately entwined with the concerns and ambitions of York as a whole but also those who aligned themselves to Walmgate (for example, the local councillors and local businessmen). However, the Red Tower itself and adjoining stretch of walls are the last to receive attention during at least two key stages of wall reconfiguration (in the initial building and restoration periods). The stretch of Walls must be considered alongside the identification of Walmgate as an area of deprivation and poverty—particularly during the 1800s—which remains a concern of the council to this day. From the Fishpond a new locality emerged; the rising of the Foss Islands provided new land which provided more space for first industry and then commercialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

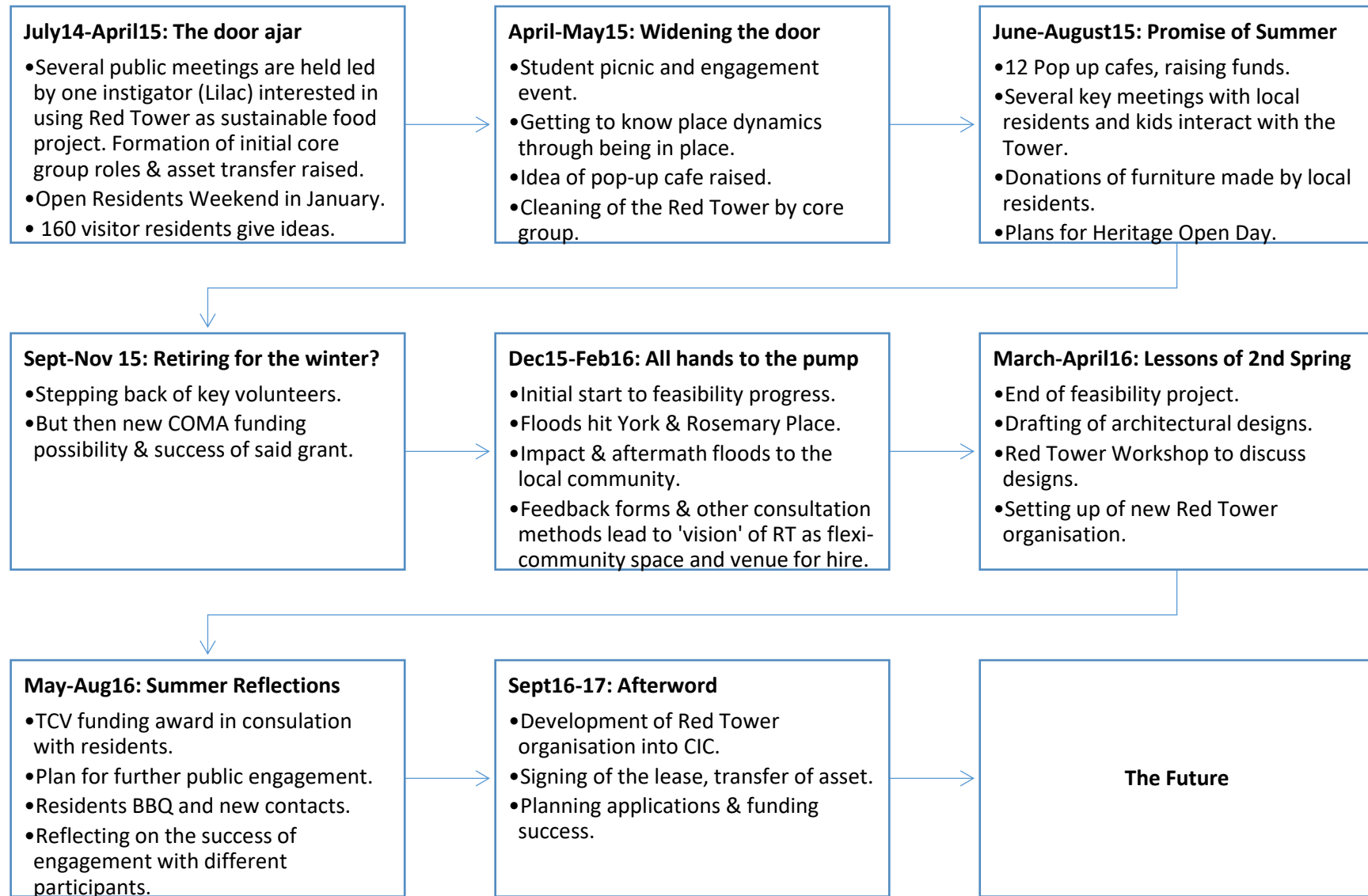
This creates a specific kind of use of place which is highly distinct to Walmgate and the Walls.

Essentially, throughout the centuries the role of local authority has appeared as diverse with different priorities which changed over time for different areas. These authorities have shaped the 'spatial codes' of the localities, yet it does seem that the localities retain aspects and the narrative of previous centuries. My conclusive point is that despite major place-changes (particularly seen in the Foss Islands Area and the Walmgate slum clearance), there is an 'sense of place' which has consistently contributed to the changes taking place, so that similarities in place are reiterated or nudged. The dialectical relationship between place and human intervention is supported as a result of this study.

To further this point, I now demonstrate how the autonomy of place, among other factors, played a role within the Red Tower project and the efforts of myself and a team of volunteers.

## **7.2. Ethnography of Red Tower Project & 'Data Dig'**

Here, I present the data (fieldnotes, interviews and photographic) gathered during my role as part of the Red Tower project over a period of two years (2014-2016). The bulk of this data is held in Appendix D.ii as the 'Red Tower Diaries' and in individual interviews (Appendix F). I recommend the reader consults the Red Tower Diaries to gain deeper understanding into how the project unfolded and the establishing of connections. Otherwise, here are the summarised stages of the project:



This timeline is a summary and there are other ways in which the becoming process of the project can be presented because a vast amount of data is available. I have interrogated this data by using NVivo to quantify and visualise trends in the themes (i.e. collaborative action, locality, visions etc) and 'case' coding (i.e. coding where interactions with participants occurs). As part of mixed methods analysis, bringing together qualitative and quantitative presentations of interpretative and constructive data, I 'dug into' the data, following two inquiries:

- a) Which themes were coded the most frequently (in terms of word coverage) within the selected fieldnotes over time and in the participants' interviews? (Photographic data are addressed in section 7.3.);
- b) How many and which people had I interacted within the active parts of the project (drawn from fieldnotes and photographic data) over the time periods? (I excluded the interviews from this inquiry as these were removed from ongoing action).

Efforts to these aims proved both practically and theoretically difficult. Within NVivo, it was possible to segment data into the separate time periods (but only after labelling fieldnotes in a certain order). Once a coding query had been completed using 'Matrix Coding', one could see which codes had been applied to which time period and how many times. However, NVivo's 'in house' data visualisation was unsatisfactory, so coding queries had to be imported to and formatted in Microsoft Excel. Thereafter, thematic and case coding tables were created for each of the eight phases and turned into charts: these individual graphics are located in the Appendix D.vi.

### 7.2.1 Key Findings from the Graphics

The findings from the Top Ten **thematic coding** from fieldnotes charts show that over the period of the project:

- The themes 'Values' and 'Towards best or better practice' were the most frequently coded thematic nodes with the highest and longest coverage within the fieldnotes;
- Locality related themes, such as 'Being in Place', 'Hubs & Discussion Spaces', 'Sense of Place', 'Drawing attention to Heritage' are present in the top ten themes the first two phases. Thereafter 'Space issues' reoccurs in the 'Sept-Nov 15', 'Dec-Feb 16'

and 'March-April 16' phases. Eventually 'Vision for Multi-Locality' becomes apparent in 'May-Aug 16' and 'Planning/Place change' in the final phase. This reflects the challenged relationship with locality at first, resulting in the 'vision' and subsequent changes.

- The themes 'People Power' and 'Roles' are present in three phases at the same time (June-Aug15, Sept-Nov15 & March-April16). 'Lack of People' is coded highly in Sept-Nov15, reflecting the fact that this was exactly the issue at the time and roles were going through a reconfiguration;
- in terms of the Collaboration Spectrum, 'Engagement & Recruitment' methods appear to increase at specific phases (April-May15, June-Aug15 & May-Aug16). I attribute this increase to the student events and pop-up cafes.
- 'Knowledge Exchange' increases between Dec15-Feb16 & March-April16 as part of the feasibility project.
- 'Local Decision-Making' increases in March-April16 & May-Aug16. I attribute this increase to the Red Tower Workshop, TCV meeting and the resident's BBQ. This shows how at different stages of time, the 'collaboration spectrum' changes;
- extending on this, changes overall in the themes reflect the distinctive issues and contexts of the phases (for example, in July14-April15, the 'Changes to Organisation' reflects the high level of organisation configuring that occurred, alongside different 'Values'). Moreover, 'Challenges' becomes a more prevalent theme after Dec15-Feb16, the period of the flooding.

Findings from the **case coding** chart (which shows how many codes were attributed to participants or organisation's names) of Top Ten interactions from fieldnotes and photographs shows that, across the phases:

- The number of those I was interacting with increased dramatically in Dec15-Feb16 and continued to be high over the Summer of 2016 until I left (attributed to the feasibility project and formulation of the Red Tower social enterprise);

- Lilac is often the most frequently mentioned participant (the Red Tower project leader and my employer at one stage), followed by Jonathan, reflecting my high interaction with these two participants;
- In terms of organisations, the CYC is the most frequent in the charts and is present at different points in the phases;
- Several key individuals (e.g. Claire & Patricia) are with the team to start with and then leave, whilst other individuals emerge over time (e.g. Sally, Matt & Tim).

Findings from the interviews on **thematic coding** show that:

- looking across individual interviews for Red Tower Supporters several themes reoccur across the groups: 'Values' are identified highly in all but one interview, 'Towards best practice' is also identified and covered highly by participants such as Vicky and Frank, as is 'Drawing attention to heritage' features consistently (not surprising as the subject matter concerned centred on the Red Tower);
- within Residents' interviews, 'Drawing Attention to Heritage' is identified consistently in the coding, for four out of six 'Finances' feature as a top ten themes, whilst 'Values' are identified less. Overall there is a higher variety of sub-themes being discussed by Residents;
- Examining the 'totalising' graphics for each group highlights that 'Challenges' is more prevalent in the Residents' Total Theme Coding chart, whereas 'Towards best practice' comes in second with the Red Tower Supporters. This observation rings true with my personal memory; during conversation I observed that there were more challenges raised by Residents whilst suggestions of getting around these were often raised by Red Tower Supporters. Please note: 'Challenges' could include anything from Red Tower issues, to more general place-based issues (i.e. the amount of litter in place or lack of engagement).
- The Wallwalkers interview (a group interview) was coded highly to 'Values' and 'Being in Place' was coded highly in the interview in comparison to the other two—this is attributed to the fact we were in situ when the interview took place.

### 7.2.2 Reflections on Data Presentation

Essentially, the graphics present how the theme coding varies between different time phases, different participants and the different multi-local groups. They also show which participants were interacted with most during the stages of the project. Looking at the graphics it is difficult to explore the quality of the data and to determine which series represents which colour (hence the need to label them). This is due the high number of both coded themes and cases. In short, the busy-ness of the project is extremely difficult to contain within static graphics (essentially, the size matters).

Moreover, the role of individual participants overlapped the categories of sample groups. Matt, Jess, Tim, and Claire are such examples, in that they were both Residents and Red Tower supporters or Red Tower and Council Practitioners: thus, the categories of participants do not stay static in real terms. Indeed these 'cross overs' can be attributed to part of the successful collaborative partnership building of the project and the fruitful cross-pollination of ideas (as shown by Claire's insight, Matt's advice, Jess's dream and Tim's later involvement). In this vein, there is significance in the roles that CYC practitioners play which cannot be quantifiably appreciated: Harry was integral to my first introduction to Lilac and supportive thereafter at key stages and Mike, gave valuable advice at the early onset, but does not feature in the notes afterwards. Subsequently, high volume in the data does not necessarily equate to high significance. For instance, Tash's lack of involvement in the Red Tower Diaries do not reflect the fact that I spoke to Tash a great deal; the fieldnotes including our interaction didn't often make the sifting process, but when she was present in the text she was often connected to 'Towards best practice' suggestions. Yet at the same time, Lilac and Jonathan's high mentions do reflect high involvement and our collaborative relationships when 'Changes to Organisation' notes have been sifted. In addition, the significant theme of 'vision' was not as discussed as much over the data in comparison to 'challenges', 'values' or 'towards best practice' (as was also the case in the coded West Offices data).

As a way of supplementing the data above, please consult the Consultation Report (Appendix D.vii). which presents the results of feedback on the potential use of the building (by local residents, visitors and others) and reflects on the contexts in which these



were taken. These results, gathered by myself and the Red Tower Supporters over eighteen months, informed the design of the building after the feasibility project between November 2015-March 2016. They were presented at the Red Tower Workshop and the resulting designs later shown at the Residents' BBQ.

Moreover, to supplement this data, Red Tower Supporters were asked to identify their key moments in the project, including any challenges and any key photographs. Four of them gave answers and their photographs are embedded in the Red Tower Diaries.

### **Jonathan's significant moments timeline.**

- Seeing the tower for the first time and falling in love with it Summer 2015.
- Being present after the 2015 floods and entering the building wearing waders to photograph the flooded interior.
- Working with flood volunteers Kayleigh and others during the very cold months of January and February 2016 storing and issuing flood relief products.
- Working with Lilac to successfully secure a 2Ridings Community Foundation flood relief grant to replace our lost furniture. Feb/March 2016
- Securing a thirty-year lease. May 2016
- Creating the Red Tower CIC and becoming registered at Companies House. Summer 2016
- Gaining planning approval for a building internal upgrade. Autumn 2016.
- Securing several significant funding grants which will enable our dream to become a reality. Spring-Summer 2017
- Seeing the first utility trenches dug and the siting of pipework and sewage disposal equipment. Summer 2017
- Finally identifying the original owner of the Gecko initially discovered by Friends of York Walls and the City Archaeologist in 2014. Summer 2017.

3 biggest challenges.

- Recovery from the floods.
- Engaging the local community after they had suffered during the floods and overcoming discontent spread by a very vocal minority.
- Securing sufficient funding to result in the Red Tower vision becoming a reality.

**LILAC significant moments timeline:**

- September 2015 – I discovered the building during one of its first Heritage Open Days
- January – March 2016 – Locality / COMA funding for pre-feasibility study
- Summer 2016 – set up Red Tower York CIC to take project forward
- December 2016 – Planning, Listed Building Consent and 30 year lease signed with CYC
- September 2017 services hooked up

**3 Challenges:**

- Getting CYC to deliver on connecting services to the building – they have gone several months over their initial timescale
- Finding funding to develop the project
- Getting “buy in” from local community

**Tim’s significant moments timeline:**

My three proudest moments have been:

- Getting the largest grant of the last financial year for £24,000 from the Guildhall Ward budget. Spring 2017.
- Organising the residents' barbecue to help get the Walmgate Community Association (WCA) started. Summer 2017.
- Getting the £50,000 Yorventure grant, this means we now have the money to do the building work. Summer 2017.

### **Tash's 3 Challenges:**

- Recruiting more directors for the CIC with appropriate complementary skills and values to benefit RT and its future work
- To build its profile as a high-quality venue within the city walls and bring in income once we are ready for business
- Finding a suitable operating model so there is a balance between business letting of the space (income generation / profit) and community (free) use
- To build and maintain local resident support and activity, ensuring immediate residents benefit from the Tower as a social venue

The participants' timelines show two things: a) our collaborative relationship—they were able to take time to supply answers and b) there are different ways to interpret a 'significant moment'. Indeed, Tim talks of his 'proudest' moments, which are focused on the community aspect and funding success. Both the key moments and challenges highlighted (where available) indicate the different individuals' priorities and roles.

### **7.2.3 Discussion on data overall**

Overall, this section has presented both the timeline of the Red Tower and some of the ways it is possible to present the data from different datasets (particularly through the fieldnotes and interviews). An important point should be made regarding how timing impacts upon the themes in different ways, particularly in regards to the 'Collaboration Spectrum' (i.e. methods used to collaborate with others) and the development of significance in locality themes (i.e. moving from 'Sense of Place' to 'Space Issues', then vision for Multi-Locality).

However, more data digging can be achieved. Indeed, the next section looks further into how photographic images and promotional media give insight into the value-actions of the project.

## **7.3 Media Analysis**

In this section I explore the media data collected and created throughout the Red Tower Project. The media collected can reveal three points;

- a) Different value-activities undertaken by participants;
- b) The values being promoted through promotional platforms and other media;
- c) The challenges of promoting to others in certain places.

I first start by discussing the results from the theme coding from the 160 research photographs held in NVivo (see Appendix D.vii, figure 89).

### 7.3.1 Key findings from the graphics

- In terms of what images provide alongside textual data, many of the Top Ten codes (i.e. 'Values', 'Drawing attention to heritage') are similar in both textual and visual data. Thus, I do not discern a noticeable variation between the variety of thematic codes appearing between fieldnotes, interviews and photographs;
- However, the 'Boundaries and Routes' theme does feature more prominently in the photographic data than anywhere else. It is in the Top Ten themes five times within photographic data, as compared to once in fieldnotes, twice in Red Tower Supporters' interviews, and three times in Residents' Interviews. Photographs can therefore highlight an important sub-theme as part of understanding the key theme 'Locality';
- Yet, not as many codes were attributed to images and NVivo cannot account for the percentage of space covered by a node in a photograph: a limitation which makes it harder to compare to textual data.

### 7.3.2 Reflecting on Coding Photographic Data

Coding photographs proved an interesting exercise to compare alongside textual fieldnotes and interviews. In practice, square sections of any photograph can be selected and coded. There is no limit to how many squares you can select and code in a photo. Photographs were akin to sentences rather than whole paragraphs so I did not often code more than ten nodes to each photo. The image quality is poor in NVivo—zooming into finite details was a challenge.

Comparing the percentage of themes coded in photographs would have been useful because there were unequal amounts of photographs to compare for each time phase.

(Notably, these discrepancies highlight how at different stages, I was more or less likely to take photographs—for instance, during September 2015 as I felt unable to take photographs during a recalibration of my own position with the group).

In addition, within NVivo all photographs were labelled with attributes in order to highlight their velocity (see Appendix H and follow instructions). Categorising media of place and in place (as discussed in all three theory chapters) became noticeably difficult during this task. With images, they never stay static as printing, copying and pasting is ubiquitous.

One of the additional limitations of the data digging, is that whilst generating some insight (i.e. in signalling high value content) these findings do not bring the value-actions of the data to light. To do this more palpably I have applied the visual toolkit to seven photographs (one from each phase) chosen at random; this demonstrates how value-actions are 'emergent' in the data as was discussed in Chapter Four (see section 4.6.2, page 141). All other photographs reside within the NVivo database and are coded with their velocity labelled as part of their attributes (right-hand click properties for further details).

### 7.3.3 Revealing Value-Actions in Photographs

July 14-April 15



Figure 68. Post-its Board Residents Weekend, by author (2015).

**Image content:** One plyboard, leaning against the inner wall of the Red Tower, covered expansively by post-it notes and postcards. Each post-it and postcard represents a value-activity formed through the engagement by a visitor to the Red Tower on the first ever Open Residents Weekend, January 2015. It indicates valuing the concept of a space filled with their idea.

**Layout:** Portrait image, cropped to focus on the plyboard.

**Velocity:** Thesis and research database. The original post-its and postcards have since been destroyed.

**Experience:** This plyboard was set up by myself in consultation with group led by Lilac ahead of Open Weekend. 60 post-its and 96 postcards with feedback about the Red Tower's future was collected. There is value in the form of this in situ engagement; they were able to create an idea and to think of an alternative reality in the space they were

standing in. This I will refer to as a “place-node’/locality value’, value that is perceived or gained through being in place.

### April-May 15



Figure 69 Red Tower Spring Clean May 2015 017, by author (2015).

**Image content:** Three volunteers are working on separate tasks. Patricia is disposing of dust from the inside of the Tower into a black bin bag. Linda and Mr Compost are working on the Edible Bed together. There is a red blanket on the grass (intended for passers-by), provided by Patricia. Three bicycles are visible, as are various wooden objects (a donated sandpit, a table, and the plyboard).

**Layout:** This is a ‘settings’ shot in the garden area outside the Red Tower. In the background, beyond the horseshoe wall, is Rosemary Place and an open white van.

**Velocity:** Thesis and research database.

**Experience:** The tasks by the volunteers indicate physical ‘hands-on’ organisational value and their own priorities in terms of these tasks (they delegated themselves). Patricia values a clean and homely Red Tower (Patricia 2015, Interview 9, In. 74-83). The red blanket also signals this to others. Linda and Mr Compost value the upkeep of the bed. Their values are also connected to personal values of a ‘green’ nature (Linda 2015, Interview 20, In 361), reinforced by the presence and continual use of the bikes throughout the project.

June-August 15



Figure 70. Red Tower Hand Rail. Photograph by Jonathan.

**Image content:** One corner of the Red Tower is visible. In it is located the ladder-stair, with new handrail created by Jonathan. There are also the Interpretation boards created by the Friends of York Walls, the plyboard which I had turned into a 'call for donations' board, various wooden objects, and a donated chair full of donated books (which we were selling second hand.)

**Layout:** Portrait perspective to capture the height of the stairs.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the thesis and research database. It is also held in Jonathan's database. The interpretation boards remain in the Red Tower and see also Rainger (2014).

**Experience:** This photo is provided by Jonathan who states "The making of the stair safety handrail was the first practical thing I could contribute to the tower shortly after my first impromptu visit. It was love at first sight for me. There already was a very enthusiastic team with lots of catering skills, and I felt I could make a contribution in a more practical



way". The values written by Jonathan are evident in his caption: the 'making' of the hand rail and 'making a contribution' more generally are key, the latter can be attributed to his whole involvement in the project (Jonathan 2016, Interview In. 37-46). The interpretation board could be interpreted as the value of the FOYW, their own dedication to reveal the walls. The donated chair and books show charitable value-actions by locals and potential future 'financial value-action' at the same time.

Dec15-Feb16



Figure 71 The view from Julie's window, by author (2016).

**Image content:** The window panes of a flat. The garden area—with bird feeders—then the Red Tower and lastly the stretch of City Walls is visible in different stages.

**Layout:** Portrait: I took this picture to capture the line between the city walls and the left-hand garden path.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the thesis and research database. I also printed out a copy for Julie at her request.

**Experience:** In the Red Tower Diaries (11-02-16) Julie makes mentions of her enjoyment of the view of the Tower and walls—suggesting a value-action in the act of simply looking. Well not simply looking, but appreciating other’s interaction with the space and imagining the movements of historic ghosts. This is extended to her enjoyment of watching the birds. The fact that she asked me to share this photo with her indicates her value of this view further.

### March-April 16



Figure 72 Red Tower Meeting, by author (2015).

**Image content:** This shot involves three tables, with glasses and phones settled upon them, in a café where six participants are sitting and looking at the newest Red Tower plans as provided by Frank the architect.

**Layout:** Landscape shot taken by myself to capture more people across the tables.

**Velocity:** Thesis and research database only.

**Experience:** The value-action here is more reflective, because the plans are a product of months of organisation and work by the feasibility team (hence the wine, in a rather fancy spacious café chosen by Jonathan). I recall during the event that Mr Compost felt

emotional and had tears in his eyes. The others were smiling and laughing. This event was a celebration of success of organisation efforts: the physical leaning-in and gazing at the plans on the table was part of an embodied celebration.

### May-August 16



Figure 73 Resident's BBQ June 2016. Photograph by Lilac.

**Image content:** The gazebos, tables, chairs and feedback board are visible in the grassy area outside the Red Tower. Around ten individuals are present, either sitting or standing in the area. Rosemary Place can be seen beyond the horseshoe wall.

**Layout:** This landscape image is taken by Lilac, who is standing on the stone steps to the walls (thus elevated) and has captured the residents BBQ set-up.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the thesis, the research database, Lilac's own database and on Facebook.

**Experience:** "Local involvement as the project evolves – Residents BBQ 2016 Facebook". (Jonathan also adds this as a key moment.) Lilac's caption gives her value to the project (local involvement being highlighted as a challenge in her timeline above). The set-up in that space was produced by Jonathan, myself, Doug and a new volunteer, showing



organisational value-action in the small grassy area. Value is inherent in those who are currently attending the BBQ—currently this can be attributed to their basic social interaction in this area.

## Afterword



Figure 74. Red Tower Donation Box. Photograph by Jonathan

**Image content:** One Red Tower Donation Box stationed on a table in Jonathan's home.

**Layout:** Landscape shot wherein the focus of the image (the box) is undeniably dominant.

**Velocity:** This image resides in the thesis, the research database, Jonathan's own database and on Facebook. The donation box/mini Red Tower is now located in the actual Red Tower.

**Experience:** Jonathan's time, energy and inspiration in building this box as a way of collecting donations reveals his ongoing 'making a contribution' and organisational value-action. It also brings attention the novel and compact form of the Tower. This box also promotes financial value-action to visitors, making their donation a more novel experience. A similar contraption has been created in the Fishergate Postern.

At this point, the following value-actions have been interpreted within the content above.

- The 'Idea' (hypothetical) value
- 'place-node'/locality value
- organisational value
- home-making value
- 'green' value
- 'making a contribution' value
- revealing heritage
- financial value

The visual toolkit draws from direct experience (and not from coded queries). This reflexivity is useful to hold alongside the other organisations of data and is of use when considering the value-actions inherent in the main bulk of data (as will be carried out in section 7.4). Before this step, brief accounts are given on the use of promotional media designed and utilised by myself and the Red Tower team. Below I discuss both 'paper-based' and digital media.

#### 7.3.4 Paper-based Media

As part of my role with Red Tower I undertook event planning and sought ways to invite local people or recruit volunteers using paper-based posters or flyers. The visual toolkit has been applied to the first leaflet I created below, whilst the rest are located in Appendix Dviii

**Image content:** Postcard designed by myself and a University of York BA Student using Frank's sketch and Lilac's ideas for the engagement process using the plyboard. The main question lies on the verso (back) along with an address. I made use of Frank's sketch design for the Red Tower, which showed his early vision of a fully working Red Tower (complete with people sitting or standing in its outer area, the walls and Rosemary Place).



Figure 75: Open Resident Weekend Feedback postcard, designed by author front and back (2015)

**Layout:** Landscape postcard, the main image takes up the right-hand corner of the postcard. We framed the image with a title, three logos, a tagline and contact details. The verso is laid out to function in the same style as a postcard.

**Velocity:** The image resides in the thesis and the research database. 96 postcards were utilised by resident visitors during the Open Weekend in January 2015. Many were taken away as well and I still have some left over.

**Experience:** The sketch highlights the value of the small grassy area outside as a space for activities. The postcard as a whole highlights collaborative action, although I was non-plussed as to why Lilac briefed us to make a postcard that visitor would give back (as feedback). On the day it worked quite well (people would take two, giving one back); so they acted as both souvenir and feedback tool.

### 7.3.5 Reflecting on Paper-based Media

Posters and flyers could take at least four hours to create over a period of editing. Many of the posters showed collaborative aspects between Red Tower and other groups via the inclusion of their logos or through sharing events (see March 12<sup>th</sup> poster for Edible York). The posters reflected the amount time dedicated to design work and the urgency of the event (i.e. the flood posters). After the designing them the circulation challenge commenced. I advertised our public events within Rosemary Place and Court, Navigation

Road, Walmgate and Foss Islands and became skilled in looking for good locations for placing posters, including tying to lampposts and pinning on community boards. This task was time consuming (often over two hours). During the summer of 2015 (although not recorded in fieldnotes) I put the 'June Flyers' under the cracks of the all main communal doors of the Navigation Road and Rosemary Place/Court flats, in the One Stop and various other communal shops (e.g. laundrettes, café). Isabel, having seen a flyer on the floor of her corridor brought the community boards to my attention.

After the floods, I circulated my feedback forms and posters by posting envelopes through individual letter boxes (after accessing the flats via the tradesman entrance which only worked between 9:00am-1pm). This was generally an awkward task and felt like an encroachment of privacy but it was not without its benefits: strong connections or meaningful conversations were made this way. In June 2016, Isabel and I attached posters to the insides of the main doors of flats and I went to far as to tie or stick laminated posters to street furniture. This, as was later highlighted by Tim, is illegal, whilst posting through people's letter boxes could have been considered flyposting (Tim 2016, Interview 16, ln. 161-165). So, the circulation issue was a legal one; public places may or not be appropriate platforms for show casing heritage projects. However, experimentation within these places (street furniture and local hubs) was a necessary strategy considering how it brought several of the local participants to the project (including Jess, Tim and Isabel).



Figure 76. Community Board in Rosemary Place, photograph by author (2015).

**Image content:** A community board situated in Rosemary Place, within which are pinned both sides of the Red Tower flyer which I had designed and next to this is a poster detailing the next Residents Meeting. A reflection of the student flats behind me is vaguely visible in the Perspex cover of the board.

**Layout:** Landscape shot to focus predominantly on the board but also to include some of the surroundings.

**Velocity:** This image kept within the thesis and research database. The flyer was circulated around the flats (under doors). The poster's other movements are unknown.

**Experience:** I'd designed a flyer to recruit volunteers/interest/donations in June and was glad to discover this board's location. When I placed the flyer up, I noticed the Resident Association's Poster also (which coincidentally asks about the Red Tower in the second to last line). The reflection in the plastic also reiterates the proximity of the student flats to the residential area. Furthermore, the presence of images in Red Tower settings means they take on an equally important role in place at different times and thus potentially add to what I have termed "place-node'/locality value'. A prime example being when, in the



Red Tower workshop, I'd placed images of the project and consultation results on the walls of the room we'd hired (as requested by Priya) (see Red Tower Diaries, 01-03-16). Whilst not documented in the fieldnotes, later Ed had told me he was particularly impressed by this display and had spurred him onto to consider approaching Red Tower to join the TCV Steering Group Meeting.

Some of these images I printed were also available online, via digital platforms. The use of these is now discussed.

### 7.3.6 Digital Media

In this section, I discuss briefly the use of digital and social media by the group. A Red Tower project Facebook public group-page was the first social media platform used by the volunteers, set up ahead of the January Open Residents Weekend in 2015. It primarily provided a platform for volunteers to organise meetings or events and discuss options for the Red Tower. It also became useful for volunteer recruitment and delegating tasks. It now (February 2018) has 155 members and is a public group (which you need permission from the administrators to join). It has over 500 photos, detailing the various events, active work by volunteers and the most recent works at the Red Tower. The 'Cover photo' has been selected as the prominent introductory image on which to carry out the visual toolkit.

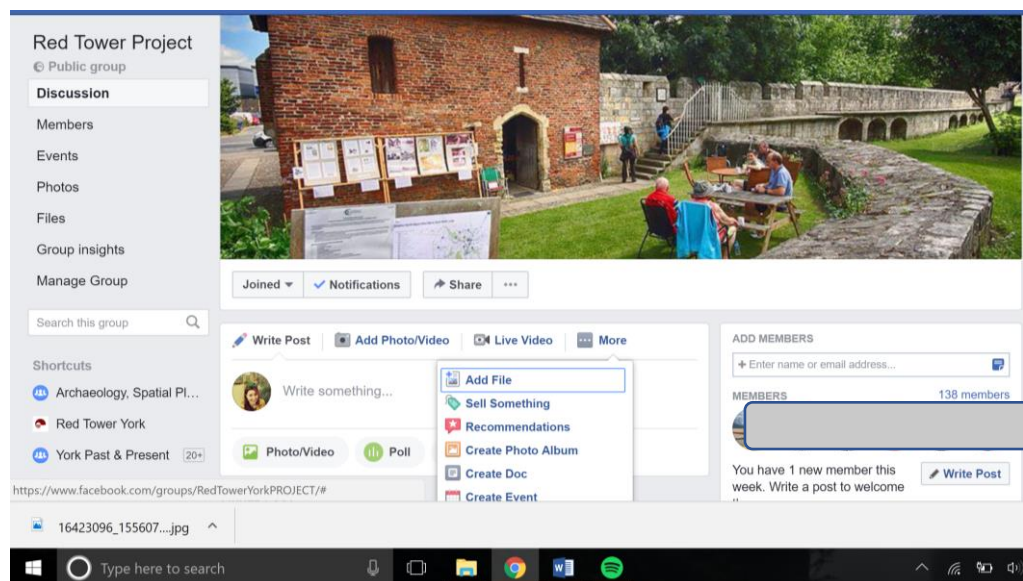


Figure 77. Web-shot of Red Tower Project Facebook 'Group' Page (Red Tower Project 2018)

**Image content:** This photo is of the front outer area of the Red Tower. The photographer is standing on the Rosemary Place side of the horseshoe wall looking at the tables where I am sitting with residents' Martha, Clive, Doug and volunteer Barny. It is a bright day and a couple of Wallwalkers are making their way up the walls. You can also see the Friends of York Walls interpretation boards in the background and the flood relief board in the foreground (put up by Jonathan).

**Layout:** Somewhat fisheye landscape shot which captures the layout of the two walls (horse-shoe and city walls) and the different uses of the area (walking or sitting).

**Velocity:** This screen shot resides in the thesis and research database, whilst the original image is, as discussed, available on Facebook. The cover photo often changes so I cannot guarantee it will remain in place after the publication of this thesis.

**Experience:** Overall this gives an impression of the different flows within the area. The path of the city walls encourages movement and the interpretation boards to read. Within the horse-shoe wall it is quiet and relaxed area with a few people to talk to (it acts like an eddy next to a pathway of movement).

In addition, the '**Red Tower York**' Page was created in the summer of 2015, ahead of the first Heritage Open Day, to essentially showcase the events that were being discussed (this strategy was considered as more public facing). This has 431 likes, 434 followers and 171 photos.

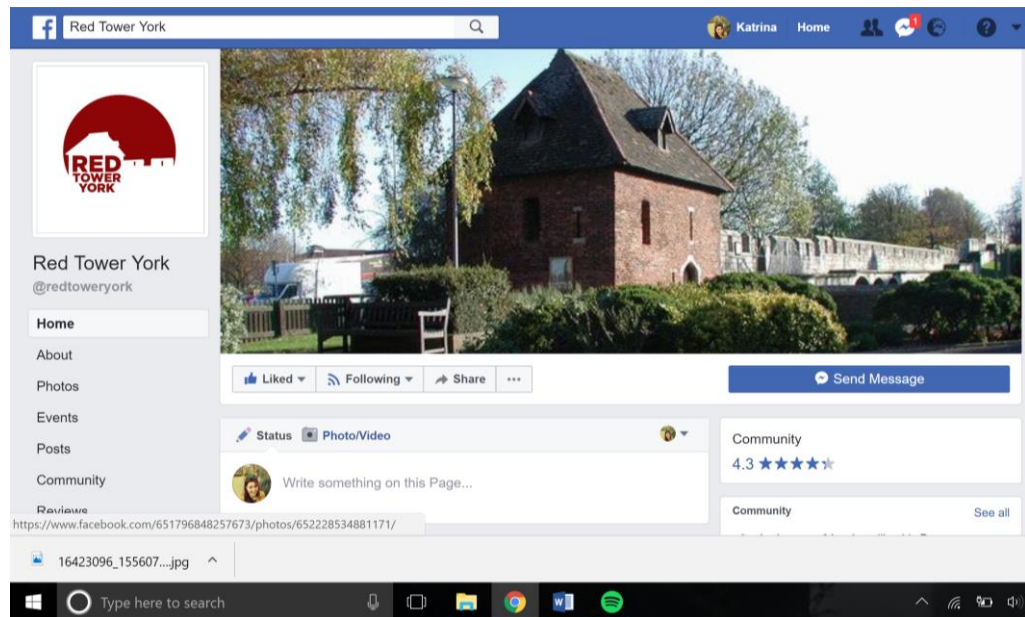


Figure 78. Web-shot of Red Tower York Home Page. (Red Tower York 2018a).

**Image content:** The Red Tower is off centre and the dark contrasting colours are at odds with the white blue sky.

**Layout:** The profile of the building, its shape and dormer windows are well highlighted from this angle, as is the connection to the city walls. The Red Tower logo is situated on the left as the profile image.

**Velocity:** This web-shot resides in the thesis and research database. Again, it is expected that the cover photo will change.

**Experience:** A personal interpretation is that this is a bad photograph. My experience with the group suggests that the team (and myself) became used to this image as it is re-used elsewhere.

Lastly, I created the **Red Tower Twitter** account during the feasibility project in January 2016. The Twitter page has (in February 2018) 485 followers and 28 photos

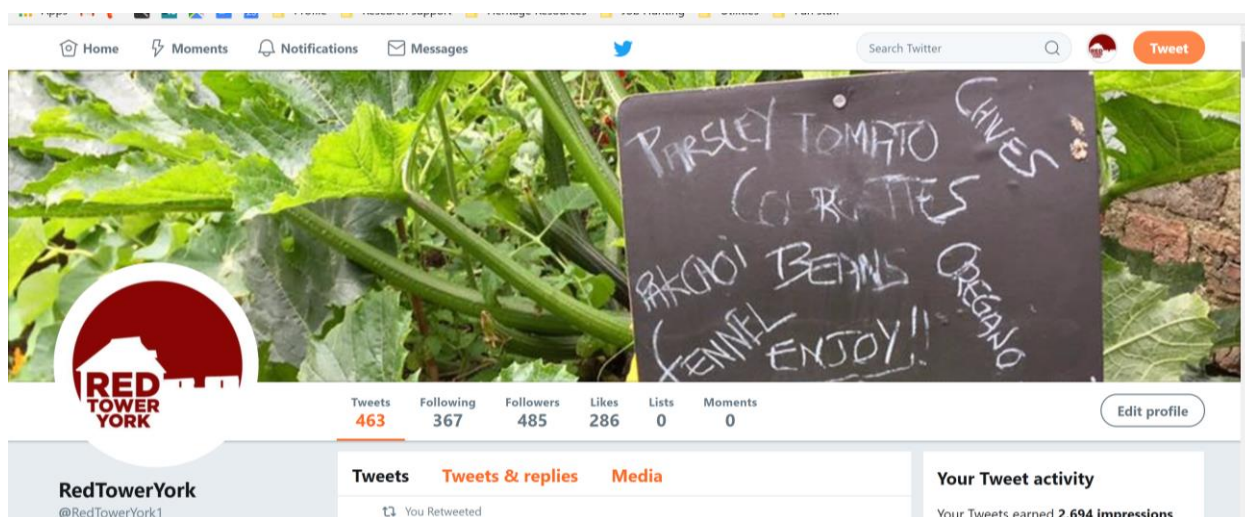


Figure 79. Web-shot of Red Tower Twitter Home Page (Red Tower York 2018b).

**Image content:** This web-shot captures the Twitter Page, the 'Edible Bed' cover photograph and the Red Tower logo.

**Layout:** As with all twitter pages, the profile image is situated on the left and at the top right. The cover image dominates the background (with less framing than that of Facebook).

**Velocity:** This web-shot resides in the thesis and research database. The original homepage is available on twitter.

**Experience:** I still manage this site and recently updated the page to show the Red Tower logo and changed the edible bed image slightly—this was purposefully chosen to promote the 'green' ethos of the project.

## The Red Tower Website

The creation of the website signifies an evolution of the Red Tower CIC. It essentially acts to consolidate the social enterprises' objectives and for groups to make bookings when the building is open for business.

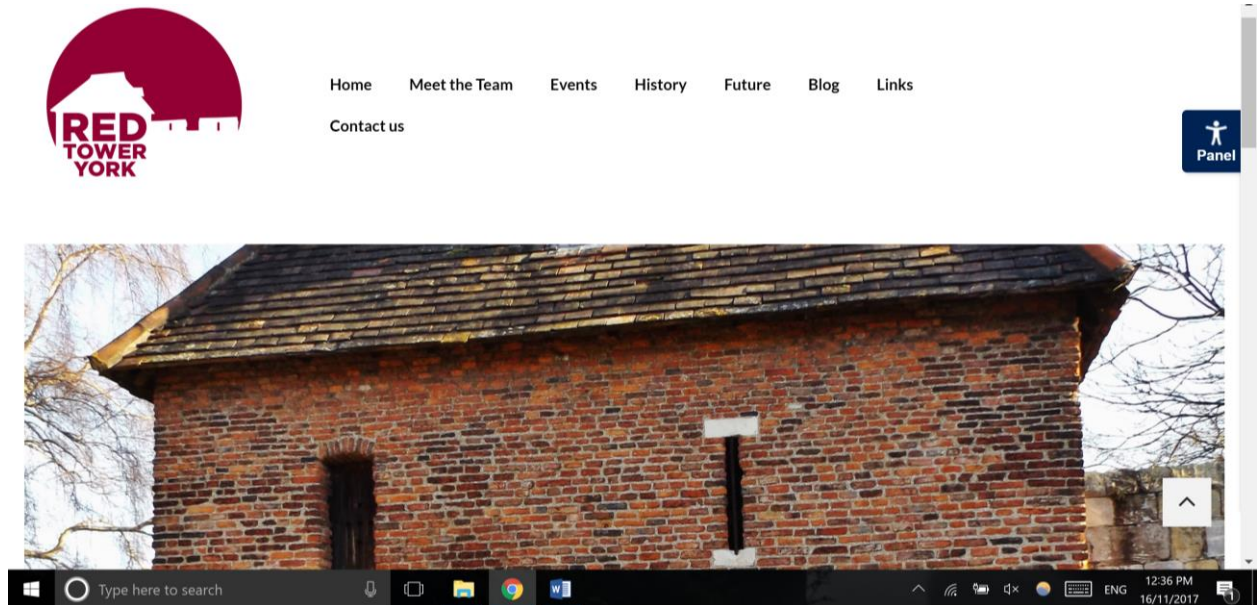


Figure 80. Web-shot of the Red Tower York Website Home Page (Red Tower York 2018c).

**Image content:** The homepage includes eight different images of the Red Tower from different perspectives and different times of day, changing after five seconds.

**Layout:** The logo features top left, as with all profile images, whilst the menu tabs run across the top of the page. The page is thereafter dominated by images of the tower and then lastly the 'vision' statement.

**Velocity:** This web-shot resides in the thesis and research database. The original homepage is available online.

**Experience:** On the homepage, directly beneath the image, lies the vision statement:

"Our vision for the Red Tower is to bring this historic building to life by offering an inclusive, welcoming space for creative, learning and social activities, run by local people, encouraging local and wider community participation. We will achieve this by creating and curating an ancient magical space that offers a unique oasis in our busy city".

The placing of the vision statement on the homepage reinforces the purpose of the website to act in the similar way as the logo: to stand for the Red Tower team's identity and purpose.



## The Red Tower Logo

The Red Tower logo was created by two York college students who were briefed by myself, Lilac and Tash (in consultation with Sarah, the interpretation designer). This logo was chosen by 5 of the Red Tower team including those aforementioned and Mr Compost.



Figure 81 Logo launch - another step towards formalising the group's identity, photograph by TASH

**Image content:** Myself, Tash, Lilac and the two students, standing outside the Red Tower, holding a canvas bag with the Red Tower logo printed on the front.

**Layout:** Landscape to capture five bodies into one frame.

**Velocity:** The resides in the thesis and research database. It also features on the Red Tower Group Facebook page.

**Experience:** As highlighted by Tash's caption, the Red Tower logo formulised the Red Tower and the team's identity. In fieldnotes, the interpretation designers also attributed a logo to credibility and compacting information into one image to appeal to specific audiences (Sarah 2016, Appendix D.ii, 22-03-16). Thus, the choice of the Red Tower logo (designed by students from York college) was a conscious decision to create a functional image to promote the value of the tower to others.



Figure 82. Red Tower Logo © Cameron (2017).

**Image content:** One red circle with white silhouette of the Tower and bold title in red.

**Layout:** Red Tower located to the bottom left (title within this), with city walls to the bottom right.

**Velocity:** The logo resides in the thesis and the research database. It has featured on all Red Tower digital platforms and paper-based media since summer 2016.

**Experience:** The logo details a visible connection between tower and walls. The red circle seems to sweep the eye up and over the tower, back down to the walls. It is a fun image and during the selection process, we identified the appeal to children due to the bold colours and block-out shape. We identified an opportunity for background block-colour to be changed or potentially take on other images.

### 7.3.7 Reflection on Digital Media

Through the NVivo attribution process, the slipperiness of media (in and of place) became highly apparent and their velocity (and impact) was a challenge to track in the settings of collaborative work. Many of the digital images were circulated as both paper-based and digital forms, the movements between one person to another showing strategies of collaboration between people. The design and circulation demonstrate the will to 'propagate' further values to others and attempts to attract people to be involved in the

project. Thus, the design of posters can be subsumed as a 'visual value-action' between different groups, in a similar way to that which was discussed in Chapter Six. However, considering the collaborative nature of these visual value-actions, it is possible to consider how they are part of 'organisational value-action'—and attempts towards best practice. In addition, the several images provided by Red Tower Supporters shows my collaborative relationships with these participants. I was not equipped for to gather photographs from other groups such as the Wallwalkers or residents spoken to in place, demonstrating an indication that (as per Jaarsma 2005) that researchers cannot forecast the level and quality of collaboration in their initial research design.

Having reached this point and reflected on how the visual media demonstrates different forms of value-action, I now move onto ways in which these can be discerned more clearly in the textual data.

#### **7.4. Overall analysis: Digging further into the codes**

The above sections have demonstrated how a project can change over time (including the people involved, and the values, visions, and other themes) and how visual media can show different value-actions. In this section, the data is dug further in order to address the Place-node Research Questions. The broad theme of 'Values' (as shown in the graphics above) particularly required further examination. Using NVivo, coding queries were generated which were then saved into a Data Map (see figure 84 below). Each coding query is hyperlinked directly to data coded to all the themes (i.e. values) and segmented into different phases for each of the groups. This Map helped to dig further into the data, to sift through the codes in order to answer the research questions.



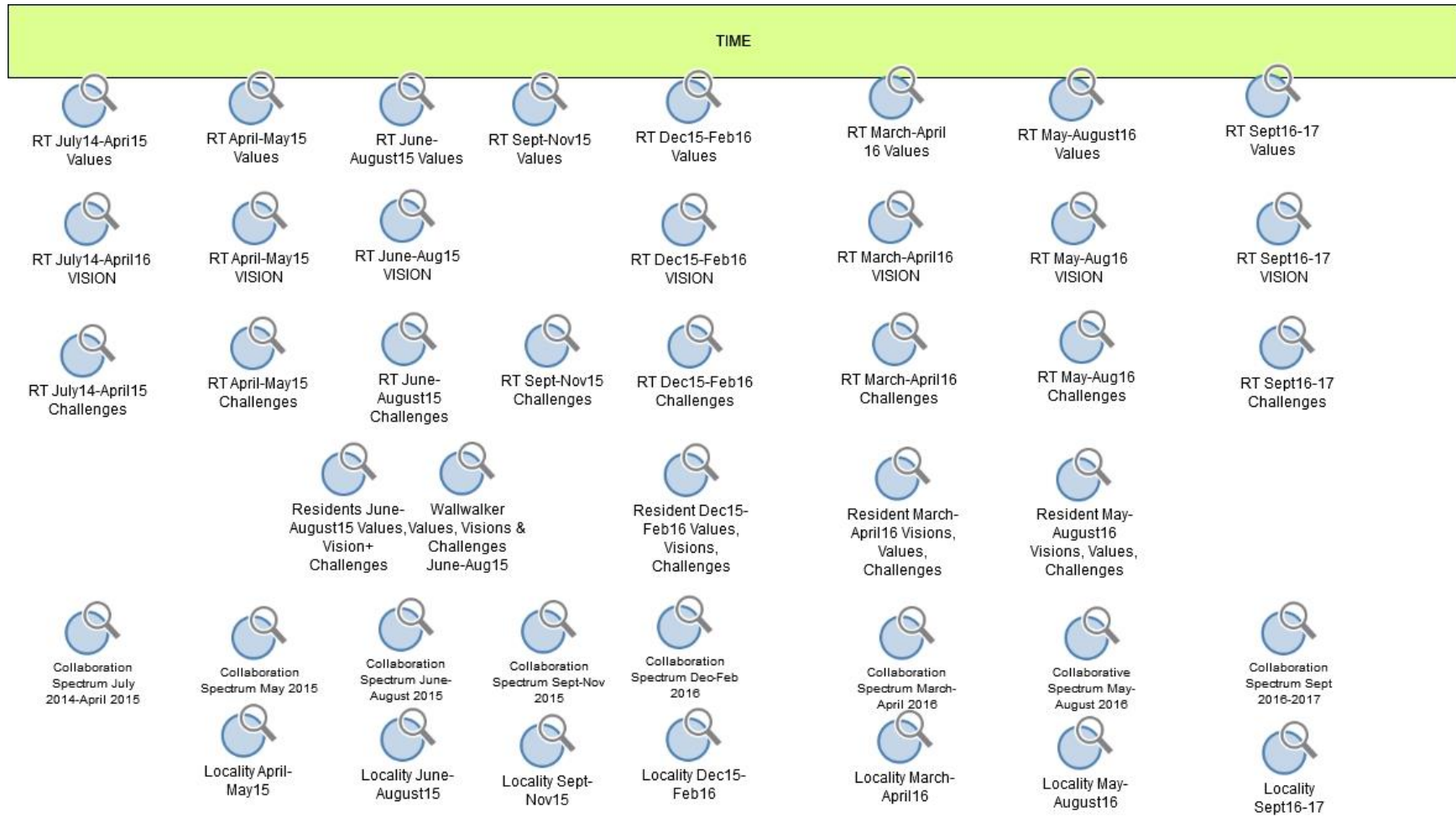


Figure 83. Data Map screen shot from NVivo.

Gaps signify where coding query returned no results. The Red Tower Supporters (RT) data are separated into the different themes whilst I combined themes for the Resident's and Wallwalkers (to save space).

## I. What form do value-activities take towards the heritage asset?

When clicking on the hyperlink of the 'Values' coding queries within the NVivo Data Map, many coded references emerge from the data (fieldnotes, interviews and photographs). Sifting through these manually I further categorised these 'values' into value sub-themes. These I drew initially from the value-actions from the photographic section above but eventually developed into more effective headings. These sub-themes I have colour-coded in the table below:

Table 12. Colour Code Key for Value sub-themes

COLOUR CODE KEY FOR VALUE SUB-THEMES	
<p><b>1. 'Place-node' or locality based value:</b> Positive statements and actions attributed to the place-node or locality by participants--or how some actions are impacted by 'being in place'.</p>	<p><b>7.Green value-action:</b> Environmental values (growing, recycling, looking after wildlife) but also includes involves food circulation.</p>
<p><b>2. 'TIM ethos/thinking':</b> Somewhat anarchic ethos of 'just doing it' largely proposed by Lilac (being leader of TIM) moto: Fun, Fast, Cheap, Local.</p>	<p><b>8.Wider York (CYC) value:</b> Values (uttered/acted upon) that are relevant to local authority priorities.</p>
<p><b>3.Transactions:</b> Exchange or donation of things or finance.</p>	<p><b>9.History meets present:</b> Uttered statements about why history is important to the present and actions which correlate to these statements. Also how some people see or wish to reveal history in the present.</p>
<p><b>4.Kids:</b> Showing how kids value the place-node by accounts of their activities and artefacts left behind.</p>	<p><b>10.Organisational value-action:</b> Movement of a 'best practice' nature towards the setting up of a project or event, often in collaboration with others. I have subsumed</p>

	Visual Value-Action as part of this value sub theme, considering the findings above.
<b>5.Community work:</b> Perceiving or acting on the benefits of community & social interaction. This can also include participants' perception of others' benefitting from being involved in community work/social interaction.	<b>11.Explorative value-action:</b> Access to discovery or pathfinding across localities and place-nodes.
<b>6.Making a contribution:</b> This is 'handiwork' and the contribution of time and physical energy rather than donation financial or objects (see transactions).	<b>12.Home-making:</b> Accounts or actions towards making a place homely, comfortable and more hospitable for selves and others.

Table 13 below reveals more clearly than the coding charts discussed previously the concise quality of different values (uttered and acted upon) for the Red Tower Supporters from all different data sources (interviews, fieldnotes and photographs). Over the course of the project, these values change—and many are connected to the value sub-theme titled 'Place-node/locality based value'.

Table 13. Value sub-themes identified in Red Tower Supporter data

July14-April15	April-May15	June-August15	Sept-Nov15	Dec15-Feb16	March-April16	May-Aug 16	Sept16-17
2."Fun, Fast, Cheap, Local" TIM Moto  1. 'place-node'/locality value: sharing ideas (post-its)	1. 'place-node'/locality value: sharing ideas (leaflets) with others in place	3. Donations of 'stuff'  4. Kids having fun in place  8. CYC's valuing visitors being spread across city	2. 'TIM thinking'  1. discussing building's 'energy' and space upstairs 'as the nugget'	5. Enjoying the 'Community' Work during Christmas event  6. Making a contribution during Christmas event	5. Enjoying community work  10. organisational value-action (red tower workshop-	4. Offering potential kids activity idea (Libby)  5. Enjoying community work/ interaction	--Making a contribution (Red Tower finance box)  3. promoting financial value-action to visitors

<p>with others in place</p> <p>9. History meets new ideas: promoting &amp; discussing 'new idea' for Walls</p> <p>12. Home-making (volunteers warming themselves by the fire pit)</p>	<p>4. Kids having fun in place (running around with balloons)</p> <p>1. discussing building's 'energy' after reiki healing</p> <p>7. Green value-action (edible bed &amp; gardening)</p> <p>12. Homely value-action-cleaning &amp; sweeping</p> <p>6. Making a contribution (carpentry)</p>	<p>(valuing explorative value-action)</p> <p>10. Organisational value-action (best practice-Tash's tips)</p> <p>10. "Catalysing the project" and raising the profile (Lilac's role)</p> <p>6. Making a contribution (carpentry)</p> <p>12. Homely value-action—Patricia's experience upstairs</p> <p>5. Enjoying the 'Community' Work (Claire, Linda and Ed's roles)</p> <p>2. "Fun, Fast, Cheap, Local"—the TIM Moto</p>		<p>7. Green value-action- hot apple juice &amp; apples</p> <p>6. Provision of entertainment in setting</p> <p>3. Donations of stuff (food &amp; cleaning product provision)</p> <p>10. Organisational value-action (best practice—flood volunteer tips)</p> <p>1. Revealing the character (Frank's role)</p> <p>1. discussing building's space</p>	<p>developing next steps)</p> <p>1. discussing the building's space</p> <p>9. historical interest &amp; imagination (school teacher &amp; storyteller)</p> <p>10. Commitment value-action (volunteers becoming trustees)</p> <p>6. Making a contribution</p> <p>1. Place Affiliation (Jonathan used to live on a council estate)</p> <p>1. discussing the buildings location as useful for meetings (Matt's comments)</p>	<p>5. Attending event in order to pursue community goal (Tim at BBQ)</p> <p>10. Creation of Red Tower logo</p> <p>1. use of horse-shoe wall by volunteers to sit on (image of Linda, Matt and Martha)</p>	<p>5. Enjoying community work/ interaction</p> <p>1. 'discussing' building's space (use of building as a art space)</p> <p>7. Green value (edible bed)</p> <p>1. Valuing the buildings location as useful for meetings (attending the BBQ)</p>
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		1. discussing building's 'energy' (and light)- Patricia's interview			5. Reflexive/ celebratory value-action		
		9. "Modern meets heritage" "Best of both worlds" The heritage 'edge'— Patricia's interview					

## 2. How do these values correspond to the 'vision' of the heritage group?

The 'visions' for the Red Tower (i.e. what it would be used for) developed over time. What was discovered in toothcombing the vision data is that the codes could also be colour-coded to the sub-nodes (see table x below).

Table 14 Visions colour-coded to value sub themes in Red Tower Supporter data

July14-April15	April-May15	June-August15	Sept-Nov15	Dec15-Feb16	March-April16	May-June16	Sept16-17
3. Cooking space	4. Creche/ play area	1. Demarcation between activities upstairs& downstairs:	3. Space to hire for volunteers over the winter	5. Community space (with toilet and café, & Frank's vision of the building)	5. Surrogate working men's club (Jonathan's vision)	5. Vision of building serving need of community realised (via BBQ)	5. the vision of utilising an historic building to serve the needs of the community
7. Growing Space	--Business hire	1. Kitchen fitted out downstairs for catering. "lovely and warm and happy" upstairs for multiple activities.		8. 'Bad vision' during consultation (by researcher): what if upgrade makes	5. Move from café to community space through my Consultation Report & feedback forms	8. Vision of Red Tower interacting with rest York (demarcating a	
3. Café	7. Growing space (edible bed realised)						
3. Business hire	1. Making use of the						

<p>3. "Red Tower chutney"</p> <p>9. Network of the walls</p> <p>5. Space for different kinds of volunteering</p>	<p>'light' and space upstairs</p>	<p>4. Space for interaction (kids)</p> <p>7. Growing space (getting bigger!)</p> <p>5. Part of a local hub network in area (Ed's photo)</p>		<p>rent &amp; land value go up?</p> <p>7. Growing space (bridging between Rosemary Place and Red Tower, via Peter, Edible York)</p> <p>5. Collaboration vision (building on partnerships for the future)</p> <p>3. Cinema</p> <p>5. Community space realised after MP &amp; Two Ridings meeting</p>	<p>(highlighting need for flexible community space and business venue)</p> <p>1. Franks visions for the building and inside materials</p> <p>10. Vision for more organisational structure to take control of building (Red Tower workshop)</p> <p>8. Harry's vision stating Red Tower could be York-wide and national model</p>	<p>wider 'remit' of attention)</p> <p>8. Logo realised (with connection to the walls)</p>	
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Using the 'colour coding' approach, I discovered that the value sub-themes correspond to different visions. For instance—the green value-action by participants helped to realise the vision of the Red Tower's edible bed and growing space, and this later extended into a new vision for further collaborative efforts with Edible York and Rosemary Place. The community values (enjoying interaction and work) help to realise the vision of the Red Tower as a community space through several events at different points. Other values changed as the vision for the tower became more solid: for instance, the somewhat anarchic TIM ethos is very prevalent at the beginning of the project but eventually becomes subsumed into the more structured organisational format by March 2016 through the formation of the Red Tower CIO (later CIC). Through this understanding of the data, I can see that there are times when values 'blend together' through action, resulting in some of the ongoing visions becoming reality. The emergence of a key vision is due also the Real Junk Food Project not coming to fore, the emergence of COMA funding (assisted by the CYC) and the consultation period after the floods. Obviously, the building's complete upgrade (expected March 2018) will be the ultimate realisation of the overall vision of what the tower space can achieve. Lastly, one observation I made when people were describing their visions for the project was that they would use their arms and bodies to describe their revisioning of the space that they could see (i.e. Gabbi, with the toilet). Visions are part of embodied human-action and a physical creation in the minds' eye of what we wish to see.

### **3. If there are challenges & contrasting values from other parties, what are these?**

As with the vision data, challenges and contrasting views could also be coded to the value-sub themes, but the toothcombing process was less tight to different groups (i.e. it is very difficult to exclude the Residents challenges from this coding query despite my best efforts but of course, their challenges were the supporters' challenges also). Reading through extracts, I tended to pass over the references within the Challenges which were to be discussed in the next section of local collaboration.

Table 15. Challenges colour-coded to value sub-themes in Red Tower Supporter data

July14-April15	April-May15	June-August15	Sept-Nov15	Dec15-Feb16	March-April16	May-June16	Sept16-17
<p>5. Challenges noted with the Resident's Association and closure of Space 109</p> <p>3. Too many café's in York?</p>	<p>10. Lack of time (student volunteers)</p> <p>4. Keeping tower clean upstairs (dust from rafters)</p> <p>1. Accessing upstairs via ladder ('at own risk' sign)</p>	<p>5. Challenges of Community engagement in an area of deprivation</p> <p>1. 'natural barriers' to social interaction inc. walls, rivers and roads (Ed)</p> <p>10. Time &amp; money pressures on volunteers</p> <p>10. York Real Junk Food Project (key collaborator) doesn't come to fore</p>	<p>10. Lack of time able to be given by volunteers</p> <p>1. No amenities in the building to attract others</p>	<p>8. Bad weather &amp; flooding—destruction of all Red Tower pop up café donations</p> <p>10. Needing to get word out to flood-affected and those consulted for feedback (in sensitive manner)</p> <p>10. Not getting swept away by flood-aftermath whilst doing</p>	<p>3. Not knowing how much to charge for the hire of the building (hard to ask and get an answer)</p> <p>1. Difficulty of the wall divide becomes more evident during flood relief activities</p> <p>1. Insight into challenge of demarcation of inner space (kitchen &amp; commercial products might</p>	<p>5. TCV challenge in trying to erect a steering group to aid Red Tower funding progress</p> <p>5. Issue of community apathy with Tower</p> <p>10+1. Poster circulation and getting the word out for the BBQ</p> <p>10. Getting people to interact with the 'feedback</p>	<p>8. Delays to utility installation by CYC</p> <p>8. Selecting events whilst works were underway</p> <p>3. Grant application work (tedious and time-consuming)</p>



		<p>1. Lack of amenities for Pop up cafes</p> <p>3. Hoping Red Tower doesn't become 'a play pen for middle classes' or too commercial</p> <p>1. Not losing the character of upstairs through upgrade (i.e. the lighting)</p> <p>10. difficulties in using social media (time consuming &amp; not always guaranteed interaction)</p>		<p>feasibility project</p> <p>1. Difficulty with community engagement ('apathy', doors locked, divide between walls &amp; Rosemary Place)</p> <p>8. How to stop 'bad vision' (increased rent) coming to fore?</p> <p>10. Challenges for researcher taking on all feedback and distilling it</p>	<p>dominate small space)</p> <p>10. Planning Application for SAM and LBC at the same time might be difficult</p>	<p>board' at the BBQ</p>	
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				10. Getting space back after cleaning products fill the tower.			
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The snippets above demonstrate several of the key challenges that the Red Tower team and myself faced during the progress of the project over the full time-period. These have also been colour coded to the sub-nodes above however, I did notice that it was harder to place these under one sub-theme only, particularly with challenges that were out of human control (i.e. the floods). In some cases, therefore, two colour-codes were attributed to the challenges.

The contrasting visions and values of the other groups (Residents and Wallwalkers) also need to be discussed at this point. Whilst I was not able to gather the same amount of data over time from the other two groups I have listed examples of their values, visions and challenges below, starting first with the Residents' data.

Table 16. Combined Values, Visions and Challenges colour-coded to value sub-themes for Residents data

Time Phase	Residents values & value-actions	Visions	Challenges
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<p><b>June-August 2015</b></p>	<p>3. Donating value-action and sharing insight by Isabel</p> <p>6. Making a contribution to the local area (Cathy &amp; Sally: i.e. litter-picking, volunteering in RA, knit &amp; natter group)</p> <p>1. Proximity considered helpful in local area (Sally &amp; Cathy)</p> <p>3. Tourism industry is a good thing for York (Sally)</p> <p>6. Making a contribution: Attended Space 109 as a volunteer (Martha)</p> <p>10. Organisational value-action: Ringing the local councillor to discuss ward funding for the local area (Martha)</p>	<p>5. A Resident Association working in harmony (Cathy)</p> <p>5. More integrated community between different people (i.e. students and locals) (Sally)</p> <p>5. New resident association (just Walmgate) (Sally)</p> <p>4. Another Space 109 to keep the kiddies occupied (Martha)</p>	<p>5. Lack of people in Resident Association &amp; personality clashes (reported by Sally &amp; Cathy)</p> <p>5. Community don't mix or not getting 'irate' enough about things or apathetic (Sally &amp; Cathy)</p> <p>1. RA holding negative views of the Red Tower (how much work was needed for building) (Cathy)</p> <p>10. Movement of community council officers, changing of Department names, hard to keep connected (Cathy &amp; Sally)</p> <p>8. Council's ability to look after their properties limited by central government (and privatisation of services), selling off of council flats for 'holiday lets', and building of student flats (as gated areas), leading to a loss of community (Sally)</p>
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			<p>5. Visitors can't sleep because of disturbance upstairs (Cathy)</p> <p>10. Lack of ability for time commitment (Sally)</p> <p>3. Loss of Space 109 due to lack of finances (Sally)</p> <p>1. Concern over parking spaces if Red Tower was successful (Sally)</p> <p>4. Anger at the disruption caused by local kids (Martha)</p> <p>5. Older generation (who knew about community work) dying (Martha)</p>
<p><b>Dec15-Feb16</b></p>	<p>9. Historical interest &amp; 'imagination' (ghost Wallwalkers)</p> <p>12. Homely value-action (act of washing up)</p>	<p>7. Rosemary Place Garden Project in tarmac area (Sally)</p> <p>9. Idea of horrible history event at Red Tower (Pat)</p>	<p>10. Coping with impact and gaining information after the floods (Doug, Jess, Sally, MP meeting)</p> <p>8. illness &amp; mobility issues in area (Cathy, Jess)</p>

	<p>11. Explorative value-action: Resident tells us her kids loved to visit tower (getting up early to visit it) (Pat)</p> <p>12. Homely value-action: Knitting outside the Red Tower (Jess)</p>		<p>5. Residents Association has since folded</p> <p>1+5. Division of place, no interaction between communities and apathy (Sally)</p> <p>1. Disliking idea of busy 'canteen' in area around Red Tower (Julie)</p>
<p><b>March-April16</b></p>	<p>11. Explorative value-action: Attending the Red Tower Xmas event (Jess)</p> <p>10. Organisational value-action (Doug helping move flood stuff and Jess asking to help set up a resident get together)</p> <p>10. Organisational value-action (stepping up of resident volunteers to help form Red Tower CIO—Jess)</p> <p>5. Enjoying Community interaction/work: smiling and chatting to people in place (Jess)</p>	<p>5. Red Tower as a community hub for local area (Jess)</p> <p>5. Generally increased community interaction in the area (Jess)</p> <p>4. Red Tower as cinema and place for kiddies to visit (Isabel &amp; Craig)</p>	<p>8. Impact of the floods (Isabel &amp; Craig)</p> <p>1+5. Physical barrier to community interaction seen in 'box' flats and the horseshoe wall (Jess)</p> <p>5. Walls are physical barrier to those with limited mobility (Jess)</p> <p>8+5. People feeling upset about the floods and the way the council have treated them, and isolating themselves back in their flats afterwards (Jess)</p>

	<p>5. Social media interaction (Jess)</p> <p>9. Historical interest value-action: becoming part of history in being involved in Red Tower (Jess)</p> <p>6. Homely-value-action: Being able to get back to one's own space after being away (Isabel &amp; Craig)</p> <p>11. Watching tourists and visitors getting lost after Red Tower (Isabel &amp; Craig)</p> <p>9. Historical interest: watching the 50s years of York video at Red Tower (Isabel &amp; Craig)</p> <p>1. Discussing the space of the building (Isabel &amp; Craig)</p>		<p>1. Cars cutting through area inappropriately (Isabel &amp; Craig)</p> <p>1. People getting lost after walls (Isabel &amp; Craig)</p> <p>1. Mobility issues within tower: can't access upstairs (Isabel &amp; Craig)</p>
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<p><b>May-August16</b></p>	<p>10. Organisational value-action: several residents attended the TCV steering committee (Sally, Jess, Tom, Zara)</p> <p>5. Community- value-action: attending the Red tower BBQ to seek further connection for new Residents Association (Tim)</p> <p>10. Organisational value-action: volunteering for other projects in York (Tim)</p> <p>9. Heritage-edge of Red Tower seen as a Unique Selling Point and could help support it financially (where Space 109 couldn't) (Tim)</p> <p>1. Small size not seen as an issue but an asset (Tim)</p> <p>5. Enjoying community interaction/work (Martha, Tim)</p>	<p>7. Ongoing vision of Rosemary Place Garden Project (Sally)</p> <p>5. New Resident's Association (Tim)</p> <p>1. Enjoying sitting in place/on walls (chap with beer one evening)</p> <p>3. Valuing potential provision of services (for mental health issues)</p>	<p>3. Concern Sally feels Red Tower is absorbing potential funds in the area (Matt)</p> <p>3. Concern that some residents feel critical about the Red Tower with regards to its funding recently "money isn't everything" (Libby)</p> <p>5. Sally's and Tom's dispute over garden project</p> <p>9. Walmgate historically seen as a stigmatised part of York (Tim)</p> <p>10. Nervous about flyposting (Tim)</p> <p>5. Clash of personalities in previous RA (Tim)</p> <p>1. Walls barrier to those with mobility issues: (Martha and Clive walking all way round to get to green area)</p> <p>8. Posters taken down from community board</p>
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	1. Enjoying being in place (Doug)		
	10. Organisational Value-action (Doug helping with chairs- thumbs up!)		

Here it is clear that the residents I have spoken to and interviewed have their own values and value-actions, vision and challenges connected to the area they live in, some of which overlap or contrast with those of Red Tower. The vision of the Rosemary Garden Project does seem to be for Sally in competition with the Red Tower, despite the sharing of key values (green value-action) and key connections with partners (Edible York). (Noticeably, Sally would often make use of her arms to explain her vision of the area whilst standing on the tarmac). On the other hand, Tim's vision completely incorporates the Red Tower as useful arena to start the new Resident's Association. Moreover, the residents' challenges interacted with the Red Tower project. For instance, the loss of Space 109 (the previous community hub), when discussed in interviews, showed that this was a valued resource for the community, and led to disappointment in two cases, by Sally and Martha. In addition, the flood aftermath (which caused a need for both 'Home-making value-action' and 'Community Work') highlighted a deeper challenge of continuing the community engagement beyond individual flats, as highlighted by Jess. The timing of the floods in line with the Red Tower feasibility project may also have caused contrasts in values (as indicated by the chat with Libby towards the end of the project)

The following table shows the Wallwalkers value sub-themes after a group interview held outside the Red Tower in August 2015.



Table 17. Combined Values, Visions and Challenges colour-coded to value sub-themes for Wallwalkers data

Wallwalker values & value-actions	Visions	Challenges
<p>11. Explorative Value-Action: Walking the 'scenic route' along the walls to get away from traffic whilst shopping</p> <p>9. Parts of York have the potential to be beautiful</p> <p>7. York is seen as cycle friendly</p> <p>5. Tour do Yorkshire a 'pinnacle celebrating Yorkshireness'</p> <p>9. York has a strong image and brand (personality)</p> <p>3. Anti-financial value-action: Like being able to walk into Red Tower and not pay</p> <p>5. Like being able to have it as a community space (as researcher has suggested) in order to stop for a chat</p> <p>1. 'place-node'/locality value: Red Tower can 'draw you in' when open</p> <p>--"very sweet looking, in proportion building, isn't it? It's not overwhelming", and "atmospheric".</p> <p>-- "makes you proud, or makes me proud to be Yorkshire because it's just so beautiful."</p>	<p>9. Terry's Chocolate Factory as a museum</p> <p>7. More gardens &amp; green spaces in York</p> <p>8. "York needs a definite something, doesn't it? It needs an image for the future, doesn't it?"</p> <p>4. Red Tower could be useful for kids, education and history trails</p> <p>3. Used for films (i.e. for Halloween)</p> <p>1. "getting some electric, little electric candles to go upstairs just along the beams or in the little alcoves"</p>	<p>3. Concerns that shops in York are just selling 'naff'</p> <p>8. Traffic in York is 'atrocious', not designed for level of tourism</p> <p>3. Art Gallery now charging entry fees (no longer feel able to visit)</p> <p>--Dislike Stonebow</p> <p>1. Red Tower is 'part of the furniture': walk past and say 'its lovely' but walk past</p> <p>10. Worried Red Tower might get neglected if no-one looks after it</p> <p>5. Or that others will 'take advantage of it', or graffiti it, disrespect it</p> <p>1. Concern that over use of electric lighting would affect 'excitement' of the tower</p>

The Wallwalkers identify many values for York and Red Tower as part of York. Their focus comes from the value-action they are undertaking (shopping) and so this commercial action seems to seep through the conversation (including discussions on how they cannot access the art gallery). But perhaps more predominantly, they discussed 'foot and/or cycle-based leisure activities and visions (green-spaces), whilst cars and traffic are seen to be a concern. They are also able to consider values of the tower in highly specific ways, that it 'draws' them in, and their vision is highly specified to the use of lighting. This ability to offer such ideas draws on what I have referred to 'place-node'/locality value—seeing the value of place and using it to create more practical visions and conceptions of that space.

To summarise here, whilst the project went through its particular stages, the Resident's had their own issues/visions to address, some of which overlapped considerably with those of the Red Tower. There were examples of a good relationships, competitive in others, and apathy has been highlighted. The Wallwalkers are highly evaluative and their insight is foot-based. Because I was not able to track their opinions over time, there is a limitation as to how their values overlap with that of the Red Tower, although the Wallwalkers comments do reflect (and supplement) the feedback by the 160 visitors as is highlighted in the Consultation Report.

Reflection on how the sharing of values occurred between groups (i.e. through engagement and participation from a Red Tower position) is discussed through the next two questions.

#### **4. What is the relationship between heritage asset project, and i. the level of collaboration in place?**

In terms of collaboration, the project remains a relatively small one in comparison to the previous case studies (Tithe Barn and Holgate Windmill). It is relevant to draw attention again to the Appendix D.vi (figure 84) which shows the amount of people interacting with the project over time. Over forty people and organisations took active involvement in the development of the project at different stages. Some of the organisations were locally based (TCV, Morrisons) whilst others were York-wide (CYC, Edible York). Reflecting on this further, the majority of supporters actively involved (particularly during the summer of 2015) were not from the immediate local area. This suggests that proximity did not lead to

high interaction, as was characteristic of the previous two asset case studies; only a handful of residents became actively involved.

At this point I am able to reflect more thoroughly on how collaboration occurred despite differences. Thus, the following backgrounds of the initial core team, other notable supporters and Red Tower CIC directors are presented below in non-demographic terms.

Lilac never went to university, but she ran her own heritage regeneration business and her husband was a lecturer at the University of York. Jonathan was brought up on a council estate in Yorkshire and later worked at the council; his wife was also brought up in one of the Walmgate council flats. Jenny worked at York St Johns and was sister-in-law to one of the ladies in the flats. Tim was a businessman and community worker who had lived in the Walmgate council flats for thirty-two years. Jess was a therapist, who suffered from chronic fatigue (and thus, struggled with a lack of capacity) and had lived in the flats for four years. Mr Compost the compost man living in the North of York: he was a bit of an enigma, involved in many green volunteer projects. Claire, the council worker had originally come from Scotland had also lived in the Walmgate area (she also stated she didn't want to the Red Tower to be a "middle class play-pen"). Matt was initially a homeless man and an ex-offender, well known around Walmgate but became even more well-known as a volunteer after the floods. Kayleigh, whom Matt collaborated with, was a PA for one of the businesses on Walmgate and lived in the affluent part of York.

I also identify my own differences. My southerner background and academic occupation was occasional brought to fore during interactions with participants. For instance—although not documented in the fieldnotes—Lilac and Claire often asked me not to try to use academic language in emails. Moreover, during an interview one of the residents offered to gift me her whisky glasses because she thought I had a "good upbringing" and would put good use to them (I declined this offer). On another occasion, not documented in the editing of the Red Tower Diaries, I wore an item of smart clothing (a mustard trench coat) when I was interviewing a participant. At the local shop I later bumped into one of the other residents who would not respond to my asking how she was. I felt strongly my smart appearance (I would normally wear a waterproof jacket on site) had put her off. More generally, in terms of differences being highlighted negatively: one accusation of

elitism targeted at the Red Tower team was raised by a resident in an online discussion (post-my departure and therefore not documented). This was thereafter retracted, with apologies, by this resident, however I do not feel this was adequately resolved. I also had my bicycle stolen on whilst in Walmgate. The bicycle thief was promptly caught by a police-officer who happened to be standing-by; this could in turn indicate the high crime levels in the area.

It is vital to acknowledge social dynamics in projects such as these. However, overly narrow focus on them can lead to a close-minded appreciation of how collaboration can be cultivated, despite differences. Because, for the several residents who were critical of the Red Tower (Sally, Tom and Zara) there were an equal amount who were eager to be involved (Doug, Martha, Matt, and Jess). Connections and working relationships seemed to have occurred both through interactions in place or through recruitment via posters or other contexts that brought people together (i.e. floods). That Sally also highlighted difficulty at the level of apathy in the area generally shows this was an ongoing issue. This initially resulted in a lack of community infrastructure (shown by the folding of the Resident Association). However, I do believe that collaborative relationships would have been further encouraged had the challenging but effective door-knocking strategies (as part of consultation) been acted upon at the onset of the project. I also reflect that a public meeting might have been organised ahead of the floods. The strategy was instead to make space for organic interactions (i.e. pop up cafes). Bringing together all such strategies may have allowed for further value overlap and growth between the categories of Resident and Red Tower Supporters. What is of utmost importance for the Red Tower is whether it can continue to establish its vision as a community hub for the immediate area, encouraging more local collaboration as have been demonstrated, as part of its next stages. The setting up of the new Walmgate Community Association may be an indication of this: time will tell.

#### **i. other forms of engagement?**

The Consultation Report in Appendix D.vii highlights the different modes of engagement used throughout the project and reflection on the settings in which they occur, as does my discussion of the media (paper and digital) used to invite local people to events at the Red

Tower. Not to repeat the content of these discussions, it seems that the most fruitful way of engaging with people (in terms of gaining the most comments and feedback) is to hold an event (for examples, the Open Residents Weekend) and provide an informal way of providing comment (i.e. post-its). This I attribute to 'place-node'/locality value': being-in-place impacts and enables certain ideas to come to the fore. Context and place-setting similarly impacted the interview with the seven Wallwalkers.

Talking to people opportunistically in Rosemary Place and Court had some benefits but, as has been reported, not many people would linger in these areas. The feedback forms provided further insight into engagement processes and the difficulties of physical access (and privacy). In essence—and as discussed by Ed the TCV project officer—doing several different forms of engagement appears to have been the best strategy. Even if some of these do not provide as much results despite the effort and energy spent (the posters for instance) they did lead to further engagement and direct collaboration in some cases.

### **5. What is the relationship between the heritage asset project and the locality?**

Toothcombing through the data via the Locality theme, much of the data coded is connected to the sub-theme of 'Drawing attention Heritage', because Red Tower was coded to this sub-theme (a limitation of broad brush coding). But section 7.1. and the proceeding sections have offered insight into the relationship between the Red Tower and the localities nearby. I give a summary here of how Red Tower interacts with its localities:

- The physical formation of Walmgate and Foss Islands are the result of 1,000 years of decisions making by civic powers, particularly in regards to slum clearance and the retention of the walls;
- Walmgate is still considered an area of deprivation by the CYC, and is commented on by Tim in his interview;
- The Walls tie the Red Tower to the rest of York's and the CYC ambitions, even now (as a way of spreading visitors through the city);
- The 'natural barriers', as Ed describes them, including roads, the river and the walls act as barriers to communal interaction;

- Sally demarcates areas (the Walls, Rosemary Place, and student accommodation area) as different places for tourists, residents and students who don't interact;
- She also consistently states that people are not particularly engaged and apathetic in the area in her interview;
- The horseshoe wall is considered a barrier for social interaction and part of the plans for the team are to make a hole in this wall;
- The physicality of building, its space inside and outside is often discussed as a benefit, a unique selling point, a nugget and a draw;
- The flats themselves are attributed to isolating people, as described by Jess;
- My efforts to distribute and circulate information are met with place-based challenges, i.e. tradesmen buzzers, issues with flyposting, locked community boards;
- The Red Tower CIC eventually made their 'community remit' York-wide.

Considering some of these points, it looks as though the concept of locality brings with it several challenges (the relationship between Walmgate and the Red Tower is beset physical and social barriers). But it also brings to fore the concept of 'place-node'/locality value. This is attributed to the 'nugget' and the physical drawing-in of the tower itself.

I now present a **value-action diagram** showing the relationship between the following key themes: Values (stated and acted), Visions, Challenges, Collaboration and Locality. There is a great deal of data to draw from, so I am focusing on the way that value and value-action blend towards visions for one phase only (**June-August 2015**). This phase was chosen because data from all three groups were available.

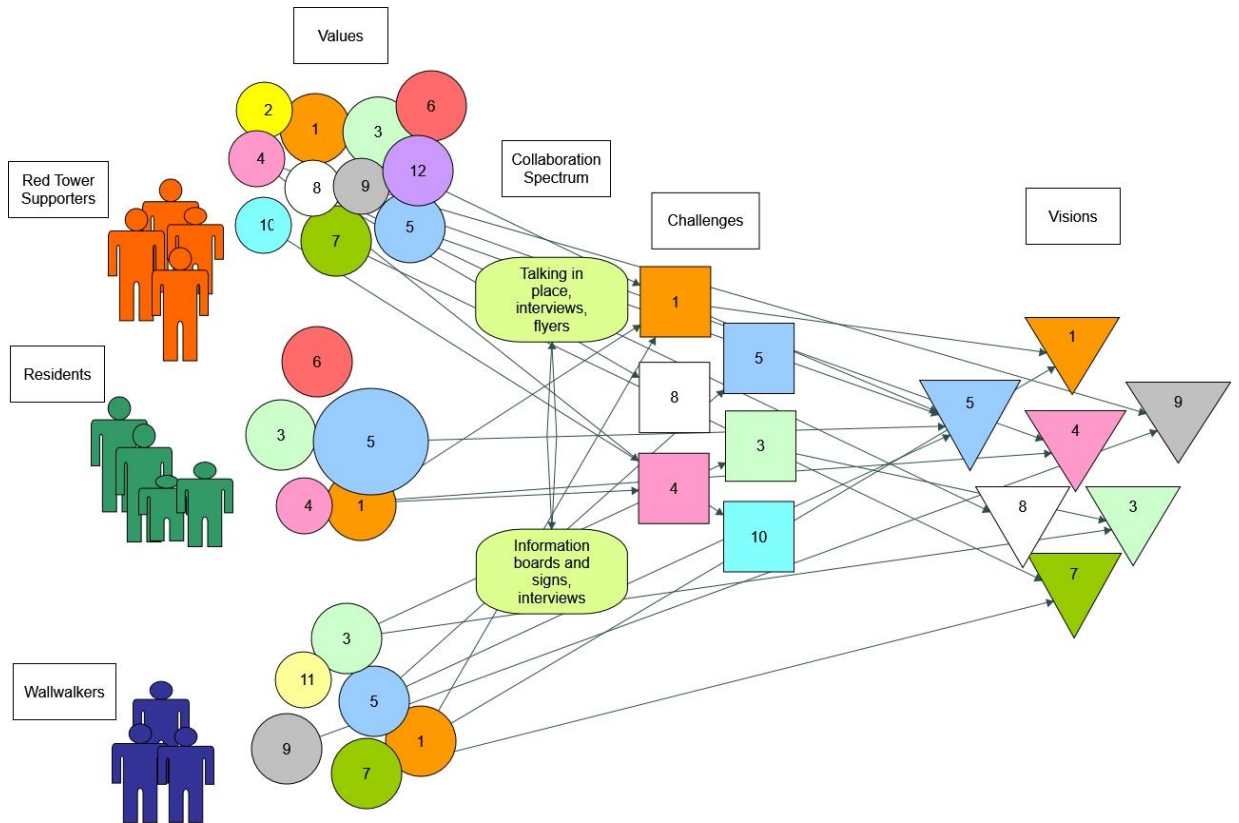


Figure 84. Red Tower Value Action Diagram (June-August 2015)

Table 18. Colour Key for Value-Actions

1. 'Place-node' or locality based value	7. Green value-action
2. 'TIM ethos/thinking'	8. Wider York (CYC) value
3. Transactions/exchange of things or finance	9. History meets present
4. Kids	10. Organisational value-action
5. Community work/interaction	11. Explorative value-action
6. Making a contribution/handwork	12. Home-making

With this value-action diagram I am comparing the values uttered and acted upon by different groups between June-August 2015. These values can in some cases be connected to visions, however, several challenges bar the way to their realisation. These challenges are also connected to the value sub-themes, for example: the values and vision towards 'kids' interacting with the tower is met with the challenge of Martha's anger at them. Moreover, the collaboration spectrum (or sharing values-action between groups) is met with challenges such as the physical barriers that lie between communities within this

locality. Moreover, from creating this map it becomes apparent to me that the Red Tower project has value-actions distinct from the previous asset projects: the supporters were as not driven as by historical value-action but a medley of others, including community interaction itself (this drive is apparent in interviews by Ed, Vicky, Lilac, Patricia, Jonathan, Tim and the Group Interview). This drive has shaped the vision of the project but, contradictorily, relies heavily upon community infrastructure which is not as strong in comparison to the other localities discussed. This renders the Red Tower project as distinct from the Tithe Barn and Holgate Windmill.

This map and the discussion above is by no means an attempt to cater for all values that could be demarcated nor an attempt to extend them to the whole population of York (or beyond). The data collected is extremely specific to a set of people in a particular project, and is sifted by myself, an individual with a great deal of insider knowledge. The overarching point however is understanding the processes of the value-actions and the development of these in places over time.

## **7.5. Discussion**

From the data above, I have presented a mixed-method, multiple-group data analysis. Coded qualitative data (from fieldnotes, interviews and photographs) alongside more freehand reflexive accounts of the activities provide an account of the value-action to visions process. The level of collaborative activities (and challenges to these) has also been reviewed. In some cases, and at certain times, value-actions led to collaboration between different people. At other times, certain contexts (including timing, external impact, place and social differences) led to contrasts and challenges.

Thus, after examining the Red Tower project in this chapter, there are two steps to make in the proceeding chapter. Firstly, in Chapter Eight, the data from the Red Tower Project is compared to the other place-nodes; the West Offices and the two pre-2011 Heritage Asset transfers—Tithe Barn and Holgate Windmill. Secondly, after these comparisons are made, pragmatic recommendations are offered towards collaborative work between councils, community organisations and other groups. What it means to consider these localised 'value-actions to vision process' (particularly within the Localism context) is then reviewed further.



## 8: Analysis—Comparing the Data

### 8.0 Introduction

The purpose of Chapter Eight is to compare the data gathered from the four place-nodes—the West Offices, the Pre-2011 Heritage Asset Transfers (Tithe Barn and Holgate Windmill) and the Red Tower Project—and thereafter to discuss the findings. After comparing the three Value-action diagrams created in each chapter and the answers to the ‘Place-Node Questions’, the findings demonstrate several points. Firstly, that the local council has contradictory views about the ‘values’ of community groups values. Secondly, that value-actions within all three Community Asset Transfers are impacted by various factors including timing and the multi-local aspects of the assets in question. Centuries of place-shaping by local authorities have established the localities where the assets are situated; as a result, the material and social manifestations of the different localities—such as the level of community infrastructure in place, the ‘natural’ or man-made barriers, zones, proximity to housing etc.—have differing impacts upon the level of collaboration achieved in places. In addition, these impacts occur alongside timely local issues (e.g. green belt reviews), unanticipated impacts (e.g. floods), and the current political contexts (and pressures) acting on civic action through the Localism Act. Pragmatic recommendations are given to increase collaborative contexts between the local authority and heritage asset transfer projects which can take account of timing, locality and localism contexts.

After giving the pragmatic recommendations, I then revisit the notion of an officially comprised credible value framework as raised in Chapter Three and review whether existing frameworks could be utilised to function as a reference point that encourages locally-specific and collaborative value-creation. Thereafter, how heritage practices by local authorities, community groups or a mixture of the two could be interpreted as “value co-creation” between groups with different priorities for and in local areas is explored (Bovaird & Loeffler 2012, Gould 2016a, 7, Lennox 2016, 243). With an eye to wider picture of the disposal of assets by local authority alongside their reduced autonomy, value-

creation must be utilised with critical and ethical attitudes to avoid exacerbating overly economic evaluations of places and over instrumentalisation of civic action and rather to the growth of value in places.

I now turn to the first step in comparative analysis and compare the Value-action diagrams.

### 8.1. Comparing the data

#### 8.1.1 Comparing the Value-action diagrams

The first step towards the comparative analysis is to discuss what each Value-action diagram contributes to the understanding of the data. These maps provide a more complex picture of the initial models (of how values support visions) laid out in Chapter Three. These maps are useful, both in my drawing of them and considering them afterwards, in forming a wider perspective of the place-node and stepping back from the specificity of data extracts. They essentially demonstrate the movements of values in relation to visions and how the values are acted upon.

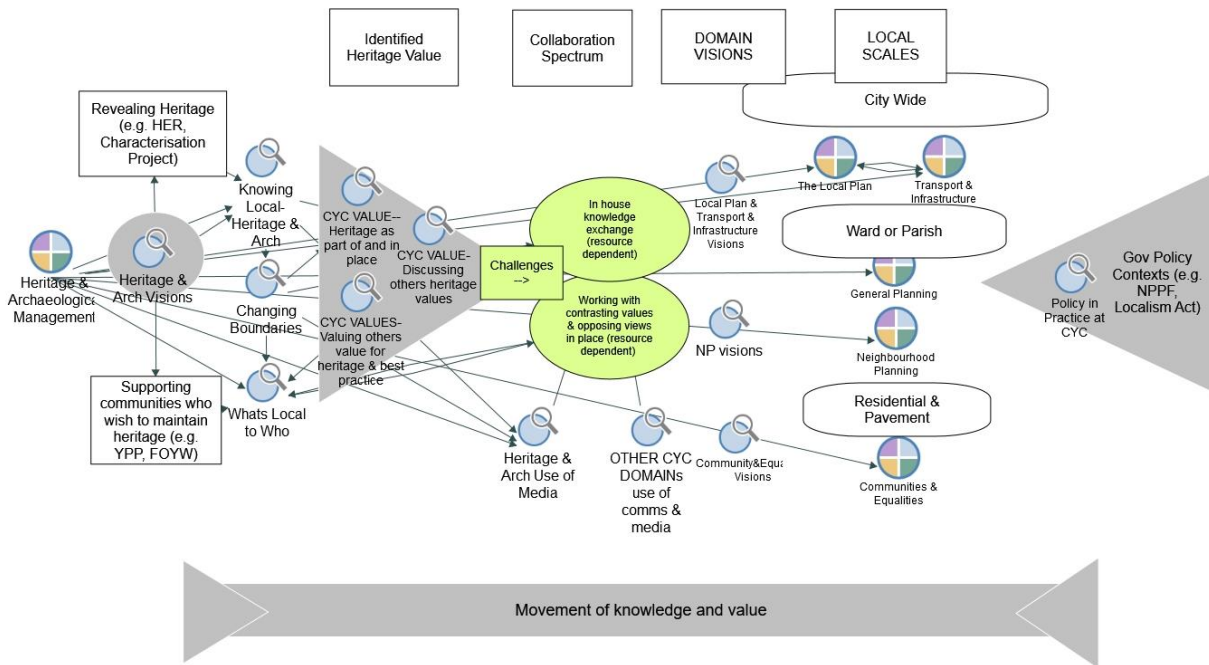


Figure 85. CYC Value-Action Diagram

With the West Offices map I placed the 'Heritage & Archaeological Management Visions' as a coding query on the left of the map in order to consider how the heritage values here

(e.g. revealing heritage as data with the vision being the creation of the HER) are shared with the other CYC domains. It is clear that heritage values are considered information or best practice methods with community groups, perceived as valuable for different visions within particular domains (i.e. Neighbourhood Planning or Community and Equalities). The sharing of value is met with challenges (inherent in the collaboration spectrum) wherein the process of Knowledge Gathering by council workers filters what counts as information. Alongside Knowledge Gathering, dynamic collaborative techniques (consultation or engagement) are experimented with in order to engage with community groups. In addition, drawing out the local scales (on the right) also helps to demonstrate the policy contexts which will impact the approach to the local authority's handling of demarcations of place and collaboration with community groups.

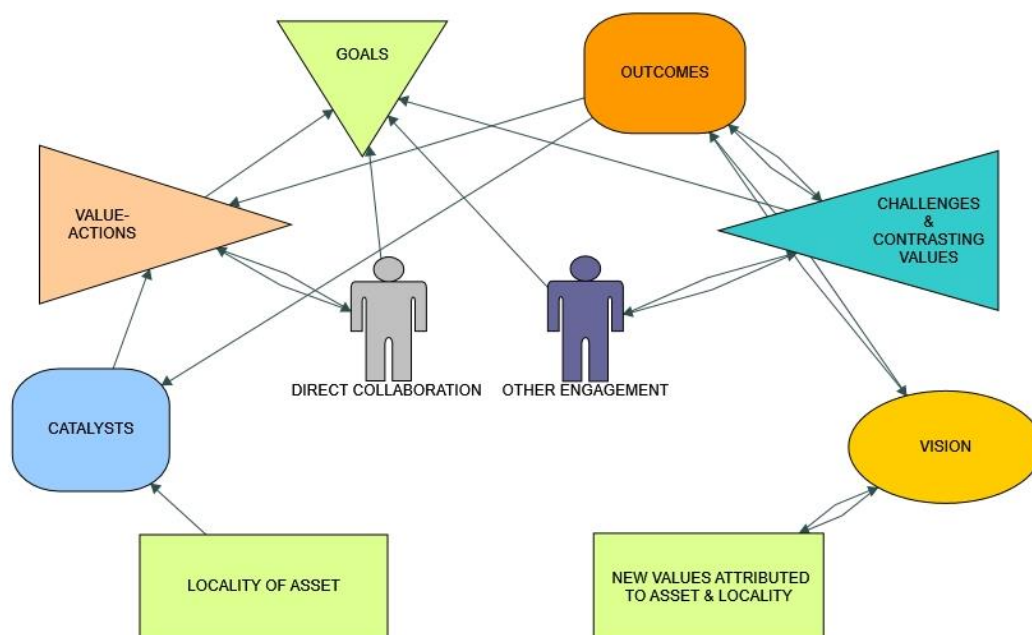


Figure 86. Pre-2011 Asset Transfers Value-Action Diagram

With the Pre-2011 asset transfers Value-action-Map, because I was able to gather data that demonstrated the development over time with both Tithe Barn and Holgate Windmill projects, an attempt was made to indicate a step-by-step process between different themes, starting with the 'Locality of the Asset'. However, the arrows show instead how these themes are reciprocal, feeding back into one another as new people, outcomes and catalysts emerge.

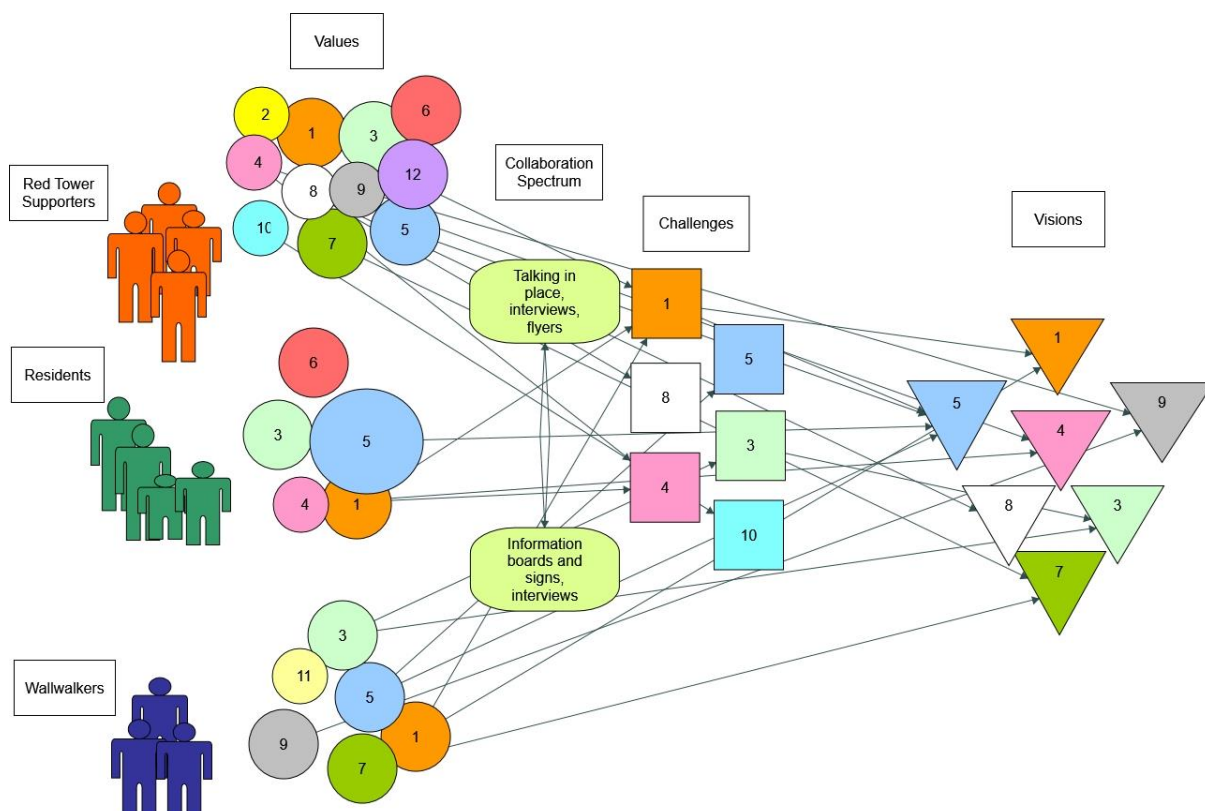


Figure 87. Red Tower Value-Action Diagram

The Red Tower Project Value-action diagram shows how colour-coded value-actions feed into the visions of different groups associated with the place-node during one phase of the project. This includes contrasting values and shows how different values are shared (i.e. Community Work in light blue). This Value-action diagram does not show the development of visions over the whole period of fieldwork; however, this development is clearly evident within the charts and tables as discussed in Chapter Seven. That the vision of the Red Tower project gradually emerged (akin to the other asset projects) highlights how 'grassroot' projects take root and mingle with the local mis-en-scene at certain times. It is also highlighted that historical value-action was not the main driver, as was with the other projects.

Notably, each value-action diagram presents different interpretations of the data. In short this because data had to be collected in different ways, reflecting different collaborative relationships and spatial interactions with participants over time, an aspect of multi-local research. However, the common theme remains prevalent; each value-action diagram reveals a process by which values lead to visions. How these value-action processes can be compared further is demonstrated in a comparison of the research 'answers'.

## 8.1.2 Comparing the Place-node Research Answers

In table 8 (Appendix E.i) I have created a summary of all the answers to the research questions in the data chapters. This table effectively enables the reader to make cross-comparisons between my interpretations of all the data-sets for each place-node. Through examining this table, the comparative questions were answered.

## 8.1.3 Comparative Research Questions

The first Comparative Research Question forms as thus:

### 1. What are the noticeable differences and similarities in value-action processes between the place-nodes?

These are answered in terms of the following themes, implicit within the research questions:

#### Values:

The West Office data shows that heritage values are perceived as valuable information, helpful towards best practice, sourced from either community groups or resources (such as the HER).

Within all three asset projects, values are similarly sought as necessary action from individuals towards the realisation of vision.

Table 19 (below) shows the different value sub-themes (uttered or acted on) discovered within the data for each place-node. This list is certainly not exhaustive of the possible values present in action but are what have been collected through a concise interrogation of the data.

Table 19. Comparing value sub-themes for all place-nodes

<b>West Offices Values (uttered and accounts of value-actions)</b>	<b>Holgate Windmill and Tithes Barn Asset Transfers Values (accounts of value-actions)</b>	<b>Red Tower Project Asset Values (uttered, observed and accounts of value- actions)</b>
--Valuing data for others' heritage value and best practice (1)	--Organisational value-action (1) --Visual value-action (1) --Financial value-action (4)	--Organisational value-action (1) --Place-node or locality based value (2)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--Valuing heritage in (and as part of) place (2)</li> <li>--Understanding others' heritage value (3)</li> <li>--Tourism Value (4)</li> <li>--Heritage as part of growth/identity (5)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--Historical value-action (2&amp;5)</li> <li>--Interest or unfulfilled value-action (6)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--Transactions (4)</li> <li>--History meets present (5)</li> <li>--Explorative value-action (6)</li> <li>--Wider York (CYC) value (3)</li> <li>--Green value-action</li> <li>--TIM ethos</li> <li>--Kids</li> <li>--Community work</li> <li>--Making a contribution</li> <li>--Home-making</li> </ul>
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Some similarities (or rather, broad overlaps) are noted, colour-coded and numbered between the value-actions. However, several are still clearly distinct and left blank. With the West Offices, motivations towards best practice are more complex (covering more ground). Overall, values-action are not always directly attributed to heritage concepts; they overlap with other social or practical aspirations.

**Visions:**

Visions at the council level are pre-established mainly from policy contexts (i.e. Local Plan and Neighbourhood Planning) but also from the resources and practices (i.e. the HER). The council established its own long-term goals visions for place and seeks to consult community groups on this. Energy is also spread over the overseeing of a medley of different visions or projects (by community groups and developers).

With all three asset projects, after undertaking different values-activity, visions eventually emerge through contexts in reaction to unanticipated external influence and other forms of knowledge gain. With Red Tower this is most palpable through the Real Junk Food Project not coming to fore, the intervention of the COMA funding and the subsequent consultation period after the floods. A resident vision is realised within the Rosemary Place area through the collaboration with Edible York.

**Challenges or Contrasting Values:**

There were clear contrasts (veritable contradictions) noted within the CYC and this mainly lay within the lack of resources and most palpably within the contradiction over the best

practice of considering community groups' values alongside the requirement for values as evidence-base or information.

With the asset projects, Tithe Barn and Holgate Windmill both had disputes with external bodies (the NYCC local authority and HLF respectively) which were eventually resolved. A question of heritage elitism by residents was raised (and addressed).

With the Red Tower, the main challenge lay in managing access to barriers and interaction with residents and the impact of the floods on consultation. Value contrasts were attributed to differing interactions within the locality (i.e. Wallwalkers, evaluations of place whilst shopping) and moreover, there were differences in the amount of the challenges impacting value-actions (i.e. Residents chart demonstrated higher level of challenges).

### **Collaboration Spectrum:**

At the West Offices collaboration is supported by different domains in their interaction with community groups and organisations across the whole of York (i.e. Neighbourhood planning, Friends of York Walls). Practitioners demonstrated organisational knowledge at hand to carry this out, if not always the resources.

For the two Pre-2011 asset projects, as seen in the timeline accounts by the trustees, proximity to the asset was mutually inclusive to direct collaborative activities.

Whilst this relationship was not as strong for the Red Tower project, several residents proximate to the asset did become involved (i.e. donating furniture, helping out at events, and in two cases, becoming directors of the CIC). This highlights that the level of cohesion of a resident community did not exist—their collaboration was individual.

Whether the level of direct collaboration correlates to level of affluence in the asset localities as is raised in Chapter Two, Three and Six (Hodges & Watson 2000) is a question the research cannot supply in black and white terms. Social differences across place and deprivation levels have been acknowledged; the Poppleton area, as part of Rural York West, has relatively low levels of deprivation, Holgate appears to have higher level of deprivation (but Windmill Rise is seen as a desirable street), whilst the Red Tower localities, as part of Guildhall Ward, is considered of one of the three highest levels of

deprivation in York. What the ethnographic findings can confirm in the case of Tithe Barn (and conversely with Red Tower) is that the presence of community infrastructure (i.e. Resident Groups, Parish Councils) and physical infrastructure (i.e. presence of discussions hubs and access to residents) have aided direct collaboration. Capability (identified as financial means, free time or health in Chapter Three) cannot be confirmed with Holgate Windmill or Tithe Barn groups. Capability did noticeably impact some participants ability to volunteer in the Red Tower project (as identified by the drop out of some of the key volunteers, particularly in September 2015). The issue of pressure placed on local volunteers is also present and confirmed by the initial folding of the Residents Association in the autumn of 2015 and in interviews with residents (i.e. Cathy, Sally) and Red Tower supporters (i.e. Claire, Vicky). This may be worth noting in light of localism policies and increased pressure on civic action, but the data gathered cannot fully attribute this directly to the existence of the act (as is discussed in Chapter Nine). In addition, that local working relationships did occur at the Red Tower indicates that affluence/deprivation and capability are by no means the final word in collaborative achievements.

### **Engagement:**

Within all place-nodes, engagement with different groups of people was carried out through various forms of communication tools or media. The West Offices, Pre-2011 asset projects and the Red Tower project all put into use a mix of consultation techniques, including meetings and workshops/social events, newspaper articles, talking on buses, to putting information in libraries, to leaflet dropping under doors. In addition, the Red Tower itself engages Wallwalkers and children in the local area (particularly when the doors are open).

Levels of information shared was noted as a challenge at the West Offices, whilst at the Red Tower it was identified that timing of engagement (i.e. during the floods) could become a challenge.

### **Locality:**

Within the West Offices data, York's localities are understood as historically comprised but also scaled in terms of the priorities (or visions) from pavement politics, to wards, to the city at large.



Considering the locality of the Pre-2011 asset transfer projects, several organisational frameworks were created for, around, and then have been seen to enhance historic place-nodes and rings of localities.

With the most recent Red Tower project, the proximate localities (the City Walls, Walmgate and Foss Islands) hold within them contradictory pathways which impacts the value-actions for different groups. On the one hand, the physicality of the place is what draws Wallwalkers along the City Walls and into the Tower. On the other hand, the Rosemary Place area is demarcated by the same Walls and other physical barriers which caused a challenge for community interaction.

I now turn to the second Comparative Question to give pragmatic recommendations towards mindfully cultivating place-based collaborative relationships, following the key themes discussed above. These recommendations are drawn from the comparison above and my insight in working as part of the Red Tower team.

## **2. In light of the above, what recommendations can be made for further collaborative heritage work by local authorities and community groups?**

**For the CYC (General Heritage Management):**

Values:

- If community values are deemed necessary but not considered 'evidence base' by staff (in the same way that Strategic Environment Assessments are for example), then this is a clear contrast in practice. Concise positions need to be established and upheld by the council as to where community values are important in the process of any project and how they function alongside what is agreed as scientific data (even if there are further contrasts).
- support should be available for staff who work with these contrasts, ensuring that community values can be constructively handled, in order to seek resolution between contradictions or effectively explaining contradictions in person and/or in textual form (or other forms of engagement, see below).

- clearer accounts (e.g. within the Statement of Community Involvement as part of the Local Plans and potentially any renewed Asset Management Plans) should be offered to community groups as to how community values or consultation are to function alongside scientific data (i.e. explaining how these become subsumed into the data). Such accounts should act as a guidance for community groups also.

#### Vision:

- Timing for projects is key. When does the vision have to be conceptualised? If working with partners or community groups at some stage in the project, make clear (through effective and a variety use of media and collaborative engagement) which values or knowledge-sets are in place ahead of creating visions with others.
- visions are not static: collaborative work, the blending of values, new information and new contexts help to shape them.

#### Collaboration:

- Depending on the local scope of the project (i.e. Local Plan, Neighbourhood Plan, asset transfer project) collaboration will grow or shrink in size over time. Successful projects can occur when support is given to small community organisations over a longer term. Smaller, more organised groups can collaborate more effectively with others if they are organised with clear values and visions. They should be able to demonstrate how they have engaged with a wider representative group.
- Support groups in deprived areas, prioritise these.
- Seek to advise groups to be aware of local-aware and adaptable engagement strategies.

#### Engagement:

- Ongoing training is required, not only how to talk to with community groups but how any information is shared. Finding a balance between too little or too much information is vital.
- Drawing techniques from previous cases: there are conversation techniques already in-house and novel forms of engagement are already underway. Maintain internal conversations to cross-pollinate ideas.

- Keep adapting and experimenting to trends in media and technology but be wary of spending too much time on fashionable fixes—these will often become outdated (e.g. QR codes).
- Continue to seek key discussion points and physical areas in places to carry out consultation (school gates, buses etc).
- Invest in staff knowledge sets and the working relationships they have with different individuals and groups. How can you avoid changing department names/roles? This is key for community interaction: having a continuous point of contact.

#### Locality:

- Heritage values can help to identify the evolution of place: such valuable information (gathered from in house resources such as the HER) can identify cues in place that can assist further place-shaping and encourage collaborative relationships or other forms of engagement.

### For Community Groups and Organisations (Heritage Asset Projects at the 'Becoming Stage'):

#### Values:

- Let values grow organically from the onset. Let it depend on the recruitment of new volunteers and their priorities, allowing space for these to blend and grow;
- At some stage (not too early) identify as part of a group your key values as part of an ongoing mission statement which may help towards the vision and development plans.

#### Vision:

- Timing for projects is key. When does the vision have to be conceptualised? If working with partners or other community organisations at any stage in the project, make clear what values or knowledge sets are in place ahead of creating visions with them.
- Visions are not static: collaborative work, the blending of values, new information and contexts help to shape them.

- Review how your ultimate vision impacts the local area in the future and make this known to your local authority and any key collaborative partners.

#### Collaboration:

- Attempt local door-knocking and reach out via social media from the onset, so local people are involved from the start, and thereafter allow for values/visions to grow.
- Establish good working relationships with local authority contacts (i.e. individuals who value what you are trying to achieve).
- Be open to development in others' values over time and the creation of new connections;
- acknowledge potential contrasts in value, do not overlook these, seek to negotiate.
- Create clear roles for volunteers to step into: delegate but leave space for self-management.

#### Engagement:

- When organising a public meeting at the very beginning, invite as many local people as you can by putting up posters in local areas—at least one week before the event.
- Invitations (posters, flyers, social media call outs) do not have to be works of art to be effective.
- Be good neighbours—find a balance of how to approach people, do not be put off by closed doors but do not encroach on privacy either.
- Draft an Engagement Plan, revising this as new local information or contexts come to light.
- Dedicate time and energy to continual promotion of events in place (using a variety of media).
- Use of branding or logos—these visually promote the values of your project, adding credibility to the project. They can also be collaboratively created and used to propagate the collaborative relationships in further engagement.
- Financial transparency: be clear about where your funding is coming from and where it is going.

Locality:

- Do an analysis of the local area and its history to consider how your project might impact the area and how the locality might impact your plans: what are the challenges, how can these be managed and what the long-term view of the project place within its locality is (i.e. the vision).

These recommendations are specific, yet as part of an overall reflection of the project it is important to draw attention to wider, more theoretically salient implications of the value-action processes.

## 8.2 Value Frameworks & Value Co-Creation

This thesis has so far compared the processes of value-actions across different place-nodes in the City of York and made recommendations. The conclusive statement of this thesis and the overall findings (and thus addressing the overall inquiry of the project) form as thus:

- the heritage values of active community organisations (seeking to collaborate on asset transfer projects) evolve over time towards their visions (regardless of the Localism Act);
- their visions are impacted by the localities and timely contexts in which values are acted upon. Locality (in terms of physical and community infrastructure) and timeliness can either aid or put pressure on collaborative relationships and localised civic action;
- by contrast, the values of York's local authority are bent on best practices towards supporting active groups and are at the same time committed to a wider scope of place;
- alongside their wider remit and policy requirements, they struggle with accounting for contradictory and non-evidence base conceptions of values from community groups (despite having some resources to deal with them).

How these findings and the recommendations above relate to the wider frameworks discussed in the earlier part of this study is now reviewed. This essentially involves

reviewing how the multi-local and value-action approach might inform official value frameworks within a localism context.

As was discussed previously, official frameworks of value (such as the Conservation Principles) can function as reference points for local heritage management. Due to the inherent trend for value definitions to diversify such a reference point could (contradictorily) encourage value diversity (Meyer-Bisch 2009, 62). Indeed, it is possible to categorise some of the value-actions collected from the data here under the four English Heritage values (EH 2008a); these are colour-coded to 1. evidential, 2. historical, 3. aesthetic and 4. communal value.

Table 20. Categorising the value sub-themes from place-nodes into the four English Heritage values.

<b>West Offices Values (uttered and accounts of value-actions)</b>	<b>Holgate Windmill and Tithe Barn Asset Transfers Values (accounts of value- actions)</b>	<b>Red Tower Project Asset Transfers Values (uttered, observed and accounts of value-actions)</b>
--Valuing data for others' heritage value and best practice --Valuing heritage in (and as part of) place (1-3) --Understanding others' heritage value (4) --Tourism Value --Heritage as part of growth/identity. (2)	--Organisational value-action --Visual value-action (3) --Financial value-action --Historical value-action (1& 2) --Interest or unfulfilled value-action(4)	--Organisational value-action --Place-node or locality based value (1) --Transactions --History meets present (2) --Explorative value-action(4) --Wider York (CYC) value(4) --Green value-action(4) --TIM ethos (4) --Kids(4) --Community work(4) --Making a contribution(4) --Home-making(4)

Unsurprisingly, the categorisation is not absolute and does not encapsulate the process of value-action to vision realisation, nor the connections between place-nodes (particularly between assets groups and authority, or asset groups and others not directly involved but living nearby or interacting within the locality). As was discussed (see page 83) a credible value framework (which acts as a reference point for value definition) must acknowledge:

- a) the multiplicity of values for place;

- b) the methods used to understand and monitor values over time; and
- c) the forming of collaborative relationships between different local groups/organisation over time.

All three acknowledgements are vital within the context of localism policies, in raising awareness of who is working towards visions in place. How this study supplements these three acknowledgements is as follows. Firstly, the multi-local approach can highlight multiplicity, overlaps and contrasts between groups' values in places (particularly demonstrated at the Red Tower place-node). Secondly, it has been possible to track how values and vision are created and flux between different groups over time and how collaboration can occur between official and unofficial definitions of heritage despite any contrasts or contradictions at different stages of the asset transfer. Lastly, the multi-local approach advocates awareness of the local scene where collaboration or other engagement can take place. In essence, the combined methodology of multi-local and value-action approach augments the practical application of both the Conservation Principles and the Faro Convention value frameworks, for the benefit of both council and community projects. However, considering the increasing lack of resources within the local authority context and the potential strain on civic action, it is recognised that the ethnographic methods applied will unlikely be suitable outside the research context (and deliberations on this are given in the review section of the next chapter).

Before this research is thoroughly reviewed, however, I give a final comment on the importance of value-action strategies. Value-action essentially overlaps with the notion of value co-creation, which can consider (from an 'economic' standpoint) the emphasis on social interaction and systems between producers and consumers (Vargo & Lusch 2004, 3, Barile et al 2014, Minkiewicz et al 2014, 32). This logic emphasises that customers are always co-producers, creating value in their interaction with the goods and the experience gained through the transaction, which could be attributed to notions of integrity and pride (Vargo & Lusch 2004, 3, Romero & Molina 2011, 447, Biggemann et al 2014, 304, Gould 2016a, 7). Value co-creation research acknowledges the tracking of "value-in-the-experience", an emergent, phenomenological and emotive state of being which can only be known from personal viewpoints (Ciolfi 2012, 57, Helkkula et al 2012, Minkiewicz et al 2014, Rihova et al 2015, 358). Ethnographic techniques have been used for the study in

co-productive place-branding with community groups and attention is paid particularly to “community identity” and how interactions between people are created (Aitken & Campelo 2011, 914). As explored by Barile & Saviano (2014) a Viable Systems Approach can show how different actors must take specific roles in order for value co-creation to flourish: i.e. the local authority need to remain as overseers and supporters, researchers, or other leaders are required to instigate projects and the community group need to generate partners or external supporters (65). Such research emphasises that value is not attributed to the end result (product) but the process by which a group of people get there and their relationships.

To draw on the concept of value co-creation for heritage management within the context of localism (and CATs) requires caution however. Value co-creation cannot always be part of a neat transaction. Such a model of ‘value provision’ (where values are captured by practitioners and thereafter returned and inevitably repackaged to the value donators) would reduce to economic terms the precept in the Faro Convention that “everyone, alone or collectively, has the right to benefit from the cultural heritage and to contribute towards its enrichment” (CoE 2005, Article 4a). Any default to the economic should signal a warning to the effects of overly competitive forces in places and the exacerbation of social differences (and as was discussed in Chapter Two). Finances can however be utilised for the benefit of unofficial forces. As argued by a recent study (Murtagh & Boland 2017) whilst Community Asset transfers and social enterprises may be neoliberal in their organisation of places, they are essentially working an important balancing act between what is “socially legitimate as well as financially viable” (17; also Thorlby 2011). As such they can in fact refute the usual system by enacting “parallel processes and ideas (that) challenge, morph and sometimes blatantly contradict a purely neoliberal project” (Hackworth 2012, qtd in Murtagh & Boland 2017, 16). This balancing act is extremely difficult. The overall recommendation for local heritage projects, and particularly heritage asset projects, is to pay attention to the “strategies tactics, negotiations and conflict-resolution potential among the players involved and the mesh of global-local networks within which they are situated” (Lovering 2007, 364). Such an awareness may help councils, researchers, community groups, and heritage practitioners to grow value with others beyond transactional systems, within place and with places in mind.



### 8.3 Discussion

Above, I have presented the results of the analysis from each data chapter and made comparisons between these. The resultant findings highlight that value can be illustrated through action in order demonstrate how it is created in cultural, social, political and spatial (local) contexts. The quality of values must therefore be understood as part of collaborative workings through of pragmatic issues and active decision-making processes. Through making comparisons between the contexts of different place-nodes I have made recommendations on how to manage heritage projects in light of different value-action processes over time. Thereafter the concept of value-action alongside that of 'value co-creation' is reviewed and the potential benefits of this attitude to heritage practice is discussed. This includes an emphasis on ethical obligations to share the cultivation of values between groups and beyond marketable visions.

The purpose of the next and final chapter is to review the research design and methodological approach. Limitations are reviewed, and it is raised that the research could inform subsequent experimentation into practical application of the multi-local and value-action approaches, particularly for the purpose of reviewing heritage asset transfers. Lastly, I reflect on the wider implications of the research as a means to generate best practices within this specific field of heritage management.

## **9: Conclusion**

### **9.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter delivers the conclusion of the thesis. It reviews how the study has approached topics raised in the two theoretical chapters and reviews the steps taken in comparing the value-actions discerned at each place-node via the research questions. Firstly, the original contributions of the research to the wider heritage sector are identified. These include the ability to demonstrate the fluidity of heritage values through value-actions processes; the significant role that 'physical place' plays within the value-action process; and increased understanding into Community Assets Transfers of heritage quality with an ethnographic slant (leading to pragmatic recommendations towards judicious collaboration).

Thereafter, I highlight the methodological limitations of such research. An evaluation of the partnership of the Collaborative Doctoral Award research model is given, particularly considering its impact on the research design. I then reflect also on challenges in the research design connected to the multi-local approach. A summary report on the use of NVivo is given and the coding process is also reviewed. After addressing these areas, I present a final concluding remark regarding collaboration between official and unofficial heritage, as was raised in the beginning of Chapter Two.

### **9.1 Positive Outcomes and Wider Contributions**

In this section, the positive outcomes stemming directly from the research are first briefly outlined. Thereafter the wider implications of the research are discussed.

Hence, the benefits gained for the CDA partners, the City of York Council, stem initially from the placement work at the West Offices. This includes the completion of two reports, one reviewing the interoperability of the HER and the other based on disabled access to the City Walls (written collaboratively with two MA students from the Department of Archaeology). With the Pre-2011 heritage asset transfers, the mutual positive outcomes (shared between myself and participants) stem from the discussion on the challenges and joys of working in a team on a project to bring a heritage asset into wider use. The time taken by the trustees to discuss the completed asset transfer timelines at several points show commitment to this task. These investigations also gave focus to the thesis, leading

to further connections being established with key practitioners within the field which may result in further research. The other substantial impact of this research (and my efforts during the feasibility period) has been the realisation of the Red Tower project, shaped over two years, resulting in the winning of the York Design Community award 2018.

In terms of the wider contributions, firstly, a palpable contribution of this thesis is its strength in supporting the body of research that discusses heritage values as fluid (Hewison 2012, Lennox 2016, Jones 2017). The insights gained from the combined multi-local and value-action approach in this study substantially demonstrates “the fluid processes of valuing the historic environment” (Jones 2017, 33). The study innovatively visualises these processes as part of heritage practices by the local council and community organisations working on asset transfers. It has literally plotted (via the three value-action diagrams) values as they evolve so as to compare the variety of contrasting motivations at play and the movement towards shared—yet emerging—visions. Drawing from these findings in Chapter Eight, I determined that value co-creation may be useful model to pursue an understanding of the evolution of heritage values-actions within a localism agenda. Thus, this research strengthens the call to both funding bodies and community organisations to register value-actions and their fluidity within decision-making or funding applications so as to cultivate ‘money for value’ approaches, rather than simply ‘value for money’ (Hewison 2012). Moreover, this research also highlights that statements of value for the historic environment should be pinned down making use of certain reference points—a significant example being those listed in the Conservation Principles—alongside overt reflections on a variety of timely contexts which might impact the weight and perceived presence of the stated values. This approach is also worked into the pragmatic recommendations given to local councils and community organisations to encourage reflection on the timeliness of visions and blending of new values, occurring through collaboration.

The second of the contributions is how place—as the multi-local—impacts upon the value co-creation process. Indeed, the value of place is acknowledged (e.g. the focus on the Windmill as a popular and prominent landmark in a housing estate and the draw of the Red Tower’s internal space). However, in this study it is also demonstrated that the

physical configuration of place (developed by past populations over centuries) has an impact upon the level of collaboration between people present in localities. The role and access to physical infrastructure are significant, as demonstrated by the use of Poppleton library in the Tithe Barn campaign and the Red Tower teams' resolution to cut through the horseshoe stone wall to create access, to name just two examples. Such ontological physical-social configurations in areas impact upon the bonding of working relationships, through language-games, which ultimately create value and conflict with others. These eddies of ancient spaces and pathways can be "spaces of hope" or "theatres of thought and action"—not just in symbolic ways but in their physical form (Harvey 2000, 234, Giddens 1979). As was discussed in Chapter Eight, the autonomy of physical place within projects of social aspiration must be acknowledged within localism agendas, especially in view of the potential for the neoliberalism of places and competition between different community groups. Thus, this study strengthens the call by Miles and Gibson for recognition in policy that "everyday participation" is "a situated process" (2017, 1) and the pragmatic recommendations given in Chapter Eight acknowledge this.

Thirdly, the study into heritage Community Asset Transfers expands on an area where little research—particularly of ethnographic quality—has previously been undertaken: I have found only one other research in this field (Rex 2018, personal comm.). The novel on-the-ground comparisons made between local council (from a city-vision perspective) and three heritage asset projects (from a pavement politics perspective) offer significant qualitative contributions to heritage research within a political climate of increased devolution. Despite not being part of the localism act, CAT case studies each offer microcosmic insight into the development of collaborative relationships in places between wider community groups, specific community organisations and local authorities over time. Moreover, the CAT focus allows reflection over the concerns raised in Chapter Two about the risk of the Localism Act enabling local groups to ignore national frameworks. It is important to note that the Tithe Barn group pressed English Heritage to review their scheduling of the monument (in reaction against their previous local authority), the Holgate Windmill group chose to ignore the recommendations of the Heritage Lottery Fund, and the Red Tower group is now attempting to create a model of use which targets wider, nationwide issues of isolation. Thus, it is demonstrable that in each case, different

national frameworks, were drawn upon in different ways and dialectically evolved in local circumstances. In addition to this qualitative insight, social differences (in terms of capability and deprivation) for each case has also been critically reviewed from an ethnographic perspective (i.e. how differences are enacted in real-time). The need for further reflection on such matters is paramount and lacks attention within localism guidance documents. For example, the recent guidance for councillors on community asset projects (LGA & Locality 2018), whilst highlighting the need to press for support provided by council officers, places little responsibility on the community groups themselves in accounting for a wider public. Local authorities or heritage sector organisations must advise community groups and community organisations undertaking CATs to review their impact in places (for example, the use of the Statement of Community Involvement). As a result, the ethnographic insight from the heritage asset transfers studies are significant to other local projects at their becoming stages, including Neighbourhood Planning, or even general community events which include the reusing or reconceptualization of a structure or place (e.g. empty plazas, disused churches etc). Thus, the recommendations made in Chapter Eight, whilst directed at CAT projects are important for any institution and community organisation seeking to appropriately work or engage with inactive, invisible, complex or newly forming groups during key moments.

Notably two of the asset transfers were completed before the Localism Act, demonstrating how CATs are not directly part of the localism framework, but rather part of pre-existing devolution policies. The Localism Act was raised as part of knowledge gain in Chapter Three and indeed within the Red Tower data, impact by the Localism Act could be attributed to several participants' commentary about the pressure on civic and volunteer action as discussed in Chapter Eight (. Furthermore, the Red Tower received COMA funding in November 2015 which directly stemmed from localism support networks. However, it is out of the scope of this study to make detailed commentary about how the Localism Act has impacted upon the quality of collaboration and value-action processes associated with asset transfers. Instead, the study has identified an important inquiry worth pursuing; the need to evaluate how localism orientated policies may impact such heritage projects at the local level.

Further review on the methodological achievements of the project are now given below.

## **9.2 Methodological Review**

In this section, I review the methodology of the research. I start with an evaluation of how the wider Collaborative Doctoral Award framework influenced the research design, how the partnership evolved and how the CDA was fulfilled. I then review other methodological aspects involved in the research.

During the first twelve months of the PhD I established a theoretical position following the CDA brief (Appendix A.i) which focused on local participation and the comparison of a 'range of values'. The Within the Walls Steering Group meetings (wherein myself and the other PhD students would deliver updates on our research, and steering group members would give advice) met three times in the first twenty-four months of the project. During the first year I sought to select suitable case studies (other than the West Offices themselves) and find an angle amongst the vast literature on heritage values, alongside monthly meetings with my Departmental supervisor and bi-annual meetings with the CDA supervisor at the CYC. In October 2014 (the beginning of the second year) I continued to work on the methodology which eventually developed to consider the multi-local and value-actions and, with support from both my supervisors, selected the Red Tower as a case study. Whilst I had from the onset intended to write an additional case study chapter alongside the Red Tower and West Offices chapters (and had several in mind from which to draw from), I eventually developed the focus upon Community Asset Transfers 2.5 years into the research, in May 2016. Thus, after West Offices placement (July-Dec 2015) and the Red Tower fieldwork (Oct 2014-Sept 2016) had been completed, I directed my focus on the selection and investigation of the Tithe Barn and Holgate Windmill. As my work became increasingly more specified by this third year, (by which time the non-completion of the World Heritage strand of the WtW project, arguably the linchpin to the project, became evident), the steering group had stopped meeting (the exact reason for this is not known to the researcher). Eventually, the CDA supervisor drew back his support in the fourth year (the write up year). Despite this, I nonetheless maintain that my work does fulfil the CDA specifications within the contributions of the thesis stated above in two ways. Firstly, reflecting on the initial CDA brief, I have critically assessed a range of values; the

consequences of their weighting (within the West Offices particularly, for example, with the study on the Local Plans) has been discussed outright as movement towards different visions at either city or pavement-level. Secondly, I have experimented with, reviewed and offered recommendations of best practice about different forms of local participation (as collaboration) drawing from my ethnographic research at the West Offices and each of the asset transfers projects. And, despite differing choices of terminology, the quintessential focus on values and participation is innovatively approached in this study whilst bearing in mind the ethos the localism agenda and Faro Convention, as was strongly evident in the CDA brief.

Some further methodological reviews. Along with other access issues described in Chapter Five, no connection was established with the CYC asset and property management team, which deals with Asset Transfers, despite the obvious link with my CAT research and despite approaching three key contacts. This is a common issue with approaching local authorities according to both the National Trust Green Balance Report (NT 2006) and Schultz's recent study (2016). Moreover, due to emerging contexts of the research I did not factor in the coding of Pre-2011 data in NVivo (however, positive points have been given on this decision not to code and does not undermine the theoretical approach). A limitation with the Red Tower project was my deep involvement in the project's day-to-day activity. My position as team member, whilst positively contributing to the high levels of practical insight, adversely reduced the time and resources needed to fully obtain data from two other key groups identified in the exploratory period (the Students and Wallwalkers). Essentially, the limitation of this multi-local research has been an 'unequal spread': differing data-sets in terms of the amount of data collected and quality. As such this poses a question as to whether differently collected data-sets can be adequately compared. However, I maintain that the unequal spread, whilst impacting on the data collection offers salient insight, and indications of specific place interaction at the different place-nodes. Reflection on these limitations was maintained throughout the thesis and discussed outright. Any similar comparative work could benefit from a more strategic or narrow use of an explorative period to understand the specifics of the contexts where data is gathered, so that time spent at different nodes can be more equally spread. In addition, the York focus, as identified in the initial theory chapters, could be discerned as a limit on

generalisation. But instead, the contribution of this research is deeper insight into the collaborative relationship between community organisations and local authority, and thus does not aim to generalise the specifics. It is noted that a more focused study on CATs, comparing the impact of projects on a nationwide scale, could achieve further generalisation. Lastly, as was raised at the end of Chapter Eight, local authorities or community organisations are not likely to be able to adopt such intensive ethnographic methodologies. The recommendations given in Chapter Eight go some way to propose place-aware methods, however it would be beneficial to carry out further research to experiment and assess more succinct methods, particularly surrounding the assessment of heritage CATs.

At this point, I now review the limitations and benefits of NVivo in my research. First, the palpable benefits are:

- easy organisation of different kinds of data, which helps to maintain clarity;
- Use of NVivo allowed me to gauge insight into the vast quantities of data and also to reinforce memory of the data in my own mind so I could situate content easily, retrievable during a train of thought at any given moment. A couple of times during the write up process, extracts relevant to the writing were noticed to be missing from the codes collected under the coding queries and instead were recalled from memory—essentially this advocates the beneficial relationship between the human brain and the software's 'database-searching' power, each reinforcing the other;
- the ability to pull up coding queries according my line of inquiry (e.g. pulling up all coding references to the code 'Values' in any data also coded to 'Drawing attention to heritage' within sources). This was most useful for the writing up of chapters and structuring of thematic discussions;
- NVivo allowed for the clarification into terms discussed in my research through the re-iteration of theme nodes;
- It allowed quantitative coverage of all themes across datasets for each place node or domains, which highlight themes most spoken about or acted upon;



- The ability for value-action diagrams to be drawn and in particular to hyperlink to CYC or Red Tower coding queries.

The limitations I perceived are:

- The inability for 'coding percentage' to be determined within images and photographs;
- The poor quality of images in the viewing window (very fuzzy) is counterproductive to the coding process;
- Broad brush coding (i.e. doing a word search and then coding all results) would sometimes include irrelevant results;
- NVivo cannot recognise 'dated' entries so sources have to be numbered awkwardly;
- NVivo does not allow for multiple 'retitling' of files, which has proved problematic in the subsequent management of data;
- NVivo cannot count the spread and frequency of a code (or word) across one document, (which would have been helpful for the Local Plan discussion).

In addition to these points I add a couple of reflections. The length of time and training it takes for the software to feel like a viable tool for research should be considered for those seeking to make use of it (allow for about 2.5 months). Moreover, there is no limit whatsoever to how many codes can be placed over a reference. The NVivo project was equivalent to a mind-map on the wall (post-its, pins, strings and newspaper clippings): at times it was as though there were too many 'strings'. I do not advocate a specific limit, but I do recommend avoidance of over-coding parts of the data as this led me to review the coding several times. In addition, what became apparent during the writing up process was that the layout of the platform of NVivo (with the drop-down themes and the multiple screens, and the gear towards visualisation) had not encouraged me to think about actual writing, actual paragraph and sentence structure. The leap from NVivo to chapter writing takes some adjusting.

Finally, as part of the concluding remark, an overall reflection of the initial scope of the project is given below, which draws together the issues initially laid out in the theoretical chapters, including the definitions of heritage, collaboration, locality and value.

### 9.3 Concluding Remark: Entangling Heritage Binaries

At the beginning of the theoretical discussion, two binaries were complicated by considering the dialectical relationship between official/unofficial and tangible/intangible definitions of heritage. Having completed this research study, the reasons why the binaries are prevalent can now be explained in more detail. Where local councils sit within this binary (despite current contexts) is highlighted as important for the heritage sector.

Firstly, tangible heritage, being easier to categories into lists or inventories is predominantly identified by officialising forces and thus undergoes instrumentalisation by them (Gonzalez 2014). However, within the city, tangible heritage also entangles with the social scenes of everyday diplomacy (e.g. the theatres of hope—town halls, libraries, council offices, asset transfers, pubs) and the ‘forgotten pathways’ as discussed in Chapter Two. As such they can give space to unanticipated collaborative activities in unofficial forces too (Vis 2009). The historic environment is pervasive within the city and it is always different; difference is therefore embedded within the social fabric of any dwelling place. Humans can therefore tap into tangible heritages that resonate or bounce-off their differences. Tangible heritage also entangles with and shelters the activities of intangible heritage of music, food, tradition (within, for instance, pubs and market places) which are vital to unofficial forces. Thus, tangible heritage is essentially the physical manifestation of collaboration between humans, things or place made before and forgotten pathways which can be incorporated into a ‘commons’ of the past (Gonzalez 2014, Gould 2016b, Gilmore 2017). However, the building of urban structures and changing of places, remains one of the highest indicators of universal human collaboration and simultaneously of dispute (the stonemasons versus tilers’ conflict over the Red Tower and the retention of the walls are highly pertinent examples). A pertinent question is essentially and ever will be thus: who exactly claims place and its tangible heritage? Differences, emerging or already existing, come to the fore within collaboration that change place—it is at these points that the ‘who’ question become accentuated and redefined.

Moreover, as Gonzalez has rightly identified, the problem arises in the assertive nature of the official with its urge towards absolute creation of place, absolute knowledge gather and as a subsequence, absolute economics (2014, 362). This position easily privatises

tangible heritage within the current neoliberal context and can exacerbate unequal social differences. The questions of how to fight back against this tendency is ever sought. Whilst acknowledging a complicit position and operating within an institutional system (which is increasingly neoliberal itself) this study suggests that a researcher can operate following the recommendations in Chapter Eight to seek different multi-local pathways, to see how they develop over time and to attempt to disrupt the official 'knowledge bucket' (Farías 2017). Furthermore, it should be noted that official forces can never gain total knowledge (and thus dominance) over the unofficial because the way it knows can never fully account for localised knowledge (and perhaps it shouldn't for ethical reasons—see Macmillan 2017). Whilst collaboration between official and unofficial is in essence part of the cycle of democracy, localised knowledge (being-in-the-world) is an important expert knowledge that can only be known through doing, and such doing can be in protest against institutional frameworks. As discussed by Graves-Brown (2018) different societies have different reasons to act, over which hegemony can have no outright control. The dialectical bridge between on-the-ground knowledges (Haraway 1988, Gladwell 2005) and a credible, official, value framework, (as raised in Chapter Eight) will therefore always be a rocky one.

In the middle, local authorities' connective role is increasingly stretched as has been shown with the City of York. Both on-the-ground skills and wider knowledge exist but are conflicted in light of reduced abilities and contradictions at the heart of the concept of 'value'. Despite these issues, the CYC and the decisions it makes remain the nexus of important collaboration which impact how York takes shape. And despite the current context, they are still in a position to aid community groups or organisations (and unofficial forces) and to guide them towards wider reflection on the impact their localism practices have on place. As a result, heritage values—official or unofficial—in this context may never fully be known in a streamlined sense: it is recommended that collaborative relationships instead foster the informed and mindful creation of value in places. Essentially, the role of the CYC and other councils within value-creation as part of the localism context is a matter of concern for the heritage sector, whilst the continual development of the roles of councils remains an outlook worth pursuing.

## **Additional Material: Appendices**

Due to the size and varying material content, the Appendices are located within the USB card provided as 'Additional Material'. For ease of reading the materials in question are referred to as Appendices throughout the thesis. Appendices A-E, F and G form as separate PDF documents to allow for simultaneous reading of resources (research notes, fieldnotes, interviews and photographs). Appendix H forms as the NVivo database and cannot be converted to PDF format.

See 'Instructions Note' in 'Additional Material: Appendices' folder for more information.

## List of Abbreviations

AMPs—Asset Management Plans

CAT—Community Asset Transfer

CDA—Collaborative Doctoral Award

CifA—Chartered Institute for Archaeology

CUCAP—Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography

CYC—City of York Council

DCLG—Department for Communities and Local Government

DCMS—Department for Culture, Media and Sport

EH—English Heritage (Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission England)

HEF—Historic Environment Forum

HE—Historic England

HLF—Heritage Lottery Fund

HWPS—Holgate Windmill Preservation Society

ICOMOS—International Council on Monuments and Sites

IHBC—Institute of Historic Building Conservation

LGA—Local Government Association

NPPF—National Planning Policy Framework

NPS—NPS Group

NT—The National Trust

ONS—Office for National Statistics

OS—Ordnance Survey

PPG 15—Planning Policy Guidance 15

PPG 16—Planning Policy Guidance 16

PPS 5—Planning Policy Statement 5

RCHME—Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

SPAB—Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings

THA—The Heritage Alliance

UNESCO—The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

VCH—Victoria County History

YAT—York Archaeological Trust

WtW—Within the Walls

## Glossary

**Capability** – refers to the level of good health, finances and free time of a person allowing them to act. Lack of capability is acknowledged as a barrier to value-action (and therefore civic action and collaboration).

**Civic Action** – is defined as the activities undertaken by voluntary individuals, community groups and community organisations in order to change or improve public facilities, service access, or emancipate causes towards social justice. Civic action is motivated by values (see 'Value-action'). Of particular focus for this study is civic action which impacts the design and access of places and the historic environment. Civic action can occur with or without official organisations' (or the heritage sector's) involvement.

**Collaboration** – in the strongest sense, refers to the dynamic where civic action and the setting of goals is shared between individuals, community groups and organisations. Collaboration will occur where values align, and/or a vision is laid out to which groups work towards. Collaboration in this sense moves beyond "everyday diplomacy" and normative forms of cooperation (Sennett 2012, 221). In this study the 'Collaboration Spectrum' also refers to any form of 'reaching out' (including engagement strategies) between individuals and groups in order to include others in decision-making, following concepts by Angerstein (1969) and Cowell-Chanthaphonh & Ferguson (2008).

**Community** – is an elastic meaning which can be generally applied to all people who share values (e.g. the green community, the feminist community, the Muslim community etc.), dwelling state (e.g. living (residents/students)) or shared activity in place (e.g. working professionals, commuters, praying churchgoers). This term is often found in policy documents, partnered with aspirational visions, for example "sustainable communities" (DCMS 2007, 5). A 'misrecognition' of community is considered malpractice in within the heritage sector (Smith & Waterton 2011).

**Community groups** – is the term used in this study instead of 'community' in order to highlight the need to unpack generalising notions of the term. It still refers to general communities of shared values and dwelling state as above, but, in using this term it is understood that within such community groups there are contrasts in value and other

tensions (e.g. disagreements between those living in the same residential areas).

Community groups have potentially low levels of organisation and collaboration. See also 'Multi-Local'.

**Community organisations** – are referred to as a more structured group of people than community groups, with shared values and/or dwelling status and higher levels of organisation and collaboration. They will have formally committed to a set of objectives and have meetings to achieve these (e.g. Residents Associations, Parish Councils, History Groups, Community Interest Companies).

**Community Asset Transfer** – is the process by which the management of assets (see 'Heritage Assets') are transferred through a leasehold agreement from the original owners to a community organisation. This community organisation will then make use of the asset, maintain it, raise funds for it and deliver services or activities from it. This study has focused on the transfer of leasehold of three heritage assets from local councils and community organisations in York.

**Dialectic relationship** – drawing from Harrison (2013), explains the relationship between official and unofficial forces of heritage practice (and can be expanded to include wider notions of authority and non-authoritative practices) whereby each influences the other in a reciprocal manner. Thus, when unofficial concepts of heritage is upheld as important to community groups and heritage organisations, it influences official concepts of what heritage is—a key example is the UNESCO charter for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage (2003).

**Difference** – is used to describe the ever-fluctuating demarcations in social status, affluence and dwelling state between individuals and community groups. As discussed by Giddens (1979), differences come to the fore at specific times and in specific places and should be acknowledged.

**Dwelling** – is drawn from Heidegger's lecture Building Dwelling Thinking ([1951] 1993) and refers to the state of belonging in and shaping places by humankind. This can only be achieved through building and thinking, which are both an act of and towards dwelling.



**Engagement** – refers to the more passive activity of being involved (or seeking to involve others) in the development of places through actions such as voting, donating financially or submitting responses to feedback. Engagement can be motivated by values but at the time of its undertaking is less proactive than civic action and collaboration. Engagement strategies are carried out by those operating within the ‘collaboration spectrum’ (see Collaboration).

**Heritage** – is a term that has developed in England since the 1980s and is understood here to describe the remnants of the past that is claimed and valued by people including the historic environment, cultural landscapes and museum collections (this is not an exhaustive list). In this study, the focus lies upon heritage within an urban context and is thus discussed as the ‘Historic Environment’: the physical buildings, structures, monuments, sculptures, archaeological remains, historic sites and places or land/cityscapes of importance that make a city distinct. However, heritage is also understood to be wider than this physical definition and can include natural landscapes, horticulture, folk traditions, song, music, crafts, traditional works of working, food, artefacts, images, sculptures and works of art that are valued and resonant with significance for community groups and individuals.

Indeed, this study puts forward that a stark divide between tangible/intangible heritage is reductive of the ways that humankind experiences the past. Following Harrison (2013) and Ingold (2007, 2008b, 2010), this study upholds that the physical and the social are immersive. Whilst it is noted that the tangible aspects of heritage are more likely to be inventoried by official forces and that intangible heritage is often better understood and valued by unofficial forces (Graves-Brown 2018) it is upheld here that, quintessentially, heritage is a physical/social ‘commons’ for humankind because of its diversity and ubiquity (catering for all differences in all places) (Gonzalez 2014).

**Heritage Asset** – is an official term drawn from the Green Balance report (NT 2006), refers to “buildings, land, chattels, equipment or other tangible item” which can be “owned or held on a long lease by a public body” and possesses “resonance, meaning or value in the evolution of place (whether or not the asset is itself particularly old)” and is “capable of

access or presentation or interpretation to the public for their appreciation and enjoyment” (104).

**Heritage Management** – indicates specifically the official processes and systems in England that are undertaken towards the management of heritage (in its widest term). This is carried out by bodies that comprise the heritage sector (see below). The processes include, for example, the systems of designation, planning development, representation and community asset transfer.

**Heritage Practice** – indicates a broader form of heritage ‘work’ or activity including both official and unofficial activities related to the maintenance, interpretation or any other interactions with heritage. Essentially any active relationship that humankind has with the past can be described as a heritage practice.

**Heritage Sector** – signifies the numerous bodies of professionals working in the field who undertake official heritage management (i.e. heritage organisations, amenity groups, charitable groups, councils, and government). It also incorporates those officially signed up as volunteers within official heritage bodies and not those unofficially working on heritage practices.

**Historic Environment** – is, in the first instance, derived from the official definition given in the NPPF: “all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time, including all surviving physical remains of past human activity, whether visible, buried or submerged” (DCLG 2012a: 52). This definition also includes landscapes and managed parkland but excludes organised heritage spaces such as museums.

The above definition is combined with a second in order to acknowledge unofficial notions of heritage, which comprises as old, forgotten pathways in place followed and created by individuals (Ingold 2008b, Pink 2008).

**Language-games** – are the context-specific methods and dynamics of communication between people. Words, or other communication techniques through media, are impacted by the context and places they are spoken or presented. Following Wittgenstein (1958) and Giddens (1984) context, as a spatial and temporal phenomenon, impacts upon the

forms of 'collective living' and therefore impacts collaboration. Thus, language-games account for the ontological aspects of heritage practice which are underplayed in the explanation of Authorised Heritage Discourse (Smith 2006).

**Local** – has three definitions: a demarcation of place (see 'Locality'); a specialised form of management or practice specific to a demarcation of place; and a short hand for person associated to the demarcation of place (i.e. a resident).

**Locality** – (where not capitalised in the main text) is a demarcation and identification of place. Such demarcations can be further comprehended through the contextualisation research into the history of the locality. This identification of locality is also shaped by the specific dwelling status and practices of an individual, community group or organisation.

**Locale** – See 'Locality'.

**Localism** – is a policy which encourages specialised forms of management (including heritage management) within a demarcation of place to be undertaken by 'locals' (people proximate to a locality where action is considered required) through the ethos of civic action. Localism was encapsulated within the Localism Act of 2011 and includes several mechanisms such as Neighbourhood Planning, Right to Buy and Assets of Community Value.

**Media** – encompasses the wide variety of graphic and audio communication including photographs, radio, postcards, leaflets, newspapers, banners, billboards, posters, and social media platforms.

**Meshwork** – is an analogy which indicates the culmination of multiple pathways created by constant familiarisation of place by people undergoing everyday lives (Ingold 2008b). Meshwork highlights the simultaneous social and physical aspects of places and the connectivity between them.

**Multi-Local** – following Rodman (2003) and Marcus (1995, 1997) is a term that acknowledges different demarcations of place within the same locality, in recognition of the different dwelling status of people who experience that place (e.g. residents, councillors, tourists, archaeologists, police-officers, immigrants, students etc.) A multi-local

approach also acknowledges the connection between places (as part of a meshwork and pathway making), which link together the localised 'pavement politics' and wider national management (i.e. between residential 'hubs' and council offices).

**Multi-sited ethnography** – as per Marcus (1995, 1997), understands that ethnographic research will be undertaken in several places and that there are the connections between these places which are emergent through research. It also acknowledges the changeable and complicit position of the ethnographer with various participants as the latter moves through these places gaining knowledge.

**Neoliberalism** -is the term attributed to the state of the UK financial market since the 1980s (Lovering 2007, Strange & Davoudi 2009). In this study, neoliberalism is associated with:

- the gradual privatisation of services from local government to businesses (Crewe 2016);
- the rise in the economic and social value and focus on places as important to society, and the concept of 'place-branding';
- the current planning policy encapsulated by the NPPF which favours sustainable development;
- the tendency of entrepreneurial activities within civic action, although these can be tugged and inverted in light of social objectives (Murtagh & Boland 2017).

**Pathway** – as per Ingold (2008b), this term encapsulates the movement and perambulation which humans undertake, resulting in the gradual creation of places. Pathways are attributed to the way in which we became familiar with place and learning the routes of where we are, cumulating together as 'Meshworks'.

**Place** – is the widest term for this study to define a social and physical area (see 'Local' and 'Locality' for a more reflexive identification of demarcated places). Place signifies an area created by a meshwork of pathways. Place incorporates the historic environment, forgotten pathways and other concepts of heritage outlined above (see 'Heritage'). Place is shown to impact upon language-games, collaboration and engagement.

**Place-node** – is a destination point or site within a place or locality (and can be seen as a ‘knot’ within the culminating meshwork of pathways). These are described as buildings, centres, markets or essentially places where people come to undertake a particular activity. Some place-nodes are part of larger ‘meshworks’ and thus can indicate wider ‘scales’ of place (e.g. national or global). The term ‘place-node’ is attributed to City of York Council’s West Offices and heritage assets as sites where research was undertaken.

**Rhizome** – is derived through Deleuze and Guttari’s concept of connected growth (or development) of themes, trends, bodies of thought, and power in both society and language (2003).

**Rhizomatic coding** – derived from ‘Rhizome’, is the interpretative analytical method of identifying connections between themes drawn from Cumming (2015). This was carried out on the data of Chapter Six to identify themes (and how they connect) within the development of two heritage asset transfer projects by community organisations. This was carried out without use of a NVivo coding software and was essentially freehand.

**Value** – is attributed to the worth or quality of an object, site, or concept. Within the heritage sector, values for the historic environment developed as a philosophy and then into a system of best practice (i.e. value-led management) wherein in values become known as data and judged alongside other priorities for management (Glendinning 2013). Compound adjectives are attributed to demarcate value to a specific benefit to all life (e.g. ‘economic’ value, ‘communal’ value, ‘social’ value, ‘environmental’ value, etc). The lists of value compounds are referred to as ‘value-typologies’ (Mason 2008a & 2008b, Fredheim & Khalaf 2016). As part of this study value compounds are understood as being applied depending on context and also by individuals according to their dwelling status and social difference. This study demonstrates how values are active and fluid (particularly during the progress of heritage projects such as asset transfers). The study considers the consequences of this fluidity upon the Localism Act (in terms of how values are defined in real time and acted upon collaboratively).

**Value-Action** – is the portmanteau created for this study to describe an action motivated by values. Value-action can be civic (and thus lead to collaboration) or more consumptive in nature (i.e. financial value-action). Value-action can be identified within the uttered

intentions and actions of people and thereafter compared. Sustained value-actions over a period of time (i.e. within an asset transfer project) are referred to as a value-action process.

**Value Co-Creation** – is the portmanteau developed by several theorists to consider how values are fluid and are created through the processes of collaboration (e.g. Barile & Saviano 2014).

**Velocity** – is the term used to describe the movement of media within places. Through attempting to track velocity, this study aimed to measure the impact that media has on activities in certain localities. However, this activity proved highly challenging due to the 'slipperiness' of media in places and also the dull obviousness of the process (except in a few cases which revealed media as having impact upon collaboration).

**Vision** – is the ultimate end goal, created by a group of people and which can only be realised through ongoing collaboration over time. This study has shown that depending on group (i.e. council or community organisation) the stage that vision emerges during the process of collaboration will be different (either from the start or emerging in the middle).

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